

**PORTRAYAL OF BĀBĀ FARĪD IN
HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE, 1175 AD-1265 AD:
AN APPRAISAL**



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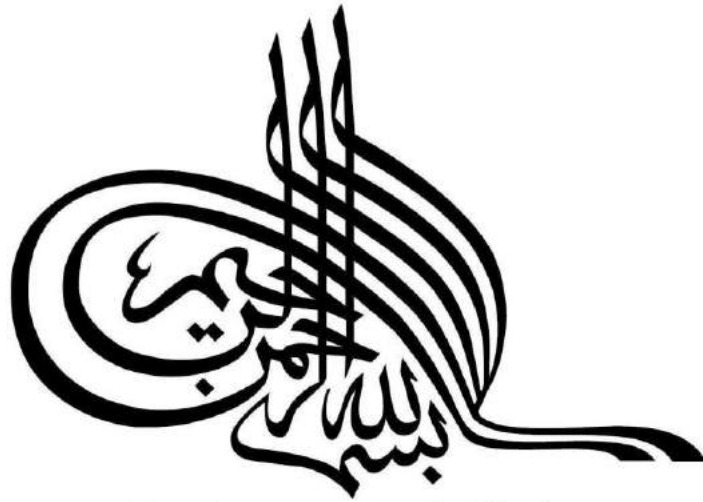
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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
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ISLAMABAD**

2021



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

DEDICATED

To

My Worthy Parents

DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Tanveer Jamal, hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere & heartfelt guidance of my supervisor- Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan and Co-Supervisor-Assistant Professor Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies-Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad. Neither portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source nor has any percentage of the research, presented in this Dissertation, been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

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FORWARDING SHEET

The Dissertation; titled “**Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Hagiographical Literature, 1175 AD 1265 AD: An Appraisal**” put forward by Mr. Muhammad Tanveer Jamal, Regd. No. 15-FSS/PHDHIS/F-14 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)* in History, has been successfully completed under our guidance, care and supervision.

We are satisfied with the excellence of scholar’s research work and he is now allowed to get this Dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that he may be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in History as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
TRANSLITERATION TABLE.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
GLOSSARY	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER– 1	
BĀBĀ FARĪD, HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY.....	25
1.1 Historical Background of Bābā Farīd	25
1.2 Early Life of Bābā Farīd.....	29
1.3 Travelling of Bābā Farīd.....	34
1.4 Bābā Farīd at Delhī.....	36
1.5 Bābā Farīd’s Life at Hānsī.....	39
1.6 <i>Chillah-i-Ma’kus</i>	41
1.7 Bābā Farīd as Head of Chishtīyyah <i>Silsilah</i>	44
1.8 Life at Ajōdhan.....	47
1.9 Problem Faced by Baba Farid at Ajodhan.....	50
1.10 The Title Ganj-i-Shakar.....	55
1.11 Daily Routine of Bābā Farīd.....	56
1.12 Last Days of Bābā Farīd.....	57
1.13 Descendants of Bābā Farīd.....	58
1.14 Miracles of Bābā Farīd.....	64
1.15 <i>Jamā’t Khānah</i> of Bābā Farīd	69
1.16 Managers of the Jamat Khanah of Baba Farid.....	72
1.17 Domestic Managers of Baba Farid at Ajodhan.....	72
1.18 Relationship with the Common People and Ruling Elite.....	73
1.19 Devotion with ALLAH Almighty.....	74
1.20 Practice of Initiation (Bay’at).....	75
1.21 Philosophy of Bābā Farīd.....	77
1.22 Conversion.....	79
1.23 Bābā Farīd and Expansion of Chishtīyyah <i>Silsilah</i>	81
1.23.1 <i>Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’</i>	81
1.23.2 <i>Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn</i>	83
1.23.3 <i>Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil</i>	83
1.23.4 <i>Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq Delhwī</i>	83
1.23.5 <i>Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī</i>	85
1.23.6 <i>Shaykh ‘Arif</i>	86
1.23.7 <i>Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar</i>	86
1.23.8 <i>Hamīd</i>	87

1.23.9	<i>Wahīd al-Dīn</i>	87
1.24	Poetry of Bābā Farīd.....	88
1.25	Names of Bābā Farīd.....	91
1.26	Door of Paradise.....	93
1.27	Early Chishtī <i>Malḡūzāt</i>	93
1.27.1	<i>Asrār al-Awliyā’</i>	97
1.27.2	<i>Rāhat al-Qulūb</i>	100
1.27.3	Authenticity of the <i>Malḡūzāt</i> of Bābā Farīd a Critical Analysis.....	103
1.28	Bābā Farīd and <i>Samā’</i>	105

CHAPTER – 2

PORTRAYAL OF BĀBĀ FARĪD IN CONTEMPORARY AND NEAR-CONTEMPORARY HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE.....108

2.1 What is Hagiography?.....108

2.1.1	<i>Evolution of Hagiographical Literature in South Asia</i>	109
2.1.2	<i>Malḡūzāt</i>	110
2.1.3	<i>Maktūbāt</i>	111
2.1.4	<i>Ishārāt</i>	112
2.1.5	<i>Dīwān</i>	112
2.1.6	<i>The Tadhkirāt Genre in Sufism, Its Evolution, and the Contribution of the Ṣufīs in Biographical and Theological Literature</i>	113
2.1.7	<i>The Ṣufīs’ Contribution to Theology</i>	115

2.2 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Malḡūzātīc* and *Tadhkirāt* Literature.....117

2.2.1	<i>Asrār al-Awliyā’</i>	117
2.2.1.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd the Asrār al-Awliyā’</i>	117
2.2.1.2	<i>Critical Analysis of the Asrār al-Awliyā’</i>	120
2.2.2	<i>Rāhat al-Qulūb</i>	121
2.2.2.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Rāhat al-Qulūb</i>	121
2.2.2.2	<i>Critical Analysis of the Rāhat al-Qulūb</i>	123
2.2.3	<i>Ghara’ib al-Karāmāt</i>	125
2.2.3.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Ghara’ib al-Karāmāt</i>	126
2.2.3.2	<i>Critical Analysis of Gharaib al-Karāmāt</i>	127
2.2.3.3	<i>Amīr Khusru</i>	127
2.2.4	<i>Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd</i>	127
2.2.4.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd</i>	128
2.2.4.2	<i>Critical Analysis of the Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd</i>	131
2.2.4.3	<i>Amīr Hassan ‘Alā’ Sijzī (d.1335)</i>	131
2.2.5	<i>Fawāīd al-Fuād</i>	132
2.2.5.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Fawāīd-al Fuād</i>	133
2.2.5.2	<i>Family of Bābā Farīd</i>	133
2.2.5.3	<i>The Mother of Bābā Farīd</i>	133
2.2.5.4	<i>Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil and the Sons of Bābā Farīd</i>	134
2.2.5.5	<i>Poetry and Bābā Farīd</i>	136

2.2.5.6 Diet of Bābā Farīd.....	136
2.2.5.7 Bābā Farīd as Head of the Chishtīyyah Silsilah.....	137
2.2.5.8 Meditation and Renunciation of the World.....	137
2.2.5.9 Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan.....	138
2.2.5.10 Relationship with the Common Peoples and Ruling Elite.....	138
2.2.5.11 Samā'.....	140
2.2.5.12 Zakat as defined by Bābā Farīd.....	140
2.2.5.13 Problems faced by Bābā Farīd.....	141
2.2.5.14 Death of Bābā Farīd.....	142
2.2.5.15 Some Miracles of Bābā Farīd.....	142
2.2.5.16 Khulafā' (Successors).....	143
2.2.5.17 The Malfūzāt of Bābā Farīd.....	144
2.2.5.18 Contradictions about the Age and Year of Death of Bābā Farīd.....	144
2.2.5.19 Is the Fawā'id al-Fuād a Biography or a Dispersed Detail of Bābā Farīd?	144
2.2.5.20 Comparison of Fawā'id al-Fuād and other contemporary sources regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd.....	145
2.2.5.21 Some Misconceptions about Fawā'id al-Fuād.....	145
2.2.6 Nafā'is al-Anfās.....	146
2.2.6.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Nafā'is al-Anfās.....	147
2.2.6.2 Critical Analysis of Nafā'is al-Anfās.....	149
2.2.7 Shamā'il al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al-Atqiyā.....	150
2.2.7.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Shamā'il al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al Atqiyā.....	151
2.2.7.2 Critical Analysis of Shamā'il al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al-Atqiyā.....	152
2.2.8 Ahsan al-Aqwāl of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb.....	153
2.2.8.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Ahsan al-Aqwāl.....	153
2.2.8.2 Bābā Farīd's Ecstasy.....	155
2.2.8.3 Initiation.....	155
2.2.8.4 Critical Analysis of Ahsan al-Aqwāl.....	156
2.2.9 Ma'dan al-Ma'anī.....	156
2.2.9.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Ma'dan al-Ma'anī.....	157
2.2.9.2 Critical Analysis of Ma'dan al-Ma'anī.....	159
2.2.9.3 Hamīd Qalandar.....	160
2.2.10 Khayr al-Majālis.....	161
2.2.10.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Khayr al-Majālis.....	161
2.2.10.2 Early Life of Bābā Farīd.....	161
2.2.10.3 Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan.....	162
2.2.10.4 Miracles.....	164
2.2.10.5 The Title Ganj-i-Shakar.....	165
2.2.10.6 Critical Analysis of the Khayr al-Majālis.....	166
2.2.11 Durr-i-Nizāmī by 'Alī Shah Jāndār.....	166
2.2.11.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Durr-i-Nizāmī.....	167
2.2.11.2 Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan.....	168
2.2.11.3 Critical analysis of Durr-i-Nizāmī.....	171
2.2.12 Sirāj al-Hidāyah.....	173
2.2.12.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Sirāj al-Hidāyah.....	175
2.2.12.2 Silsilah of Bābā Farīd.....	175
2.2.12.3 Bābā Farīd and a Mendicant.....	175
2.2.12.4 Critical Analysis of Sirāj al-Hidāyah.....	176

2.2.13	Jawām‘ al-Kalim.....	176
2.2.13.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Jawām‘ al-Kalim.....</i>	<i>177</i>
2.2.13.2	<i>The Title Ganj Shakar.....</i>	<i>180</i>
2.2.13.3	<i>Justification of Chillah-i- Ma‘kus.....</i>	<i>180</i>
2.2.13.4	<i>Critical Analysis of Jawām‘al-Kalim.....</i>	<i>180</i>
2.2.13.5	<i>Weak points of the Jawām‘al-Kalim regarding Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>181</i>
2.2.14	Lataif-i-Asharaft.....	183
2.2.14.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Lataif-i-Asharaft.....</i>	<i>184</i>
2.2.14.2	<i>Khulafā‘.....</i>	<i>185</i>
2.2.14.3	<i>Critical analysis of Lataif-i-Asharaft.....</i>	<i>185</i>
2.2.14.4	<i>Muhammad Bin Mubārak Kirmānī.....</i>	<i>186</i>
2.2.15	Siyar-al- Awliyā‘ dar Ahwāl Wa Malfūzāt-i- Mashaikh-i-Chisht.....	187
2.2.15.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Siyar al- Awliyā‘.....</i>	<i>188</i>
2.2.15.2	<i>Early Life of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>188</i>
2.2.15.3	<i>Asceticism, Meditation and Seclusion of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>189</i>
2.2.15.4	<i>Bābā Farīd as a Humanist.....</i>	<i>192</i>
2.2.15.5	<i>The Shaykh’s Approach toward the State and the Ruling Elite.....</i>	<i>192</i>
2.2.15.6	<i>Spiritual Authority of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>193</i>
2.2.15.7	<i>Death of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>194</i>
2.2.15.8	<i>Justification of Kirmānī about the title Ganj-i-Shakar.....</i>	<i>194</i>
2.2.15.9	<i>Family and Descendants.....</i>	<i>194</i>
2.2.15.10	<i>Khulafā‘.....</i>	<i>198</i>
2.2.15.11	<i>Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā‘.....</i>	<i>198</i>
2.2.15.12	<i>Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil.....</i>	<i>199</i>
2.2.15.13	<i>Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī.....</i>	<i>199</i>
2.2.15.14	<i>Shaykh Jamāl al- Dīn of Hānsī.....</i>	<i>200</i>
2.2.15.15	<i>Shaykh ‘Arif.....</i>	<i>201</i>
2.2.15.16	<i>Shaykh ‘Alī Sābir (‘Alā‘ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir).....</i>	<i>202</i>
2.2.15.17	<i>Critical Analysis of Siyar al-Awliyā‘.....</i>	<i>202</i>
2.2.16	Shaykh Bahā‘ al-Dīn Bājan Chishtī’s Khazain-i-Rahmatullah.....	204
2.2.16.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Khazain-i-Rahmatullah.....</i>	<i>205</i>
2.2.16.2	<i>Critical Analysis of Khazain-i-Rahmatullah.....</i>	<i>206</i>
2.2.16.3	<i>Hāmid bin Faḍalullah Jamālī.....</i>	<i>206</i>
2.2.17	Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn.....	207
2.2.17.1	<i>Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn.....</i>	<i>208</i>
2.2.17.2	<i>Relationship with the Ruling Elite.....</i>	<i>215</i>
2.2.17.3	<i>Meditation.....</i>	<i>216</i>
2.2.17.4	<i>Spiritual Discourse and Training of the Disciples.....</i>	<i>216</i>
2.2.17.5	<i>Some Prominent Successors of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>216</i>
2.2.17.6	<i>Death of Bābā Farīd.....</i>	<i>217</i>
2.2.17.7	<i>The Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn: Its Contrasts and Conflicts with Earlier Sources.....</i>	<i>218</i>

CHAPTER- 3

BĀBĀ FARĪD IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.....224

3.1 Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā’.....224

3.1.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā’ 225

3.1.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā’ 226

3.2 Majālis al-Hasanah.....227

3.2.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Majālis al-Hasanah and its Critical Analysis 227

3.3 Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans.....228

3.3.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans 228

3.3.2 Critical Analysis of Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans 230

3.4 The Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asar al-Abrār.....233

3.4.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Akhbār al-Akhyār 233

3.4.2 A Critical Analysis of the Biography of Bābā Farīd in Akhbār al-Akhyār 234

3.5 Akhbār al-Aṣfiyā’.....235

3.5.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Akhbār al-Aṣfiyā’ 236

3.5.2 Critical Analysis of Akhbār al-Aṣfiyā’ 236

3.6 Gulzār -i-Abrār.....237

3.6.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Gulzār -i-Abrār 237

3.6.2 The Family of Bābā Farīd 238

3.6.3 Critical Analysis of the Gulzār-i-Abrār 239

3.7 Jawāhir-i-Farīdī.....242

3.7.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Jawāhir-i-Farīdī 243

3.7.2 Critical Analysis of the Jawāhir-i-Farīdī 253

3.7.2.1 Irrational Approach 253

3.7.2.2 Contradictions 256

3.7.2.3 Legends and Fabrications 257

3.7.2.4 Analysis and Comparison 262

3.8 Majma‘ al-Awliyā’.....262

3.8.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Majma‘ al-Awliyā’ 263

3.8.2 Critical Analysis of the Majma‘ al-Awliyā’ 264

3.9 Safinat al-Awliyā’.....265

3.9.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Safinat al-Awliyā’ 267

3.9.2 Critical Analysis of Safinat al-Awliyā’ 267

3.10 Siyar al-Aqtāb.....268

3.10.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Siyar al-Aqtāb 268

3.10.2 Critical Analysis of Siyar al-Aqtāb 272

3.11 Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah.....	276
3.11.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdusiyya Qudsiyya.....	276
3.11.2 Critical analysis of Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah.....	277
3.11.3 Abdul Rahmān Chishtī.....	278
3.12 Mirāt al-Asrār.....	278
3.12.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Mirāt al-Asrār.....	279
3.12.2 Critical Analysis of the Mirāt al-Asrār.....	280
3.13 Tadhkira Punj Pir (Biography of Five Saints) and its Analysis.....	282
3.14 Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat.....	283
3.14.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat.....	284
3.14.2 Critical Analysis of the Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat.....	285
3.14.3 Sayed Muhammad Bulāq.....	286
3.15 Raudah-i-Aqtāb.....	286
3.15.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Raudah-i-Aqtāb.....	286
3.15.2 Critical Analysis of the Raudah-i-Aqtāb.....	287
3.16 Matlūb al-Tālibīn.....	288
3.16.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Matlūb al-Tālibīn.....	289
3.16.2 Critical Analysis of Matlūb al-Tālibīn.....	289
3.17 Muftah al-Karāmāt.....	289
3.17.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Muftah al-Karāmāt.....	289
3.17.2 Critical Analysis of the Muftah al-Karāmāt.....	290
3.17.3 Muhammad Akram Barāsawī.....	291
3.18 Iqtibās-al-Anwār.....	291
3.18.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Iqtibās al-Anwār.....	292
3.18.2 Critical Analysis of Iqtibās al-Anwār.....	294
3.19 Akhbār al-Jamāl.....	296
3.19.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Akhbār al-Jamāl.....	297
3.19.2 Critical Analysis of the Akhbār al-Jamāl.....	297
3.20 Jam‘al- Salāsil.....	298
3.20.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Jām‘ al- Salāsil.....	298
3.20.2 Critical Analysis of the Jām‘al- Salāsil.....	299
3.21 Ahsan al-Shamāil.....	299
3.21.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Ahsan al-Shamāil.....	300
3.22 Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al- Abrār.....	302
3.22.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i- Anwār fī Siyar al- Abrār....	302
3.22.2 Critical Analysis of Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al- Abrār.....	303

3.23 Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār.....	304
3.23.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al- Abrār and its Analysis.....	304
3.24 Shajrah al-Anwār.....	305
3.24.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Shajrat al-Anwār.....	306
3.24.2 Critical Analysis of the Shajrat al-Anwār.....	307
3.25 Ma‘yar-i-Sālikān-i-Tarīqat.....	308
3.25.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Ma‘yar-i-Sālikān-i-Tarīqat.....	308
3.25.2 Critical Analysis of Ma‘yar-i-Sālikān-i-Tarīqat.....	309
3.26 Khulāsāt al-Fawāid.....	309
3.26.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Khulasat al-Fawāid and its Analysis.....	310
3.27 Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’.....	310
3.27.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’.....	311
3.27.2 Critical Analysis of the Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’.....	311

CHAPTER- 4

BĀBĀ FARĪD IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES.....

4.1 Mirāt al-Awliyā’.....	313
4.1.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Mirāt al-Awliyā’.....	313
4.1.2 Critical Analysis of the Mirāt al-Awliyā’.....	314
4.2 Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā’.....	315
4.2.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā’.....	315
4.2.2 Critical Analysis of the Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā’.....	316
4.3 Nāf‘al-Sālikīn.....	317
4.3.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Nāf‘al-Sālikīn: A Critical Study.....	317
4.4 Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī.....	318
4.4.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī.....	319
4.4.2 Critical Analysis of Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī.....	319
4.5 Makhzan-i-Chisht.....	320
4.5.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Makhzan-i-Chisht.....	320
4.5.2 Analysis of Bābā Farīd’s biography described in the Makhzan-i- Chisht.....	322
4.6 Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn.....	323
4.6.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn.....	324
4.6.2 Critical Analysis of Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn.....	325
4.7 Gulshan-i-Abrār.....	327
4.7.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Gulshan-i-Abrār and its Critical Analysis.....	328
4.7.2 Nūr Ahmad Chishtī.....	328

4.8 Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī.....	329
4.8.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Tahqīqāt -i-Chishtī.....	329
4.8.2 Critical Analysis of Tahqīqāt -i-Chishtī.....	330
4.9 Anwār al-’Ārifīn.....	330
4.9.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Anwār al-’Ārifīn.....	331
4.9.2 Critical Analysis of Anwār al-’Ārifīn.....	331
4.10 Anwār al-Asrār.....	332
4.10.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Anwār al-Asrār and its Critical Analysis.....	333
4.11 Mirāt al-’Ashiqīn.....	333
4.11.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Mirāt al-’Ashiqīn.....	334
4.11.2 Critical Analysis of Mirāt al-’Ashiqīn.....	337
4.12 Shajrah al-Mahmūd.....	337
4.12.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Shajrah al-Mahmūd.....	338
4.12.2 Critical Analysis of the Account of Bābā Farīd in Shajrah al- Mahmūd.....	339
4.13 Gul Muhammad Chishtī’s Gulzār-i-Farīdī.....	339
4.13.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Gulzār-i-Farīdī.....	340
4.13.2 Critical Analysis of the Gulzār-i-Farīdī.....	341
4.13.3 Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī.....	342
4.13.4 Guldastah Karamat.....	343
4.13.5 Ganjenah Sarwarī.....	343
4.13.6 Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjab.....	343
4.13.7 Gulshan-e-Sarwarī.....	343
4.13.8 Dīwān-i-Sarwarī.....	343
4.13.9 Madīnah tul Awliyā’.....	343
4.13.10 Ahwāl al-Akhrat.....	344
4.13.11 Bahāristān-e-Tārīkh.....	344
4.13.12 Makhzan-e-Hikmat.....	344
4.13.13 Tuhfa-e-Sarwarī, Makhzan-e-Sarwarī and Akhlāq-e-Sarwarī.....	344
4.13.14 Dīwān-e-Hamd and Dīwān-e-Na‘at.....	344
4.13.15 Jām‘Lughāt.....	344
4.14 Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’.....	345
4.14.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’.....	345
4.14.2 Critical analysis of Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’.....	346
4.15 Hadīqat al-Awliyā’.....	348
4.15.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Hadīqat al-Awliyā’.....	349
4.15.2 Critical analysis of the Hadīqat al-Awliyā’.....	350
4.16 Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh.....	350
4.16.1 The Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh.....	350
4.16.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh.....	351
4.17 Asrār -i-’Atrat-i-Farīdī.....	352
4.17.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Asrār-i-’Atrat-i-Farīdī.....	352
4.17.2 Critical Analysis of the Asrār -i-’Atrat-i-Farīdī.....	353
4.18 Shajrah Tayyibah.....	355
4.18.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Shajrah Tayyibah.....	355
4.18.2 Critical Analysis of the Shajrah Tayyibah.....	357

4.19 Maqābis al-Majālis.....	359
4.19.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Maqābis al-Majālis.....	359
4.19.2 Critical Analysis of the Maqābis al-Majālis Regard to Bābā Farīd's Biography.....	360
4.20 The Life of Shaikh Farīd 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs by Max Arthur Macauliffe.....	361
4.20.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in The Life of Shaikh Farīd- 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd- II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs.....	361
4.20.2 Critical Analysis of The Life of Shaikh Farīd 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs.....	362
4.21 Tuhfat al-Abrār.....	363
4.21.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Tuhfat al-Abrār.....	363
4.21.2 Critical Analysis of Tuhfat al-Abrār.....	364
4.22 Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn.....	365
4.22.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn.....	366
4.22.2 Critical Analysis of Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn.....	367
4.23 Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind.....	368
4.23.1 Portrayal of Baba Farīd in Tadhkira Awliyā'-i- Pāk-o-Hind.....	368
4.23.2 Critical Analysis of Tadhkira Awliyā'-i- Pāk-o-Hind.....	369
4.24 Sayyādat-i-Farīdī and its Critical Analysis.....	369
4.25 Nuzhat al-Khawātir.....	370
4.25.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Nuzhat al-Khawātir.....	371
4.25.2 Critical Analysis of Nuzhat al-Khawātir.....	371
4.26 Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht.....	372
4.26.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht.....	372
4.26.2 Critical Analysis of Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht.....	372
4.27 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Nawāb Farīd and its Analysis.....	373
4.28 Tadhkira Farīdiyyah and Its Analysis.....	374
4.29 Khwājah Hassan Nizami's Farīd Bābā.....	376
4.29.1 Critical Analysis of Khwājah Hassan Nizami's Farīd Bābā.....	377
4.30 Tadhkirāt al-'Ārifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah.....	377
4.30.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Tadhkirāt al-'Ārifīn fī Hayāt-i- Maẓharīyyah.....	378
4.30.2 Critical Analysis of Tadhkirāt al-'Ārifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah.....	378
4.31 Punjab Mean Urdu (Urdu in Punjab).....	379
4.31.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in <i>Punjab mean Urdu (Urdu in Punjāb)</i> and its Critical Analysis.....	379
4.32 Bahār-i-Afghānī.....	380
4.32.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Bahār -i-Afghānī.....	380
4.32.2 Critical Analysis of the Bahār -i-Afghānī.....	381
4.33 Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India.....	382
4.33.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India.....	382

4.33.2 Critical Analysis of Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India.....	383
4.34 Saints and Sages of India.....	384
4.34.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Saints and Sages of India.....	384
4.34.2 Critical Analysis of Saints and Sages of India.....	385
4.35 Bazm-i-Şufiyah.....	386
4.35.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Bazm-i-Şufiyah.....	386
4.35.2 Critical Analysis of the Bazm-i-Şufiyah.....	387
4.36 Tadhkira.....	388
4.36.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkira.....	389
4.36.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira.....	390
4.37 ‘Āab-i-Kauthar.....	391
4.37.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the ‘Āab-i-Kauthar.....	391
4.37.2 Critical Analysis of the ‘Āab-i-Kauthar.....	392
4.38 ‘Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat.....	392
4.38.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the ‘Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat.....	392
4.38.2 Critical Analysis of the ‘Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat.....	393
4.39 Anwār-i-Awliyā’.....	394
4.39.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Anwār al-Awliyā’.....	394
4.39.2 Critical Analysis of the Anwār al-Awliyā’.....	395
4.39.3 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.....	395
4.40 The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U’D-Din Ganj-i-Shakar.....	396
4.40.1 Critical analysis of The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd Ud-Din Ganj-i- Shakar.....	398
4.41 Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets.....	401
4.41.1 Portrayal of Baba Farīd in the Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets.....	401
4.41.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets.....	401
4.42 Āftāb-i-Shawālīk and Bābā Farīd.....	402
4.43 Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Pāk-o-Hind.....	403
4.43.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Pāk-o-Hind.....	404
4.43.2 Critical Analysis of Tadhkira the Awliyā’-i-Pāk-o-Hind.....	404
4.44 Haḍrat ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa Ta‘līmāt.....	405
4.44.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Haḍrat ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt Wa Ta‘līmāt.....	405
4.44.2 Critical Analysis of the Haḍrat ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangohi Hayāt Wa Ta‘līmāt.....	406
4.45 Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	406
4.45.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	407
4.45.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	407
4.46 Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb.....	408
4.46.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd the Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb.....	408
4.46.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb.....	409
4.47 Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat.....	410
4.47.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat.....	410
4.47.2 Critical Analysis of the Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat.....	411

4.48 Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	411
4.48.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	411
4.48.2 Critical Analysis of the Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	412
4.49 Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	413
4.49.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	413
4.49.2 Critical Analysis of the Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar.....	414
4.50 Anwār al-Farīd.....	415
4.50.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Anwār al-Farīd.....	415
4.50.2 Critical Analysis of the Anwār al-Farīd.....	416
4.51 Short Biography of Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar popularly known as Haḍrat Bābā Sahib	417
4.51.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Short Biography of Shaykh al- Shayūkh al-‘Alam Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar Popularly Known as Haḍrat Bābā Sahib and its Critical Analysis.....	417
4.52 Anwār al-Aṣfiyā’	418
4.52.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Anwār al-Aṣfiyā’	418
4.52.2 Critical Analysis of the Anwār al-Aṣfiyā’	419
4.53 Pākṣattān and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	420
4.53.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Pākṣattān and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	420
4.53.2 Critical Analysis of Pākṣattān and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	420
4.54 Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Hind-o-Pāk.....	421
4.54.1 Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Hind-o-Pāk.....	422
4.54.2 Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Hind-i-Pāk.....	422
4.55 Fīrūz Sons’ Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	423
4.55.1 Critical Analysis of Fīrūz Sons’s Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.....	423
CONCLUSION.....	425
APPENDIX- I.....	436
APPENDIX- II.....	437
APPENDIX- III.....	439
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	440
1- Primary Sources.....	440
2- Secondary Sources.....	445

ABSTRACT

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas ‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, popularly known as Bābā Farīd, is one of the most celebrated Ṣūfīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. All creeds and castes revere the Shaykh because of his teachings of love, peace, morality and humanity toward all people irrespective of religion and belief. Numerous biographies of Bābā Farīd have been produced by both Muslim and non-Muslim intellectuals dealing with his life, teachings, poetry and philosophy as well as his descendants, sajjādah nashīns and spiritual successors.

This thesis studies the portrayal of Bābā Farīd by different hagiographers throughout history. An effort has been made to explore maximum data dealing with the Shaykh. Hagiographical literature continually compiled on Bābā Farīd since his demise, in this regard, the present study considers a broad timeframe from thirteenth century to twentieth century. The study also attempts to present a rational biography of Bābā Farīd, his philosophy and teachings. Further, it endeavors to identify the legends and fabrications added by different hagiographers regarding Bābā Farīd. Additionally, the authenticity and validity of the earlier Chishtī Malfūzāt are also critically analyzed.

The literature is chronologically addressed. The first chapter presents a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd in pursuit of an authentic portrayal. Further, the authenticity of the early Chishtī Malfūzāt have also been addressed. The second chapter deals with the relevant literature of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries while also attempting to explore unpublished contemporary sources. Chapter three examines the data produced during sixteenth to eighteenth century. It also addresses the unpublished hagiographical compendia of the era. The last chapter deals with data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and their depiction of the former Shaykh also addressing sources considered authentic or otherwise.

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MUHAMMAD TANVEER JAMAL

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

The following system of transliteration system has been followed:

ا	a	ڑ	r	ل	l	دھ	<u>dh</u>
آ	ā	ز	z	م	m	ڈھ	<u>dh</u>
ب	b	ژ	z	ن	n	ڑھ	<u>rh</u>
پ	p	س	s	ں	ṇ	کھ	<u>kh</u>
ت	t	ش	sh	و	w/v	گھ	<u>gh</u>
ٹ	t	ص	ṣ	ھ	h		
ث	th	ض	ḍ/ẓ	ء	'	Long vowels	
ج	j	ط	ṭ	ی	ī/y	ا	ā
چ	ch	ظ	ẓ	ے	yy	آ	ā
ح	ḥ	ع	‘a/‘u	بھ	<u>bh</u>		
خ	kh	غ	gh	پھ	<u>ph</u>	ی	ī
د	d	ف	f	تھ	<u>th</u>	و	ū
ڈ	ḍ	ق	q	ٹھ	<u>th</u>	و	ō
ذ	dh	ک	k	جھ	<u>jh</u>	ے	ē
ر	r	گ	g	چھ	<u>ch</u>		

Diphthongs

Doubled

Arabic ay (Shaykh)

ئ iyy

ی Persian ai (Fawaid)

(Nizamiyyah)

Urdu ai (Rais)

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Daras Wālī Masjid</i>	34
<i>Hujrah</i> of Bābā Farīd at Jerusalem	36
<i>Masjid-i-Hajj</i>	44
Map of Pākpattan	49
Grave of ‘Abdullah (Bāl Nā <u>th</u>)	54
Grave of ‘Abdullah Shah Nūrī	61
Shrine of Shaykh ‘Abdullah	62

GLOSSARY

<i>ahādīth</i> (sing. <i>hadīth</i>)	what Muslims believe to be the record of the words, actions, and the silent approval of the Last Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.W.), a narrative record of the sayings or customs of the Last Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.W.) and his companions, the collective body of traditions relating to Last Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.W.) and his companions.
<i>‘aqībat</i>	Hereafter, the life after death
<i>asma al- husna</i>	names of ALLAH
<i>‘ābid</i>	an Arabic word which mean a man who kept himself busy in worship
<i>ādhān</i>	public call or prayer summons to prayer
<i>āfsu</i>	It is a Persian word used for magic
<i>ahl-i-bātin</i>	people (Ṣufīs, saints) who have esoteric knowledge and a specific spiritual level
<i>ahl-i- zāhir</i>	those who have exoteric knowledge
<i>‘ālam</i>	physical world
<i>‘ālim</i> (pl. <i>‘ulema’</i>)	religious scholar
<i>‘amil</i>	revenue minister
<i>amīr</i>	official, minister or member of ruling class
<i>ansār</i>	the noble Companions of the Beloved Prophet Muhammad (PBHU) from the inhabitants of Madīnah who embraced and supported Islam
<i>‘arīf</i>	'one who knows' the knowledge of the self, the gnostic, the knower
<i>‘asā</i>	wooden stick
<i>ashraf</i>	the better one, or the rich or pious one
<i>aūrād</i> (sing. <i>wird</i>)	chanting specific words recommended by Shaykh or a spiritual personality

<i>ayah</i>	The smallest unit of the Qur'an. Ayat are joined together into Surah of different size, namely chapters.
<i>bābā</i>	a wandering preacher; an elder-spiritual advisor
<i>bacha</i>	child
<i>baraka</i>	holiness, goodness as spiritual power; spiritual power of the pir (Master), Blessing, grace.
<i>bay‘at</i>	oath of allegiance for initiation
<i>chabūtarah-i-yārān</i>	a mound where the companions of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ were buried
<i>chillah</i>	forty days fast and practice of retreat.
<i>chillah-i-ma‘kus</i>	inverted <i>chillah</i>
<i>dargah</i>	shrine of a Ṣufī preceptor or a religious figure
<i>dārūgha</i>	governor or sometime used as in charge of police
<i>darwaish</i>	It is usually having two meaning saint, pir, a member of the Ṣufī community and second as <i>faqīr</i> or beggar
<i>dēlah</i>	a wild fruit using as a vegetable
<i>dhikr</i> (pl. <i>adhkār</i>)	Literal meaning of <i>dhikr</i> is mentioning or repeating while in Islamic <i>sharī‘ah</i> and in Sufism it used as chanting ALLAH’s name, verses of Holy Qurān or <i>aurad</i> etc.
<i>dīnār</i>	a gold coin, a currency
<i>dīwān</i>	collection of poetry
<i>dīwān</i>	title of medieval India for minister or governor
<i>dīwāna</i>	mad
<i>d‘uā</i>	a request addressed to ALLAH, a prayer
<i>duniyā</i>	the world
<i>‘eīd</i>	Muslim festival that celebrated two time in a year. First after the holy month of Ramḍān, and second on the 10 th of the Dhal Hajjah.

<i>fajr</i>	morning prayer
<i>faqīr</i> (plur. <i>fuqarā</i>)	poor man, or a Ṣufī living poor life, a synonym for <i>darwaish</i>
<i>faqr</i>	poverty
<i>fanā'</i>	nonexistence, in Sufism the concept of a mystic's dissolution into God.
<i>Fanā' fi-shaykh</i>	first stage of <i>fanā'</i> , dissolution into the Master.
<i>farai'd</i>	Mandatory, obligatory
<i>fatwā</i>	legal verdict given by a muftī or judge
<i>ganj</i>	treasury
<i>ghaib</i>	unknown, unable to see
<i>haqīr</i>	inferior
<i>halal</i>	permissible, allowed.
<i>haram</i>	prohibited
<i>haqīqa</i>	true, real existence or complete attainment of truth
<i>hūr</i>	beautiful woman in the paradise
<i>hujrah</i>	a small apartment in which a Shaykh will do his spiritual practices
<i>iftār</i>	breaking fast
<i>khader</i>	God's legendary saint, who appears before seekers and directs them to God
<i>iblīs</i>	devil
<i>imām</i>	a prayer leader; the head of the Muslim religious community
<i>'ishā</i>	night prayer
<i>'ishaq</i>	love, divine love.
<i>'ishaq-i-haqīqī</i>	true love with ALLAH or with preceptor
<i>istikharah</i>	it is a prayer to seek guidance from God

<i>jāgīr</i>	agricultural land
<i>jalāl</i>	dignity, greatness, glory – the active principle of masculine energy in Sufism
<i>jamāl</i>	beauty, grace
<i>ḡhamrati</i>	a special brand of cloth
<i>jam ‘āt khānah</i>	madrasah, or educational center of the Chishtī Shaykhs where both the guests and the students studied and stayed
<i>jihād</i>	an effort, fighting for faith
<i>jōgī</i>	an ascetic hindu
<i>kāfir</i>	non-muslim
<i>kalām</i>	poetry
<i>karama</i>	miracles of saint
<i>khalīfah</i>	spiritual successor of the Shaykh
<i>khalāfat nāmah</i>	An approval letter of the preceptor for khalāfat
<i>khānqāh</i>	dwelling of Ṣufīs
<i>khatīb</i>	person who deliver sermon in the mosque
<i>khirqah</i>	lit., sack-clothes, robe of the Ṣufī
<i>khwājah</i>	title for Ṣufī Shaykh
<i>kotwāl</i>	title of official used in medieval India for the in charge of police
<i>lungar</i>	public food
<i>madrasah</i>	college of learning
<i>maghreb</i>	evening prayer
<i>majdhūb</i>	one who is totally attracted/highly absorbed in God's contemplation and sometimes does not wear cloth, or lost senses in love of ALLAH
<i>ma‘azah</i>	miracle of a prophet

<i>malāmatī</i>	lit., the blameworthy, the name for a mystic-ascetic movement
<i>maqām-i-shōq</i>	place of appreciation
<i>ma‘rifa</i>	mystic intuitive knowledge; mystic gnosis; true knowledge of God
<i>maulānā</i>	lit., our Master, an honorable title of outstanding Şufī Teachers
<i>maulvī</i>	‘ <i>alim</i> or a religious scholar
<i>mōmin</i>	a religious muslim
<i>mu‘adhan</i>	a man who call the people for prayer five time a day
<i>muftī</i>	theologian having the authority to issue verdict
<i>makrūh</i>	impermissible
<i>murīd</i>	disciple
<i>mustahab</i>	the liked one
<i>nabī, (plur. Anbiya)</i>	a prophet
<i>nahīf</i>	beggar
<i>naib</i>	deputy
<i>nafs</i>	inner self, ego; carnal soul,
<i>namāz/salāt</i>	muslim prayer, repeated five time a day
<i>nūr</i>	light; the concept of divine light as of manifestation of God's truth
<i>order</i>	<i>silsilah</i> or a Şufī community, as a rule, orders are named after their founders
<i>pīlu</i>	a wild fruit
<i>pīr</i>	Shaykh or a preceptor
<i>qawwālī</i>	<i>samā‘</i> or devotional music
<i>qawwāl</i>	singers of qawwali
<i>qādī</i>	a Muslim judge

<i>qutab/ghauth</i>	highest rank in the hierarchy of Islamic sainthood
<i>rajā or maharajā</i>	title of Hindu rulers or kings
<i>rak‘at</i>	a union of movement and word formula in ritual prayer (namaz).
<i>ramḍān</i>	the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, month of fasting
<i>rasūl ALLAH</i>	the messenger of God, the prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>riyāḍat</i>	meditation
<i>sajjādah nashīn</i>	custodian of the Ṣufī or Pir’s shrine
<i>sālik</i>	salik is a person who engaged in Islamic spiritual path or Sufism. The word derived from arabic word suluk, which means to walk a (spiritual) path (to God)
<i>salām</i>	greeting
<i>salāt al-tarawih</i>	a prayer offered during the month of Ramḍān)
<i>samā‘</i>	lit. hearing, devotional Ṣufī music
<i>shaitān</i>	devil
<i>shakar</i>	brown sugar
<i>sharī‘ah</i>	liter. Legislation, generally set of Islamic laws based upon the Qurān and tradition of Holy Prophet (PBUH)
<i>shaykh</i> (pl. <i>mashāikh</i>)	spiritual master, head of a Ṣufī <i>khānqāh</i> ; the one, who is authorized to give initiations in the <i>silsilah</i>
<i>shalōk</i>	hymns in Punjābī poetry
<i>shērbat</i>	sweet water preparing with sugar
<i>shirk</i>	polytheism
<i>sidrat al-muntaha</i>	a holy tree on the seventh heaven which is also marked as the boundary between ALLAH Almighty and his creatures and no one is allowed to cross that boundary
<i>silsilah</i>	spiritual transmission from the Master to his disciple

<i>Ṣufī</i>	a follower of the mystical path,
<i>sultān</i>	title of Muslim king or ruler
<i>sunnah</i>	the samples of behavior taught by the Prophet Muhammad.
<i>surah</i>	a division of the Qurān. The Qurān consists of 114 surah of different size
<i>t‘awīd</i>	an amulet
<i>tabi‘īn</i>	successors of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>tafsīr</i>	exegesis of Qurān
<i>takbīr</i>	praising of ALLAH before starting prayer
<i>tanka</i>	name of currency during medieval India
<i>tarīqah</i>	the path, the name for the Ṣufī path; a mystic methodology
<i>taṣawwuf</i>	Sufism or mysticism
<i>tawwakal</i>	complete trust in the will of ALLAH, reliance upon the will of ALLAH alone
<i>tayy</i>	minimum three days fast that break with water and dates
<i>tawbah</i>	repentance
<i>‘ummah</i>	followers of Holy Prophet (PBUH) or the Muslim community
<i>‘urs</i>	annual festival at a Ṣufī shrine commemorating the death anniversary of a ṣufī
<i>walī (pl. awliyā’)</i>	standing close to God, a friend of God, a saint.
<i>wālī</i>	governor
<i>wazīfa (pl. wazāif)</i>	daily service and worship; in Sufism, name of a special exercise (practice of concentration).
<i>wudu</i>	ablution or to wash your hand mouth and feet before the prayer

<i>zakat</i>	lit. purifying, paying 2.5 % on the annual income, one of the five pillars of Islam
<i>zuhd</i>	abstention, repudiation or ascetic

INTRODUCTION

Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan (d. 1236) popularly known as Khwājah Gharīb Nawāz introduced Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. It flourished under Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and his eminent *khulafā’* (sing. *khalīfah*) such as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī (d.1235) and Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī (d.1274). Later, the responsibility as a head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* was shifted to Shaykh Farīd al Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar popularly known as Bābā Farīd, who was the chief *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī. The Chishtīyyah *silsilah* attained its apogee under Bābā Farīd and his *khulafā’*. Bābā Farīd also became famous as Ganj-i-Shakar (treasury of sugar), however, Khwājah Nizām al- Dīn Awliyā’ (d.1325), the chief *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd, did not mention this title in his *Malfūzāt* entitled *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Durr-i-Nizāmī*. Paradoxically, the majority of the other contemporary and near-contemporary sources such as *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*, *Lataif-i-Asharafī*, *Nafahāt al-Ans*, *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn* and *Majālis al-Hasanah* have mentioned this title. His ancestors were Arabs from the respectable Quraish tribe. They migrated to Central Asia, and later to Afghānistān. Qādī Shu‘aīb, the grandfather of Bābā Farīd came into South Asia during the 1150s A.D. and settled in the village named Kathōwāl, near Multān (currently in Province Punjab, Pākistān). Bābā Farīd was born in the same village in 1174 A.D.

Bābā Farīd got his early education from his mother, Qursam Bībī, who was a very pious. At eighteen, he went to Multān for further education, and got enrolled in the mosque *madrassah* of Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī, who was a popular theologian of Multān at that

time. Bābā Farīd's first encounter with his preceptor (Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī) occurred in the same mosque.¹

Salient features of Bābā Farīd's life and teachings are balanced approaches toward creed, faith and religion. Moreover, his philosophy of liberalism and humanism distinguishes him in Sufism. Another significant feature of Bābā Farīd's life was his arduous meditations. From the very beginning he kept himself busy in tough meditation, fasting and renunciation of worldly desires as well. His famous *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*² (*chillah* hanging upside-down over a well), which is said to be a Hindu practice, characterizes his rational approach towards religion. Moreover, he accepted *bay'at* (initiation) of non-Muslim devotees without converting them to Islam. In addition, he also had a good knowledge of Hinduism. So, Hindu mystics frequently consulted him in his *Jamā't Khānah* (hospice). Due to his scholarly level and humanistic approach, he became popular in the Hindu community. One of his successors, Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān Chishtī, declared Hinduism to be a divine religion and translated the *Bhagavat-Gītā* and some of the *Upanishads* into Persian. Bābā Farīd went a step ahead to allow emperors to visit him which was not allowed by his predecessors Mashaikh (sing. Shaykh). He had a good taste for poetry. Contemporary sources describe some of his Persian, Punjābī and Arabic verses. The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* preserved his Punjābī verses. But that is a controversial issue as some scholars argue that these verses belong to one of his *sajjādah nashīns* named Ibrāhīm Farīd II (d. 1575). Despite differences between Chishtīyah and Suhrwardīyyah *salāsils* (sing.

¹Amīr Khūrd, Sayed Muhammad bin Mubārak 'Alawī Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, ed. Chiranjī Lāl (Delhi: Muhib-i Hindi Press, 1302 AH/1885AD), 60-61.

²*Chillah-i-Ma'kus* is not an Islamic practice, though Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' averred that the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did that practice (Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 40). However, there is no tradition of Holy Prophet (PBUH) in any book which endorses that practice. It is a Hindu practice used to purify one's carnal self.

silsilah) on matters pertaining to the state, the *samā'* and relations with common people, Bābā Farīd not only developed but strengthened cordial relations with Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah* and its chief Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā (d.1262). Bābā Farīd died on October 17, 1265 (Muharram 05, 664 A.H.) and is buried in Pākpatan, then Ajōdhan. Prominent *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd were Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī (d.1260), Khwājah Najīb-al-Dīn Mutawwakil (d.1261), 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir (d.1291), Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq Delhwī (d.1291) and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 1325).

A handsome amount of hagiography has been produced on the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* of South Asia in general and Bābā Farīd in particular. During the fourteen-century literature on relations of the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* with state administration was also produced by different historians. The available literature on Bābā Farīd in general can be divided into *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*.

The present study judges the consistency of information provided in contemporary sources including *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Shamā'il al-Atiqiyā*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Lataif-i-Asharafi* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Although, these sources are considered reliable, they do not contain the complete aspects of biography of Bābā Farīd. To fill the gap near-contemporary sources such as *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and *Siyar al-Aqtāb* were compiled during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some historians considered *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* as unreliable source due to presence of some legends regarding life of Bābā Farīd. However, 'Alī Asghar referred to *Gulshan-i-Awliyā'* for compilation of some irrational anecdotes. *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* highlighted many important aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd that are not found in

contemporary and near-contemporary sources. It is pertinent to mention that ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī consulted more sources to compile his biography as compared to other sources produced during 16th-18th centuries. The eighteenth to twentieth centuries also witness some remarkable hagiography on Bābā Farīd. Some of these hagiographers also discussed the authenticity of the previous literature. The premier work to authenticate hagiographical reports was initiated by Shaykh Muhammed Akram Barāshawī in his compilation *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. Mirzā ‘Abdul Sattār’s *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn* was also a great effort in this regard. Similarly, K.A Nizami presented a systematic account entitled *The Life and Time of Shaikh Farīd U’D Din Ganj-i-Shakar* about the authenticity of hagiography on Bābā Farīd. Furthermore, Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl has also tried to identify the reliable sources about the life and teachings of the great Shaykh.

Malḡūẓāt: (The collection of discussions and conversations of the Shaykh) is plural of *malḡūẓ* which means spoken words. The *malḡūẓāt*-writings attained popularity through *Fawāid al-Fuād*, (conversations of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn) compiled by Amīr Hassan Sijzī (d. 1335).³ *Fawāid al-Fuād* is deemed the most accurate source among the other *Malḡūẓāt* about Bābā Farīd. Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d.1340) *Malḡūẓāt* including *Ghara’ib al-Karāmāt*, *Nafa’is al-Anfās*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* collected by Majd al-Dīn Kāshānī, Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī and Hamād bin ‘Ammād Kāshānī (d.1337) respectively, are significant sources which shared a plenitude of information about Bābā Farīd. *Durr-i-Niẓāmī* is another *Malḡūẓāt* of Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ compiled by ‘Alī bin Mahmūd Jāndār. It is an important source regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd. *Khayr al-Majālis*; conversations of Shaykh

³Tanvir Anjum, *Chishtī Ṣūfīs in the Sultanate of Delhi (1190-1400)* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24.

Nasīr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī (d.1356) compiled by Maulānā Hamīd Qalandar (d.1366) described an Abundance of information about Bābā Farīd. The next important *Malḡūzāt* is the *Jawām‘al-Kalim*, which is conversations of Sayed Muhammad al-Hussain popularly known as Bandah Nawāz Gēsū Darāz (‘He of the Long Hair, Helper of his Friends’; d.1422), compiled by his son Sayed Akbar al-Hussainī. This is another very important source which shared different accounts of Bābā Farīd. These *Malḡūzāt* are not only primary sources for the study of Sufism in South Asia, but also a fine source of information regarding the social and cultural history of medieval India. *Tadhkirāt* (sing. *tadhkira*) means Ṣufīs’ biographies written by hagiographers. In addition to the *Malḡūzāt*, Chishtī disciples also started to pen down *tadhkirāt* during the fourteenth century. *Siyar al-Awliyā’* is considered the first biography of the Chishtī Ṣufīs of India was compiled by Sayed Muhammad bin Mubārak ‘Alawī Kirmānī, popularly known as Amīr Khūrd (period of compilation 1351-68 A.D.) the grandfather of Amīr Khūrd, named Sayed Muhammed Kirmānī, was an eminent disciple of Bābā Farīd, who served his Shaykh for eighteen years. His father, Sayed Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Kirmānī, also remained in the company of Bābā Farīd in adolescence. Amīr Khūrd himself was the disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. In compiling the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* he obtained information from his elders and spiritual mentors. This book remained a central source of information for later compilations. The second phase (16th-18th centuries) of *tadhkirāt* literature regarding Bābā Farīd is very difficult to review. In this era both constructive and adverse developments have been seen. There was positive development in a sense that some very systematic biographies were produced, while negative change means that legends and fabrications have also been added in the biography of Bābā Farīd in the same period. The most remarkable work of that period is the *Siyar al-‘Arīḡīn* which was written by Hāmīd bin Faḍalullah Jamālī (d.1536) in

1535. It is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd and other Chishtī and Suhwardī Shaykhs of medieval India. Jamālī himself was an intellectual Ṣufī who visited many Chishtī Ṣufīs and *sajjādah nashīns* of various hospice to collect information. To elaborate on Bābā Farīd and others Chishtī Ṣufīs, Jamālī relied on the above mentioned *Malfūzāt* and *Siyar al-Awliyā*. However, *Malfūzāt* such as *Dalīl al-ʿĀrifīn*, *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā* were either inaccessible or deemed unreliable by Jamālī. Like *Siyar al-Awliyā*, *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn* has also won an essential position in the academia regarding the constructive research on Bābā Farīd. *Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans* of Laʿal Baig Laʿalī written in 1592, discusses Bābā Farīd in detail and shares reliable information. Similarly, *Akhhār al-Akhyār* of Shaykh ʿAbdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī (d.1641) is another worthwhile work completed in either 1590 or 1618. A major difference between Jamālī’s and Shaykh ʿAbdul Haq Muhadith’s works is that the later frequently consulted *Dalīl al-ʿĀrifīn*. Additionally, ʿAbdul Haq Muhadith relied mainly on *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā* while discussing Bābā Farīd. The *Gulzār-i-Abrār* compiled by Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī in 1613, is another important source of the seventeenth century. He has given due importance to the descendants and *khulafā* of Bābā Farīd while briefly discussing Bābā Farīd. *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, compiled in 1623 by ʿAlī Asghar Chishtī, it is another important source. However, some legends have also been found in that work. *Siyar al-Aqtāb* of Allah Diyā Chishtī completed in 1646-47, is another comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd and other prominent Chishtī Ṣufīs of medieval India.

Shaykh ʿAbdul Rahmān in his book *Mirāt al-Asrār* (1654) discussed at length Islamic Ṣufīs including Bābā Farīd. While discussing Bābā Farīd the author referred to the *Siyar al-Awliyā* in the majority cases. Similarly, he also consulted the *Malfūzāt* entitled *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā*. The *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah*

Qūdsīyyah of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Barnāwī is another important source which discusses Bābā Farīd as well as other early Chishtī Ṣūfīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. Sayed Muhammad Bulāq who wrote two books, the *Matlūb al-Tālibīn* and the *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*, briefly discussed Bābā Farīd and his descendants. The author relied on the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and the *Siyar al-‘Arīfīn*.

Among the eighteenth-century hagiographical compendia, the first credible work regarding Bābā Farīd is *Iqtibās al-Anwār* written by Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī in 1729. It gives a brief survey of all the prominent saints of Islam from the Holy Prophet Haḍrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H) up to the seventeenth century. Moreover, a detailed account on Chishtī Ṣūfīs is present in the book with special focus on Bābā Farīd. The author consulted both *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* while discussing Bābā Farīd. The *Muftah al-Karāmāt* of Khwājah Muhammad Fādal, written in 1703, briefly discusses Bābā Farīd. Another important work with respect to Bābā Farīd is the *Akhhbār al-Jamāl* completed in 1740. Similarly, Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf al-Hussainī al-Wāstī Balgharāmī Delhwī’s *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj wa Salās al-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār* completed in 1745 is another source worth mentioning containing concise information about Bābā Farīd. *Shajrat al-Anwār* of Maulānā Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhri is a biography of Chishtī saints in which the author discusses Bābā Farīd in detail. The *Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’* of Qādī Sayed Imām al-Dīn Hassan completed in 1798 is a detailed biography of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan in which the author also discusses Bābā Farīd pithily.

A similarity between the literature of the nineteenth and sixteenth centuries is that a small number of *tadhkirāt* were compiled regarding Bābā Farīd as compared to other centuries. Khwājah Gul Muhammad Ahmad Purī’s *Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā’* compiled in 1815, shared brief information about Bābā Farīd. Hājī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī’s *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn* completed in 1861, is another important source

regarding the biography Bābā Farīd. However, the most distinguished intellectual of that period was Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī who was a Suhrwardī as well as a Chishtī Ṣufī. Ghulām Sarwar produced numerous works on Sufism, biographies, theology, history and geography. His masterpieces regarding *tadhkirāt* literature are *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* and *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* written in 1864 and 1875, respectively. In the *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* the author discusses Bābā Farīd in detail, while in the *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* he provides brief information about the great Shaykh.

The historians of twentieth century also paid tribute to Bābā Farīd by writing and critically analyzing his life and spiritual attributes. During this century massive and important literature was produced about the life, philosophy and poetry of Bābā Farīd as compared to previous centuries. Moreover, one of the main characteristics of 20th century's literature is in depth axiological approach towards Chishtī literature. In this regard numerous efforts have been made to analysis the authenticity of the early Chishtī *Malḡūzāt*. Furthermore, attempts have also been made to identify different hagiographers who added legends to the biography of Bābā Farīd. Similarly, entry of non-Muslim historians who compiled hagiographical compendia related to Bābā Farīd is another significant attribute of 20th century hagiographical literature. Another major feature of biographers in the twentieth century is that like the seventeenth century's hagiographers they also tried to explore new dimensions of life of Bābā Farīd. This century's hagiographer also introduced dedicated biographies of Bābā Farīd only.

1- Statement of the Problem:

The study discovers the relationship between the history or facts and the myths in hagiographical literature related to Bābā Farīd. The prime aim of the study is to present a systematic, objective and impartial understanding or picture about Bābā Farīd and to identify the importance of hagiographical literature produced from previous seven centuries.

2- Hypothesis:

Factual portrayal of Bābā Farīd is presented by the contemporary and near-contemporary hagiographical literature. Legends and fabrications regarding Bābā Farīd were incorporated during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3-Scope and Significance of the Study/Research:

Chronologically the present study covers hagiographical literature on Bābā Farīd that encompasses previous seven centuries (13th-20th centuries). The compilations on Bābā Farīd started after his death and till 1970 are discussed and critically reviewed. This research is unique in many instances such as its scope which comprises of massive hagiographical literature regarding Bābā Farīd. Besides the evaluation of maximum available data and discoveries of numerous sources yet unknown, this research has also discovered many new dynamics about Bābā Farīd's life including his literary activities, the authenticity of early Chishtī *Malfūzāt*, his Punjabi, Persian and Arabic verses (in contemporary sources), the extinct literature produced by the Shaykh himself, his grandsons and *khulafā*, and which particular sources lost their smaller or larger part of text. Moreover, it attempts to compare his philosophy and poetry in available contemporary sources. Similarly, it highlights some undiscovered aspects of his family

such as his brothers and their offspring, identification of some important graves at his shrine, and his hospice of Jerusalem. It also attempts to identify the fabrications and legends added into his biographies from time to time. Further, it explores and delves deeper into his liberalism and rationality.

The Chishtīyyah *silsilah* is popular Şufī *silsilah* of Indo-Pāk subcontinent and Bābā Farīd is one of the famous Chishtī Şufīs. There is a plethora of literature available on the life of Bābā Farīd. The historians have focused on Bābā Farīd's life and teachings in different ways. Some hagiographers have produced biographical works while others have compiled works on Indian Sufism that partly focuses Bābā Farīd. It is important to mention that chronological and empirical analysis of hagiographical literature on Bābā Farīd compiled in pervious centuries was required. The present study fills this gap and it would thus be a valuable source for theoretical and practical approaches about hagiographical literature on Bābā Farīd in future. The study also identifies the writers who tried to present factual portrayal of Bābā Farīd. This is a distinctive study which classifies valid and legendary information about Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn.

4- Review of the Literature:

There is a plethora of literature available which discusses the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. In this regard 'Abdul Hakīm Rastaqī produced a work entitled *Bahār-i-Afghānī* (1932) which provides valuable information about Bābā Farīd. However, the author did not consult majority of contemporary and early-contemporary sources. Muhammad Habib's *Chishtī Mystic Records of Sultanate Period* (1941) is almost the first attempt to critically evaluate the authenticity of the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd and his predecessor preceptors. The author declared *Anīs al-Arwāh*, *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Asrār*

al-Awliyā' and *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* as created *Malfūzāt*. However, the judgement of the author is debatable.

John A. Subhan's *Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India* (1938) is another work which discusses Bābā Farīd concisely. Besides Bābā Farīd the author has also discussed origin of Sufism, earlier Ṣufīs and development in Sufism, the gnosis, *tarīqah*, (path) and Ṣufīs practices. However, some legends and fabrications have been found in Subhan's work.

Sayed Sabah al-Dīn 'Abdul Rahmān's *Bazm-i-Ṣufiyah* (1949) discusses almost all the popular saints of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent of Sultanate period, primarily focused Bābā Farīd. Another renowned scholar, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, has produced several books on the Chishtī Ṣufī order. These are like *The Life and Time of Shaykh Farīd Ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar* (1955), *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century* (1961) and *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht* (1980). The first work is an excellent and all-inclusive biography of Bābā Farīd which discusses almost all the prominent aspects of the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. The author has also scrupulously examined the authentic and fabricated sources regarding Bābā Farīd. However, he did not consult some eminent sources such as *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* and *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Lataif-i-Asharaḥī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and *Samarāt al-Qudūs*. The second work examines the relationship between the Ṣufīs and the ruling elite, while third one is a research-oriented study on the *samā'*, short biographies of Chishtī Ṣufīs and the role of their shrines.

Dr. Zahoor al-Hassan Sharab's *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind* (1961) is very remarkable work that discusses prominent Ṣufīs of South Asia from 13th -19th centuries. The author discusses the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd but unlike K. A. Nizami did

not consult numerous contemporary and early contemporary sources. Sharab in many cases relies on seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' literature. Moreover, he also compiled another biography of Bābā Farīd entitled *Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar* (1994) which is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd as compare to his former work.

Ijaz al-Haq Qudusi's *Haḍrat 'Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa T'alīmāt* (1961) and *Tadhkira Ṣufīyah Punjāb* (1962) are other monumental works which deals with Bābā Farīd in general and Shaykh 'Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī in particular. The former book is a detailed biography of Shaykh 'Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī, but it also discusses the medieval Chishtī saints including Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd and Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar pithily. The later work is an encyclopedia of the Ṣufīs of Punjāb which provides detailed information about Bābā Farīd in contrast to the former work. However, the author has skipped the *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd. In the both works he has consult contemporary hagiographical literature and literature of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.

Abū'l Hassan 'Alī Nadwī's *Tārīkh-i-Da'wat-o-'Azīmat*'s (3rd volume, 1963) is another very informative work. The author has briefly discussed Bābā Farīd, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī Ajmerī. He has skipped early life of Bābā Farīd, role of his mother, the problem faced by Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, his teachings as well as the *sajjādah nashīns* (he discusses only first two *sajjādah nashīns*). While talking about the access to data regarding Bābā Farīd, the author skipped the majority of the literature (both primary and secondary sources) and heavily relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

Again, *Anwār al-Farīd* (1965) is a remarkable work of Khwājah Muslim Nizami that throws light on different aspects of Bābā Farīd's life. But the author failed to get access to some eminent contemporary and early-contemporary sources such as the *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Lataif -i-Asharāfī*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* and the *Samarāt al-Qudūs*. He relies heavily on the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and the *Khayr al-Majālis*. The author proclaimed Bābā Farīd was not a Punjābī Poet which is debatable. Another important work on Bābā Farīd is Gurbachan Singh Tālib's *Bābā Shaykh Farīd Shakar Ganj* (1974), which is a thorough study of Bābā Farīd. The author elaborates on major aspects of Bābā Farīd which is love, harmony and peace. However, there are some major and minor mistakes have been found in that book such as the author's proclaimed family of Bābā Farīd migrated from Central Asia during the Mongol upheaval. Similarly, he proclaimed that Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan took shelter in Ajmer due to the Mongol incursion which is also far from the fact as the Shaykh migrated some almost thirty years before the invasion of Mongols. Likewise, the author did not provide information about the household of Bābā Farīd, his descendants, wives, *sajjādah nashīns* and problems faced by Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan. Likewise, among the numerous contemporary and near-contemporary sources the author consulted only Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. He has heavily relied on *Siyar al-Aqtāb*.

Another scholarly biography of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar is B.S Anand's *Bābā Farīd* (1975). That work contains the philosophy of Bābā Farīd. Moreover, the author also described origin of the word Ṣūfī and historical evolution of Sufism. He briefly discusses the life of Bābā Farīd and focuses on his poetry (Bābā Farīd as poet of *sharī'ah* and the *tarīqah*) and his teachings. The author has consulted primary and

secondary works; however, he has failed to accurately interpret the itineraries of the Shaykh.

Another monumental biography of Bābā Farīd is Capt. Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl's *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar* (third edition, 1983). It is a systematic and research-oriented work and a comprehensive biography in which the author discusses each aspect of the life of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. He also discusses the authenticity of *tadhkirāt* and *Malfūzāt* regarding Bābā Farīd.

‘Alam Faqrī, a well-known intellectual published, many works on Sufism. Regarding Bābā Farīd, he produced two works entitled *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pākistān* vol.1 (1987) and *Shān-i-Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar* (1996). The former book deals with prominent Ṣūfīs which are buried in Pākistān. However, in *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pākistān* vol.1 the author does not mention the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, his early life, relationship with the state and his *sajjādah nashīns*, and shares little information about the family and *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd. There are some minor mistakes such as the date of birth and death of Bābā Farīd mentioned as 574 A.H. and 670 A.H, respectively, which are in fact 569 A.H/1174 A.D. and 664 A.H/ 1265 A.D., respectively. *Shān-i-Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar* is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author has shared sufficient information about the topics he had skipped in the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pākistān* vol.1, regarding Bābā Farīd.

Athar Abbas Rizvi (1921-1994) has produced a monumental work entitled *A History of Sufism in India*. (Vol. 1, 1978, Vol. 2, 1983). This work deals with the four major Ṣūfī orders including the Chishtīyyah, Suhrawardīyyah, Kubravīyyah, and Firdūsīyyah. He briefly discusses Bābā Farīd in the first volume.

Abū Maẓhar ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī Sābirī produced another work entitled *Shamīm al-Walāyat* (1993). The book has forty-one chapters and discusses almost all the prominent Chishtī saints from the 8th-18th centuries. The author discusses Bābā Farīd in detail. While discussing the wives and children of Bābā Farīd he relies on *Asrār-i-‘Atrat-i-Farīdī* which is not a reliable source regarding the matrimonial life and children of the great Shaykh.

Muslim Saints of South Asia: The Eleven to Fifteen Centuries (1999), written by Anna Suvorova, is a reliable, informative and explanatory source about Bābā Farīd. The author briefly discusses the authenticity of her sources, itineraries and legends of Bābā Farīd and Bābā Farīd as a poet. She discusses almost all the popular Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The *Malḡūzāt Adab Ki Tārīkhī Ahammiyat* (1995), written by Muhammad Aslam, is another important study which analysis twenty-nine *Malḡūzāt* of different Ṣufī *mashaikh* of various *salāsīl*.

Dr. Maimin ‘Abdul Majid Sindhi’s *Pākistān Main Ṣufiana Tahrīken* (2000) is a reliable study which covers socio-religious aspects of Bābā Farīd’s life. N. Hanif produced the *Biographical Encyclopedia of Ṣufīs (South Asia)* (2000) which provides a brief sketch about the life of Bābā Farīd. Yet the author has not shared any information about the early life, travels, life at Delhī, Hānsī and Ajōdhan of Bābā Farīd. It primarily focused on the poetry of Bābā Farīd preserved in the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Similarly, Masood Ali Khān and S. Ram’s *Encyclopedia of Sufism* (2003) is another monumental work on Sufism. It has twelve volumes; volume one, four and five deals with the Chishtī Ṣufī order. In volume five the author discusses the character and achievements of Bābā Farīd.

Other important works include Sayyad Hossein Nasr's *Encyclopedia of Spirituality* (2000) and Anne Marie Schimel's, (*Hilal-i Imtiaz*; 1922-2003), *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (2003). The former comprises two well researched volumes that are of great importance for anyone working on Sufism, but which lack a detailed study of Bābā Farīd. The same is true of the late Professor Schimel's work which, though equally remarkable, shares only brief information about Bābā Farīd.

Dr. Khalid Parvez's *Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* (2005) is another important biography of Bābā Farīd. The author described the life of Bābā Farīd in quite an eloquent way. Dr. Zāhoor Ahmad Aẓhar's *Ma'ārif-i-Farīdīā* (2005) is another important work. The author not only discusses the poetry of Bābā Farīd but also provides a concise biography. Zāhoor Ahmad Aẓhar declared Bābā Farīd as pioneer of democracy in Punjab as he nominated Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' as his successors. Moreover, he argued that Bābā Farīd was the founder of Şufī Poetry in South Asia, and founder of Punjābī Şufī poetry, first Sahib Dīwān poet of Punjābī and founder of Urdu poetry. Farida Khanam produced biographical work entitled *Sufism: An Introduction* (2006) is another good effort to discuss the history of South Asian Sufism. The book deals with the origin of Sufism, its formative phase, development of Sufism, the meditation as well as the prominent Şufīs of South Asia. While talking about Bābā Farīd the author like B.S Anand concentrated on the philosophy of Bābā Farīd. She skipped many important aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd such as the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, his childhood, travels, life at Delhī and Hānsī and Ajōdhan as well as his *sajjādah nashīns*. Likewise, she has also skipped why Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar? The author relies on authentic primary sources while discussing Bābā Farīd. Dr. Muftī Diya al-Habib Sābirī's *Nasab wa Nisbat Farīd* (2006) is genealogical work which claimed that Bābā Farīd was a descendant of 'Alī bin Abi Tālib (d.661),) rather than 'Umar bin

Khattāb (d. 644). Abū Ahmad Ghulām Hassan Awaisi Qadiri's *Hayāt al-Farīd* (2007) is another comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd. The book has twelve chapters. They deal with different aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd. The author in the majority of cases relies on contemporary sources, especially on the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd. Besides the life and philosophy of the great Shaykh, the author also described the *aūrād* and *wazāif* of Bābā Farīd in detail. Saadia Delhwī's *Sufism The Heart of Islam* (2009) is another informative work regarding Sufism; the author has discussed the eminent Ṣūfīs orders and their Ṣūfīs. She concisely discussed Bābā Farīd, relying on contemporary sources.

Zahid Aslam Afghan's *Piyār ka Piyambar* (2009) is another biography of Bābā Farīd. The book has thirty-one chapters. The central argument of that work is that the world has faced three big challenges including religious fanaticism, materialism and the deadly impacts of technology (lethal weapons and atom bomb etc.) and that we can survive these challenges and saved our planet if we follow the teachings of Bābā Farīd. While discussing Bābā Farīd the author does not provide any reference. Moreover, the places of travel described by Afghān are debatable. The author does not provide any information about the *khulafā'* and offspring of Bābā Farīd. Mian Naeem Anwar Chishtī Nizami produced a monumental work entitled *Āaina-i-Ma'rifat Tadhkira Ahwāl wa Malfūzāt Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-'Alam Haḍrat Bābā Farīd Mas'ūd Ganj Shakar* (2011). It is another inclusive biography of Bābā Farīd, as well as his descendants and the *khulafā'*. A main characteristic of the book is that it describes all the *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd from Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān to current Dīwān named Mūdūd Mas'ūd and the successor Dīwān named Ahmad Mas'ūd Chishtī. The author also discusses Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), 'Alī bin Abī Tālib Hassan al-Basarī (d.110 A.H/ 728 A.D), Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. However, while discussing the sources for the compilation of

the book he did not review numerous contemporary and early-contemporary sources such as *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Niẓāmī*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Lataif-i-Asharafi*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Majma' al-Awliyā'* and *Samarāt al-Qudūs*. It is unknown that what were the reasons that author did not mention these sources in his book. It can be due to unavailability of these sources to the learned author. Arslan bin Akhtar Maiman's *Tabarukāt-i-Awliyā'* (2011) is another biography of the Ṣūfīs which discusses sixty-five prominent saints of Islam. One key importance of that book is that the author has provided pictures of the shrines of all described saints. It is a Sami-scholarly work, does not share any new information, and many chronological and factual errors have been set forth regarding Bābā Farīd, e.g. a) he mentioned the date of birth of Bābā Farīd as 584 A.H. which is 569 A.H.; b) that Bābā Farīd visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī in 602 A.H. is not accurate, c) the death of Bābā Farīd mentioned as 670 A.H. at the age of eighty-six years which is in fact is 664 A.H. at the age of ninety-five d) his justification about the title *Ganj-i-Shakar* is not valid. He does not provide any information about the forefathers, parents and matrimonial life of Bābā Farīd. Moreover, he is silent about the itineraries, *sajjādah nashīns* and *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd. The contents are not matching with the text. Describing Bābā Farīd the author heavily relies on Wahid Ahmad Mas'ūd's *Sawanih Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* and Iqbal Mujadadi's *Tadhkira 'ulema' wa Mashaikh Pāk-o-Hind*. Vol.1. and partially consulted Bābā Farīd's *Asrār al-Awliyā'* and Dārā Shikoh's *Safīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*.

Sayed Artaza 'Alī Kirmānī produced a work entitled *Sīrat Pāk Haḍrat Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd al Ma'arūf Ganj Shakar* (date not given). It is detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author also provides details about the non-Chishtī Ṣūfīs visited by Bābā Farīd during his itineraries. However, Artaza 'Alī Kirmānī has shared unreliable information

about the wives and daughters of Bābā Farīd. Moreover, unlike Naeem Anwar Chishtī, the author did not discuss the *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd.

Abū Hamza Muftī Zafar Jabbār Chishtī produced a comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd entitled *Hayāt-i-Ganj Shakar* (2012). In addition to Bābā Farīd, the author also provides enough detail about his descendants, *sajjādah nashīns* and *Khulafā’*. Moreover, the author has described different shrines at Pākpattan. Another relevant work is Muhammad Riaz Qadiri’s *Islamic Sufism: An Account of the Mysterious Lives of the Great Saints and Mystics of Islam*. Vol.3 (2012). The author describes prominent Ṣufīs of Chishtīyyah and Naqshbandīyyah *salāsīl* in that volume. Moreover, he consulted contemporary and the later sources while elaborating on Bābā Farīd.

The *Diyā-i-Farīd* (2012) is another inclusive biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by Haji Muhammad Anwar Chishtī Nizami. The book has seven chapters, and the author has consulted both primary and secondary sources. Some additional information has also been found in this work such as the year of appointment of each *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd and locations of their shrines, eminent shrines of Pākpattan and *Chillah Gahen* of Bābā Farīd. John Noyce’s *Enlightened Sufis* (2012) discusses Bābā Farīd as a poet. Moreover, his book presents brief pictures of other prominent male and female saints of Islam. His work is not a biographical account but like the *Malfūzāt* it narrates some scattered stories of these saints.

Majlis al-Madinah al- Ilmiyya (Da’wat-i-Islami) published another biography of Bābā Farīd entitled *Faiḍān-i-Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* (2015). It contains both primary and secondary sources. Nevertheless, the *Faiḍān-i-Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* skipped the *khulafā’* and *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd. Muhammad Mushin produced three biographies of Bābā Farīd including *Mairē Farīd* (2014), a short book entitled

Karāmāt-i-Ganj-i-Shakar (2013), which only described the miracles of Bābā Farīd, *Shān-i-Zuhd al-Anbiyāh* (2015) and *Haḍrat Farīd al-Dīn Lajpāl* (2016). Like Abū Ahmad Ghulam Hassan Awaisi Qadiri, Muhammad Muhsin also consulted the majority of contemporary sources and heavily relies on *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā’*. Besides these he has also consulted modern popular biographies of Bābā Farīd such as K.A Nizami’s *Life and Time of Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*, Wahid Ahmad Mas‘ūd’s *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd*, Muslim Nizami’s *Anwar al-Farīd*, Tālib Hashimi’s *Tadhkira Haḍrat Bābā Farīd* and Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl’s *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar*. However, his three biographies provide almost identical information.

5- Objectives of the Study/Research:

- 6.1- To explore the origin of the Islamic hagiography in South Asia
- 6.2- To establish the authenticity of Chishtī hagiographical literature produced from 13th to 17th centuries-India
- 6.3- To distinguish fabricated from actual primary sources of the hagiographical literature on Bābā Farīd
- 6.4- To evaluate the research oriented secondary works on Bābā Farīd
- 6.5- To present the original portrayal of Bābā Farīd

6- Research Questions:

- 7.1- What is the origin of hagiography in the Islamic world?
- 7.2- What is the historical importance of the *Malḡūzāt*?
- 7.3- How did the Chishtī *silsilah* become the dominated Ṣufī order in thirteen century south Asia?
- 7.4- How is Bābā Farīd presented in the *Malḡūzāt*?

- 7.5- What are the major differences between the portrayal of Bābā Farīd presented in the early *Malḡūzāt* and the *tadhkirāt* and why did these differences were occurred?
- 7.6- On what grounds die Muhammad Habib & Khaliq Ahmad Nizami challenge Chishtī *Malḡūzāt* and is their understanding reliable?
- 7.7- What are the main theoretical differences between Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā'-al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān?
- 7.8- Are *Malḡūzāt* related to Bābā Farīd reliable?
- 7.9- Why did researchers accept the authenticity of fourteen-century hagiographical literature?
- 7.10- What are the reasons that researchers challenged the authenticity of seventeenth century hagiographical literature?
- 7.11- What is the accurate portrayal of Bābā Farīd?

7- Research Methodology:

The methodology to be employed in this research is descriptive, factual, and analytical. The Late L. Turabian manual will be followed for citing references. The proposal, main body of research, and bibliography will also follow the instructions of that manual. The bibliography being used in this study will comprise both primary and secondary sources. The study will employ a historical approach, and use narrative, exploratory and analytical methodologies in its chapters. Similarly, in axiological terms, the study's primary objective is to explore the value and authenticity of the sources contributing to the authentication of knowledge about Bābā Farīd. There are some Arabic and Persian words that cannot be translated into English without confusion. Thus, they will be retained here. These include the terms Ṣufī, shaykh, *khalīfah*, sultān, *khānqāh*, *samā'*,

bābā, *walī*, *silsilah* and so on. The Gregorian Christian calendar as opposed to the Julian Roman calendar has been followed except in places where *Hijrah* dates are necessarily to be mentioned. In this regard, different calendar converter cites have been consulted, especially, www.islamiccity.org and www.muslimphilosophy.com/hijri. Şufī literature, especially pertains to the Chishtī *silsilah*, is usually divided in four categories: *Malfūzāt*, *Tadhkirāt*, *Dīwān*, and *Maktūbāt*. But we should note that several historians considered of many *Malfūzāt* well as numerous *tadhkirāt* as reliable.

8- Organization of the Study/Research Outlines:

The present study is divided into four chapters. After introduction the first chapter “Bābā Farīd, His Life and Philosophy” provides historical background on Bābā Farīd, his teachings and philosophy. That chapter will also primarily focus on every aspects of Bābā Farīd’s life, including as a disciple, Şufī, scholar, poet, head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, role of his *jamā’t khānah*, as well as his descendants and *sajjādah nashīns*. Furthermore, how after the death of his preceptor Bābā Farīd carried on the Chishtīyyah *silsilah*’s tradition and expanded the space of his Şufī order as well. Moreover, it tries to present an accurate and complete picture of Bābā Farīd. Likewise, an effort has also been made to critically analysis the authenticity of the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd.

The second chapter “Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Contemporary and Near-Contemporary Hagiographical Sources” studies the authentic sources from fourteen to early sixteenth centuries regarding Bābā Farīd. That chapter primarily deals with numerous contemporary *Malfūzāt* which provides scattered information about Bābā Farīd and early biographies such as *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Khazīnat i-Rahmatullah* and *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*. Similarly, an effort has also been made to explore the contemporary *Malfūzāt* which are hardly available in Pākistān. Moreover, the major differences between *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* have been highlighted *in extenso*.

The focus of the third chapter entitled “Bābā Farīd in Hagiographical Literature of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries” identify the gap which is not filled by contemporary sources. Moreover, the same gap is covered by 16th-18th century hagiographers. However, in the same period, distortion and legends have also been added by some hagiographers. Such *tadhkirāt* created problems for the later historians. Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made to point out fabrications and legends.

In the final chapter “Bābā Farīd in Hagiographical Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries” I study the importance and authenticity of hagiographical literature of the nineteenth and first seven decades of the twentieth century. That period is very rich regarding biographical works about Bābā Farīd. Some historians have also worked to classify genuine from distorted work on Bābā Farīd. It has also been observed in that chapter that available popular *Malḡūzāt*, particularly *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, have lost some of their information because proper attention was not given to preserve their manuscripts after the seventeenth century.

The conclusion and bibliography are followed by a selected glossary of Arabic, Persian and Punjābī words. In addition, three appendices have been added: a list of *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd from the beginning to the present; descendants of the great Shaykh; and his spiritual successors. In this section I also summarize my research findings.

CHAPETR- 1

BĀBĀ FARĪD: HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

Chishtī Shaykhs are the pioneer of Sufism in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan was the founder of Chishtīyyah⁴ *silsilah* in South Asia. Although some prominent Şufīs such as Shaykh Hussain Zanjānī (d.1042), ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān al-Hujwerī (d.1076) (popularly known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh), and Sakhī Sarwar (d.1174) arrived in Northern India before Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan. However, they did not make any constructive effort to introduce Sufism in that region. Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan therefore led the foundation of a proper monastery and appointed his *khulafā’* in different regions. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, carried on the mechanism of Chishtīyyah Şufī *silsilah* with full zeal and zest which later shifted to Bābā Farīd, distinguished *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

1.1- Historical Background of Bābā Farīd

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, popularly known as Bābā Farīd, was perhaps one of the most popular Chishtī Şufīs of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. He was the first head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* to be born on the soil of the South Asia. People of all sects and religions have shown great respect towards him. Bābā Farīd lived a humanistic life and he never differentiated between the Muslim and the non-Muslim, the rich and the poor, and the king and the slave. He also played an imperative role in

⁴Chisht (34-21’ N, 63-44’ E) an ancient town of Herāt, is today a sub-district of Herāt, Afghānistān. In medieval times it was part of Khurāsān. Khwājah Mamshād ‘Alō Dīnūrī (d.911) sent one of his *khulafā’*; named Abu Ishāq Shāmī (d.940), to Chisht. Thus, he and his latter *Khulafā’* became known as Chishtī. Now it has a total population of almost 15000. See Ludwig W. Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan*, 4th rev. ed. (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 97.

the expansion of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. He appointed his spiritual successors (*khulafā'*) in major parts of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. Numerous books have been compiled on the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd from the fourteenth century up to the present day.

The ancestors of Bābā Farīd were Arabs who belonged to the Banu 'Adī clan of the Quraish (the tribe of Holy Prophet PBUH), the most respected tribe of the Arabs. They migrated to Central Asia, and later to Afghānistān where they established their rule. Farrukh Shah Kābulī, one of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd, was a popular and strong ruler of Afghānistān. As quoted by Amīr Khūrd, Farrukh Shah Kābulī was strong monarch of Kābul and the kings of the world were submissive and obedient to him.⁵ However, the forefathers of Bābā Farīd failed to maintain their rule because the *Ghuzz* tribe of Turks attacked on Kābul, Qandhār, and Ghazna, defeated the native rulers and established their rule during the 1150s. After twelve years, the popular Muslim warrior Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Muhammad Sam (ruled 1163-1202 A.D.), chief of *Ghur*, defeated the *Ghuzz* invaders.⁶ Muhammad Sam appointed his younger brother Mu'iz al-Dīn Muhammad Sam (ruled 1202-1206 A.D.), popularly known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī, as governor of Ghaznī. Later, Muhammad Ghurī led the foundation of the first Muslim empire in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. The Arabs and the Ghaznavid rulers remained only on the North-Western part of India. Amīr Khūrd's claim that the forefathers of Bābā Farīd migrated due to the Changīz Khān's invasion⁷ is not true because that attack took place almost six decades after their migration.

⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 58. See also Hājī Muhammad Fāḍal, *Mudīt al-Maqāmāt* (Lahore: n.d), 99.

⁶Minhāj al-Dīn Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia Including Hindustan, from 194 A.H. (810 A.D.) to 658 A.H. (1260 A.D.), and Irruption of Infidels Mughals into Islam*. Eng. trans. Major H.G Raverty (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881), 111-12.

⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 60.

As mentioned above, during the *Ghuzz* invasion of Kābul Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad, father of Qādī Shu‘aīb, was defeated on the battlefield, lost his empire, and died in the same war.⁸ Qādī Shu‘aīb, the grandfather of Bābā Farīd, was a great scholar and theologian. He had a mystical nature and even during his heydays avoided any pomp and show. After losing power at Kābul, he left for Lāhōre with his family in 1157 A.D. almost sixteen years before the birth of Bābā Farīd.⁹ He did not stay at Lāhōre as it was the capital of the Ghaznavid empire. He was fully aware of the social life at the capital, the jealousies amongst the courtiers, and presence of the conspirators at the monarch’s court. He loved solitude.¹⁰ From Lāhōre, he moved toward Qasūr and stayed there for some time. The Qādī of Qasūr, who was already fully aware of this pious family, showed great respect towards him and informed the emperor of his arrival. The Ghaznavid ruler offered military support for regaining their empire, but it was rejected by Qādī Shu‘aīb. Finally, he appointed him as the Qādī of Kathōwāl, a village near Multān.¹¹ The village of Kathōwāl is known as Chāwalī Mashaikh, located in Mailsi, a district of Multān division. Amīr Khūrd’s claims that the Qādī of Qasūr was well familiar with the piety and virtue of that family which implicitly supports Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī’s argument that father of Qādī Shu‘aīb, Shaykh Ahmad, was *khalīfah* of Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī (d. 617 A.H/1220 A.D), while Shaykh Muhammad Sharf al-Dīn, who was the father of Shaykh Ahmad, was a *khalīfah* of Hajī Sharīf Zindanī (d. 612 A.H/ 1215 A.D).¹²

⁸Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, 186.

⁹Balwant Singh Anand, *Bābā Farīd*. (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1975), 12-13.

¹⁰Aslam Farrukhi, *Farīd wa Fard-i-Farīd*. (Karachi: Ahsan Publishers, 1990), 11.

¹¹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 60.

¹²Hajī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*. (Matba Hassani Press, n.d), 28.

Qādī Shu‘aīb had three sons the eldest of whom was Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān.¹³ The second was Shaykh Ya‘qūb¹⁴ and the third was Shaykh ‘Abdullah¹⁵ or Shaykh Sa‘ad Hājī.¹⁶ However, Mirzā ‘Abdul Sattār mentioned them as Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Shaykh Ahmad and Shaykh Sa‘ad Hājī.¹⁷ The same Shaykh ‘Abdullah is mentioned as one of the forefathers of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī.¹⁸ Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was appointed as qādī of Kathūwāl after the death of his father. He was married to the daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī named Qursam Bībī,¹⁹ Muhammad Hussain Badarī averred that she was foster daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī and real daughter of Sayed ‘Abdullah Shah, a descendant of ‘Alī bin Abū Tālib (R.A). Moreover, Sayed ‘Abdullah was brother-in-law of Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī.²⁰ The later was a native of Kōt Karūr, a town near Multān. Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī was a descendant of ‘Abbās bin ‘Abdul Muttalib who was uncle of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (d. 632).²¹ He was a well-known preceptor of his town.²² While discussing Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī further postulated that he was a disciple of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and got *khalāfat* from his father Qādī Shu‘aīb.²³ He had three sons; the eldest was ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd, middle one Farīd

¹³Hāmid bin Faḍalullah Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, n.d), 31-32.

¹⁴Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*, 28.

¹⁵Khwājah Muhammad Hamīd Kashmī, *Zubadat al-Maqāmāt*, trans. Ghulam Mustafa Khan and Abu al-Fatah Saghir al-Din. (Sialkot: Maktabah Niẓāmīyyah, 1407 A.H./ 1987 A.D.), 138. See also Abu al-Hassan Zayd Faruqi, *Maqāmāt-i-Khayr*. (Delhi: Shah Abu al-Khayr Academy, 1989), 40: see also Wahid Bakhsh Siyal, *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar*. (Lahore: Ṣufī Foundation Publishers, 1983), 119.

¹⁶‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, *Jawāhir-i- Farīdī*. Handwritten Manuscript. (1301 A.H./1884 A.D.), 479.

¹⁷Mirza ‘Abdul Sattār. *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirat al-Wasilīn*. (Delhi: Mufeed ‘Aam Publisher, n.d), 314.

¹⁸Hamīd Kashmī, *Zubadat al-Maqāmāt*, trans. Khan and Saghir al-Din. 138. See also Abu al-Hassan Zayd Faruqi, *Maqāmāt-i-Khayr*. (Delhi: Shah Abu al-Khayr Academy, 1989), 40.

¹⁹Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 31-32.

²⁰Pīr Muhammad Hussain Badarī, *Asrār-i- ‘Atrat-i-Farīd*. (comp.1891) 3rd Ed. (Lahore: T.B Printers, 2017), 58-59.

²¹Sattār. *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirat al-Wasilīn*, 315: See also Shaykh Muhammad Saghir Hassan, *Tadhkira*. (Sialkot: Amalgamated Press, 1369A.H./ 1950 A.D.), 31.

²²Qazi Javid, *Punjab Kay Ṣufī Daneshwar (Ṣufī Scholars of Punjab)*. (Lahore: Nagarshat Publishers, 1986), 44.

²³Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*, trans. Chishtī, 91.

al-Dīn Mas‘ūd, and the youngest one Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil.²⁴ He had one daughter (eldest of all the siblings) named Hājirah Bībī, who became popular as Jamīlah Khātūn.²⁵ Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān died in Kathōwāl.

According to Amīr Khūrd, the brother of Bābā Farīd who was settled in Badaun was visited by Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil every year.²⁶ However, it was not mentioned that he was ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd. It might be possible that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān might had more than three sons as the shrine of ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd is located at Chāwalī Mashaikh. Moreover, it is impossible that ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd left his mother alone at Kathōwāl.

1.2- Early Life of Bābā Farīd

The original name of Bābā Farīd was Mas‘ūd but he became popular as Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar or Bābā Farīd. He was born in 569 A.H./ 1174 A.D.²⁷ or in 571 A.H./ 1175 A.D.²⁸ He was a descendant of ‘Umar bin Khattāb (d. 645), the second rightly guided caliph of Islam. Genealogy of Bābā Farīd as presented by Mirzā La‘al Baig La‘alī is in this order: Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn bin Shaykh Shu‘aīb bin Shaykh Ahmad bin Shaykh Yūsuf bin Shaykh ‘Alī bin Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn bin Shaykh Farrukh Shah Kābulī bin Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn bin Shaykh Mas‘ūd bin Shaykh Wa‘az al-Akbar bin Shaykh Wa‘az al-Asghar bin Shaykh Nasrullah bin Shaykh

²⁴Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 31-32.

²⁵Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī Mandwī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*. Handwritten manuscript. 52. See also *Jawāhīr-i-Farīdī*, 184. See also Wahid Ahmed Masud, *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Masud Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Karachi: Pāk Academy, 1965), 62: See also Wahid Ahmad Masud, *Haḍrat Makhdūm ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sabir Kalyarī*. (Lahore: Raza Publishers, 2003), 43. *Tadhkira-i-Jalīl*, 26: Ṣāḥib al-Hassan Sharab, *Tadhkira Awliyā’-i-Pāk-o-Hind*, 52.

²⁶ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 167-68.

²⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 91.

²⁸Khawājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains Bābā Farīd died at the age ninety-three years in this way he was born in 571 A.H. see also Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 34-35.

‘Abdullah bin Shaykh Mahmūd bin Shaykh ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar bin Khattāb.²⁹

However Genealogy of Bābā Farīd presented by ‘Alī Asghar, Allah Diyā and Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī is a little different to all of these hagiographers. Which does not mention Shaykh ‘Alī and Bahā’ al-Dīn as the forefathers of Bābā Farīd.³⁰

Bābā Farīd got his early education at Kathōwāl where he learnt Persian and Arabic and received Qurānic education.³¹ His first spiritual teacher was his mother Qursam Bībī. She was undoubtedly the Rāb‘ia Basarī (d. 135 A.H or 152 A.H/ 752 A.D. 801 A.D) (she was renowned Ṣufī of 8th century) of her time. She kept herself busy in meditation and stayed awake at night for worship. Many miracles have been narrated in the contemporary sources regarding the devotion and saintliness of that great woman. In one such miracle when a Hindu thief entered in her house, he became blind. However, he regained his eyesight when she forgave him and prayed for him. The thief, along with his family, embraced Islam at the hand of Qursam Bībī.³² She played a significant role in the spiritual nourishment of Bābā Farīd.

Qursam Bībī’s death is also quite a story. When Bābā Farīd shifted to Ajōdhan, he sent his brother Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil to bring his mother. On the way she felt thirst and Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn made her to sit under a tree and left for the search of water.

²⁹Mirza La‘al Baig La‘alī Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Sayed Kamal Haaj Sayed Jawadi. (Tehran: Alum-i-Insani wa Mutaliat-i-Farhangi, 1376 A.H./ 1957 A.D.), 206-07.

³⁰Mas‘ūd bin Sulaimān bin Qādī Shu‘aib bin Ahmad bin Yūsuf bin Shihāb al-Dīn bin Farrukh Shah Kābulī (*Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 48), ‘Alī Asghar mentioned it as Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shakar Ganj b. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu‘aib b. Shaykh Ahmad b. Shaykh Yūsuf b. Shaykh Muhammad bin Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī bin Nasīr al-Dīn bin Sultan Mahmūd b. Shaykh Shādmān Shah bin Sultan b. Shaykh Mas‘ūd b. ‘Abdullah bin Wa‘az al-Asghar b. Wa‘az al-Akbar bin Abu al-Fatah b. Shaykh Ishāq b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Nasr b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA). (*Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 178-79) Following pedigree of Bābā Farīd presented by Allah Diyā Chishtī in *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, p. 186: Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shakar Ganj b. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu‘aib b. Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad b. Shaykh Yūsuf b. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī b. Nasīr Fakhar-al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Shaykh Sulaimān b. Shaykh Mas‘ūd b. ‘Abdullah Wa‘az al-Asghar b. Wa‘az al-Akbar Abu al-Fatah b. Shaykh Ishāq b. Shaykh Nasir b. ‘Abdullah (RA) b. Haḍrat ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA).

³¹Anand, *Bābā Farīd*, 15.

³²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 88.

When he returned, he did not find his mother there. He tried his level best to find her in the vicinity but failed. He came back to Ajōdhan and told the whole story to Bābā Farīd who ordered to prepare food and charity for *fatiha* of his mother. After a short period of time, while passing from the same place, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil found some human bones. “These must be the bones of my mother. Possibly some lion or other beast attacked and killed her” Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil thought. He collected all the bones and brought them before his Shaykh. When the bag was opened, nothing was found. According to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ this was one of the great miracles.³³

Surprisingly, in Pākistān nowadays it has become a business to falsely associate relics or graves with certain saints.³⁴ The native people Chāwalī Mashaikh, followed the same tradition and postulated that the mother of Bābā Farīd was buried there. Moreover, they associated a well to Bābā Farīd and asserted that he performed *Chillah-i-Ma’kus* in the same well. One such shrine of Qādī Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān also exists in a village named Qādīyan Wālah Koh (the Qādī’s village) near Multān, but the fact is that he is buried in Chāwalī Mashaikh.

Bābā Farīd, from his very young age, was inclined to vagarious meditation and arduous worship, and had achieved a high spiritual level. In adolescence, most of the time he remained silent and seldom talked. He spent most of his time in the worship of ALLAH Almighty (SWT) in the mosque of Kathōwāl.³⁵ Because of his habits and lifestyle in his young age it was understood that he might become the head saints³⁶ or Ṣufī *silsilah*. He became popular as *Qādī Bacha Dīwānā* (Qādī’s mad child). Once Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn

³³Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 80-81.

³⁴Marcia K. Hermansen & Bruce B. Lawrence, *Indo Persian Tazkiras as Memorative communications. Beyond Turk and Hindu Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), 169.

³⁵Sayed Muhammad Akbar Hussainī, *Jawām‘ al Kalīm*, trans. Muin al-Din Dardai (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1980), 149.

³⁶Majd al-Dīn Kāshānī, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*. Unpublished Manuscript, 56

Tabrīzī (d.1244), a prominent Suhrwardī saint and eminent *khalīfah* of Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd Suhrwardī, (although he had also served and spent a long time with Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī) (d.1234), was going to Delhī. At Kathōwāl, he enquired the native people about the famous mystic of that place. The local people told him that it was none other than the child Mas‘ūd. He visited Bābā Farīd at a local mosque and bestowed on him a pomegranate. Bābā Farīd did not eat it as he was keeping fast and distributed it among children. One seed of the pomegranate fell on the ground. Bābā Farīd broke his fast with the same seed. He realized great feeling of devoutness after eating that seed. Similar feeling was once experienced by Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan after eating bread which was chewed by Ibrāhīm Qandūzī.³⁷ Later, when Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī realized the distress and grief of Bābā Farīd as a result of wearing very rough and tattered clothes, he told him that he knew a mystic (which in fact he himself was) who remained without any trousers for seven years.³⁸ Bābā Farīd, therefore, was much worried why he did not eat the whole pomegranate. After a couple of decades, he visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. The Shaykh informed Bābā Farīd that he should be satisfied since all the blessing of the Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn was contained in that single pomegranate seed which he ate.³⁹ It is quite clear that Bābā Farīd achieved a distinct spiritual level in his childhood. That’s why Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn realized it and granted him a pomegranate. He gained popularity in his early age. That’s why Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā had shown a desire to see him.⁴⁰ Bābā Farīd had gone through stringent *riyāḍat* (worship) before joining the circle of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. For this reason, his

³⁷Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 5.

³⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 63.

³⁹Hamīd Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Khaliq Ahmed Niẓāmī (Aligarh: Muslim University Aligarh, n.d), 219-20.

⁴⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 61.

Shaykh declared that he had already achieved his spiritual destiny. That is why he spent little time in his Shaykh's company.⁴¹

Bābā Farīd left for Multān, the most important center of Islamic learning in South Asia⁴² in that era, for higher education at the age of fifteen⁴³ or eighteen.⁴⁴ The first encounter of Bābā Farīd with his preceptor, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, occurred in the same city in 584 A.H./1188-89 A.D.⁴⁵ in the mosque *madrassah* of Maulānā Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī. This *madrassah* was situated near *Sarah-i-Halwai*⁴⁶ and was known as *Daras Wālī Masjid* which was founded by Muhammad bin Qāsim (d.715).⁴⁷ Although the construction year engraved on the entrance of the mosque is 93 A.H./712 A.D. it is not justifiable as up to 93 A.H. Muhammad bin Qāsim had hardly captured Sindh. The possible date might be 94-95 A.H./713-14 A.D. Maulānā Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī Multānī was one of the leading theologians of Multān who taught *fiqh*.⁴⁸ Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī came in that mosque and saw a child (Bābā Farīd) deeply studying a book. Upon his enquiry, Bābā Farīd replied it was *Nāfa* ' (book of *fiqh*). Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī remarked "it will be *nāfa* ' (benefit) for you". Bābā Farīd fell on his feet and murmured all benefit belonged to his Shaykh.⁴⁹ Bābā Farīd wanted to accompany his Shaykh to Delhi⁵⁰ but he advised him to stay in Multān,

⁴¹Hussainī, *Jawām 'al Kalīm*, rans. Dardai, 411-12.

⁴²Sayed Abu al-Hassan Ali Nadawi, *Tārīkh-i-Da 'wat-o- 'Azīmat*. Vol.3, 6th Edition (Karachi: Majālis Nashariyat-i- Islam, 1983), 37.

⁴³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā* ', 91.

⁴⁴Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arīfīn*, 48.

⁴⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā* ', 91.

⁴⁶Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī. P. 220.

⁴⁷*Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar Ki Aik Jhalak* (A Glimpse of Farīd al-Dīn Masud Ganj-i-Shakar). (Karachi: Fatimah Publications, 1995), 20.

⁴⁸Ijaz al-Haq Qudusi, *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*. (Karachi: Salman Academy, 1962), 227.

⁴⁹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 220.

⁵⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā* ', 61.

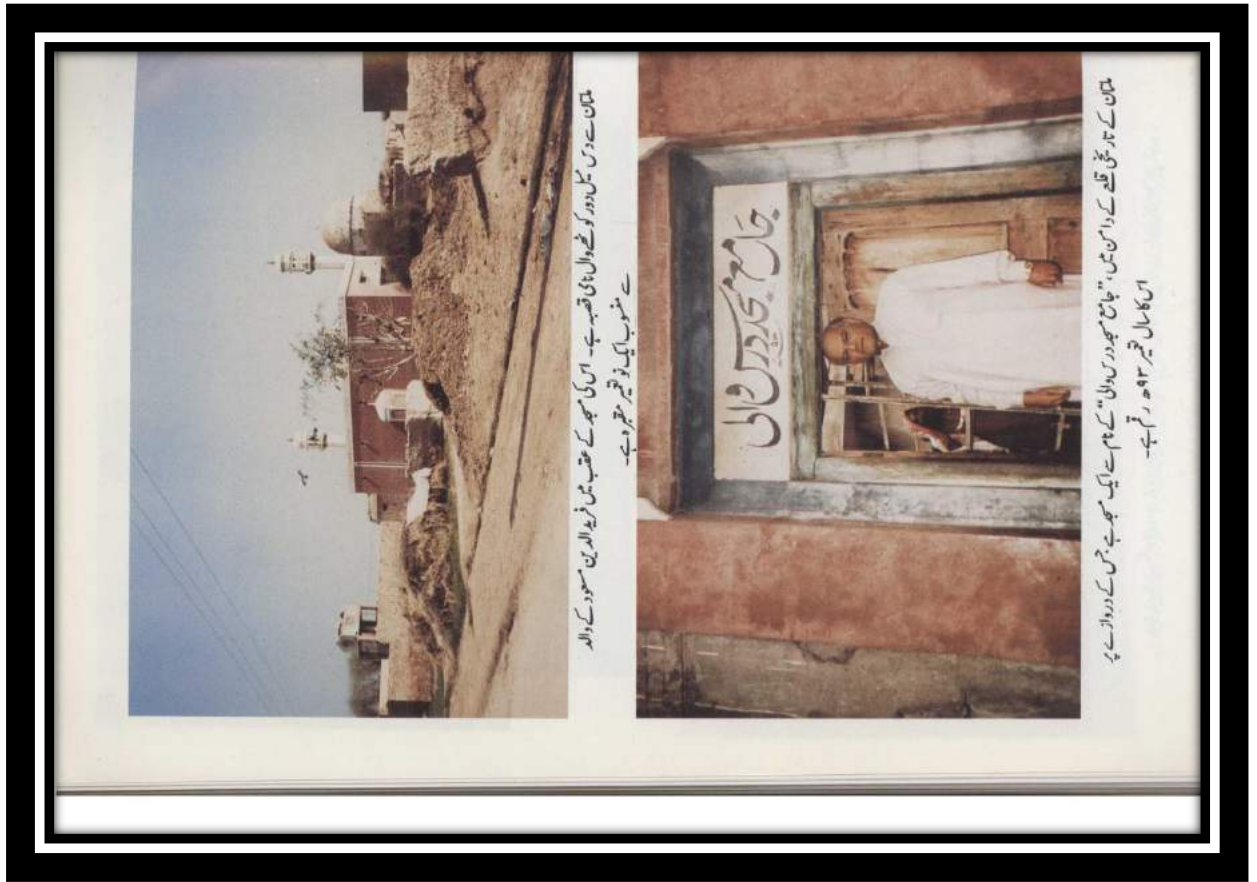


Fig.1. *Daras Wālī Masjid*

1.3- Travelling of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd travelled far and wide, visited many eminent Ṣufīs in different parts of Islamic countries. The main objective of that itinerary was to get higher esoteric knowledge and to seek the blessing of different eminent saints. It was also the custom of that period that the mystics took long travels and spent time in the company of other well-known Ṣufīs. These travels were a great source of spiritual experiences for Ṣufīs.

⁵¹ Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, 49.

Bābā Farīd, therefore, spent almost eleven years, from 1208- to 1219 A.D. in this itinerary. He visited different Şufīs and Islamic literary centers.⁵² In the course of his travels, he visited Kābul and Qandhār where he spent almost five years⁵³. Likewise, he also visited Baghdād, Bukhara, Kirmān⁵⁴ and Palestine. The *hujrah* (apartment) of Bābā Farīd is still popular in Jerusalem under the name of Indian Hospice (Sarah-i-Hindi) which is under the control of the Indian government.



⁵²Khawājah Muslim Nizāmī, *Anwār al- Farīd*. (Pākpattan: Urdu Manzil, 1965), 48.

⁵³Jamālī, *Siyar al- Ārifīn*, 36-37.

⁵⁴Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 135-36.



Fig. 2. *Hujrah of Bābā Farīd at Jerusalem*

Similarly, during that period of travels, Bābā Farīd visited Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī at Kirmān and spent some days in his company. During these days, some mystics came to the hospice of the Shaykh and asked whether anyone who claims to be a mystic will possess miracles. Bābā Farīd asked them to close their eyes. Upon opening their eyes, they found themselves in front of the Holy Ka‘aba. Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that Bābā Farīd often offered his *Fajr* and ‘*Ishā*’ prayer at the Ka‘aba.⁵⁵ Similarly, Bābā Farīd also visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrwardī at Baghdād together with Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān.⁵⁶

1.4- Bābā Farīd at Delhī

After a long journey, Bābā Farīd reached Delhī and did *bay‘at* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī in the presence of some other eminent saints including Khwājah

⁵⁵ Amīr Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawāid*, trans. Muhammad Latif Malik (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2015), 291-92: see also Muhammad Qāsim Farishta, *Tārīkh –I-Farishta*. Vol. 4, trans. Abdul Hye Khawaja (Lahore: Meezan Publishers, n.d), 752.

⁵⁶ Niẓām al-Din Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharafī*, trans. Shams Barelvi (Faizabad: Jam’ al-Ashraf Publishers, n.d), 597-98: See also Mīrza La‘al Baig La‘alī Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al- Ans*, ed. Jawadi, 212: see also Farishta, *Tārīkh –I-Farishta*. Vol. 4, trans. Khawaja, 752.

Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī (d.1274) who was one of the prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan. The other saints present on that occasion include Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Abū al-Mawaid who was a disciple of ‘Abdul Wahid Ghaznavī but spent most of his time in the company of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and became popular as a Chishtī saint. He died in 1273-74 A.D. Another saint Sayed Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī was the *khalīfah* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī also remained in the company of Shaykh Ajal Shīrāzī. He passed away in 1234-35 and was buried on the eastern side of Hauḍ-i-Shamsī. Maulānā Shams Turk and Khwājah Mahmūd Mionā Duz were also there.⁵⁷ The latter was one of the prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī and died in 1257 A.D. He was buried near the shrine of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

Bābā Farīd continued his asceticism in Delhī. In this regard, he visited his Shaykh after two weeks while Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī (d. 1259), a prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and Shaykh Ahmad Nahar Wālī (d. 1262-63)⁵⁸ were present.⁵⁹ An apartment was built for Bābā Farīd in a tower near the western gate of Delhī where he kept busy in worship.⁶⁰ While he was in training, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. Bābā Farīd got the blessings of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan (d.1236) who admired the young Shaykh Farīd in following remarks: “Bābā Bakhtiyār, you have caught such a great falcon which will not build his nest except on the tree of *Sidrat al-Muntahā*. He further added “Farīd is a lamp that will illuminate the *silsilah* of the Ṣufīs”.⁶¹ After realizing the

⁵⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 61.

⁵⁸Shaykh Ahmad Nahar Wālī was one among the three *khulafā’* of Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī Suhrwardī Chishtī (d.1280), Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn had three disciples. The others were Shaykh Hassan Rasan Tab and ‘Ayain al-Dīn Qasab). Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*. p. 118. See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 36-37.

⁵⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 61.

⁶⁰Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 36-37.

⁶¹Ibid., 23.

stringent schedule of the meditation of Bābā Farīd, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn further asked to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī “How long will you burn this young man in the fire of penitence? Bestow him”. The latter replied, “I cannot dare it in the presence of you, my Shaykh”. Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan finally stood up and said, “Come, let us both shower reward and bounty on him”. In this way, they took Bābā Farīd while Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan was on the right side and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn on the left, and both prayed for him.⁶² Bābā Farīd avoided visiting his Shaykh frequently because he did not want to become prominent amongst common people of Delhī. For this reason, little was known about Bābā Farīd by the people. However, one incident made him popular among the people that Khwājah Badr al- Dīn Ghaznavī applauded him very much in his Friday sermon.⁶³ In this way, Bābā Farīd unintentionally became popular in Delhī. He therefore infers to leave the area. He visited his Shaykh but could not utter a word to seek permission for his departure towards Hānsī. However, his Shaykh realized the situation and told Bābā Farīd with tearful eyes “Maulānā Farīd al-Dīn I know you want to leave.” Bābā Farīd replied that he will leave if his Shaykh permits him. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī further stated, “Go as it has been decided that you will not be present at the time of my death”. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī then asked all the visitors to pray for Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh also handed over his prayer-mat and ‘*asā*’ to his beloved *khalīfah*. He further advised Bābā Farīd to receive his regalia from Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī on the fifth day of his death. The last words of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī to the future head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* were: “My place is yours”.⁶⁴

⁶²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 72. See also Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 138-39.

⁶³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 62: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 36-37.

⁶⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 73.

Khawājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī had a great desire to become the next head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* but Khawājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī during his last *samāʿ* gathering ordered, “give my cloth (cloak), prayer mat, stick and wooden shoes to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn”. While in Hānsī, Bābā Farīd saw his Shaykh in his dream the same night in which Khawājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī passed away. The Shaykh was calling Bābā Farīd who left Hānsī and reached Delhī on the fourth day after his Shaykh’s death. Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī presented all these relics to Bābā Farīd. He stayed two, three or seven days at the house of his Shaykh and then left again for Hānsī.⁶⁵ Some disciples of his Shaykh even objected that he should not leave the place of Khawājah Qutab al-Dīn at Delhī. But Bābā Farīd replied that the blessings bestowed by his Shaykh would be with him whether he stays in the city or in the desert. In Delhī, it was becoming quite difficult for his devotees to visit him because the guards did not allow them to see the Shaykh. However, Bābā Farīd was not aware of this situation. Particularly, Sarhangā, one of the *majdhub* Ṣufī and a disciple of Bābā Farīd, appeared two or three times for seeking the blessing of the Shaykh but the gatekeepers did not allow him in. On one day, Bābā Farīd came out of the house and Sarhangā fell onto the feet of the Shaykh and told him the whole story. The Shaykh, after hearing about that incident, inferred to leave Delhī.⁶⁶

1.5- Baba Farid’s Life at Hānsī

Bābā Farīd had a great desire for seclusion which was unlikely in an urban center like Delhī. Therefore, he wanted to go to a remote and unpopulated area where no one would disturb him, and he could concentrate on worship.

⁶⁵Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 118. See also Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 138-39. In *Asrār al-Awliyāʾ* (f. 83) it was not mentioned that it was Khawājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī who want to become the successor of Khawājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

⁶⁶Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 118. See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, 31-32.

Hānsī was a Muslim cantonment which was a part of Mas‘ūd Ghaznavī (r. 1030-40) empire who was the son of popular Muslim ruler Mahmūd of Ghazna (r. 998-1030). Later, Prithavī Rāj Chauhān (d.1192) captured the town. Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī, however, defeated Prithavī Rāj in second battle of Train fought in 1192 A.D. and Hānsī once again came under Muslim control. He made it a military garrison⁶⁷ which was free from the general public. This was the main reason of Bābā Farīd getting settled there.

At Hānsī, one of the beloved disciples and *khalīfah*, Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī, joined the circle of Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh had great affection for him. That is why he stayed for almost twelve years at Hānsī. Similarly, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn got high spiritual status and affection from his Shaykh. Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī’s endorsement of *khalāfat nāmāh* would legitimize the *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁸ In Hānsī too, Bābā Farīd became very popular. So, he decided to quit it as well. The incident which made him popular was quite like the one at Delhī. Bābā Farīd went to attend Friday sermon of Khwājah Nūr Turk,⁶⁹ a famous saint at Hānsī. This was Bābā Farīd’s first encounter with him.⁷⁰ Bābā Farīd was wearing tattered clothes and just as he entered the mosque, Khwājah Nūr Turk announced, “O Muslims, the weigher of the words has arrived” and praised Bābā Farīd very much.⁷¹ That incident popularized Bābā Farīd among the masses of that town, so he made his mind to leave Hānsī as soon as possible.

⁶⁷Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 31.

⁶⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 178-79, Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmī Maintain that Bābā Farīd spent almost nineteen or twenty years at Hānsī. See Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 32.

⁶⁹ Khwājah Nūr Turk (b.619 A.H./1222 A.D./ d.692 A.H./ 1292-93 A.D.) was a great mystic and orator of his time. He had not any preceptor (Murshid or Shaykh) Minhāj in his *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* and some other ‘ulema wrongly criticized him and his religious ideas. They declared him as *Qarāmī* Shia. But it is not a fact. Rāḍīyyah Sultānah (r.1236-40) also sent him gold as a gift but he did not accept it. He also performed hajj at his old age. *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 124: See also *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 75.

⁷⁰Muhadith, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 75.

⁷¹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 62: See also *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 124.

1.6- *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus*

Chillah is a type of seclusion in which a person worships in isolation. *Chillah*, basically a Persian word derived from *Chehel* meaning 'forty', is a practice in which a person totally withdraws from the world and worldly desires and dedicates himself solely to spiritual activities and ascetic disciplines. It is also referred to forty-days fasting and meditation. The evolution of the *chillah* is related to the Prophet Moses (A.S), who spent forty days in the wilderness when he wanted to hear the voice of Almighty ALLAH (S.W.T).⁷² “And We make a promise with Moses of thirty nights and fulfill it with a further ten nights, so as to complete the duration of forty nights of his God”.⁷³ When a Ṣufī wants to talk to or hear God, he fasts for forty days. After thirty days, he should do *miswāk* (toothbrush) and complete the remaining ten fasts. Finally, God speaks to him.⁷⁴ Traditional diet in *chillah* and in seclusion is salt and bread. One uses only half a flat bread in keeping the fast and the other half when breaking it. At the early stage of *chillah*, he should break the fast after two nights and continuously reduce his diet.⁷⁵

Chillah-i-Ma‘kus, however, is the most difficult type of *chillah*. The claim that Holy Prophet (PBUH) performed *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus* is a legend as neither the traditions of Holy Prophet (PBUH) nor the biographical compendia mentioned that practice. However, Abū Sa‘īd Abū al-Khayr (d.1049), an eminent Ṣufī, argued that he had performed that *chillah* because the Holy Prophet (PBUH) had performed that practice.⁷⁶

⁷² Alī bin ‘Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwerī, *Kashf al- Mahjub*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1976), 324.

⁷³ Holy Quran, 7: 142.

⁷⁴ Al-Hujwerī, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, trans. Nicholson., 324.

⁷⁵ Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, *‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif*, trans. Shams Barelvi (Lahore: Progressive Books Publishers, 1998), 394-95.

⁷⁶ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 7: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 70: See also Shaykh Zain Badr ‘Arabī, *Ma‘dan al-Ma‘anī*. (Compl. 1350), trans. Sayed Shah Qaseem al-Din Ahmed Sharfī (Bihar: Maktabah Sharf, 2011), 166.

Similarly, before Bābā Farīd, the only Chishtī Shaykh who performed that *chillah* was Abū Muhammad Chishtī (d. 411 A.H/ 1020 A.D) who tied his feet with a rope and performed *chillah* in a deep well.⁷⁷

Bābā Farīd requested Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn to grant him permission for the *chillah* who disapproved it because, according to him, one might become popular among the masses. Bābā Farīd replied that his Shaykh knew well about his disciple's faith that he had no desire to gain popularity and only sought to live in seclusion and privacy. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn then agreed with the suggestion to perform the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. Bābā Farīd was very happy on getting permission. However, he did not know how to perform it. He therefore asked Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī for the details who himself knew nothing about this and conferred to Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn who told him in detail that *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* is a forty days or forty nights worship in a way that one fastens his legs with a rope and hangs up side down in a well. It is also mandatory that there should be a tree on the same well, and that well must be situated in a mosque. It was very difficult to find such a place. Moreover, Bābā Farīd had a great desire to perform that practice anonymously. When he found no such place in Delhī, he moved to Hānsī but there too he did not find a suitable mosque. Bābā Farīd with a constant effort and search, found such a mosque known as Masjid-i- Hajj⁷⁸ at Uchach (currently a town of Bahawalpur). Bābā Farīd met a *mu'adhan* (a man who call for prayers in a loud voice) named Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn Mainaī, who was a native of Hānsī and a devotee of Bābā Farīd. Masjid-i-Hajj had a well as well as a tree. Bābā Farīd stayed in the town for some days before he became fully aware of the true faith of his devoted

⁷⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 40.

⁷⁸Muhammad bin Qāsim (r. 712-15) led the foundation of Masjid-i-Hajj and dug a well there for the native people. See Menan Ahmad Asif, *A Demon with Ruby Eyes*, The Medieval History Journal, 16, 2, (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2013), 17-18.

mu'adhan. He then explained his secret plan to him, but only making him pledge that he will not reveal his intention to anybody. When everyone retired to their houses after offering 'Ishā' prayer, Bābā Farīd asked him to purchase a rope and he did so. Bābā Farīd did his ablution (*wudu*), tied his feet with one end of the rope, fastened the other end of the rope to the tree and hanged himself in the well with his head downwards. Then he began his worship, which lasted till the morning prayer. Before dawn, as he had instructed, the *mu'adhan* came and informed the Shaykh in a slow voice about his arrival. The Shaykh asked him, "had dawn indeed come"? To which the *mu'adhan* replied that it was indeed near. Bābā Farīd asked him to pull the rope and upon coming out of the well he became busy worshiping in the mosque.⁷⁹ In this manner Bābā Farīd performed his *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* for forty nights. As mentioned above, recently it has become a common tradition particularly in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent that people start businesses in the name of saints. They found an old grave and try to popularize and commercialize it without knowing about the person buried in that particular grave.⁸⁰ Same is the case with Bābā Farīd's *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. The native of Chāwalī Mashaikh wrongly proclaimed that the mosque named Masjid-e-Hajj is located there.

⁷⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 68-70.

⁸⁰Hermansen & Lawrence, *Indo Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications. Beyond Turk and Hindu Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. Gilmartin & Lawrence, 169-70.



Fig 3. *Masjid-i-Hajj*

A disciple of Khwājah Sayyed Muhammad al-Hussainī popularly known as Banda Nawāz Gēsū-Darāz (d.1422) questioned as to why blood did not come out of Bābā Farīd’s mouth while he hung downward in the well. The Shaykh replied that due to his very hard meditation, Bābā Farīd did not have enough blood in his body, even in his intestines, and so his veins became dry.⁸¹ Bābā Farīd also explained this in his own couplet “*Farīdā ratī rat na nekle je tan chairē koī. Jo tan rate Rab sayuon, ten tan rat na ho*”⁸² (if anyone should cut my body, he would have found not even a little drop of blood in my body, because one is deeply immersed in ALLAH, and he can bear no stain).

1.7- Bābā Farīd as Head of Chishtīyyah *Silsilah*

Bābā Farīd was appointed as head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* during a very critical juncture in the history of Muslim-India as three prominent personalities passed away one after another. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who passed away in Rabī‘ al-Awwal,

⁸¹Hussainī, *Jawām ‘ al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 412-413.

⁸² Saeedia Durani and Rashid Mateen, *Pākistān Ke Ṣuṭī Sh ‘ra. shālok*, 53. p. 44: See also Maqbool Elahi, *Couplets of Bābā Farīd. shālok*, 53. p. 36: See also Muhammad Asif Khan, *Akhiya Bābā Farīd Ne. shālok*, 51, p. 194: See also Amjad Ali Bhatti, *Rukhī Sukhī Kha Ke Thundā Pānī Pī Kalām-i-Bābā Farīd. shālok*, 54, p. 52: See also Sharif Kanjahī, *Kehe Farīd*. P. 68; Faqir Muhammad Faqir, *Būl Farīdī, shālok*, 57, p.102: See also Munshi Jeshi Ram Mushtaq, *Arshādāt-i-Farīdī. shālok*, 56, p. 49: See also Sardar Gurdev Singh Matharu, *Farīdā Walī. shālok*, 51, p. 178.

14th 633 A.H./Tuesday, September 27, 1235 A.D.⁸³ at the age of fifty-two years.⁸⁴ Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish who was a devotee of the former Shaykh passed away on April 29, 1236 A.D. In addition, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan also died on Rajab 6, 633 A.H./ March 16, 1236 A. D.⁸⁵ Bābā Farīd was appointed as new head of Chishtīyah *silsilah* and had many challenges. Most important were the competition for spiritual successorship of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and the political upheaval of the Sultanate of Delhī as well as of the Mongols who had invaded Punjab and Sindh. Political chaos followed by the death of the Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish resulted in the wars between the descendants for the throne. Initially, Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz (r. 1236-36), an incompetent son of the deceased Sultān was appointed as the new Sultān of India, but his rule lasted only for few months. In fact, during this era the real ruler was his mother namely Shah Turkān. Meanwhile, rebellions and revolts erupted from one corner to the other of the Indian Subcontinent.⁸⁶

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, an eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, became the victim of the Sultān of Delhī. Similarly, another Chishtī Ṣufī, Sayedī Maulā, one of the prominent disciples of Bābā Farīd, was also persecuted. Sultān Balban (r. 1266-87) was also very much impressed with Sayedī Maulā who enlighten South Asia with his spirituality.⁸⁷ He was assassinated when he ignored his Shaykh’s advice who had recommended him to keep king and nobles at arm’s length while staying in Delhī. Despite this advice, Sayedī Maulā had established relationship with many nobles, especially Qādī of Delhī named Jalāl al-Dīn Kāshānī, descendants of late

⁸³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 56.

⁸⁴Nizām al-Dīn Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharafti*. Vol.1, trans. Shams Barelvi (Faizabad: Jam-e-Ashraf, n.d), 570.

⁸⁵Abdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 23: see also *Gulzār-i- Abrār*, 29; ‘*Āab-i-Kauthar*, 204-208.

⁸⁶Muhammad Qāsim Farishta, *Tārīkh i-Farishta*. Vol. 1, trans. Abdul Hye Khawaja (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1974), 257-58.

⁸⁷Sayyed Sabah al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān, *Bazm-i-Ṣufiyah*. (Azam Garh: Al-Ma’arif, 1949), 139-40.

Sultān, Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban, the Kotwāl and many of the other strong ministers.⁸⁸ He was a true mystic and as qualified as his predecessor Chishtī Mashaikh. Yet, when his followers demanded abdication of the strong Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1290-96) and tried to proclaim Sayedī Maulā as the Sultān of Delhī.⁸⁹ They failed in their task, and the Shaykh was executed.

Bābā Farīd saw the rise of the Mongols who defeated Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shah in 1218 and took over control of Central Asia. They proved to be the gale and storm that destroyed Muslim civilization at large. In India, the Sultāns defeated them due to their strong armies and brave commanders like Zafar Khān⁹⁰ and Prince Muhammad (d.1283) (he was a capable son Sultān Balban), Jalāl-Dīn-Khaljī (r. 1290-96), ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1296-1316),⁹¹ and Ghiyās al-Dīn Tughlaq (r. 1320-25).⁹² The last three were Sultāns who personally fought on the battlefield and defeated the Mongols. Prince Muhammad, the favorite son of Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban, along with Zafar Khān, proved to be a wall blocking the Mongols and protecting their people. Both were martyred in the battle, the latter owing to the treachery of Alagh Khān.⁹³ The family of Bābā Farīd also suffered during the Mongol invasion. Nizām al-Dīn, a favorite son of Bābā Farīd, who was also a brave general and warrior, was called by Amīr Khūrd as “Haider the Second” due to his bravery. He was martyred while fighting the Mongols.⁹⁴

In a time when the possibility of peace hardly seemed to exist, Bābā Farīd became the cynosure of the age. He brought the message of peace and harmony to the whole subcontinent. He himself settled in Punjab from where his eminent disciples and

⁸⁸Diyā al-Din Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, trans. Sayed Muin al-Haq (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1969), 320.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 321-22.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 387-88.

⁹¹ Ibid., 333.

⁹² Farishta, *Tārīkh-i-Farishta*. vol.1. trans. Khawaja, 377.

⁹³ Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, trans. Haq, 387-88.

⁹⁴ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 190.

khulafā' carried his message to the rest of India. In the end, the Indian Subcontinent emerged as the sole and supreme Islamic empire particularly in two aspects; it was a strong Muslim military power as well as the mystic center of Islam. The Ṣufīs and intellectuals of other Muslim countries sought refuge in India due to the Mongol upheaval.

1.8- Life at Ajōdhan

Ajōdhan, now known as Pākpattan, a district of Punjab province, located in north latitude 30-21 and 73°25 west longitude is one of the ancient towns of South Asia. It is forty feet high on the western bank of river Sutlej. The town lies four miles from the river.⁹⁵ Different intellectuals have presented different opinion about the historical background of Ajōdhan. Khwājah Muslim Nizami, for instance, argues that it was a capital of the Ajōdhya state, whose rulers were said to be the predecessors of Ram (6th century BC). Similarly, it was known as *Dhārā Nagrī* during the historical battle of Kurusu and Pandeva (Mahabharata).⁹⁶ Prithavī Rāj was the last Hindu ruler of Ajōdhan.⁹⁷ However, it was not that Prithavī Rāj Chauhān who was defeated by Muhammad Ghurī in 1192 A.D. The Muslim captured that historical town in 1079 A.D. under Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī.⁹⁸ The name Ajōdhan might have been derive from the name of an ancient local tribe known as Yaudheya or Johiyā,⁹⁹ one of the clans of Hindu Rājput tribe. In Ajōdhan, Miyān Lūnān was the chief of that tribe who embraced Islam at the hand of Bābā Farīd, along with his two brothers named Ber and Wisul. After his conversion, his fellow tribes also converted to Islam. Miyan Lūnān did not have any

⁹⁵ *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1884*. (Reprinted 1990), 182.

⁹⁶ Khwājah Muslim Nizāmī, *Anwār al-Farīd* (Pākpattan: Idarah Taṣawwuf, 1965), 92.

⁹⁷ Wahid Ahmed Masud, *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Karachi: Pāk Academy, 1965), 130.

⁹⁸ Qazi Javid, *Punjab Kay Ṣūfī Daneshwar (Ṣūfī Scholars of Punjāb)*, 53.

⁹⁹ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farīd ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1955), 36.

children and upon his request, Bābā Farīd prayed for his offspring. While praying he said, “Miyān Lūnān, *dūnan*, *tarūna*, *chagūna*” (meaning Miyān Lūnān’s children will be increased in twofold, threefold and even fourfold.)¹⁰⁰ Bābā Farīd’s prayer was fulfilled and ALLAH Almighty granted children to Miyān Lūnān. After his death, his son Miyān Lakhu became the chief, and he proved to be the most popular and strongest chief of that tribe.¹⁰¹

It was Akbar the Great (r. 1556-1605), Mughal ruler who changed the town name from Ajōdhan to Pākpattan.¹⁰² After Bābā Farīd had converted majority of the people of the western Punjab to Islam and owing to the high respect by both Muslims and non-Muslims, people already were referring to ancient Ajōdhan as Pākpattan (the Ferry of the Pure).¹⁰³

The ruins of Pākpattan show that Ajōdhan was destroyed many times due to natural disasters. There is a great possibility that Ajōdhan might have been one of the major centers of Harrapan culture. It was constructed on the ancient mound where the shrines of Bābā Farīd and his prominent *khalīfah* Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq are located.

Ajōdhan, which was visited by Bābā Farīd during the fifth decade of thirteenth century, was not a populated place. It was a small town. Majority of its population was non-Muslim and as the town was located on the main trade route of South Asia, majority of the people were thugs and criminals who often ambushed the trade caravans.

¹⁰⁰H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*. (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Samuel T. Weston, 1911), 410- 12: See also Muhammad Ajmal Chishtī, *Tāj al- ‘Ārifīn*. (Bahawal Nagar: Markaz-i-Talimaat-i-Farīdīā, 2001), 216.

¹⁰¹Ajmal, *Tāj al- ‘Ārifīn*, 216.

¹⁰²Nizāmī, *Anwār al-Farīd*, 92.

¹⁰³Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farīd ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 36. foot note no. 2.

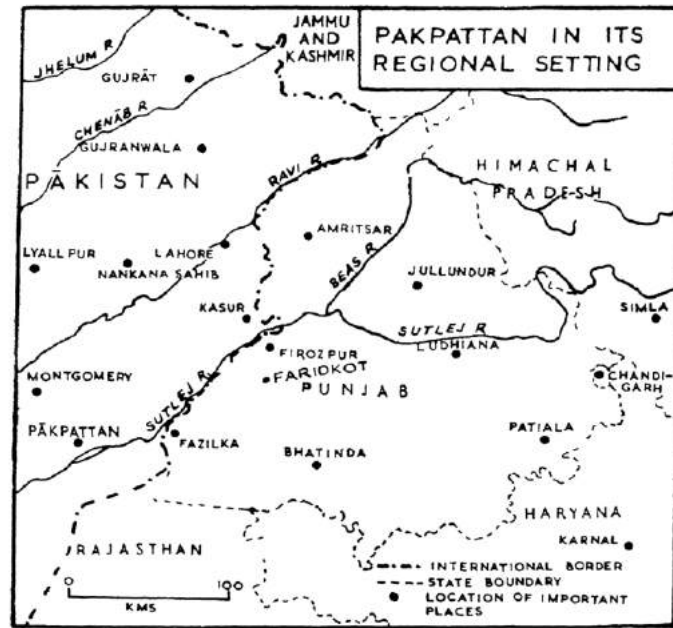


Fig. 4. Map of Pākṣpattan

Bābā Farīd came to Ajōdhan in 1241 A.D. and spent his last twenty-four years there. However, some modern historians have different opinion regarding the total period spent by the Shaykh at Ajōdhan.¹⁰⁴ Bābā Farīd settled near the Friday mosque of Ajōdhan. He was very much pleased to know that people of Ajōdhan were anti-Šufīs and were quite impudent.¹⁰⁵ He wanted to live an ascetic life and he preferred that place to that end. But soon, he became popular there as well and decided to leave that place too, however, he changed his mind because of some spiritual signs.¹⁰⁶ After that Bābā Farīd opened his door to everybody.

¹⁰⁴Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl, *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar*. (P. 145) mentioned sixteen years; Khwājah Muslim Nizāmī, in *Anwār al-Farīd*. (P. 94) argued eighteen years; M. Abdullah Chagatai, in *Pākṣpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*. (P.18) mentioned thirty years; N.K. Singh, *Šufīs of India Pākistān and Bangladesh*. Vol.1. (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 2002) (p. 144), surprisingly mentioned sixty years.

¹⁰⁵Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālīs*, ed. Nizāmī, 88-89.

¹⁰⁶On the same night he saw Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who ordered him stay at Ajōdhan. Allah Almighty also gave him signs to live in Ajōdhan and said, "O preceptor, do not worry, and bear the cruelty of the people". 'Abdul Rahmān, *Bazm-i-Šufīyah*, 135.

Bābā Farīd got married in Ajōdhan and all his children were born here.¹⁰⁷ ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī is the first author who shares information about the wives of Bābā Farīd. Contrary to Faḍalullah Jamālī, ‘Alī Asghar argued that the Shaykh married at Delhī but all of his children were born at Ajōdhan.¹⁰⁸ He further maintains that Bābā Farīd had four wives named Bībī Huzairah Banu, daughter of Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (r. 1266-87), Sharu Bībī, Shakar or Shakaru Bībī (it is Shahrukh which changed into Shakaru) (these two were the slave girls of Huzairah Bībī), and fourth one was Umm-i-Kulthūm¹⁰⁹ who was mother of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Nasrullah. Soon after marrying with Huzairah Bībī, Bābā Farīd left Delhī, and shifted his brother and *khalīfah* Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil to his place because Balban continuously sent precious gifts for his daughter. Furthermore, ‘Alī Asghar argued that some other sources described that Bābā Farīd had two wives: first Huzairah Bībī and the second was Umm-i-Kulthūm.¹¹⁰ There is a great possibility that Bābā Farīd had more than two wives. Amīr Khūrd averred that the Shaykh had many wives.¹¹¹

1.9- Problems Faced by Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan

As mentioned above the native people of Ajōdhan were criminals and a few were even expert magicians. The leading ‘ulema’ were also inflexible and authoritarian. For this reason, Bābā Farīd faced numerous problems there. The Qādī of Ajōdhan, ‘Abdullah

¹⁰⁷Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 34. ‘Alī Asghar mentioned that the Shaykh was married at Delhi.

¹⁰⁸Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 211.

¹⁰⁹Umm-i-Kulthūm was the daughter of Sayyid Nisār ‘Alī Shah and was wife of Sayyid Qiyām al-Haq. Her husband was a disciple of Bābā Farīd and like Sayyid Muhammad Mahmūd Kirmānī he, too, shifted to Ajōdhan due to the great devotion for his Shaykh. Qiyām al-Haq passed away in 639 A.H./1242 A.D. Umm-i-Kulthūm and his son Naṣīr al-Dīn Nasrullah whose age was one and half year had no source of income and spent a very tough life. Bābā Farīd realized their miserable condition and married her in the same year 639 A.H. Umm-i-Kulthūm also bore children to Bābā Farīd but all died young. Badrī, *Asrār-i-‘Atrat-i-Farīd*, 214-15. Wahid Ahmed Masud, *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Masud Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Karachi: Pāk Academy, 1965), 102-03. See also Abu Mazhar Ali Asghar Chishtī Sabiri. *Shamim al-Waliyat*. (Lahore: Bazm-i- Chishtīyyah Ghanwiyyah, 1993), 222-23.

¹¹⁰Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. 215-18.

¹¹¹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 66.

also known as Muhammad Abū al-Faḍal was a quick-tempered jealous person who did not allow anybody to challenge his authority. The increasing popularity of Bābā Farīd made him jealous and therefore became enemy of the Shaykh. During the Friday prayer, the Shaykh pointed out some mistakes of the Imām appointed by Qādī ‘Abdullah.¹¹² Consequently, Qādī ‘Abdullah tried (but failed) to get a *fatwā* against Bābā Farīd from the theologians of Multān. The Shaykh, however, did not speak an ill word against Qādī.¹¹³ Later, Qādī ‘Abdullah used another source to create problems for Bābā Farīd. It was the *mutaṣarrif* (‘amil or governor) of Ajōdhan who had cordial relations with the Qādī. As a result, the Shaykh was constantly irritated by the *mutaṣarrif*. On one occasion, Shihāb al-Dīn, a son of Bābā Farīd, complained of ill-treatment by the *mutaṣarrif* which made the Shaykh angry. He put his ‘*asā*’ down roughly on the earth. At the same moment *mutaṣarrif* felt severe pain in his stomach and died after same time.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the Qādī also hired an assassin¹¹⁵ to kill Bābā Farīd. However, he was caught with his knife by the disciples of the Shaykh. He was, however, pardoned by the Shaykh. Later, another similar assassination attempt took place. Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that he alone attended the Shaykh after offering morning prayer who was in his prostrates as usual. In the meanwhile, a person came there and said *salām* in a loud voice which disturbed Shaykh’s devotion. Although Bābā Farīd did not see him, he accurately told Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ about features and physical appearance of that person. Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn found a similar man and replied in affirmation. Despite his exact identification, Bābā Farīd ordered to let him go before he became disgraced.¹¹⁶ In the end, Qādī ‘Abdullah became paralyzed and

¹¹²Ibid., 84-85.

¹¹³Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, 99: See also Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 127.

¹¹⁴Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arifin*, 50.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 35.

¹¹⁶Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, 99: See also Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 127.

appeared before the Shaykh with some gifts including sugar, flour and a goat, and apologized to him. Bābā Farīd told him he had created constant problems for almost eighteen years but now the Holy Qurān will decide about his fate and pointed towards the view that Qādī ‘Abdullah was an evil man and there was no need to make any intervention by Bābā Farīd. Qādī ‘Abdullah returned without getting mercy of the Shaykh and passed away after a short while.¹¹⁷ Like Qādī ‘Abdullah, the governor of Uchach and Multān, Shēr Khān did not have an attachment with Bābā Farīd and became jealous. Some ‘ulema’ persuaded Shēr Khān to act against Bābā Farīd. He stopped all the *futuh* for the *Jamā’t Khānah* from his area. When he had crossed all the limits he perished when the Mongols attacked Multān and assassinated him.¹¹⁸ For him, Bābā Farīd recited these verses:

What a pity that you know not who I am.

When someone tells you, more the pity for you!¹¹⁹

Similarly, another man who turned against Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan was the son of a prominent magician named Shihāb the Magician. As the circle of the discipleship of Bābā Farīd rapidly increased the fear grew in the Magician’s heart that he might lose his fame. He cast a spell on Bābā Farīd and consequently the Shaykh gave up eating. The doctors failed to diagnose the disease. Bābā Farīd sent his son Khwājah Badr al-Sulaimān, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and some other disciples to the graveyard for prayers. Khwājah Badr al-Sulaimān saw a saint in his dream who told him that the son of Shihāb the Magician had casted a spell on Bābā Farīd. He also suggested a *d’ua* (prayer) to the Shaykh’s son and instructed him to repeat the same *d’ua* on the grave of Shihāb. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn while repeating the *d’ua* found an idol of flour which

¹¹⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 84-85.

¹¹⁸Gurbachan Singh Tālib, *Baba Sheikh Farīd Shakar Ganj* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1974), 17.

¹¹⁹Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 136.

was covered with horse's hair and many needles. The same idol was presented before Bābā Farīd and he ordered to put the needles off and removed the horsehair. As the process was completed, Bābā Farīd fully recovered. The magician was arrested by the governor and sent to the hospice of Bābā Farīd. The governor issued his death sentence. However, Bābā Farīd forgave him.¹²⁰ There is a strong possibility that Qādī 'Abdullah might have convinced the son of Shihāb to cast the spell on Bābā Farīd. Although he was not a prominent magician as his father was, still his magic worked against Bābā Farīd.

Additionally, Bābā Farīd confronted a powerful *Jōgī* (*Yūgī*) at Ajōdhan. 'Alī Asghar mentioned his name as Bāl Nāth. He overpowered the people through his magic, and the native people gave him a specific part of their income (milk, corn, wheat, rice, millet etc.) daily. When the people requested Bābā Farīd to resolve the problem, the Shaykh ordered them not to give him anything anymore. When his magic did not work against the native people, he challenged the Shaykh, but was defeated and converted to Islam by the hand of Bābā Farīd. 'Abdullah was selected as his Islamic name. He lived his remaining life along with Bābā Farīd as a sincere disciple. He requested Bābā Farīd that his only desire was to be buried at the hospice of Bābā Farīd. His wish got fulfilled and he was buried in the front of the shrine of Bābā Farīd. His grave is still present in the vicinity of the shrine.¹²¹ Allah Diyā and Shaykh Muhammad Akram also described the incident of *Jōgī* but the former argued that Bābā Farīd ordered him to leave Ajōdhan.¹²² While the latter maintains that the *Jōgī* converted and became a sincere disciple of Bābā Farīd. Finally, the Shaykh granted him the *khalāfat nāmāh* of Sīstān.¹²³ However,

¹²⁰Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arīfīn*, 39-40.

¹²¹Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 212.

¹²²Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, tans. Dardai, 190-91.

¹²³Muhammad Akram Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. (Lahore: Mutba Islamia, n.d), 166-67.

information provided by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī is more reliable as compared to both hagiographers as the native people also provided similar information.



Fig 5. *Grave of ‘Abdullah (Bāl Nāth)* (the picture is taken by the researcher)

1.10- The Title “*Ganj-i-Shakar*”

The contemporary *Malfūzāt* does not provide any clue about the title Ganj-i-Shakar. Amīr Hassan Sijzī and Hamīd Qalandar do not mention the title Ganj-i-Shakar, but many other pen down certain events leading to getting that title. Amīr Khūrd, for instance, pointed out that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī granted him that title. It was because when the former Shaykh ordered his beloved *khalīfah* to perform *tayy* (also known as the fast of David) (*Sūm-i-Dawūdī*), (three days fast in which one hardly eats anything except a little water and a few dates) and broke the fast (*iftār*) with food that came from unknown sources. A wine drinker provided food to the Shaykh, but his stomach did not accept it and he started vomiting. When Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī came to know, he suggested performing *tayy* once again. When Bābā Farīd could not find anything, he ate stones which turned into brown sugar.¹²⁴ That’s how he got the title Ganj-i-Shakar. However, Jamālī maintains that Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar because he spent almost seven days in the fast of *tayy*. He fell down due to the slippery place while he was going to his Shaykh’s hospice. In the meanwhile, some mud got into his mouth which turned into brown sugar. After that incident he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.¹²⁵ Another popular anecdote about the title Ganj-i-Shakar is that a caravan of merchants was going to a market for selling their sugar. Bābā Farīd enquired about their goods. They deliberately told a lie that it was salt. When they reached at market, they were surprised that all the sugar had turned into salt. They went back to the Shaykh, told the whole story and apologized. Due to the blessing of the Shaykh, the salt once again turned into sugar.¹²⁶

¹²⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 67-68: See also Hussainī, *Jawām’ al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 412.

¹²⁵Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Arīfīn*, 46-47.

¹²⁶Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 49: See also Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Jawadi, 213: See also Delhwī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 53.

There is yet another popular version of the story for the title Ganj-i-Shakar. In his childhood, Bābā Farīd was very fond of sugar. His mother used to keep some sugar under his prayer mat regularly to keep her son assured that it came from ALLAH Almighty as a reward of prayer. The only objective of this practice was to make him regular in his morning prayer. Surprisingly, once his mother was not at home but Bābā Farīd found the sugar under his prayer mat. That is why he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.¹²⁷

1.11- Daily Routine of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd had a very busy schedule. Although he gave equal time to his audience, his priority remained the arduous worship. All the saints of South Asia have unanimously asserted that no saint excelled Bābā Farīd in his devotion and penitence.¹²⁸ After Morning Prayer, the Shaykh would come to his *hujrah* where no one could enter. There, in his hours long prostration, he would recite, “I die for Thee, I live for Thee”.¹²⁹

Shams Dabīr used to manage the food for Bābā Farīd.¹³⁰ It was the same food eaten by the other people at *Jamā‘t Khānah* without any distinction. However, Bābā Farīd often remained in fast. “He usually broke his fast with *sharbat* and distributed half or two-thirds of the glass among those present in his assembly”. Similarly, if two breads were presented before him, he would break one of the loaves into pieces and distribute among the people”. From the remaining one “he offered some to the selected persons”. The bread weighed less than two pounds and was basted with the layer of fat. After that the Shaykh offered his evening prayer and remained totally absorbed with ALLAH

¹²⁷Asghar, *Jawāhir-i- Farīdī*, 185.

¹²⁸Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 49.

¹²⁹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 224.

¹³⁰Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 104.

Almighty till the time of dinner. After having dinner, the Shaykh used not to eat anything till the breaking of his fast the next evening.¹³¹

1.12- Last days of Bābā Farīd

During the last days of his life, Bābā Farīd and his family faced constant starvation. One of his sons even died due to lack of food.¹³² It was because the *futuh* (gifts) had very much decreased on the order of Shēr Khān, governor of Multān. The constant flow of revenue generated from Multān and Uchach was permanently disrupted. On the other hand, the audience in his *Jamā't Khānah* increased day by day. Unlike Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān, head of Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah*, Bābā Farīd did not accept any *jāgīr* (cultivated lands as fief) from the state. Hence, he faced a very tough situation. The Shaykh was so generous that he did not like to save even a single penny for the next day. Moreover, Balban was also unable to support him as he was fighting other nobles for the throne of the Delhī Sultanate.

Bābā Farīd had a disease of *Khalah* (an affliction of bowel disease (IBD) Inflammatory Bowel Disease) which became the primary cause of his death. Once due to the same disease, Bābā Farīd ordered Khwājah Nizām al-Awliyā' and some other disciples to stay awake at night for worship and pray for his health. On his last night Bābā Farīd offered 'Ishā' prayer with congregation and became unconscious. When he regained his consciousness, he offered night prayer twice.¹³³ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that Bābā Farīd died on Muharram 5th at the age of ninety-three.¹³⁴ Amīr Khūrd, on the other hand, maintains that Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H./ 1174 A.D. and Died in 664 A.H./ 1265 A.D. at the age of ninety-five.¹³⁵

¹³¹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 34.

¹³²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 67.

¹³³Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 127.

¹³⁴Ibid., 34-35.

¹³⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 91.

Furthermore, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' stated that Sa'ad al-Dīn Hamwiyya died first and after three years Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī passed away. Furthermore, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā died three years after the death of the former. Finally, Bābā Farīd died three years after the death of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā.¹³⁶

As Bābā Farīd distributed whatever he received, there was nothing for his funeral and burial. Even bricks were not available for his grave. In the end a door was destroyed to get bricks and the Shaykh's grave was made.¹³⁷ On the night of his death he enquired about Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. A disciple told him that he was at Delhī. The Shaykh also recalled his son Nizām al-Dīn and predicted that he had reached Ajōdhan but would not be able to see him.¹³⁸ Bābā Farīd advised Sayed Muhammad Kirmānī, the grandfather of Amīr Khūrd, to hand over his clothes, prayer mat and 'asā to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. When Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' became aware about the death of his Shaykh, he left for Ajōdhan. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq submitted the Chishtīyyah regalia to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.¹³⁹

1.13- Descendants of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd had five sons and three daughters. The eldest was Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah who was a farmer by profession and a very pious man. However, he was the adopted son of Bābā Farīd and was from the first husband of Umm-i-Kulthūm.¹⁴⁰ Shaykh Bāyazīd was the son of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah while the grandson of

¹³⁶Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 85: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 91.

¹³⁷Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 132.

¹³⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 89-90.

¹³⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 123. Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 59.

¹⁴⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 185-86

Khwājah Nasrullah named Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn was settled in Malwa.¹⁴¹ So the descendants of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn were shifted to Malwa.

Another son of Bābā Farīd named Shihāb al-Dīn was a scholarly man and a good friend of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. He spent most of his time to the company of Bābā Farīd.¹⁴² He had six sons' names as Shaykh Hassām al-Dīn, Shaykh 'Abdul Hamīd, Shaykh Jamshaid, Shaykh Muhammad, Shaykh Mas'ūd and Shaykh 'Alī Shēr.¹⁴³ Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān was the second son of Bābā Farīd, who after mutual consent by his brothers, was appointed as the first *Sajjādah Nashīn* of the shrine of Bābā Farīd. He was buried at the dome of Bābā Farīd.¹⁴⁴ After his death, his elder son, named 'Alā' al-Dīn, popularly known as *Mūj-i-Daryā*, was appointed the second *Sajjādah Nashīn* of the shrine of his grandfather. He got much popularity due to his mystic and saintly life.¹⁴⁵

Nizām al Dīn was the favorite son of Bābā Farīd. He was aggressive by nature. But due to much affection of Shaykh, whatever he did, Bābā Farīd did not show any reaction. He was a solider and due to his bravery was known as Haider the Second. Moreover, he was martyred in the battlefield when the Mongols attacked Ajōdhan. Surprisingly, his dead body was not found.¹⁴⁶ The son of Nizām al-Dīn was Shaykh Ibrāhīm. Sooner or later, most of the grandsons of Bābā Farīd left for Delhī and were attached with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Same is the case with the grandson of Shaykh Nizām

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 198.

¹⁴² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 186.

¹⁴³ Ali Asghar Chishtī, *Jawāhir-i- Farīdī*. (Handwritten Manuscript), 358.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 188-89.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 193.

¹⁴⁶ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 189-90. See also Bulāq, *Shawāhid-i-Nizāmī*, trans. Ali. 145.

al-Dīn bin Bābā Farīd named Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn, who was buried in front of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn’s tomb at Delhī.¹⁴⁷

Another son of Bābā Farīd was Khwājah Ya’qūb who was a *majdhub* and remained busy in worship. He was disappeared by some unknown powers.¹⁴⁸ There were two sons of Khwājah Ya’qūb named Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn and Khwājah Qādī. The former was martyred at Deogir and buried there, while the latter died at Delhī and was buried at (*Chabūtarah-i-Yārān*) the mound of the companions of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.¹⁴⁹ The youngest son of Bābā Farīd was Shaykh ‘Abdullah who died in his young age.¹⁵⁰ He became popular as ‘Abdullah Shah Norang Nūrī. His shrine is situated in the old graveyard of Ajōdhan (Pākpattan).

¹⁴⁷ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 199.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 190.

¹⁴⁹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 197.

¹⁵⁰ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 218.



Fig. 6. *Graveyard and shrine of Shaykh ‘Abdullah* (the picture is taken by the researcher)



Fig. 6.1. Shrine of Shaykh 'Abdullah (the picture is taken by the researcher)

The daughters of Shaykh Farīd mystically surpassed his sons. Among the Shaykh's three daughters,¹⁵¹ the eldest was Bībī Mastūrah who was a saintly woman.¹⁵² She married with Shaykh 'Umar Ṣufī¹⁵³ but became a widow in her youth and never married again.¹⁵⁴ She had two sons, Khwājah 'Azīz al-Dīn and Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn. Like many other paternal and maternal grandsons of Bābā Farīd, 'Azīz al-Dīn also remained attached to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and showed great affection to him. 'Azīz al-Dīn was an excellent calligrapher. He also wrote the *Malfūzāt* Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' entitled *Tuhfat al-Abrār Karāmāt al-Akhyār*. Most of the *Malfūzāt* was

¹⁵¹Muftī Ghulām Sarwar mentioned four daughters of Bābā Farīd, the fourth one was married with 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar. Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā*. Vol.1 302.

¹⁵²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 191.

¹⁵³Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 436.

¹⁵⁴Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 51-52.

overseen by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' himself.¹⁵⁵ However, the *Malfūzāt* is not available now. The second son, Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn was also attached to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Due to great devotion to his Shaykh, he spent his whole life with him and was buried at the mound of the Companions at Delhī.¹⁵⁶

Similarly, the second daughter Bībī Sharīfah, was a woman of great spiritual faculties and Bābā Farīd often proclaimed that if the *sharī'ah* had allowed him, he would have appointed her as his spiritual successor as well as his *Sajjādah Nashīn*. Like Bībī Mastūrah, she also became a widow in her youth and did not marry again.¹⁵⁷ She has no children.¹⁵⁸ The third daughter named Bībī Fātimah, was married to one of the prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd, named Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī. She was brought to Delhī after her husband's death by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. When it became popular that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' wanted to marry her, he left for Ajōdhan to visit his Shaykh's shrine, but Bībī Fātimah died before his return to Delhī. She was buried in mausoleum of his brother Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. Bībī Fātimah had two sons; the eldest Imām Muhammad, and the younger Imām Musa. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' took great care of both grandsons of Bābā Farīd. Imām Muhammad was more famous among all the other maternal grandsons of the Shaykh.¹⁵⁹ He got the *khalāfat* from Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. The Shaykh also allowed him to take *bay'at*, appointed him as Imām in the mosque, and no one could sit at a place higher than Imām Muhammad. He had good command on the science of music. Both

¹⁵⁵ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 202.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 203.

¹⁵⁷ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 191.

¹⁵⁸ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. 376: See also Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 312-14.

¹⁵⁹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 191-93.

brothers spent their whole life with Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and were buried at the Mound of the Companions.¹⁶⁰

1.14- Miracles of Bābā Farīd

Much has been written on the divine authority of the saints. Both hagiographical and historiographical literature presents many supernatural events of different saints. Simon Digby has done an excellent work on the authority of the saints, particularly the Chishtī Ṣūfīs in South Asia. It was a common belief that the Ṣūfīs, particularly the South Asian saints had such spiritual powers that they could bestow the kingdom to any person on the spot. Moreover, they also had the power to abolish the rule of any ruler.¹⁶¹ For instance, 'Alā' al-Dīn Mūj-i-Diryā granted throne of Delhī to the Tughlaq family of Dīpāl Pur. Moreover, Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d.1220) wreaked vengeance on the Central Asian popular emperor 'Alā' al-Dīn Khwārazm Shah. The Shaykh said, "Khwārazm Shah and his whole kingdom were the blood price for the murder of one of his disciples."¹⁶² That's why the emperor was defeated by Changīz Khān and lost his empire. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī protected Multān from the Mongols through his spiritual power. Same is the case with the hagiography compiled by Amīr Khūrd. Miracle is one of the significant prowess of the life of Bābā Farīd. After a deep and thorough study of *Siyar al- Awliyā'*, particularly the portion dedicated to Bābā Farīd, he presented a portrayal of Bābā Farīd as a unique and matchless Ṣūfī in the field of spirituality or divine power. That's why he used the title Shaykh al- Shayūkh al- 'Alam (preceptor of the wholly saints of the world) for Bābā Farīd.

¹⁶⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 200-01.

¹⁶¹Simon Digby, *The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims and to Authority in Medieval India*. Journal of Persian Studies, vol. 20. (1990), 75.

¹⁶²Ibid., 71.

Numerous miracles of Bābā Farīd have been described by the hagiographers and historians of every era. However, the most important miracle of the Shaykh, as mentioned above, was his great love for the human being. Some other well-known miracles are like that of Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn Mainaī, a devotee of Bābā Farīd (who performed the duty as the Shaykh's helper during his inverted *chillah*'s practice). He was an illiterate person who became an excellent orator due to the Shaykh's prayer.¹⁶³ Similarly, in another miracle, an oil dealer who lived near Ajōdhan lost his wife. The dārūgha (governor or sometime used as in charge of police) of Dīpāl Pur invaded the oil-dealer's village and captured all the men and women including his beloved wife. The oil-dealer visited Bābā Farīd and told the Shaykh about the whole incident. Furthermore, he also told the Shaykh that he could not live without his wife. At the same time, *dīwān* of the same governor appeared before Bābā Farīd as a prisoner and requested the Shaykh to pray for his release. Bābā Farīd predicted his release and job restoration. The Shaykh further predicted that the governor would give him a slave lady as a gift which he should hand over to the oil-dealer. The *dīwān* promised to do as advised by the Shaykh. Upon hearing the conversation between *dīwān* and the Shaykh, the oil-dealer claimed that he had enough money to purchase even forty or fifty slave girls. However, he desired to get his own wife back. On the order of Bābā Farīd, he left along with the *dīwān*. Surprisingly, the governor released him, restored his job and gifted him a slave girl who was none other but the beloved wife of the oil-dealer.¹⁶⁴

Similarly, Muhammad Shah Ghurī was one of the sincere disciples of Bābā Farīd. Once he visited his Shaykh with great apprehension and distress. He informed Bābā Farīd

¹⁶³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 70.

¹⁶⁴Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Niẓāmī, 236-38: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 44-45. Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 83-84. Although Amīr Khūrd narrate that incident with the reference of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī, however, he therefore did not provide such detail.

that his brother was on his death bed and possibly would have passed away until now. Bābā Farīd told him, “Go! your brother has recovered”. Upon reaching his home, Muhammad Shah found his brother fit and eating food.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ used a beard’s hair of Bābā Farīd as a *ta’wīz* (amulet) for the treatment of his disciples for every disease. Everyone was cured due to that sacred hair. More surprisingly some time amulet disappeared mysteriously which was omen that person was soon to die.¹⁶⁶

Bābā Farīd also used to protect his disciples from any danger and sins. For instance, when Muhammad of Naishāpur, a prominent disciple of the Shaykh, was travelling to Gujrāt and saw dacoits ready to attack him. He cried out, “Help me Shaykh, help me Shaykh”. On hearing this, the dacoits threw away their swords and cried out “grant us protection” and ran away.¹⁶⁷ Once a *qalandar* visited Bābā Farīd while he was busy in his meditation in his *hujrah*. At that time, no one could visit the Shaykh. The same *qalandar* sat on the blanket placed by a disciple of Bābā Farīd. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq served him with food. After finishing his food, the mendicant became engaged in making a juice of green grass known as *anbān* (*bhang*). Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq did not like his action and rebuked him as his juice fell on the blanket of Bābā Farīd. The *qalandar* became infuriated and tried to hurl the same cup on Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. Bābā Farīd himself came out from the *hujrah*, caught the hand of the *qalandar*, and apologized on the behalf of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. The *qalandar* at the request of Bābā Farīd struck the cup against the wall which fell at once.¹⁶⁸ Likewise, the Shaykh slapped a young man who was going from Delhī to Ajōdhan for repentance on his hand.

¹⁶⁵Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 143: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 85-86: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 38-39.

¹⁶⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 78: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 52.

¹⁶⁷Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 51: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 53.

¹⁶⁸Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 42.

On the way, he was attracted by a whore singer and, for this reason, he was slapped. In this way, the young man did not indulge in the sin and later when he reached before Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, the Shaykh told him that ALLAH protected him that day.¹⁶⁹

On another occasion five Ṣufīs visited Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan and claimed that they had visited many places in the search of a man of great spiritual authority but failed. Bābā Farīd said that he would show them their desired saint if they stayed and waited for some time at his *khānqāh*. They did not listen to Bābā Farīd and left his hospice. Bābā Farīd further advised them not to choose the forest route. But again, they did not pay any attention to the Shaykh's suggestion. In the end, all five were found dead on their way as Bābā Farīd had predicted about their death just after their departure from the *Jamā't Khānah*.¹⁷⁰ On another occasion, when Maulānā Muhammad Multānī, a disciple of Bābā Farīd, could not find a sheet for food, Bābā Farīd made a circle around the food with his finger and said, "Maulānā Muhammad! If the spreading sheet is not available, then this circular mark drawn will have the order of that spreading sheet. Eat food".¹⁷¹ Similarly, there was a town situated some thirty-four *farsangs* from Ajōdhan which was ruled by a cruel Turk named Qashal Khānī Turk. He had an eagle which was very dear to him. Although he had already warned his *Amīr-i-shikar* (in charge of hunting) that if he lost that eagle, he would kill his whole family. The *Amīr-i-shikar* lost the same eagle and when after his utmost effort failed to get it back, he visited Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan and told him whole story. Bābā Farīd offered him food but he was unable to eat. After realizing his miserable condition, Bābā Farīd informed him that his eagle was sitting on the castle. The *Amīr-i-shikar* captured the eagle and returned. The Turk ruler was

¹⁶⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 85: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-Ārifīn*, 38.

¹⁷⁰Sijzī, *Fawā'id al Fuād*, 154: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 86: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-Ārifīn*, 41.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 47.

previously not a well-wisher of Bābā Farīd. However, after hearing of that miracle, he became a disciple of Bābā Farīd.¹⁷² Moreover, the *Amīr-i-shikar* abandoned worldly life, became a devotee of Bābā Farīd, and spent his whole life with his Shaykh.¹⁷³

A person came to Bābā Farīd and requested to bestow on him his ox which he had lost few days ago. Bābā Farīd pointed out a place where he could find the ox. The person went there and found his lost ox exactly at the same place. Similarly, a man lost his horse and requested the Shaykh that he wanted that same horse. Bābā Farīd replied that he had granted him two other horses instead of that one, but the disciple insisted to have back his own horse. The Shaykh increased the number to seventy, but he did not accept any alternative. Finally, Bābā Farīd told him that he will find his horse soon. After a few days, he found his horse and within a month, got another seventy horses.¹⁷⁴

Likewise, some mendicants wearing black attire visited Bābā Farīd at his hospice. He ordered them to bring their leader to his *hujrah*. When he arrived, the Shaykh had the door of that room closed. Moreover, Bābā Farīd ordered his disciples not to give him any food. The rest of the followers stayed at the *Jamā't Khānah* and were treated as guests. Bābā Farīd visited the leader on the third day and told him that the door will only be opened if he agrees to convert to Islam. He embraced Islam and confessed before Shaykh that he was a *jinnī* and no one in Hindūstān and Khurāsān could recognize him for the last thirty years.¹⁷⁵ In another incidence one of the disciples of Bābā Farīd complained that his fruit trees always produced bitter fruit. Bābā Farīd took the fruit in his hand and said, "O fruit! don't become bitter again." After that, the tree produced fine fruit.¹⁷⁶ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' saw a dream that he tried to

¹⁷²Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 147-50: See also Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifin*, 43-44.

¹⁷³Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifin*, 43-44.

¹⁷⁴Hamād bin 'Ammād Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 65-66.

¹⁷⁵Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 66-67.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 147-48.

enter in an assembly of Şufīs but one of those did not allow him to participate. However, after some time, Bābā Farīd came in the same gathering and told him that he had accepted Nizām al-Dīn as his disciple. After hearing this the former Şufī allowed Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' to join them.¹⁷⁷

One of the main doctrines in the Naqshbandīyyah and Awaisīyyah *silsilah* is that demised saints bestow more spiritual bounties compared to the living saints. Numerous anecdotes have been found in both primary and secondary Şufī literature about the blessing of deceased Shayūkh. Similarly, there are numerous miracles related to Bābā Farīd that occurred after his death. One such miracle which became popular among the people of Pākpatan was death of a child at the shrine of Bābā Farīd during the 1980s. The same child became alive when his mother constantly implored before the Shaykh.¹⁷⁸

1.15- *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd

The *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd, according to K.A Nizami, was “one of the greatest spiritual centers in medieval India”.¹⁷⁹ There was a large space in the *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd where all kind of people from every religion came to seek his blessing. It was a religious and educational center for the disciples. It was also a heaven for those who did not have any source of income and were downtrodden. The *Jamā't Khānah* remained open till midnight and did not required any permission for entry. Moreover, no prior appointment necessary to see Bābā Farīd. Everyone was equal in Shaykh's eyes; either they were his disciples, *khulafā'*, politicians, sons or even the non-believers.

¹⁷⁷Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 74.

¹⁷⁸Farooq Hamid, *The Hagiographic Process: The Case of Medieval Chishtī Sufī Farīd al-Dīn Mus'ūd Ganj-i Shakar* (d. 664/1265). *The Muslim World*, Vol.90. (Fall 2000), 428.

¹⁷⁹Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Dīn Ganj-I-Shakar*, 46.

Mainly, the *khānqāh* or the *Jamā't Khānah* were used for three social and spiritual purposes. Firstly, its rooms were allotted to the guests or the visitors. Secondly, many disciples lived there; and thirdly, smaller rooms known as *Zāwīyah* were used for the training of the mystics. *Zāwīyah* were apartments where future saints like Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' or Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq were trained. All the visitors were treated as guests in the *Jamā't Khānah* for three days. However, after that time they were considered natives of the *Jamā't Khānah* and were supposed to participate as helpers in the *Jamā't Khānah*'s related activities. There were strict meditational and ethical rules which were applicable to all the dwellers of the *Jamā't Khānah*. The Shaykh himself and the manager of the *Jamā't Khānah* carefully supervised the application of these rules. Anyone who violated the rules (skipped prayer or became rude with elder etc.) was strictly punished. The application of such meditational, ethical and moral rules produced many Chishtī Ṣūfīs in the *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd. *Samā'*, *'urs* (death anniversaries of saints) and *lungar* (free food for public) were other social elements of the *Jamā't Khānah* and had also great importance regarding the strength of the disciples.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, as far as educational achievement of the *Jamā't Khānah* is concerned, it produced numerous intellectual Ṣūfīs. Bābā Farīd himself was the main tutor of the *Jamā't Khānah* who had not only command on Islamic *sharī'ah* but also of Hinduism. Moreover, the Shaykh had great spiritual power. He convinced many anti-Ṣūfīs with his knowledge and wisdom. One such example includes Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī who latter on became one of the leading *khalīfah* of the great Shaykh.

As far as impartiality and equality is concerned, Bābā Farīd presented practical examples for his disciples. For instance, he always used to sit amongst his disciples on

¹⁸⁰Balwant Singh Anand, *Bābā Farīd*. (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1975), 19-21.

the ground, there was no bed or chair to distinguish the Shaykh from his audience. Once he had severe pain in his feet and had to sit on the bed but after realizing that his audience were sitting on the ground, he expressed his condition and apologized to them.¹⁸¹ Such examples are hardly found in modern society. As stated above the *Jamā't Khānah* was the heaven for the poorer, needy and every oppressed person who was victimized by the ministers and qādī etc. No one, including the powerful Sultān, dared to interfere in the affairs of the *Jamā't Khānah*.¹⁸² The Shaykh did not have any type of protocol there. Bābā Farīd did not make any special arrangements for the education of his children. His disciples used to teach his sons and grandsons along with the children of common people from Ajōdhan.

The contemporary Suhrwardīyyah *khānqāh*, however, followed different rules to those of the *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd. It was mandatory for visitors to get prior permission to visit Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. Moreover, the common man was not allowed to see the Shaykh. The Shaykh had made a schedule and the influential people visited him during specified hours. As far as food is concerned, the Suhrwardīyyah *khānqāh* used not to serve equal standard of food. The rich were served with the higher standard of food, the poor with ordinary food. Moreover, only invited people were served food. The rest of the disciples did not receive any food. Regarding the lifestyle of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, he kept permanent stocks of grain, held numerous *jāgīr*, and had numerous sources of income. He also arranged highly qualified teachers for his sons and paid them a handsome salary.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Rahmān, *Bazm-i-Şufīyah*, 136.

¹⁸² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 196.

¹⁸³ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 54-55.

1.16- Managers of the *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd divided the departments of *Jamā't Khānah* into several categories and appointed his eminent disciples as managers or supervisors of each category. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was the most prominent among the supervisors and was in charge of multiple departments, such as finance and internal/external affairs of the *Jamā't Khānah* (looking after visitors, providing food and shelter etc. to them).¹⁸⁴ Likewise, he was solely responsible to take the *bay'at* of those people who showed their desires of initiation at the *Jamā't Khānah*.¹⁸⁵ He was also in charge of the amulet department. However, later, permission was also granted to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.¹⁸⁶ Bābā Farīd sought the opinion of his Shaykh about amulet. He allowed him, saying, "this work rests neither in your hand nor in mine. The amulet is ALLAH's name. Write it and give them ALLAH's word".¹⁸⁷ Not only Muslims but also Hindus showed great desire to get amulets.¹⁸⁸ Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq had also the responsibility of preparing the *khalāfat nāmah* for each *khalīfah*.¹⁸⁹ However, the rectification of the *khalāfat nāmah* was the responsibility of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī and Qādī Muntakhab al-Dīn of Delhī.¹⁹⁰

1.17- Domestic Managers of Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan

Khwājah Muhammad Mahmūd Kirmānī, grandfather of Amīr Khūrd was in charge of the household duties Bābā Farīd. He served his Shaykh almost eighteen years.¹⁹¹ Ahmad

¹⁸⁴ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā'*, 86.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 173.

¹⁸⁶ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 429-30: See also Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 125

¹⁸⁷ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 125: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 429-30.

¹⁸⁸ Mushir al-Haq, *The Mission of Bābā Farīd, Perspectives on Shaikh Farīd*, ed. Gurbachan Singh Tālib (Patiala: Bābā Farīd Memorial Society, 1975), 114.

¹⁸⁹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā'*, 175.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 116.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 208-10.

Sistanī was another domestic manager of Bābā Farīd. He was assigned the duty of washerman (*dhobī*) and fetching water for Shaykh's bath and ablution.¹⁹² Similarly, other domestic matters of Bābā Farīd was managed by 'Isā and his wife.¹⁹³

1.18- Relationship with the Common People and the Ruling Elite

The Shaykh loved solitude, but it became impossible in Ajōdhan. There was no limit to the number of daily visitors. There was no difference between his public and private life. He distributed everything which he received among the mendicants and visitors.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, to maintain the self-respect of his audience Bābā Farīd enquired about such religious issues that were quite acquainted to the visitors.¹⁹⁵ The Shaykh advised his disciples to try to make their enemies happy and to give a due share to the deserving.¹⁹⁶

The Shaykh did not like to make any attachment with the ruling elite. When Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-66) marched toward Multān, he passed through Ajōdhan. Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban, who at that time was known as Alagh Khān (prime minister), visited Bābā Farīd and offered some money and ownership of four villages. Ghiyās al-Dīn further explained that money is for the *darwaish* and land is for the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd accepted the gift of money and replied, "Give me money. I will distribute among the *darwaish*". But he declined the offer of the land and said, "there are many who long for them. Give them away to such person".¹⁹⁷ Moreover, when some irregularities and embezzlements were found in the account of Nizām al-Dīn *Kharīdār* who had built a hospice for Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, the latter requested Bābā

¹⁹²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 86-87.

¹⁹³Ibid., 184.

¹⁹⁴Sijzī, *Fawā'id al Fuād*, 49

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 60.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 90.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., 66.

Farīd to pray for his safety. Bābā Farīd said: “our spiritual ancestors did not follow this practice of building hospices, he who opts to build a hospice will experience what you are now experiencing.”¹⁹⁸

Later, however, Bābā Farīd opened his gate even for the ruling elite and accepted the request of Sultān Nasīr al- Dīn Mahmūd who wanted to visit the great Shaykh along with his army. It was panicky for the Shaykh because the army men were in great numbers. Finally, the Shaykh put his clothes on the wall. The people came to kiss that cloth and moved forward. In the end, that cloth was also torn into pieces. Bābā Farīd finally went to the mosque and asked his disciples to make a circle around him to avoid the people. Among those visitors one was an old *farash* (keeper of royal carpets) who broke the circle and fell on the Shaykh’s feet so that he might kiss them. Although it was really disturbing for the Shaykh, the *farash* cried and claimed: “O Shaykh! do you feel annoyed? Give thanks to ALLAH for that blessing He bestowed on you!”. Bābā Farīd began to weep, embraced the old man and apologized to him.¹⁹⁹

Bābā Farīd also sent letters to the Sultān and governors on the behalf of the downtrodden. In this regard, once an ‘*Amil* (official) visited Bābā Farīd, complained against the governor, and requested the Shaykh to intervene. Bābā Farīd sent someone to the governor, who, at first, did not give any answer but after some time, appeared before Bābā Farīd and apologized him²⁰⁰ for his late response.

1.19- Devotion with ALLAH Almighty

From the very beginning, Bābā Farīd was fully devoted toward ALLAH Almighty. Such attention increased day by day and reached its pinnacle during the last days of the

¹⁹⁸Sijzī, *Fawā'id al Fuād*, 52-53.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., 94.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 95.

Shaykh's life. Love of God overwhelmed him. Such was his spiritual state and absorption in the love of God that He would even sometimes fail to recognize his dearest fellows as when a disciple conveys greetings from his own favorite son, Makhdūm Zāda Nizām al-Dīn, Bābā Farīd asked: "who is he?"²⁰¹ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintained that besides the prescribed prayers, Bābā Farīd often and above performed prostrates and recited the verse:

*az bahr tu meeram az baaray tu zeem*²⁰²(I die for You, just as I live for You)

When his son 'Abdullah was on his death bed due to starvation, his wife raised that issue in front of the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd maintained that a rope be fastened to his leg and he be thrown out of the room. It was because Bābā Farīd at that time was in prostration and due to the interference of his wife his ecstatic condition was vanished otherwise, he evidences great humanity and had not only great love for his children but for all the human beings.

1.20- The Practice of Initiation (*Bay'at*)

Bābā Farīd's methodology of taking *bay'at* from new devotee was as follows: the Shaykh used to advice recitation of *surah al-Fatiha*, *al-Akhlās*, the last verse of *al-Baqarah*, and the seventeenth and eighteenth verses of *surah Āle 'Imrān*. Then he used to take oath from them that they would follow the Islamic *sharī'ah* and would look after their hands, feet and eyes.²⁰³ This meant that they would not harm anybody with their hands, would not go to do anything evil, and would not look at vulgar things with their eyes.

²⁰¹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al Fuād*, 138.

²⁰²Ibid., 127.

²⁰³Jāndār, *Durr-e-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 136.

Similarly, when any of his disciples requested him to bestow *khalāfat nāmāh* without complete spiritual training, Bābā Farīd realized the spiritual weakness and then used to demonstrate their deficiency to their satisfaction. For instance, a disciple named Yūsuf complained before Bābā Farīd that he had served the Shaykh many years but did not get any bounty while during the same period others have secured bounty and successorship (*khalāfat nāmāh*). Bābā Farīd ordered his four years old grandson to bring a brick from the heap of the bricks (Bābā Farīd did not tell the child for whom he was bringing the brick. However, he had informed Yūsuf that the brick is for himself i.e. the Shaykh). The boy carried an intact brick. Similarly, the boy was ordered to bring three more bricks (those were for Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq). Again, the boy brought intact bricks. However, upon Yūsuf's turn the child brought only a half brick. After this demonstration Bābā Farīd told Yūsuf "what can I do when one is not equal to others? It is the distinction of ALLAH Almighty, take what ALLAH Almighty granted and carry out thanksgiving".²⁰⁴

When Bābā Farīd bestowed the robe of *khalāfat (khirqah)* to anyone, he used to speak these words: "this is the dress of piety and fruits of the next world for the pious". The Shaykh used to give the following advice to his *khulafā* after granting them the robe: never upset anybody with your tongue and hands, never look at vulgar things with your eyes, always depend only on ALLAH Almighty, remain busy in worship and meditation, and keep the heart free from worldly desires.²⁰⁵ Likewise, shaving heads was also indispensable for everyone who joined the circle of Bābā Farīd.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifin*, 57-58.

²⁰⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 323.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 54.

1.21- Philosophy of Bābā Farīd

The philosophy of Bābā Farīd is primarily a two-fold agenda. One aspect moves around his association with ALLAH Almighty which led him toward *riyāḍat*, devotion, arduous worship and meditation. The second is his relationship with mankind which is loving human beings and taking great care not to hurt anyone. Bābā Farīd, as mentioned above, from a very young age had a great devotion with ALLAH Almighty, and as he grew older that relation got further strengthened.

All the spiritual successors (*khulafā'*) of Bābā Farīd strictly followed the humanistic and moral rules of the Shaykh. If anyone bypassed these rules, Bābā Farīd never compromised and expelled such *khalīfah* from his company as well as from Chishtīyah *silsilah*. For instance, when Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' gave scholarly answers to the questions raised by Shaykh al-Islam, a worldly man who came from Delhī to surpass Bābā Farīd. Bābā Farīd ordered his beloved *khalīfah* to leave his *Jamā't Khānah* because his answers hurt Shaykh al-Islam. The Shaykh made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims, and he disdain the view of the orthodox '*ulema*' that Hindus were disbelievers. As a Ṣufī, he did not have a preaching center, nor was it his objective to convert people. But if someone showed his/her desire for conversion, he readily made them to embrace Islam.²⁰⁷ Due to such policies both the common people and ruling class of Hindus showed great respect toward the Shaykh and even after his death they visited his shrine.²⁰⁸ It was due to his great love for the human being that large number of tribes and castes of Indo-Pāk converted to Islam. Whether they were government ministers or Sultāns, poor or rich, Muslims or non-Muslims, his door remained opened

²⁰⁷B.S. Anand, *Bābā Farīd*. (Lahore: Suchet Kitab Ghar, 2001), 30-31.

²⁰⁸Satya Prakash, "Baba Shaikh Farīd Shakar Ganj" in *Baba Shaikh Farīd: Life and Teachings*, ed. Gurbachan Singh Tālib. (New Delhi: Parnassus Publishers, 1973), 17.

for everyone. On the other hand, anyone who visited the Shaykh for getting worldly desires he did not like. He often recited the verses, “anybody who has a desire for popularity, his house is outside the Shaykh’s room”.²⁰⁹ Similarly, when one of his disciples gifted Bābā Farīd a pair of scissors, he asked him to give him a needle instead as its function was to combine things (and not to cut like scissor).²¹⁰

Bābā Farīd lived a liberal life as compared to his preceptors. Although not making any relations with kings is one of the main doctrines of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. However, the Shaykh allowed Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-1266) to come to his hospice along with his army. He accepted Hindus as his disciples without converting them to Islam.²¹¹ One cannot find such a liberal policy elsewhere in the Ṣufī *silsilah* in the Indian Subcontinent. Perhaps Bābā Farīd was the first Muslim saint who established relationship with the Hindu theologians or intellectuals.²¹² As a result of which he was recognized as the most popular of all the Muslim saints among the Hindus.²¹³ The Shaykh also had a great knowledge and command of Hinduism. Even the Hindu *yōgīs* used to come to Bābā Farīd and had discussed their religious views with him. The Shaykh not only appreciated their philosophical ideas, but also commented on them.²¹⁴ Later on, successors such as Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī, not only translated the *Bhagavat-Gītā* of Hinduism but also declared the *Vedas* and *Bhagavat-Gītā* as divine books.

²⁰⁹ Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 126.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 323.

²¹¹ *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, ed. N.N. Bhattacharyya. (New Delhi: Munshi ram Manoharlal Publishers, 1989), 77.

²¹² M. Abdullah Chagatai, *Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Lahore: Kitab Khana Nauras, 1968), 9.

²¹³ *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, ed. Bhattacharyya, 75.

²¹⁴ Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 56.

Bābā Farīd spent a very simple and austere life, and strongly opposed materialism. He had only one blanket on which he used to sit during the daytime and used to sleep under it in the night. He did not like taking loans and desired the same for his disciples. He said: “anyone who is my disciple cannot take a loan”. However, once a scribe complained to the Shaykh that he had not any paper and ink, then he allowed him to borrow three dirhams.²¹⁵ He also emphasized the renunciation of the world and the worldly desires. He maintained that whenever a person repudiates the world and worldly desires, ALLAH Almighty throws the world and the worldly people (the ruling elite) under his feet.²¹⁶ Furthermore, to counter materialism, he described three categories of *zakat* which are *zakat-i- shari‘ah*, *zakat-i-tariqah* and *zakat-i-haqiqat*. *Zakat-i-shari‘ah* is a *zakat* in which a man gives five dirhams from two hundred-dirhams, in *zakat-i-tariqah*, one possesses only five dirham and distributes the rest (one hundred and ninety-five dirhams), and in *zakat-i-haqiqat* (alms of truth), one gives away everything and keeps nothing.²¹⁷

He followed a non-violent policy and appreciated when his successors did the same. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ tolerated Sharf al-Dīn Qaiāmī, who spoke ill words against Bābā Farīd. On his forbearance, the Shaykh greatly cherished his beloved successor.²¹⁸ This was his lesson and teaching for his disciples.²¹⁹

1.22- Conversion

South Asian Muslims belong to multi-ethnic groups such as ‘Arab, Afghān and Persian; these three groups being the emigrant Muslims. The majority of people converted to

²¹⁵Jāndār, *Durr -e-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 170-72.

²¹⁶ Ibid. P. 181.

²¹⁷Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 69: See also Jāndār, *Durr-e- Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 113.

²¹⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 83.

²¹⁹Chishtī, *Taj al- 'Ārifīn*, 228.

Islam were South Asian natives. These people were converted by the Şufīs, and the notion of their forceful conversion is not reliable. The Şufīs did not propagate Islam but tried to spread its true message of ‘love with God’ and ‘spirituality’.²²⁰ Similarly, their folk literature and supernatural powers are other causes of the conversion of the Hindus.²²¹ The early *tadhkirāt* as well as the modern historians has also discussed these conversions. Regarding the Chishtī Şufīs, Jamālī, for instance, mentioned numerous non-believers who converted at the hand of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī.²²² Similarly, ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī mentioned different tribes like Siyāl, Pholeban, Sarsachōliyan, Jhakarwalī, Dahkīyyan who converted at the hand of Bābā Farīd.²²³ Additionally, K.A Nizami argued that eleven tribes including the Siyāl, Sarang waliyan, Bahliyan, Adhkan, Jhakar waliyan, Bakkan, Hakan, Sian, Khōkhar, Dhudhī and Tōbe were also converted to Islam by Bābā Farīd.²²⁴ On the other hand Jaffar Qassimi avers that sixteen tribes were converted at his hand.²²⁵ Similarly, Shaykh Muhammad Ikram mentioned numerous famous tribes of Punjab converted at the hand of Bābā Farīd which include the Siyāl, Rājput and Wattū.²²⁶ Pīr Ajmal argued that Bābā Farīd converted thirty casts or tribes.²²⁷ Similarly, ALLAH Bakhsh Tariq mentioned that the Siyāl, Waraq, Waraich, Cheema, Tawāna, Gonadal, Khīra, Hīraj, Wattū, Khōkhar, Dhudhi, Dōgar, Arian, Joya, Bhākharī, Nihārī and Goghera.²²⁸ People

²²⁰Zawwar Hussain Zaidi, *Conversion to Islam in South Asia: Problems in Analysis*. The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. Vol. 6, No, 1. (1989), 93-107.

²²¹Richard M. Eaton, *Sufi Folk Literature and Expansion of Indian Islam*. History of Religion vol. 14 No, 2, (1974), 125-27.

²²²Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arifīn*, 13: see also Burjor Avari, *Islamic Civilization in South Asia: A history of Muslim Power and Presence in the Indian subcontinent*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 54

²²³Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 206 & 271.

²²⁴Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 107.

²²⁵Jaffar Qasimi, *Bābā Farīd ud Din Masud Ganj -I- Shakar*. (Lahore: R. C. D. Cultural Institute West Pakistan Branch, 1971), 20.

²²⁶Shaykh Muhammad Ikram, *'Āb-i-Kauthar*. (Lahore: department of Islamic Heritage, 2015), 222.

²²⁷Chishtī. *Tāj al- 'Arifīn*, 228.

²²⁸Mian Allah Bakhsh Tariq, *Tārīkh-i-Pākpattan*. (Lahore: Saman Printers, 1994), 59.

converted owing to the Shaykh's high spiritual level, great knowledge and understanding of Islam and Hinduism and more specifically his great love for humanity.

1.23- Bābā Farīd and Expansion of the Chishtīyyah *Silsilah*

Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan led the foundation of Chishtīyyah order in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī further strengthened it. However, it reached its culmination under Bābā Farīd. His *Jamā't Khānah* was a heaven for downtrodden people of every religion on one hand and a great educational and spiritual center on the other. The introduction of *Zawīyah* in *Jamā't Khānah* provided enough eminent successors to Bābā Farīd which spread his spiritual mission in different parts of South Asia and beyond.

As far as the expansion of Chishtīyyah is concerned, when Bābā Farīd left Delhī, he appointed three prominent *khulafā'* namely Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil and Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn to maintain the Chishtīyyah ascendancy there. Here is the detail of some of his prominent spiritual successors.

1.23.1- Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'

Muhammad bin Ahmad Bedouinī popularly known as Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was a distinguished *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. He was also the founder of most celebrated branch of Chishtī order known as Nizāmīyyah. Besides his Shaykh, credit also goes to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' who popularized and expanded the Chishtī *silsilah* in the whole Subcontinent. It was a great decision of Bābā Farīd to grant the *khalāfat nāmah* of Delhī to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Delhī was the capital of Muslim empire where the best spiritually trained successor was required to provide guidance to the people. As mentioned earlier the main principle of the Chishtīyyah doctrine was

that head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* would not make any relationship with the Sultān or king. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', however, accepted the *bay'at* of the nobles, ministers and even the descendants of the Sultān. It is natural that when masses show more attachment toward saints than the Sultān, the feeling of jealousy is automatically created in the heart of the Sultān. In such an environment, the anti-Şufī elements also became very active. In this regard, Bābā Farīd required a *khalīfah* who could tolerate the Sultān, the qādī and the ruling elite. Under the given circumstances Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was the best option.

It was the great training of Bābā Farīd that the people of excessive intellects joined the circle of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Legendary poets like Amīr Khusru and Amīr Hassan Sijzī and the popular historian like Diyā al-Dīn Barnī were the disciples of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Similarly, he had many *khulafā'*; the most eminent include Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī, Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Allāma, Fakhar al-Dīn Zarrādī, 'Alā' al-Dīn Nēlī, Wajīh al-Dīn Pailī, Hassām al-Dīn Multānī, Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn Munawwar and Shams al-Dīn Yahyā. Moreover, the powerful Sultāns such as Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1290-96), Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1296-1316) and Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r. 1325-1351) were also his devotees. Similarly, sons of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī named Shādī Khān and Khedar Khān were also his disciples. There is no doubt that the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* reached its zenith due to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', the eminent *khalīfah* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-Shakar. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' died in 1325 A.D. and was buried in the village of Ghiyās Pur at Delhī.

1.23.2- Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn

He was another prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd at Delhī. Bābā Farīd accepted anyone as his legitimate *khalīfah* only if Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn (who was a brother of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb the later was an eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā') and Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī endorsed his *khalāfat nāmah*. Even Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn also got ratified his *khalāfat nāmah* from Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn at Delhī.²²⁹ The contemporary sources provide little information about Qādī Muntajab al-Dīn and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir.

1.23.3- Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil

Among Shaykh's prominent *khulafā'*, one was Bābā Farīd's own brother named Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. He lived an ascetic life and even did not know about the current day or month.²³⁰ Bābā Farīd, after the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, left Delhī and ordered his brother to stay there. He visited Bābā Farīd nineteen times at Ajōdhan and spent almost seventy years in Delhī. He died in Ramḍān 9, 659 A.H./ August 7, 1261 A.D. and was buried outside the *mandah* gate.²³¹ 'Alī Asghar Chishtī mentioned three sons of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil named as Shaykh Ismail, Shaykh Ahmad and Shaykh Muhammad.²³²

1.23.4- Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq Delhwī

Badr al-Dīn Ishāq bin 'Alī bin Ishāq hailed from Delhī and was a famous theologian. He was an anti-Şufī at first. While leaving for Bukhara to resolve some jurisprudence issues, inadvertently he visited Bābā Farīd at his hospice at Ajōdhan. Shaykh Farīd al-

²²⁹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 116.

²³⁰ Ibid., 167.

²³¹ Ibid., 169.

²³² Asghar, *Jawāhir-i- Farīdī*, 440.

Dīn resolved all his questions without enquiring him. Badr al-Dīn was so impressed that he became the Shaykh's disciple. He was so much in love with his Shaykh that he left his relatives and settled in Ajōdhan forever. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was very much attached with his Shaykh and spent most of his time in serving his mentor. According to Khwājah Nizām al- Dīn Awliyā', the devotion and love of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq for his Shaykh was much more than any of the disciples. He further said that ten disciples together could not serve the Shaykh to the extent as alone by Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. The Shaykh too showed great love and affection toward him and even married one of his daughters to him. He was one of the active and powerful managers and in charge of Bābā Farīd's *Jamā't Khānah*. Bābā Farīd also granted him permission to take *bay'at* from the audience. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, after the death of Bābā Farīd, left the *Jamā't Khānah* due to some misunderstandings between him and the elder son of Bābā Farīd, Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān and shifted to the Jamia' mosque of Ajōdhan. He died in 1291-92 A.D. and was buried in the same mosque.²³³ He was one of the leading scholars of his era and compiled a masterpiece in Arabic grammar entitled *Tasrīf-e-Badarī*.²³⁴ Though the book is not available now, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' once had an autographed copy of it.²³⁵

Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was equally popular and spiritually recognized. He also had many disciples but no sub-order or *silsilah* (like Khwājah Nizām al- Dīn Awliyā' eponym Nizāmīyyah and Sābirīyyah from 'Alī Ahmad Sābir) belongs to him because firstly, he wanted to live an ascetic live, and secondly, he was living at Ajōdhan along

²³³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 170-71.

²³⁴Ibid., 173.

²³⁵Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 72.

with Bābā Farīd. So how could a star (Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq) shine in the presence of the moon (Bābā Farīd)?

1.23.5- Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī

Another prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd was Shaykh Jamāl al- Dīn of Hānsī. He was a popular *khatib* of Hānsī. But after joining the circle of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn he left this job. Bābā Farīd had great affection for him and spent almost twelve years at Hānsī owing to his beloved *khalīfah*. Moreover, once the Shaykh said: “Jamāl! I want to sacrifice for you head long”.²³⁶ Owing to this attachment, after his death Bābā Farīd bestowed *khalāfat nāmah* to Burhān al-Dīn Ṣufī, a child of Khwājah Jamāl al- Dīn of Hānsī.²³⁷ Furthermore, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn got high spiritual status before his Shaykh. No one was considered legitimate successor (*khalīfah*) of Bābā Farīd until Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī endorsed his *khalāfat nāmah*.²³⁸ Bābā Farīd loved poverty (*faqr*) and suggested the same for his disciples. When Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn complained of starvation, Shaykh replied that it was obligatory for spiritual domain. Furthermore, when a slave woman of Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn known as *Mādar-i-Mōminān* (‘Mother of the Believers’), told Bābā Farīd that Jamāl al-Dīn had given up worldly intentions and faced arduous starvation since he got his Shaykh’s attachment. Upon hearing this, Bābā Farīd showed happiness and satisfaction.²³⁹ Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī died in 659 A.H./ 1261AD²⁴⁰ during the lifetime of Bābā Farīd.

²³⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 178.

²³⁷Ibid., 182-83.

²³⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 179.

²³⁹Ibid., 180-81.

²⁴⁰Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’*. Vol.1., 286.

1.23.6- Shaykh ‘Arif

Shaykh ‘Arif, another *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd, was Imām in a mosque in Multān. The governor of Uchach and Multān gave him a hundred *tanka* (name of the currency of that time) as a gift for Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, but he submitted only half to the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd remarked sarcastically that ‘Arif split the amount in two halves and took one himself. ‘Arif, therefore, presented the remaining money and requested the Shaykh to accept him as his disciple. Bābā Farīd not only accepted him as his disciple but also granted him his *khalāfat nāmah* of Sīstān. Later, he left for the Ka‘aba and died in Makkah.²⁴¹ Shaykh ‘Arif was not as popular as the above-mentioned successors of Bābā Farīd and his role in the expansion of Chishtī *silsilah* was not as significant.

1.23.7- Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar

‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir was the founder of a branch of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* known as the Sābirīyyah. He was a nephew and *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. He was the only successor of the Shaykh who did not get any commands as Bābā Farīd had said to him: “Hey Sābir! Go, you will pass your life nicely”.²⁴² It is peculiar that the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* of Amīr Khūrd and almost all contemporary *Malfūzāt* provide little information about ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. This gap occurred due to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’s unfamiliarity with Shaykh Sābir as the former left for Kalyar ten years before the arrival of the latter at Ajōdhan. The majority of the *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* of that period were compiled by the *khulafā’* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.

‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir received the *khalāfat nāmah* of Delhī but it was disposed of by Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī. The sister of Bābā Farīd complained before the

²⁴¹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 184-85.

²⁴² Ibid., 185.

Shaykh and requested him to endorse Sābir's *khalāfat*. But the Shaykh declined saying: "Farīd cannot sew what Jamāl tore". However, when Shaykh Sābir's mother apprised her son, he was unperturbed and said: "Sābir's *sabr* (patience) will eliminate even the *khalāfat* of Jamāl". It was proven true as Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī could not form any branch of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* and nobody followed him after his death.²⁴³ 'Alī Asghar Chishtī postulated that Khwājah Jamāl-Din Hānswī greeted 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir with utmost respect. But he did not endorse his *khalāfat nāmah* as he (Sābir) was a *jalālī* (irritable) saint and was unfit for the people of Delhī.²⁴⁴

1.23.8- Hamīd

He was a dārūgha of Bengāl who, after visiting Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, gave up his job. Bābā Farīd then appointed him his *khalīfah* and called him a star since the star does not shine before the sun. He was ordered to go to Ander put (a village near Delhī) and serve the people.²⁴⁵

1.23.9- Wahīd al-Dīn

He was a grandson of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan. Bābā Farīd was reluctant to make him his disciple because of his great family status and told him that he himself had received all such blessing from his grandfather's house. Thus, it was inappropriate to have a disciple from there. But Wahīd al-Dīn was a great devotee of Bābā Farīd. He fell on the feet of Bābā Farīd and maintained: "O Master! Where shall I find a preceptor like thee in the whole world?" adding that he will not move from his place until the

²⁴³Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 52-53.

²⁴⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 281.

²⁴⁵Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 53-54.

Shaykh accepted his *bay'at*. On the display of such devotion, Bābā Farīd accepted him as his *khalīfah*.²⁴⁶

There are some lesser known *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd. These include a Ṣufī from Palestine who was so impressed with the spiritual power of Bābā Farīd that he placed his head on the latter's feet and was accepted as a *khalīfah*. After some time, Bābā Farīd gave him his *khalāfat nāmah* and sent him to Sīstān.²⁴⁷ Shaykh 'Alī Bihārī, Muhammad Shah Naishāpurī and Muhammad Shah Ghurī are some other *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd.²⁴⁸ Sharf al-Dīn, grandson of Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, was also a devotee of Bābā Farīd who visited the Shaykh at Ajōdhan but failed to obtain the *khalāfat nāmah* of Bābā Farīd.²⁴⁹

1.24- Poetry of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd is the founder of Punjābī poetry²⁵⁰ and was perhaps first Ṣufī poet of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent.²⁵¹ He had 112 verses in the Gurū Granth, and 83 verses are described in other different sources. He also used Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit-Hindī, and even Urdu words in his poetry. Some Persian and Arabic verses are found in *Siyar Al-Awliyā'* while some of his Urdu verses are found in later sources. Bābā Farīd was a native of Punjab. That's why he did his poetry primarily in the local language. However, when he was living in Delhī and Hānsī he did poetry in the Persian, Arabic and Hindi

²⁴⁶Ibid., 41-42.

²⁴⁷Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 195-96.

²⁴⁸Mu'in al-din, *Ma'arīj al-Walāyat*, vol. 257: See also Lāhōrī, *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā'*. Vol.1.,303.

²⁴⁹Nisar Ahmed Faruqi, "Bābā Farīd and the Depressed Class".in *Baba Shaikh Farīd: Life and Teachings*, ed. Gurbachan Singh Tālib. (New Delhi: Parnassus Publishers, 1973), 56.

²⁵⁰ Professor Sarfraz Hussain Qazī declared Bābā Farīd as the *Bābā Adam* of the Punjabi language. He argued that Bābā Farīd was the first Punjabi poet and the first Ṣufī poet in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. *Punjābī De Ṣufī Sha'r*. (167). See also B.S. Anand, *Bābā Farīd*. (Lahore: Suchet Kitab Ghar, 2001), 74; *Ṣufīs m in Punjab: Mystics, Literature, and Shrines*, ed. Surinder Sing and Ishwar Dayal Gaur. (New Delhi: Aaker Books, 2009), 197. Shafqat Tanveer Mirza, *Resistance themes in Punjabi Literature*. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1992), 220. Shafqat added that Bābā Farīd was also the earliest Urdu poet and founding father of Punjabi and Seraiki poetry.

²⁵¹ B.S. Anand, *Bābā Farīd*, P. 49; Professor Sarfraz Hussain Qazī, *Punjabi De Ṣufī Sha'r*, p. 167.

languages.²⁵² Regarding Bābā Farīd’s Punjābī poetry, there is some confusion about the surviving corpus of work. Different scholars and linguists have different opinions regarding the poetry of Bābā Farīd.²⁵³

It was the Gurū Granth that preserved the Punjābī poetry of Bābā Farīd and compiled it with the title *ashloke*²⁵⁴ Shaykh Farīd. These are in total 130 *ashloke*, 112 belonging to Bābā Farīd while the remaining 18 belong to different Sikh Gurūs. Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) collected Bābā Farīd’s *ashloke*. According to another opinion these *ashloke* belongs to Khwājah Ibrāhīm Alias Farīd II (1450-1575), a descendent (*Sajjādah Nashīn*) of Bābā Farīd. Gurū Nānak was one of the devotees of Bābā Farīd who also visited his shrine and met Ibrāhīm Farīd II at Pākpatan.²⁵⁵ Yet a big difference exists in the language of Bābā Farīd in the thirteenth century and that used by the Punjābī Ṣufīs of the sixteenth century such as Shah Hussain, the contemporary of Farīd II.²⁵⁶ Another argument in favor that Bābā Farīd was a Punjābī poet is Rukn al-Dīn Kāshānī’s *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al Atqiyā Malfūẓāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Gharīb. It is described as containing Punjābī *Dohā* (rhymed couplets) of the great Shaykh.²⁵⁷ Similarly, the *Khazain-e-Rahmatullah* compiled by Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn

²⁵² Zahoor Ahmed Azhar. *Ma’arif-i-Farīdīa. Dīwān Bābā Farīd al-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Lahore: Ma’arif al-Awliyā’, 2005), 32.

²⁵³ Macauliffe was the first historian who claimed that the “*Ashloke Shaykh Farīd*” in Guru Granth belongs to Farīd II, (Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Life of Shaikh Farīd I and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs*. (Lahore: Artistic Printing Works, 1903), 1-2, latter followed him by Raj Wanati Rama Krishna. See *Punjabi Sufi Poet*. (Karachi: Indus Publication, 1977), 1-10. Khaliq Ahmed Nizāmi at first proclaimed that these *ashloke* belongs to Farīd II (*The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 84-87), but later he argued that these are the *ashloke* of Bābā Farīd (Affat Sultana, *Kalam Bābā Farīd aur Baba Guru Nanak Ki Granth Sahib*, 154-55). Wahid Ahmed Masud argued that Baba Farīd was not a Punjabi poet (*Sawanih-i-Haḍrat Baba Farīd Masud Ganj-i-Shakar*, 207-09).

²⁵⁴ Verses in the praise of God.

²⁵⁵ Muhammad Asif Khan, *Akhiya Bābā Farīd Ne*, 99; Professor Sarfraz Hussain Qādī, *Punjābī De Ṣufī Sha’r*, 173.

²⁵⁶ Saeed Ahmad, “Bābā Farīd: The Pioneer of Punjabi Sufi Poetry” in *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature, and Shrines*, ed. Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur, 198; See also Muhammad Asif Khan, *Akhiya Bābā Farīd Ne*, 99.

²⁵⁷ Rukn al-Din Dabīr Kāshānī, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al Atqiyā*. (Hyderabad: Ashraf Press, n.d), 146.

Bājan (d.1506) also narrated *Dohas* of Bābā Farīd. Most importantly, at that time Farīd II was only a child.²⁵⁸ According to some well-known intellectuals Gurū Nānak requested Farīd II to give him one of the copies of the Dīwān of Bābā Farīd which was accepted by the later after doing *Istakhārah*²⁵⁹ which is reasonable argument. Moreover, the *ashloke* in Gurū Granth might belong to Bābā Farīd because they have his secular message of harmony, love and tolerance to delight ALLAH Almighty, a message which is consistently found in contemporary hagiographical sources on Bābā Farīd as well. He neither mentions paradise nor hell in his poetry but uses secular relationships such as those between ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ as metaphors for ALLAH and man, and ‘bride’ and ‘bridegroom’ for soul and death. He tries to make people aware of the briefness of human life and teaches keeping worldly desires at arm’s length. Finally, he never criticizes any religion, creed or sect.²⁶⁰

On the other hand, contemporary sources show Bābā Farīd’s great expertise and command of poetry. Although Amīr Hassan does not directly mention the Punjābī poetry of Bābā Farīd, the *Fawāid al-Fuād* clarifies that Bābā Farīd had a great command of Persian poetry. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that once Shams Dabīr (one of the disciples of Bābā Farīd) sought his Shaykh’s permission to recite an ode for him. When he finished, he was asked to recite it again. Later, the Shaykh explained each verse of that poem and at some places, he amended it too. However, Bābā Farīd suggested not to write the odes in his praise.²⁶¹ Amīr Khūrd in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* not only penned down different verses of Bābā Farīd²⁶² but also

²⁵⁸Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Bājan, *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*. Unpublished Manuscript (not paginated) See also Jameel Jullabi, *Tārīkh-i-Ādab-i-Urdu*. Vol.1. (Delhi: Educational House Press, 1977), 615.

²⁵⁹Maulā Bakhsh Kushta, *Tadhkira of Punjabi Poets*. (Lahore: Maula Bakhsh Kushta & Sons, 1960), 35: See also, Azhar, *Ma’arif-i-Farīdā. Dīwān Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, 30.

²⁶⁰Sant Singh Sekhon & Kartar Singh Duggal, *A History of Punjabi literature*, (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1992), 23.

²⁶¹Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 83.

²⁶²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. ff. 363, 367, 464, 473 & 476.

narrated some Urdu sentences in his conversation.²⁶³ Similarly, Rukn al-Dīn Kāshānī mentioned both Persian and Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd in *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*.²⁶⁴ Allah Diyā Chishtī narrated some Persian verses of Bābā Farīd in the *Siyar al-Aqtāb*.²⁶⁵ Some other Chishtī *Malfūzāt* such as *Mirāt al-‘Ashiqīn* found some Persian verses of the Shaykh.²⁶⁶ Additionally, some moderns’ historians claim that Bābā Farīd had a Persian *Dīwān* which is not available now. But still there are several sources available describing his Persian verses. These are including Waleh Daghistānī’s *Riyadh ush-Shu‘ara*, Rahm ‘Alī Khān Imām’s *Tadhkira-i-Muntakhab al-Lataif*, Mīr Hussain Dōst Shambhalī’s *Tadhkira-i-Hussainī*, Ahmad ‘Alī Hashimī Sandilavī’s *Makhzan al-Ghara‘ib*, Siddique Hassan Khān’s *Shām-i-Anjuman*, Sarang Khwājah ‘Abdul Rashīd’s *Tadhkira-i-Shu‘ara-i-Punjab*²⁶⁷ and Dr. Zāhoor Ahmad Aẓhar’s *Ma‘ārif-i-Farīdā*.²⁶⁸

1.25- Names of Bābā Farīd

To make spiritual progress in Islam, one of the prime means is *wird* (chanting) of *Asmā’ al- Husna*²⁶⁹ (the ninety-nine names of ALLAH Almighty) and the Holy names of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Lord Krishnā maintains that if anyone is unable to perform rigorous meditation or any other type of worship then chanting his (Krishna) name (namasmarana) is enough to get spirituality.²⁷⁰ In Sufism, particularly in the Chishtīyyah order, the Shaykh is the central figure and has prime importance. In Chishtī tradition, repetition (*dhikr*) or chanting of the name of the Shaykh is one of the sources

²⁶³Ibid., 183.

²⁶⁴Kāshānī, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dala'il al Atqiyā*, 146, 181 & 407.

²⁶⁵Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 193.

²⁶⁶Syed Muhammad Saeedi, *Pur Gohar Urdu Translation Mirāt al-‘Ashiqīn*, trans. Ghulām Nizām al-Din (Lahore: Taṣawwuf Foundation, 1998), 189.

²⁶⁷S.A.H. Abidi, “Bābā Farīd as a Persian Poet” in *Baba Shaikh Farīd: Life and Teachings*, ed. Gurbachan Singh Tālib. (New Delhi: Parnassus Publishers, 1973), 59-62.

²⁶⁸Aẓhar, *Ma‘ārif-i-Farīdā. Dīwān Bābā Farīd al-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 26-28.

²⁶⁹ There are ninety-nine names of Allah Almighty mentioned in the Holy Quran, however, the Ṣūfis proclaimed that these are eleven thousand.

²⁷⁰*Bhagavat-Gītā, Chapter, 7, Verses 30.*

of accomplishing spirituality. Sayed Gēsū Darāz maintains that ALLAH Almighty blesses the devotee who chants his Shaykh's name and bestows upon him a part of his Shaykh's *baraka* (blessing).²⁷¹ Moreover, Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Siyālīwī (d. 1882) maintains that reciting the Shaykh's name one hundred time is enough to overcome all kind of miseries and diseases.²⁷²

Contemporary sources provide information about the names used by Bābā Farīd's disciples for *wird*: Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', for instance, from young age recited his Shaikh's names (Shaykh Farīd and Maulānā Farīd) ten times after every prayer as *wird*.²⁷³ Furthermore, when Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' fell down from his horse and became unconscious, he was pleased to know that he was reciting the name of his Shaykh during his oblivion.²⁷⁴ However, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī is the first hagiographer who mentions ninety-nine and at another place one hundred and one names of Bābā Farīd, used for chanting in his book *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*.²⁷⁵ Moreover, he mentioned another five specific names as *waṣāif* including Shaykh Farīd, Maulānā Farīd, Khwājah Farīd, Hājī Farīd and *Darwaish* Farīd.²⁷⁶ Later, Allah Diyā and Muhammad Akram Barāsawī described same one hundred and one names of Bābā Farīd.²⁷⁷

Besides recitation or *wird*, the disciples of Bābā Farīd used his names to overcome their difficulties.²⁷⁸ Muhammad, who was a native of Naishāpur and a disciple of Bābā Farīd, called his Shaykh for protection when a robber tried to attack him in Gujrāt and his

²⁷¹Hussainī, *Jawām' al-Kalm*, trans. Dardai, 335.

²⁷²Saeedi, *Pur Gohar*, trans. Nizām al-Dīn, 106-7.

²⁷³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 100, see also Nisar Ahmad Faruqi, Introduction to *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. (Lahore: Zawīya Publishers, 2003), 42, 58.

²⁷⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 180

²⁷⁵Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 296-98.

²⁷⁶Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 263.

²⁷⁷Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai., 185-86, Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 161.

²⁷⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 100.

Shaykh helped him there.²⁷⁹ Bābā Farīd himself recited his Shaykh's name to manage certain problems. It is important to mention here that when a lethal snake bit Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Shaykh Farīd recited the name of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, put some mud on the bitten part, and as a result Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā recovered.²⁸⁰

1.26- The Door of Paradise

‘Alī Asghar Chishtī is the first hagiographer who provides information about the Door of Paradise. During the annual anniversary of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, people use to pass from the Door of Paradise. According to the author, Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) told Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in his dream that anyone who enters from that door, ALLAH Almighty will protect him from hell.²⁸¹ Before the partition of Hindūstān, Hindu, Muslim and Sikhs used to cross that Door. One of the locks of the Door of Paradise was opened by the Hindu chief of the Hāndah tribe.²⁸²

1.27- Early Chishtī *Malfūzāt*

Chishtī Ṣufīs are not only the pioneers of Islamic mysticism in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent, they also ushered in many novel genres such as *samā'*, and most importantly, *Malfūzāt*. The *Malfūzāt Anīs al-Arwāh* which contains the conversation of Khwājah Uthman Harūnī, was compiled by his *khalīfah* Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, while *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn*, conversation of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, was collected by his *khalīfah* Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Similarly, recently discovered

²⁷⁹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 51.

²⁸⁰Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 190.

²⁸¹Ibid., 295.

²⁸²Muhammad Masud Khalid, *Bābā Farīd: Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar ka Philsapha-i-Insaniyat*. (Lahore: Sanajh Publishers, 1996), 61.

Malḡūzāt of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan entitled *Bahar al-Haqaiq* was compiled by Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, while *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, the utterance of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was compiled by his *khalīfah* Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd. *Malḡūzāt Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā’* are the conversations of Bābā Farīd, compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, respectively. *Fawāid al-Fuād* is the *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, compiled by Amīr Hassan Sijzī while *Aḡḡal al-Fawāid* is the another *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, compiled by legendary Persian poet Amīr Khusru Delhwī. *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd, namely *Khayr al-Majālis* was compiled by Hamīd Qalandar. Moreover, regarding the validity of early *Malḡūzāt*, the scholarship is also divided into two groups. One school of thought postulated the earlier *Malḡūzāt* such as *Anīs al-Arwāh*, *Dalīl al-’Ārifīn*, *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā’* are not in their original form. Prof. Muhammad Habib was the first historian who discredited the authenticity of these early Chishtī *Malḡūzāt*.²⁸³ Surprisingly, eminent historians such as Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (who was the student of Prof. Muhammad Habib), Carl W. Earnest and Bruce B. Lawrence have also agreed the view point of Prof. Habib without in depth critical analysis of these *Malḡūzāt*. Muhammad Habib, however, did not gave his opinion about the rest of the popular *Malḡūzāt* including *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Surūr as-Sadūr*, *Qiwām al-Aqwaid*, *Baqīyat al-Ghara’ib*, *Nafa’is al-Anfās*, *Gharīb al-Karāmāt* and *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*. On the other hand, Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmī, Bruce B. Lawrence and Carl W. Earnest hardly shed light on these *Malḡūzāt*, before declaring them authentic and reliable sources. Additionally, Muhammad Habib and later K.A Nizami, Bruce B.

²⁸³Muhammad Habib, *Chishti Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period*, 401-25: See also Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Dīn Ganj-I-Shakar*, 118-20: Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*. (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), 35-36: Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufī Martyr of Love*, 228.

Lawrence and Carl W. Earnest declared *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis* and *Jawām 'al-Kalim* as original and authentic *Malfūzāt*. Similarly, they argued (except Muhammad Habib) that *tadhkirāt* such as *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Siyar al-Ārifīn* and *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* are the axiomatically genuine sources.²⁸⁴

Whereas Muhammad Habib called *Anīs al-Arwāh* “wild talk,”²⁸⁵ other prominent scholars like Dr. Khalaq Dād Malik and Sayed Sabah al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān not only declared it genuine but also confirmed the authenticity of other *Malfūzāt*. According to them, some sort of additions has been mistakenly introduced in these *Malfūzāt*.²⁸⁶ Another major argument in favor *Anīs al-Arwāh* is that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan wrote what he heard from his Shaykh.²⁸⁷ Similarly, Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith, who was very careful about the dubious sources, profoundly relies on *Dalīl al-Ārifīn* while discussing Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan.²⁸⁸

More surprisingly, *Afdal al-Fawā'id* has also been declared a fabricated source by Muhammad Habib mainly due to its similarity with *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id*. It is quite possible that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ might have narrated some major incidents to both Amīr Hassan and Amīr Khusru, the compilers of the above mentioned *Malfūzāt*. If similarity is the main reason for establishing the authenticity of *Malfūzāt*, then one can easily find such similarities between *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

²⁸⁴Habib, *Chishti Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period*, 386-98: See also Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 5-7: see also Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sūfism*, 27-36: see also Lawrence, *Sūfī Martyr of Love*, 229.

²⁸⁵Habib, *Chishti Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period*, 405.

²⁸⁶ Khaliq Dad Malik, *Mazlūm Kitāben (Innocent Books)*. *Chand Mansubaat*, ed. Ghulām Mustafa (Hyderabad: Paramount Publishers, 2001), 35. Sayyed Sabah al-Din ‘Abdul Rahman, *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*. (Azamgarh: Azamgarh Publishers, 1979), 631-692.

²⁸⁷ Amīr Khusru, *Afdal al-Fawā'id*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, 1304 AH/1887 AD), 111.

²⁸⁸Delhwī, *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*, 23-24.

Additionally, he declared *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* as unauthentic based on the objection that it is not compiled in chronological order. One cannot declare a *Malḡūzāt* as fabricated if the collector did not manage it chronologically. It is quite clear that most popular books of tradition of Holy Prophet (PBUH) like *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih Bukhārī* have been arranged thematically rather than chronologically. Professor Habib also declared *Afḍal al-Fuād* as fabricated *Malḡūzāt* because of some chronological issues. For example, Hajjāj bin Yūsuf (d.714) is mentioned as the contemporary of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd while Najm al-Dīn Sughara is mentioned as the contemporary of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.²⁸⁹ Same types of chronological short comings have been found in other contemporary sources. For example, in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Amīr Khūrd mentioned Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī (d.1234) and Abū Nasr al- Fārābī (d.950) as contemporaries,²⁹⁰ which is far from reality. The original version of *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* was handwritten; it was published later in 1887. The hand-written tradition continued for many centuries. That is why some errors might have been added in the original text. Secondly, printing mistakes have also been found in *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* and other contemporary sources. For instance, according to some manuscripts of *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrwardī got *khalāfat* from Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, while, in fact, it was Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Turpushatī rather than Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrwardī.²⁹¹ Another Major objection raised by Muhammad Habib and his followers is that the above-mentioned authentic sources (*Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Shamā'il al-Ataqiyā*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* and *Akḡbār al-Akḡyār*) are silent about these *Malḡūzāt*. This does not seem true as Amīr Khūrd not only mentioned the *Malḡūzāt* of

²⁸⁹Habib, *Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period*, 423-24.

²⁹⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 500.

²⁹¹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 156-57

Khawājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan but also consulted it.²⁹² Moreover, *Shamāil al-Ataqiyā* mentioned and frequently consulted all these early *Malḡūzāt*.²⁹³ Likewise, *Mufatah al-Janān* compiled by Muhammad Majīr Wajīh, a disciple of Khawājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Mahmūd, have also discussed these *Malḡūzāt*.

Other major objection raised by the former group is that these *Malḡūzāt* contain supernatural stories. While talking about the supernatural narratives, it is a fact that such miracles have also been narrated in *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis* and *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*. Moreover, *Lataif-i-Asharafi*, an original and genuine *Malḡūzāt* according to the former historians,²⁹⁴ described more supernatural stories as compared to these *Malḡūzāt*. Furthermore, according to Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān ‘Alawī Chishtī, some people due to their prejudice skipped some information and added few false notion in *Lataif-i-Asharafi*²⁹⁵ implicitly challenged the argument of former historians about *Lataif-i-Asharafi*.

1.27.1- Asrār al-Awliyā’

Both Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Amīr Khūrd are silent about *Asrār al-Awliyā’*. In fact, Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ did not spend much time at Ajōdhan. For this reason, he does not provide any information about *Asrār al-Awliyā’*. Similarly, he did not discuss ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir, the chief *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. Same is the case with Amīr Khūrd; his family shifted to Delhī along with Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. The major source of his information in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* are Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Mahmūd and his own ancestors.

²⁹² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 491.

²⁹³ Kāshānī, *Shamāil al-Ataqiyā o-Dalāil al-Ataqiyā*, 6.

²⁹⁴ Lawrence, *Sufī Martyr of Love*, 229.

²⁹⁵ Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 35

Sayed Muhammad al-Hussainī, is the first to discuss the authenticity of *Asrār al-Awliyā* in *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*. After that Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf Chishtī was the first hagiographer who frequently cited *Asrār al-Awliyā* and earlier *Malḡūzāt* (which were declared fabricated by Muhammad Habib). Similarly, Mirzā La‘al Baig La‘alī not only discusses *Asrār al-Awliyā* but also declared it an authentic *Malḡūzāt*.²⁹⁶ Another eminent scholar Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī maintains that in Chishtī *silsilah*, there are two very famous and well-known books entitled *Asrār al-Awliyā* and *Siyar al-Awliyā*. The first one was compiled by Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, a prominent successor of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, while the second one was compiled by Muhammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī.²⁹⁷ Sayed Muhammad al-Hussainī disdained the claim that Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq compiled *Asrār al-Awliyā*.²⁹⁸ He therefore raises objection on the authorship (means Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq did not compile it). Muhammad Habib, K. A. Nizami, Bruce B. Lawrence and later Iqbal Mujadidi declared *Asrār al-Awliyā* as fake *Malḡūzāt* owing to the above-mentioned statement of Sayed Gēsū Darāz. However, the reason behind this objection of the former Ṣūfī is that one group of people in Ajōdhan had a great jealousy and enmity with Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. The same group created a rift between Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq and the sons of Bābā Farīd, particularly, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān, the first *Sajjādah Nashīn* of the Shaykh. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was the most influential person of the *Jamā‘t Khānah* of Bābā Farīd, which turned some people against him. These very people convinced Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān to abate his authority. For this reason, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq spent his last days in the *Jām‘ia* Mosque of Ajōdhan. This group created misconception that *Asrār al-Awliyā* is not compiled by Khwājah Badr

²⁹⁶Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Jawad, 230.

²⁹⁷Mufti Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Khazinat al-Aṣḡiyā*. Vol. 1, (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, n.d), 320.

²⁹⁸Hussainī, *Jawām‘ al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 244.

al-Dīn Ishāq. However, these people did not dare to mention any other name as author. More surprisingly, Khwājah Gēsū Darāz himself did not mention the person who compiled that *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd.

Another legend found by Muhammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami in *Asrār al-Awliyā'* is the itinerary of Bābā Farīd. They posited that *Asrār al-Awliyā'* shows Bābā Farīd visited Baghdād, Bukhara and Jerusalem which is not found in the other reliable sources,²⁹⁹ while the fact is that Bābā Farīd visited Baghdād³⁰⁰ Bukhara, Kirmān³⁰¹ and even al-Quds (Palestine). As mentioned above the *hujrah* of Bābā Farīd is still very popular in Jerusalem under the name “Indian Hospice” (*Sarah-i-Hindī*).

Khaliq Ahmad Nizami further said that after the statement by Gēsū Darāz there was no need to pay attention to the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*.³⁰² Surprisingly, Sayed Gēsū Darāz has also raised objection on *Khayr al-Majālis* while Muhammad Habib, K.A Nizāmī and Carl W Ernst declared it authentic. Sayed Gēsū Darāz maintains that Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg of Delhī said “I say something different, than what he (Hamīd Qalandar) wrote”.³⁰³ It is not fair that one should ignore that *Malḡūzāt* only owing to one statement. It is also possible that Sayed Gēsū Darāz received an alleged copy of *Asrār al-Awliyā'*. Another objection of K.A Nizāmī against the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* is related to the meeting of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and, particularly, their visit to Bābā Farīd at the same time. Nizami maintains “Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī died long before Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' joined the discipline of Bābā Farīd”.³⁰⁴ This is far from the reality. Amīr Khūrd mentioned

²⁹⁹Habib, “Chishti Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period”, 419. See also Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 118-20.

³⁰⁰Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharafī*, trans. Barelvi, 597-98.

³⁰¹ Khusru, *Aḡḡal al-Fawāid*, 135-36.

³⁰²Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 119.

³⁰³Hussainī, *Jawām' al Kalm*, trans. Dardai, 244.

³⁰⁴Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 120.

numerous meetings of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī.³⁰⁵ the conversation of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī regarding permission to hold the *samā'* is mentioned in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.³⁰⁶ This conversation clearly indicates that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' had joined the circle of Bābā Farīd during the life of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī. Paradoxically, Bruce B. Lawrence declared *Maqābīs al-Majālis* of Khwājah Ghulām Farīd an authentic source,³⁰⁷ while in the same *Malḡūzāt* Khwājah Ghulām Farīd acknowledged the authenticity of *Asrār al-Awliyā'*.³⁰⁸ Similarly, in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Amīr Khūrd explicitly mentions a devotee of Bābā Farīd collected discourses of Bābā Farīd.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, Amīr Khūrd himself describes numerous *malḡūz* of Bābā Farīd.³¹⁰

1.27.2- *Rāhat al-Qulūb*

Muhammad Habib, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Bruce B. Lawrence and Carl W. Earnest claimed that Bābā Farīd did not produce any work (*Malḡūzāt*) and both *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā'* are invented *Malḡūzāt*. About *Rāhat al-Qulūb* their argument is based on the statement by Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in *Fawā'id al-Fuād* who said: "I have not written any book".³¹¹ However, it should be noted that he was talking about the book and not the *Malḡūzāt*. It is a matter of fact that the early Chishtī Ṣūfīs of South Asia (Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar) did not produce any books but concentrated on the meditational practices and arduous worship. On the contrary Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī

³⁰⁵ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 472, 499, 505.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 505-06.

³⁰⁷ Lawrence, *Sufi Martyr of Love*, 230.

³⁰⁸ Khwājah Ghulām Farīd, *Maqābīs al-Majālis*, trans. Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1979), 365-66.

³⁰⁹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 76.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 74.

³¹¹ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, p. 29; See also Habib, *Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period*, 402; See also Nizāmi, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 118.

mentioned a book of Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī entitled *Hujjat al-Sālikīn*³¹² while Bābā Farīd himself consulted Khwājah Abū Yūsuf Chishtī's *Sharah al-Asrār* and Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī's *Sharah al-Awliyā'*, in *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. Similarly, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī compiled numerous works including *Rāhat al-Arwāh*, *Tawārikh*, *Majmu'a 'Ishqīyyah*, *Khayālat al-'Ushāq*, *Aṣūl al-Tarīqah*, similarly, Khwājah Gēsū Darāz compiled one hundred and twenty-five works. These findings clearly show that Chishtī Ṣufīs had started producing written works even before the era of Bābā Farīd.

The authentic contemporary sources vividly indicate the compilation of Bābā Farīd's *Malfūzāt* collected by his eminent *khalīfah* Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. In *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, for instance, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' himself declares that he compiled the *Malfūzāt* of his Shaykh. Bābā Farīd not only gave him permission to do so but also called Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' before discussing any discourse. Furthermore, if the latter was absent, Bābā Farīd repeated his addresses in his presence.³¹³ The similar statement of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was also reported by Amīr Khusru.³¹⁴ Amīr Khūrd penned down some of the *malfūz* of Bābā Farīd in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. He further stated that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled these *Malfūzāt*.³¹⁵ Moreover, Amīr Khūrd repeatedly mentioned that he personally saw a copy of *Malfūzāt* written by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.³¹⁶

According to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Bābā Farīd scrupulously examined and verified these written discourses. When Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' brought six folios of the compiled manuscript and placed it before the Shaykh, Bābā Farīd

³¹²Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol.1, trans. Bareilvi, 524.

³¹³Sijzī, Amīr Hassan, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 20-21

³¹⁴Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 111-12.

³¹⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 74-76.

³¹⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 449-50 & 499.

examined and approved them with an appreciation. Moreover, the mentor enquired about some blanks found in the pages. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that it was because he did not fully understand these statements. Bābā Farīd, therefore, once again explained these discourses.³¹⁷ Nisār Ahmad Fārūqī further proclaims that he is fully assured that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' had that *Malḡūzāt* till Shawal 8, 708 A.H./ March 21, 1309.³¹⁸

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' mentioned that *Malḡūzāt* in the assembly of *Fawā'id al- Fuād* on Shawwāl 28, 708 A.H. However, no title had been given by that time. Nevertheless, it is evident that this *Malḡūzāt* could only be *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. The name *Rāhat al-Qulūb* was first time mentioned in the *Shamā'il al-Ataqiyā*.³¹⁹ Moreover, Muhammad Majīr Wajīh frequently refers to *Rāhat al-Qulūb* (although mentioning solely the name of former *Malḡūzāt*). However, the careful analysis of his work reveals that in many cases he took information from *Rāhat al-Qulūb*.³²⁰ As in the above-mentioned authentic sources, few chronological mistakes have been found in *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, particularly the compilation period which has been mentioned as 655-56 A.H./ 1256-57 A.D. One of the main causes of these errors is that the printing press was introduced very late in India and handwritten manuscripts were reproduced from generation to generation. The same chronological errors have also been found in Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* which will have been discussed in chapter two.

³¹⁷Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 20.

³¹⁸Faruqī, Introduction to *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, trans. Khawaja Hassan Thani Nizāmi (Lahore: Zawiya Publishers, 2003), 58.

³¹⁹Kāshānī, *Shamā'il al-Ataqiyā o-Dalail al-Ataqiyā*, 6.

³²⁰Muhammad bin Muhammad Majīr al-Dīn Wajīh, *Mufatah al-Janān*. (Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1975), ff. 15, 34, 36, 39, 128, 191, 194, 203, 418, 436, 440, 493, 494, 497, 592, 594, 617-18, 640, 642, 646-48. The author had mentioned the name of *Rāhat al-Qulūb* single time in page number 138.

1.27.3- Authenticity of the *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd: A Critical Analysis

It is a fact that the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* is more accomplished in style and language than the *Fawāid al-Fuād*.³²¹ Moreover, both the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* also surpass the earlier Chishtī *Malḡūzāt*, including the *Anīs al-Arwāh*, *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn* and *Fawāid al-Sālikin*. After a careful study of the *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd, one can construe that the Shaykh excelled all preceding preceptors in knowledge. The *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* have shown that sometimes Bābā Farīd would quote numerous books in a single assembly.³²² The books consulted in *Rāhat al-Qulūb* are Bāyazīd Bustāmī's *Sālik al-Salūk*, Shaykh Shiblī's *Tuhfat al-'Ārifīn*, Shaykh Junaid Baghdādī's *'Amdah*, Shafīq Balkhī's *Dalīl al-Shāfi*, Imām Ghazālī's *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, Abū Tālib al-Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb*, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Abū Layyas Samarqandī's *Baqiyat Khatam al-Mujtahadīn*, Khwājah Abū Yūsuf Chishtī's *Sharah al-Asrār*, Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī's *Sharah al-Awliyā'*, Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī's *Rāhat al-Arwāh* and *Tawārikh*, Radī al-Dīn Hassan's *Mashāraq al-Anwār*, Imām Zahid's *Tafsīr*, Imām Zamkhasherī's *Tasfīr-i-Kashāf*, and Imām Shaibī's *al-Kafāya*. Few books quoted without author include *Haqaiq*, *Fatāwā-i-Kubrā*, *Fatāwā-i-Zahīrī*, *Jam' al-Haqayāt*, *Asar al-'Ārifīn*, *Asrār al-Tab'īn*, *Asar al-Mashaikh*, *Sharah al-Mashaikh*. However, it is also a fact that few errors were added in these *Malḡūzāt*. It is because a lot of information had been added just after their compilation and that procedure of distortion continued till the end of the twentieth century. Some intellectuals added information in footnotes which later became a part of these *Malḡūzāt*, while some foot notes were added on to the manuscripts of other *Malḡūzāt*

³²¹Akhlaq Hussain Delhwī, *Āina Malḡūzāt: Fawāid al-Sālikīn, Asrār al-Awliyā', Rāhat al-Qulūb*. (Delhi: Kutab Khana Anjuman-i-Tariqi-i-Urdu, 1983), 250.

³²²Ikram, *Āab-i-Kauthar*, 224-25.

such as *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*.³²³ That later addition also distorted the original works. There is a great need to explore the original text of both *Malfūzāt* to resolve that issue properly. Similarly, other authentic *Malfūzāt* have also such problems as some information is missing even in *Fawā'id al-Fuād* as compared to a copy of that *Malfūzāt* consulted by Faḍalullah Jamālī. The same is the case with *Siyar al-Awliyā'*; there are three old manuscripts of *Siyar al-Awliyā'* still available in different places. Among them, the first is in the Asiatic Society Calcutta Museum; with the cataloging "Persian Society Collection-243" while the second is in the British Museum Library London with the cataloging "Delhī Persian 668". The third manuscript is the Chiranji Lal edition which was published in 1302 AH 1885 A.D. by Munshī Chiranjī Lāl from the Matba' Muhib-i-Hind, Delhī. The first manuscript has 717 pages, the second consists of 603 pages, while the third has 596 pages. Similarly, differences have also been found in Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī's *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*. Some authentic *Malfūzāt* like *Anwār al-Majālis Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', compiled by Imām Muhammad³²⁴ grandson of Bābā Farīd and son of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, is even not available. Similarly, another grandson of Bābā Farīd Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn (son of Bībī Mastūrah) compiled the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' entitled *Tuhfat-al-Abrār Karāmāt al Akhyār* which is now no longer extinct.³²⁵ Likewise, another masterpiece of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, entitled *Tasrīf-e-Badarī*,³²⁶ is also not available now.

³²³Some verses of 'Urafī Shīrāzī have been seen in the numerous manuscripts of *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī* which is the *malfūzāt* of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī. 'Urafī Shīrāzī was born after two hundred years of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī, someone added his verses in footnotes which later become the part of original text. However, there are some oldest manuscripts of that *malfūzāt* are available in which these verses are not been seen.

³²⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 479.

³²⁵Ibid., 202.

³²⁶Ibid., 173.

Besides *Malfūzāt* Bābā Farīd had also compiled a short book entitled *Risālah Wūjūdīyyah*,³²⁷ *Ganj al-Asrār* and wrote letters to Khwājah Nizām al-Awliyā'.³²⁸

1.28- Bābā Farīd and *Samā'*

Literally, '*samā'*' means hearing or listening. It refers to listening to anything that develops one's relationship with ALLAH. Additionally, the word *samā'* in Islamic mysticism means to listen to the Holy Qurān, Şufī poetry and devotional music or *qawwālī*. Although it is a controversial practice, some leading early Şufīs, in general, and the Chishtī Şufīs, in particular, declared it as permissible and one of the finest ways of seeking the love and blessing of ALLAH Almighty. *Samā'* is one of the most fascinating aspects of the Chishtī Şufī *silsilah* who declared it mandatory and part and parcel of their lives. For them, it is more important than meditation or any other type of additional worship (supplementary prayers). All the leading Chishtī Shaykhs used to hold *samā'* throughout their lives.

Although *samā'* is a fundamental practice of the Chishtī Şufī order. However, several well-known non-Chishtī intellectual Şufīs including Abū Nasr al- Sirāj (d.988), Abū Bakr al- Kalabāzī (d.990), Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d.996), Al-Qushayrī (d.1072), 'Alī bin 'Uthmān al-Hujwerī (d.1076), Al-Ghazzālī (d.1111), Abū Najīb Suhrwardī (d.1165) (founder of the Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah*) were all firm supporters of *samā'*, and conceived it as *wajib*³²⁹ (obligatory). They also described terms and conditions which

³²⁷A handwritten manuscript of *Risālah Wūjūdīyyah* is available in Sulaimanīyyah library at Tunswa, it is rendered into Urdu by Muhammad Ikram al-Dīn Chishtī from Ajmer.

³²⁸These letters are available in a handwritten manuscript entitled *Ruqatt al-Mashaikh*, it is very rare manuscript available in the library of Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi.

³²⁹ Leonard Lewisohn, *The Sacred Music of Islam: Samā' in the Persian Sufi Tradition*. British Journal of Ethnomusicology, Vol. 6 (British Forum for Ethnomusicology, 1997), 2.

are indispensable for *samāʿ* and the ecstasy (*hāl*) in *samāʿ*. Shaykh ʿAbdul Qādir Jilānī (d.1166) endorsed Qurānic *samāʿ*³³⁰ and sometimes held the *samāʿ*.³³¹

Bābā Farīd as a head of the Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, continued that practice with full zeal and zest. At Ajōdhan, however, Qādī ʿAbdullah tried his level best to stop the *samāʿ*. He wrote a letter to the leading ʿulema of Multān and complained that a man in Ajōdhan holds music and dancing in a mosque. No one dared to issue a *fatwā* when the Qādī revealed the name of Bābā Farīd.³³² Ecstasy and dance are common in the *samāʿ*. However, it is an indispensable that when a Ṣufī goes into ecstasy, the singer repeats the same verses until he will return to his normal condition.³³³ Al-Ghazzālī postulated anybody who denied the Ṣufī’s *samāʿ* along with their ecstasy, did so only due to their short sightedness.³³⁴ Moreover, when the ʿulema of the Indian Subcontinent started severe castigation against *samāʿ* Bābā Farīd not only defended the practice of *samāʿ* but also defined the ʿulema and the Ṣufīs. The Shaykh maintains: “the ʿulema are *ashraf* (better) than the common people while the *Fuqrāʾ* (Ṣufīs) are superior to all”. Furthermore, in order to underline the status of both the ʿulema and the Ṣufīs, he said that “the mendicants (Ṣufīs) among the ʿulema are like the full moon among the stars”.³³⁵ However, some prominent ʿulema of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent such as Minhāj as-Sirāj (d.1260) (he was a distinguish scholar, a contemporary of Bābā Farīd, he authored a master piece entitled *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*) attended the Chishtīyyah *samāʿ*.³³⁶ Bābā Farīd gave higher marks to the Ṣufīs because whereas ʿulema saw only

³³⁰Shaykh ʿAbdul Qādir Jilānī, *Ghuniat al-Tālibīn*, trans. Maulana Ahmad Madarasi (Lahore: Maktabah Rehmaniyya, 1972), 658.

³³¹Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl, *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar* (3rd edition) (Lahore: Ṣufī Foundation, 1983), 84.

³³²Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, 99: See also Khusrū, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 127. Jamālī, *Siyar al-ʿArifīn*, 34-35

³³³Carl W. Ernst, *The Shambhala guide to Ṣufism* (Boston & London: Shambhala Publications, 1997), 186.

³³⁴Abu Hamid Muhammad, al-Ghazzālī. *Kīmīyā-i-Saʿādat* (Alchemy of Eternal Bliss), Muhammad Asim Bilal. Lahore: Qazi Publications, 2001., 649-50.

³³⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, 76.

³³⁶Ibid., 501.

the law of ALLAH, the Şufīs actually saw their Almighty ALLAH. Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d.1266) also defined the status of the ‘ulema’ and the Şufīs in similar words. As the former stated the ‘ulema’ offered prayer while turning their faces toward the Ka‘aba, but the Şufīs did not begin the *takbīr* till they saw the Lord of Ka‘aba.³³⁷ When the disciples of Bābā Farīd once reported the chastisement and rebuke made by the ‘ulema’ about the *samā’*, the Shaykh replied that one (the Şufī) is burnt in the fire of divine love (*ishq-e-haqīqī*), while the others (the ‘ulema’) are still falling out in conflicts.³³⁸

Bābā Farīd also defined the condition of *wajd* (ecstasy) that engulfs Şufīs when they take part in *samā’*. Once he did not find singers and asked Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq to read Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī’s letter received by Bābā Farīd. When the former read *faqīr* (mendicant), *haqīr* (inferior), *ḍaīf* (old or weak), *nahīf* (beggar) Muhammad ‘Attā who was the slave of the *darwaishes*, Bābā Farīd fell into the ecstasy.³³⁹ Similarly, during ecstasy the Shaykh asked one of his disciples named Mahmūd, “Mahmūd! Are you alive?” which meant that he should stand up, and when Mahmūd stood up, Bābā Farīd fell into ecstasy.³⁴⁰ Even his Shaykh Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī died in the state of such ecstasy.³⁴¹ Bābā Farīd was once in such ecstasy when Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ came to him. His preceptor told him, “You have come at very good moment, demand what you want”. Shaykh Nizām later regretted, “Why had I not requested to die in the assembly of *samā’*?”³⁴² Similarly, the apostle *Khedar* also joined the *samā’* under Bābā Farīd.³⁴³

³³⁷Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arīfīn*, 169-70.

³³⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 492: See also Muhadith, *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*, 54.

³³⁹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 96-97.

³⁴⁰Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 131.

³⁴¹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 118.

³⁴²Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 233.

³⁴³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 500.

CHAPTER- 2

PORTRAYAL OF BĀBĀ FARĪD IN CONTEMPORARY AND NEAR-CONTEMPORARY HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

2.1- What is Hagiography?

The English word ‘hagiography’ derives from the ancient Greek words *hagios* which means ‘holy’, ‘saintly’, and *grapia* ‘writing’,³⁴⁴ broadly speaking, ‘holy writing’. It is similar in meaning to the Arabic words *manāqib* and the Persian word *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*. Literally, the word means the study of holy men. Often compiled by devotees, it discusses the life and teachings of holy men/women, such as prophets/prophetesses, saints, or spiritual personalities who are considered role models for a group or community.³⁴⁵ Hagiographical literature nourishes itself from numerous sources, such as biographical dictionaries, poetries, travel accounts, letters, written document and oral transmissions. Every civilization, culture and nation have had their own saints and hagiographical literature. When speaking of Islamic hagiographical work, one begins just after the death of the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad PBUH (d. 632). The deeds (*hadīth-i-fa‘alī*) and conversation of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (*hadīth-i-qōlī*) were compiled by different Islamic scholars. Among such compilations the *Sihah-i-Sittah* (the six important books of *ahādīth*) won popularity. These books richly reflect on the life of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Later, these works proved to be fruitful

³⁴⁴Stephanos Efthymiadis. *Introduction to The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography. Periods and Places*, Vol I, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: The Ashgate Research Companion, 2011), 2.

³⁴⁵Claudia Rapp, *The Origins of Hagiography and Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation*. *Unclassical Traditions* vol.1, ed. Christopher Kelley, Richard Flower & Michael Stuart Williams, 119-21: See also Carl W. Ernst, *From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Suḥf Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate*. *History of Religion*, vol. 24, no. 4, 309-10.

for intellectuals who compiled biographies of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his companions. Muhammad ibn Saad's (d. 844) work entitled *Tabaqāt al-Kubra* is a purely *hadīth*-based biography of the Holy prophet (PBUH). Generally, the compilation of *tadhkirāt* or biographies of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), his companions began in the eighth century A.D. In South Asia *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* (biography) became major genres of Islamic hagiographical compendia. By and large, the major objective of these hagiographical writings was to highlight the divine power, character and the moral teachings of saints. Customarily, in Islam hagiography is defined as the biographies of the Ṣūfīs³⁴⁶ or, in Shiism, of the Twelve Shia Imam. *Tadhkira* literature in Islam is parallel to what in the West is known as 'hagiographical literature'.

2.1.1- Evolution of Hagiographical Literature in South Asia

Islamic South Asian hagiographical compilation began during the Ghaznavid period in the Persian language. It is important to mention that South Asians Muslims produced more Persian hagiographical literature as compared than both Iranian and Central Asian intellectuals.³⁴⁷ The hagiographical compendia produced by the Chishtī Ṣūfīs order in South Asia represent an essence of the history of the region. It provides concise information about the socio-political and economic condition of medieval Muslim-India. Moreover, these sources present a comprehensive picture of mystical Islam in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. In South Asia, hagiographical literature is divided into two broad categories (*Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*). Overall, there are five categories of the literature which belong to the Ṣūfīs of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent:

³⁴⁶Although *malfūzāt* are not purely biographies, they are considered more sacred than *tadhkirāt* and more important. *Malfūzāt* shared valuable accounts about Ṣūfīs, without these *malfūzāt* one cannot produce comprehensive and research-oriented biographies of the early Chishtī Ṣūfīs, in general, and Baba Farīd, in particular. Moreover, modern hagiographers heavily rely on *malfūzāt* in their compilation.

³⁴⁷Carl W. Ernest, and Bruce B. Lawrence. *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishtī Order in South Asia and Beyond*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 48.

1. *Malḡūzāt*
2. *Maktūbāt*
3. *Ishārāt*
4. *Dīwān*
5. *Tadhkirāt*

2.1.2- *Malḡūzāt*

Malḡūzāt genre was ushered in by Chishtī Ṣufīs in South Asia. *Malḡūz* is a Persian word derived from ‘*lafz*’ which literally means ‘word’ ‘spoken word, utterance, discourse or discussion’. Generally, it means the discourse of a preceptor (Shaykh) or any prominent Ṣufī collected or compiled by his disciples. Similarly, *malḡūz* has its parallel word in the Arabic word ‘*hadīth*’ (*hadīth-i-qōlī*). In general, *hadīth* means spoken word. However, in its specific sense it is used for the sayings of the final prophet of Islam, Muhammad (PBUH). The companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), in general, and the followers (Tab‘aīn) and the followers of the followers (Tab‘-Tab‘aīn), in particular, collected *ahādīth* (plural of Arabic *hadīth*). Moreover, compilers of *hadīth* provide a perfect model for the composers of *Malḡūzāt*.³⁴⁸ Likewise, in Sufism, *Malḡūzāt* achieved the status of modern *ahādīth*.³⁴⁹ The transmission of Qurān and *hadīth*, history of Islamic spirituality, containing both spiritual and non-spiritual themes, was first preserved orally and, later, was shaped into written form by different intellectuals. Another similarity between the genre of *hadīth* and *Malḡūzāt* is the issue of authenticity. As the Islamic traditions (*ahādīth*) are divided into *mustanad* (authentic), *ḡaīf* (unauthentic) and *mawḡū* (unreliable or challengeable), in the same manner the earlier

³⁴⁸Farooq Hamīd, *The Hagiographic Process: The Case of Medieval Chishtī Ṣufī Farīd al-Dīn Mus‘ūd Ganj-i Shakar* (d. 664/1265). *The Muslim World*, Vol. 90. (Fall 2000), 425-26.

³⁴⁹Gautam Chakravarty, *Reading Fawā'id-al-Fuād: Text, Testimony and History*. *Journal of Subcontinent Researchers University of Sistan and Baluchistan*, vol.2, No.4, (2010), 56.

Malḡūzāt of the Chishtī Ṣufīs are also categorized as authentic and unauthentic or challengeable.

The *Malḡūzāt* tell us about the philosophy and practices of the Chishtī Ṣufīs. It is noteworthy that such *Malḡūzāt* have been totally free from state's or political influence. Unlike the discourse of Suhwardī Ṣufīs, Chishtī Ṣufīs had a totally different approach toward state affairs, they were completely non-political.

Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan (d.1236) was not only the founder of Chishtī Ṣufī order in South Asia but he also introduced *Malḡūzāt* genre. *Anīs al-Arwāh* is the first source about *Malḡūzāt* literature in South Asia. It is a conversation of Khwājah 'Uthmān Harūnī (d.1220) compiled by his spiritual successor Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan Sijzī. However, *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn* is the *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan Sijzī compiled by his eminent *khalīfah* Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d.1236). The third source is related to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī entitled *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn* collected by his successor Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd (d.1265). Moreover, there are two *Malḡūzāt* belongs to Bābā Farīd named as *Asrār al-Awliyā'* and *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. The former one was compiled by Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq (d.1291) while the later was compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d.1325). However, as mentioned above, Prof. Muhammad Habib, K.A Nizami and Bruce B. Lawrence declared the above mentioned five *Malḡūzāt* as concocted which is, indeed, a questionable argument.

2.1.3- Maktūbāt

Maktūbāt are the letters of the Shaykh that he wrote to his disciples for their spiritual guidance. Although, like early *Malḡūzāt* the authenticity of these letters have also been challenged by some historians, however, Amīr Khūrd, a contemporary hagiographer

has maintained their authenticity, these are like *Maktūbāt-i-Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī*.³⁵⁰ Bābā Farīd's letters to Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' also recently explored in a book entitled *Ruqatt al-Mashaikh*. Moreover, Amīr Khūrd also described Bābā Farīd's letters to the Sultān and governors on the behalf of downtrodden and suppressed people. Beside this *Bahar al-Ma'anī* of Shaykh Ja'ffar al-Makī, *Maktūbāt-i-Sadī* and *Maktūbāt-i-Dū Sadī* of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī, *Maktūbāt-i-Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī* are other popular contemporary *maktūbāt*.

2.1.4- *Ishārāt*

These are instructional treaties or essays which were written by Mashaikh and the disciples under the guidance of their Shayūkh.³⁵¹ Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, a prominent disciple of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, was the founder of that genre in South Asia. His *Usūl at-Tarīqah* is the first work regarding *ishārāt* compendia

2.1.5- *Dīwān*

This is the collection of Şufī poetry in which they discuss their ideas. Moreover, they also provide information about the life and teachings of their preceptors. Amīr Khusru (d.1325) in this regard provided enough information about the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in his dīwān. Although the dīwān of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī are also available, their authenticity is not yet established.

³⁵⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 502-03.

³⁵¹Bruce B. Lawrence, *The Chishtīyya of Sultanate India: A Case Study of Biographical Complexities in South Asian Islam*. vol. XLVIII/3 & 4, (JAAR Thematic Studies, 1982), 56.

2.1.6- The *Tadhkirāt* Genre in Sufism, Its Evolution, and the Contribution of the Şufīs in Biographical and Theological Literature

Tadhkirāt (sing. *tadhkira* which means biography) is a very informative genre of literature. It is produced “by elites for other elites”.³⁵² By and large it discusses the popular saints and ignores minor Şufīs. Similarly, within state apparatus, only the ruling elites have been discussed by the biographers. Within Sufism there are three categories of *tadhkirāt* which were developed in different periods of time. In the first category, only popular Şufīs have been discussed. While in the second category, Holy Prophet (PBUH), the pious caliphs, popular Şufīs and four prominent doctors of Islamic Law (Imām Shāfi, Ahmad bin Hambal, Imām Mālik and Imām Abū Hanīfah) have been discussed. While in the third category, in addition to the discussion of *silsilah* biography of a Şufī has also been discussed.

In Islamic history the *tadhkirāt* compendia was started just after the demise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). ‘Urwa bin Zubair bin Awwām (d.713) was the first prominent Islamic hagiographer.³⁵³ But his works are not extant. Muhammad bin Ishāq bin Yāsir (d.768) popularly known as Ibn Ishāq compiled the biography of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Arabic language. But book is also not extant now. Abū ‘Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Sa‘ad (d.845), popularly known as Ibne Sa‘ad, produced another monumental work entitled *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*. Similarly, Muhammad Jarīr al-Tabarī (d. 923), compiled another prominent work, *History of the Prophets and Kings*, profusely relies on Qurān and the tradition of the Prophet (PBUH).

³⁵²Marcia K. Hermansen & Bruce B. Lawrence, *Indo Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications. Beyond Turk and Hindu Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence. (Florida: Florida University Press, 2000), 151.

³⁵³‘Imād al-Dīn Ismail bin ‘Umar Ibne Kathīr, *Tārīkh-i-Ibne Kathīr (Al-Bīdaya wa al-Nihaya)* Vol. 5, trans. Muhammad Asghar Mughal (Karachi: Dar al-Ishat, n.d), 106.

The founder of *tadhkirāt* compendia in Sufism is Muhammad ibn Hussain al-Sulaimī (d.1021). His *Tabaqāt al-Şufiyah* is the first biographical work on Sufism. It was written in Arabic. In this work, the author discussed almost all the early prominent Şufis from Fuḍail bin Ayāz to ‘Abdullah al-Dīnwarī. The main objective of Sulaimī’s hagiographical work is to highlight the practices followed by these Şufis. It is a source of inspiration for those who seek spiritual goals.³⁵⁴ Abū‘l Qāsim ‘Abdul Karīm Hawāzan Al-Qushayrī (d.1072) was another eminent scholarly figure of the eleventh century. He wrote fifty-one books.³⁵⁵ In the *tadhkirāt* genre his *Risālah al-Qushayrīyya fī ‘Ilm al-Taşawwuf* won a commendable position. He provides short biographies of eighty-two leading Şufis. Similarly, *Hālāt al-Awliyā’ wa Tabaqāt al-Şufiyah* of Abū Naīm al-Isfahānī (d.1038) is the second important work after Sulaimī’s *Tabaqāt al-Şufiyah*. Isfahānī was not only an intellectual but also a practicing Şufī. Like Bābā Farīd and Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahānīyyah Jahān Gasht (the World Traveler), he, too, visited important Islamic centers.

Similarly, the Şufis of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent produced massive hagiographical literature. Makrān was occupied during the caliphate of Haḍrat ‘Uthmān (d.656). But proper Muslim rule was established in Northern India during the time of Walīd bin ‘Abdul Mālīk (r. 705-715) when they introduced their own culture there. However, Persian compendia developed during the Sultanate period. As a court language for a long period of time (particularly under the Sultanate and early Mughal period) Persian language and literature flourished well in the Subcontinent. Credit, however, goes to

³⁵⁴Carl W. Ernst, *From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Suḥī Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate*. History of Religion, vol. 24, no. 4. (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 311.

³⁵⁵Martin Nguyen, & Francesco Chiabotti. *The Textual Legacy of Abu l-Qasim al-Qushayri: A Bibliographic Record I*. (Koninklijke Brill Leiden, 2014), 395.

the Ṣufīs who introduced this genre in India.³⁵⁶ ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwerī (d.1076), commonly known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, is considered as the pioneer of *tadhkirāt* genre of Sufism in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. His *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is a very informative and well-known work in Islamic mysticism in which he discusses different Ṣufī Schools of Thought. It is important to mention that this work is not exclusively a biographical work as it focuses on multiple themes. It is also the first major work on Sufism in the Indian Subcontinent to be written in Persian.

After ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān, Ṣufī biographical work was resumed by the Chishtī Ṣufīs in South Asia. The *Siyar-al Awliyā’* compiled by Muhammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī (d.1368-9), is not a pure *tadhkira* but a mixture of *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*. The *Siyar al-Nabī* of Sayyid Muhammad al-Hussainī (d. 1422) is another important biographical work of the South Asia Chishtī Ṣufīs. Similarly, early historiographical and poetic works were also produced by Chishtī Ṣufīs such as Diyā al-Dīn Barnī (d.1357), Amīr Khusru (d.1325) and Amīr Hassan Sijzī (d. 1335). All were prominent disciples of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (d.1325). However, the first inclusive *tadhkirāt* was compiled by Hāmīd bin Faḍalullah Jamālī entitled *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn*. As far as non-Indian Persian hagiographical work is concerned, the first remarkable work compiled by Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār (d.1221) entitled *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā’*. It provides biographies of the important Ṣufīs from the eighth to eleventh century. *Nafahāt al-Ans* of Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān Jāmī (d.1492) is another worth mentioning work in the *tadhkirāt* genre.

2.1.7- The Ṣufīs’ Contributions to Theology

Besides *tadhkirāt* literature, Ṣufīs also produced theological and morale treatises like the *Kitāb al- Ra‘ayat al-Haqūqullah* of Hārith al-Muhasabī (d.857). It is perhaps the

³⁵⁶Hermansen & Lawrence, *Indo Persian Tazkiras as Memorative communications. Beyond Turk and Hindu Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, 151.

first important work in this genre. The *Kitāb al-Sidq* of Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz (d. 898-99) is another important treatise. Mansūr al-Hallāj (d.910) and Junaid of Baghdād (d.921) produced very important works on Sufism including the *Kitāb al-Tawāsīn* and the *Ma‘alī al-Himam*, respectively. Another important source is *Kitāb al-Luma‘ fīl-Taṣawwuf* of Abū Nasr al-Sirāj (d. 988). Abū Nasr ‘Abdullah bin ‘Alī bin Muhammad bin Yahyā al-Sirāj was born in Tūs. He was a leading Ṣūfī and intellectuals of his time. Abū Bakr Al-Kalābāzī (d.990) of Bukhara was another leading Ṣūfī of the tenth century and follower of Junaid’s School of Thought. He was the first Ṣūfī to try to draw a relationship between Sufism and the Holy Qurān.³⁵⁷ His *Ta‘arruf lī Madhhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf* is one of the best research-oriented work on this theme. It is also considered one of the earliest sources on Sufism. *Qūt al-Qulūb*, a work compiled by Shaykh Abū Tālib Muhammad bin ‘Atīya Harisī al-Makkī (d. 996), is another well-known work.

Abū Hāmid Al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111), commonly known for writings in Arabic, has also produced some works in Persian. Among them one well-known book is *Kimiyya-i-Sa‘adat*. His Arabic works including *Ihyā’ al-‘Ulūm-id-Dīn*, *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, *‘Ilm al- Kalām*, *Haqīqat-i-Ruh-e-Insānī*, *Makāshifat al-Qulūb*, *Bidayat al-Hidāya*, and *Mīzān al-‘amal* are also worthy of mention. Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Ghazzālī (d.1126), younger brother of the former, also produced two works in Persian entitled *Sawanih al-‘Ushaque* and *Tadhiyaneye Sulūk*. Similarly, *Mirsād al ‘Ebād* compiled by Abū Bakr Muhammad bin ‘Abdullah (d. 1247),³⁵⁸ popularly known as Najm al-Dīn Rādī, is another excellent work.

³⁵⁷N. Hanif, *Encyclopaedia of Ṣūfīs: Central Asia and Middle East*. (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002), 230.

³⁵⁸Abū Bakr Muhammad bin ‘Abdullah Rādī popularly known as Dayā (a wet nurse) was a prominent Kubravī Ṣūfī who got that title owing to nurturing many disciples. He was a disciple of Khwājah Najm

Abū Najīb Suhrwardī (d.1165), founder of the Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah*, compiled another important work, *Ādāb al-Murīdīn* which has claimed a distinguished place in Islamic mysticism. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar, (d.1234 AD), a distinguished *khalīfah* and nephew of Abū Najīb Suhrwardī, wrote a masterpiece entitled ‘*Awārif al-Ma‘ārif*’ which was later relied on by numerous prominent Ṣūfīs.

2.2- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Malfūzāt* and *Tadhkirāt* Literature

The *Malfūzāt* contain only scattered stories on Bābā Farīd. Nonetheless, they shed light on various aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd.

2.2.1- *Asrār al-Awliyā’*

This is the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd compiled in ten year’s work by his eminent *khalīfah* Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī. The *Malfūzāt* are divided into twenty-two chapters.

2.2.1.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd the *Asrār al-Awliyā’*

Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn maintained that the blessing of ALLAH is revealed on three occasions: during *samā’*, while discussing the saints, and during meditation. Many miracles of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn have been mentioned in the *Asrār al-Awliyā’* such as seeing the funeral prayer of Shaykh Sa‘ad al-Dīn Hamwiyya at Baghdād, while he was at Ajōdhan. Similarly, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā once announced swearing on the name of God that ALLAH Almighty informed him that anyone who sees him will be freed from hell. So, people took him in a carriage and visited the whole city of Multān. When someone told that story to Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn, he fell into

al-Dīn Kubrā (d.1221), founder of Kubravīyyah *silsilah* and Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī. He also spent some time in the company of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrwardī.

ecstasy and when he regained consciousness, he announced that anybody who sees him or sees his descendants or disciples, or disciples of the disciples, will not go to hell. While further discussing Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn describes that he got the robe of *khalāfat* from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhwardī within three days. While talking about the robe and discreetness, the Shaykh mentions a story that when Holy Prophet (PBUH) received a robe from ALLAH Almighty during the night of the *Ma'raj*. He called Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and bestowed it to 'Alī bin Abū Tālib (d.661), who accurately answered the Holy Prophet's question that if he got that robe, he would be discreet about the defects of the people. Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn also mentions one of his teachers' name as Bahā' al-Dīn Bukhārī and quotes the above-mentioned incident with his reference.³⁵⁹

Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq mentions some famous personalities which were present in different assemblies of the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* such as Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Khwājah Jamāl-Dīn Hānswī, some lesser known Ṣūfīs such as Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Hānswī, Shaykh Yahyā, Muhammad Ṣūfī, Maulānā 'Azīz al-Dīn Darwaish, Shaykh Jamāl-Dīn Gharīb, Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Darwaish, Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Sanaī, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznavī have also been frequently mentioned. Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn discusses the credibility of the *Sajjādah Nashīn* as he maintains that the only man who can become the *Sajjādah Nashīn* is one who always trusts in ALLAH and never has any expectations from His creature. If he lacks such characteristics, he is a liar rather than a *Sajjādah Nashīn*. Furthermore, he maintains that one of the disciples of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had a great desire to become his successor, but the Shaykh gave his cloth (cloak), prayer mat, stick and wooden shoes to Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī and asked him to hand them over to

³⁵⁹Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, *Asrār al-Awliyā'*. (Kanpur: Nawal Kishore, n.d), 8- 45.

Shaykh Farīd. While in Hānsī, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn saw his Shaykh who was calling him. So, he left Hānsī and reached Delhī on the fourth day after his Shaykh's death. Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī presented all these relics to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. While he was leaving Delhī, some disciples of his Shaykh objected that he should not leave the place of his Shaykh. But he replied that the blessings bestowed by his Shaykh would be with him whether he stays in the city or in the desert. Moreover, in Delhī, the guards did not allow people to see him. Sarhangā, one of the disciples of Shaykh appeared two or three times to seek the blessing of the Shaykh but was not allowed to enter by the gatekeepers. When Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn came out of his house, Sarhangā fell in his feet and told the whole story. The Shaykh, after hearing that incident, decided to leave for Hānsī. Once a person left Delhī for doing *bay'at* on the hand of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn but on the way, he was trapped by a girl. But when he wanted to indulge in adultery, a hand appeared before him and slapped him, so he would not indulge in sin. He further said that in the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* there are fifteen stages of *salūk*. The fifth stage is the stage of miracle. He recommended for the *sālik* to complete all the fifteen stages first and then show miracles (if it will be necessary). While talking about his mother, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn described her as a very pious and saintly woman. Once a Hindu thief entered her house but became blind. He cried out: "If there be a man in this house, let him be my father or brother. If there be a woman, let her be my mother or sister". He regained his eyesight as she forgave and prayed for him. The thief, along with his family, embraced Islam at her hand.³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ Ishāq, *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, 46-90.

2.2.1.2- Critical Analysis of the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*

The *Asrār al-Awliyā'* is a very informative collection of *Malḡūḡāt* in which the categories of 'ābid (worshiper), *darwaishī*, *tawakul* (trust on ALLAH), love, types of livelihood, *tawbah*, heart, robe and poverty, the turban and its characteristics, sainthood and its importance, and suffering and its importance have been profoundly discussed. Bābā Farīd consults following books in his assembly *Zād al-Muhibīn*, *Mashaikh al-Tabaqāt*, Imām Muhammad's *Jām' al-Kabīr*, *Salūk-i-Awliyā'*, Imām Ghazzālī's *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī's *Tawārikh*, and *Asar al-'Ārifīn*. Moreover, the *Malḡūḡāt* shows that Bābā Farīd had a great command of the Holy Qurān and frequently refers to its verses in the support of his argument. Similarly, he also refers to the *Malḡūḡāt* of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan. However, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* is more informative and scholarly *Malḡūḡāt* as compare to *Asrār al-Awliyā'* which refers to a great number of theological and mystical works.

Substantial information has been taken by contemporary sources from the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*. For instance, the incident of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan and Parethvī Rāj Chauhān has also been mentioned in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, the incident of the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and that of Sarhangā have also been mentioned in *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Similarly, the miracle of the Bābā Farīd's mother has been mentioned in *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

The date of compilation of the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* given as Sha'ban 18, 631 A.H., / May 19, 1234 A.D. is debatable as Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq frequently mentions the name of his Shaykh as Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ajōdhanī and Bābā Farīd shifted to Ajōdhan in the 1240s. Moreover, he completed the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* in ten years³⁶¹ and Khwājah

³⁶¹Ishāq, *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, 94.

Badr al-Dīn Ishāq mentions the name Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', who visited Ajōdhan in 1257 A.D. for the first time in the fifteenth assembly,³⁶² which means that the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* was compiled in the 1250s A.D.

2.2.2- *Rāhat al-Qulūb*

Rāhat al-Qulūb is another *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. It has a total of twenty-four assemblies. This is very informative *Malfūzāt* in which the Shaykh discusses the silent principles of the path of the seeker. The date of compilation is mentioned as Rajab 15, 655 A.H. to Rabi' al-Awwal 2, 656/July 21, 1257 A.D. to March 9, 1258. But it is arguable.

2.2.2.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*

Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn describes three types of *zakat*: *zakat-i-sharī'ah* (alms of law) in which one pays five dirhams of two hundred dirhams; *zakat-i-tarīqah* (the tax for the spiritual path) where one pays one hundred and ninety-five dirhams of two hundred dirhams; and the third is *zakat-i-haqīqah* (the tax of the creative truth) where the total amount is paid. The Shaykh had given special attention to discreetness as he maintained that *darwaishī* (saintliness) is another name for discreetness. He recommended four things for achieving *darwaishī*: eyes that do not see the faults of others; ears that do not listen for errors; tongue that does not speak ill words; and feet that do not walk toward bad deeds. While talking about the robe of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) he mentions the same story as described in the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn advised his disciples to avoid the company of kings and wealthy people because they are indulged in materialism and worldly desires. If a person joins

³⁶²Ishāq, *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, 76.

their company, his spirituality can be affected. The Shaykh also visited prominent Ṣūfīs including Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, Shaykh Ajal Shīrāzī, Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī, Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī and Shaykh Muhammad of Sīstān. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' described some prominent personalities as present in the audience of the Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn such as Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī and Muhammad Shah Ghurī in the assemblies of *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. The author further maintains that Muhammad Shah Ghurī was one of the sincere disciples of the Bābā Farīd. Once he visited his Shaykh with great apprehension and distress and informed that his brother was on his death bed and could possibly have passed away by then. Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn told him, "Go! your brother has recovered". Upon reaching his home, Muhammad Shah found his brother fit and eating food. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn also discusses the importance of *samā'*, why ecstasy occurs, the method of initiation, and the characteristics of a preceptor in detail.³⁶³

The author also mentions numerous miracles of Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn such as when he won popularity among the masses and the governor of Uchach and Multān, named Shēr Khān, became jealous of him. Shēr Khān was executed within a year when the Mongols attacked that region. Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn visited Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī at Sīstān and spent some days in his company. During these days, some mystics came to the hospice of Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī and asked the saints who were present there to show miracles (*karamat*). Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn asked them to close their eyes. When they reopened, they found themselves in the Ka'aba. Similarly, the Shaykh returned a lost son back to his elderly disciple. Numerous *Jōgīs* frequently visited Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn and discussed spirituality with him.

³⁶³Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. (Delhi: Matba Mujtaba, 1891), 3-14.

Similarly, once a *Jōgī* visited him with an intention to compete with the Shaykh and started flying in the air. The Shaykh's shoes beat him and brought him back to the ground. Finally, he converted to Islam. While talking about *samā'* and ecstasy, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that once Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn wanted to listen *samā'* but *qawwāl* were not present at that time. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq found a letter and the Shaykh asked him to read it. He read "*faqīr* (mendicant), *haqīr* (inferior), *daīf* (old or weak), *nahīf* (beggar). Muhammad 'Attā' was the slave of the *darwaishes*." There upon, Bābā Farīd fell into the ecstasy.³⁶⁴

Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn did not accept *jāgīr* presented by the governors and the sultān. He maintains that the wālī of Ajōdhan sent two villages while Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd sent four villages as a gift through Balban. But he did not accept the gifts and maintained that Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish had sent six villages as a gift to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. But he declined to accept them.³⁶⁵

2.2.2.2- Critical Analysis of the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*

The *Rāhat al-Qulūb* shows the great wisdom of Bābā Farīd, his great knowledge about asceticism, Sufism and Islamic *sharī'ah*. The *Malfūzāt* discuss *darwaishī*, the *wazāif* of each month, *samā'*, ecstasy, the self, the *dhikr*, *tarīqa*, 'Alam-i- 'Alvī and 'Alam Saflī, renunciation of the world, importance of robe, seclusion, meditation, reasoning, importance of knowledge, ethics and equal treatment of all. Moreover, the *Malfūzāt* also reveal that the Shaykh refers to numerous well-known works of Ṣūfīs and theologians in his assemblies, such as Imām Muhammad's *Jam' al-Kabīr*, Dawūd al-Zahīr's *Fatāwā-i-Zahīrī*, Bāyazīd Bustāmī's *Sālik al-Salūk*, Shaykh Junaid Baghdādī's

³⁶⁴Awliyā', *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, 16- 28.

³⁶⁵Ibid., 31.

‘*Amdah*, Shafīq Balkhī’s *Dalīl al-Shāfi‘ī*, Shaykh Shiblī’s *Tuhfat al-‘Ārifīn*, Imām Ghazzālī’s *Ihyā’ al-‘Ulūm*, Abū Tālib al-Makkī’s *Qūt al-Qulūb*, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī’s ‘*Awārif al-Ma‘ārif*, Abū Layyas Samarqandī’s *Baqiyat Khatam al-Mujtahadīn*, Khwājah Abū Yūsuf Chishtī’s *Sharah al-Asrār*, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Mūdūd Chishtī’s *Sharah al-Awliyā’*, Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī’s *Rāhat al-Arwāh* and *Tawārikh*, Radī al-Dīn Sanaī’s *Mashāraq al-Anwār*, *Tafsīr* Imām Zāhid, ‘Allāma Zamakhsahrī *Tafsīr-i-Kashāf*, Imām Sha’bī’s *al-Kafāya*. However, the *Malfūzāt* does not mention the authors of some books including *Khulāsāt al-Haqaiq*, *Fatāwā-i-Kubrā*, *Jām‘ al-Haqayāt*, *Āsār al-‘Ārifīn*, *Asrār al-Tab‘aīn*, *Āsār al-Mashaikh* and *Sharah al-Mashaikh*.

Another characteristic of *Rāhat al-Qulūb* is that the later contemporary *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* such as *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Niẓāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fuād*, and *Siyar al-Awliyā’* borrowed a great deal of information from it which is another proof of its authenticity. For instance, a) categories of *zakat* are described in *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Durr-i-Niẓāmī*, b) the four principles for *darwaishī* have been described in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, c) the incident of Muhammad Shah was described in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, d) the jealousy of Shēr Khān is described in the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, e) Bābā Farīd showing miracle in front of Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī has been described in the *Afḍal al-Fuād*, f) the letter of Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī has been described in the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, g) a devotee from Jerusalem visiting Bābā Farīd and Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd sending cash and *jāgīr* as gift for Bābā Farīd is mentioned in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.

There are some reservations of modern historians about the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* such as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī spending ten years in the company of Khwājah

Qutab al-Dīn Mūdūd Chishtī (d.1133)³⁶⁶, but he might be Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī the Second rather than Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī (d. 527 A.H/ 1132 A.D) who was the preceptor of Hājī Sharīf Zindanī. Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī Thānī was one of the descendants of Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī. Another probability is that of a printing mistake as it is seen in some manuscripts of *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and some of its translations (*Fawā'id al-Fuād*, Urdu translation by Khwājah Hassan Nizami) that Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā granted the robe of *khalāfat* to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī who was in fact Shihāb al-Dīn Turpushatī. The same is the case with the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. It may be that the Shaykh told the name of Hājī Sharīf Zindanī rather than Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Similarly, Bābā Farīd visited Shaykh Yūsuf Chishtī (p. 22) who is not Abū Yūsuf the preceptor of Khwājah Mūdūd Chishtī, but a contemporary of Bābā Farīd. Another controversial issue is the compilation period of that *Malḡūzāt* which is mentioned as Rajab 15, 655 A.H. to Rabī' al-Awwal 2, 656/July 21, 1257 A.D. to March 9, 1258 because Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' visited Bābā Farīd for the first time in 1257 A.D. The dates of the assemblies of *Rāhat al-Qulūb* were added after its compilation by different people. So, this legend was expanded by later compilers.

2.2.3- The *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*

It is another *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d.1337) compiled by Majd al-Dīn Kāshānī (d. after 1337). Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb was an eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'. He was born in Hānsī and buried in Maharashtra. He introduced the Chishtī Ṣufī *silsilah* to the Deccan.³⁶⁷ He became so popular that even Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī sought his company.³⁶⁸ *Ghara'ib al-*

³⁶⁶Awliyā', *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, 8.

³⁶⁷Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Ṣufism*. (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), 41.

³⁶⁸Nisar Ahmed Faruqi, *Naqd Malḡūzāt*. (Lahore: Department of Islamic Heritage, 1989), 95.

Karāmāt deals with the miracles and discourses of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb. It was completed in 1316 A.D. Besides the *Gharaib al-Karāmāt*, Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb has four other *Malfūzāt* interestingly compiled by three brothers: Majd al-Dīn Kāshānī's *Baqiyat al-Ghara'ib*, Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī's *Shamāil l-Atqiyā* and *Nafa'is al-Anfās* and Hammad Kāshānī's *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*.

2.2.3.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*

Qutab Madār (Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb) said about Maulānā Farīd al-Dīn that he was a great master and (Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb) had achieved all apparent and spiritual blessing because of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. He further said that when anyone asked him what he had brought from the world, he would reply: "I bring Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn". It was realized at a very young age that he would become the head of the saints owing to his lifestyle and attitude.³⁶⁹ Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb dreamt someone telling him that Maulānā Farīd al-Dīn was his friend and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn telling him that he did not leave his friend in the world alone. Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb further told that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was the best saint of his era.³⁷⁰ Once a disciple visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and requested him to bestow him the *shajrah* (genealogy) of the Mashaikh. The Shaykh told him that he will grant it at its proper time. When the disciple insisted, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn again gave the same answer. However, the disciple got a copy of that *shajrah* from somewhere and visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn along with that copy. Shaykh al-Islam maintained that copy would not give him any benefit until the Shaykh himself bestowed it on him.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹Majd al-Dīn Kāshānī, *Gharaib al-Karāmāt*. Handwritten Manuscript, 56-57.

³⁷⁰Ibid., 59.

³⁷¹Ibid., 62-63.

2.2.3.2- Critical Analysis of *Gharaib al-Karāmāt*

The *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt* provides little information about Bābā Farīd as compared to the *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā* and *Nafa'is al-Anfās*. One important thing about that *Malfūzāt* is that it provides some information about Bābā Farīd which is not available in other contemporary sources such as the incident of the copy of the *Shajrah* of the Mashaikh.

2.2.3.3- Amīr Khusru

Abū al-Hassan Yamīn al-Dōllah, popularly known as Amīr Khusru, was a legendary Persian poet also known as the parrot of India.³⁷² Born in 1253 A.D. he became one of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's eminent disciples. He compiled many books,³⁷³ all types of compendia including *Malfūzāt*, biographies, as well as *dīwāns*. He died in 1325 A.D. the year in which his Shaykh passed away.

2.2.4- *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*

Afḍal al-Fawā'id is the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Amīr Khusru Delhwī. He presented the *Malfūzāt* before his Shaykh and told him its titled as *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' read the *Malfūzāt*, praised it and made some corrections.³⁷⁴ The *Malfūzāt* has fifty-one *majālis* and is divided into two parts; part one has thirty-four *majālis* while part two has seventeen *majālis*. Compilation of first part started in 713 A.H./ 1313 A.D. and of the second part in 719 A.H./1319 A.D. Like other contemporary *Malfūzāt* including *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Ahsan la-Aqwāl* and *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* is not a biography of

³⁷² Lawrence, Bruce B., *The Chishtīyya of Sultanate India: A Case Study of Biographical Complexities in South Asian Islam*. vol. XLVIII/3 & 4, 57.

³⁷³ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 302.

³⁷⁴ Amīr Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, 1304 AH/1887 AD), 110.

Bābā Farīd but provides some worthy information about the life and teachings of the Shaykh. Unlike above-mentioned *Malḡūzāt*, in some *majālis* of *Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd* (like twentieth), the whole discussion moves around Bābā Farīd. Similarly, one major part of Amīr Khusru’s *Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd*, particularly part one contains the miracles and the traditions of Holy Prophet (PBUH), and the second part of the *Malḡūzāt* focuses on the other Prophets. Moreover, like *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Durr-i-Niḡāmī*, it is also shared detail about the Chishtīyyah *wazāif* and *aūrād*.

2.2.4.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd*

Bābā Farīd discusses the importance on fasting on specific days including Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in the month of Muharam and the importance of some additional prayers like *Ṣalāt al-Tasbīh*.³⁷⁵ Anyone who recites surah *Akhlās* a hundred times in the month of Rajab, his sins as well as the sins of his relatives forgiven by ALLAH Almighty and is allowed to enter paradise without any accountability on the Day of Judgement.³⁷⁶

The presence of the mashaikh (saints) on Earth is one of the greatest blessings of ALLAH according to Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh maintains that anyone who does not grieve at the death of the mashaikh is a hypocrite. Moreover, the death of mashaikh and ‘ulema’ is a matchless calamity on Earth. When a Shaykh dies, all the creatures of the seven skies and seven earths mourn. Whoever grieves the death of the Shaykh is blessed by ALLAH Almighty.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵Khusru, *Aḡḡal al-Fawāīd*, 6-15.

³⁷⁶Ibid., 52.

³⁷⁷Ibid., 18.

While opposing the worldly life, Bābā Farīd maintains that *zuhd* (asceticism) means renunciation of the world and giving up its desires.³⁷⁸ Moreover, one without good deeds is better off dead, one without *dhikr* is better off dumb, those who don't listen to the Lord are better off deaf, and those not busy in meditation are better off dead.³⁷⁹ Similarly, once *nafs* demanded grapes from Bābā Farīd and he decided that he would never have grapes his whole life.³⁸⁰ Further, for almost twenty years, Bābā Farīd recited the complete Qurān each night in the two *rak'at* of an additional prayer which he offered after *ṣalāt al-tarāwih*, and offered the night and morning prayers with the same ablution.³⁸¹ Jamālī also mentions Bābā Farīd reciting the complete holy Qurān daily even in his youth when he was studying in Minhāj al-Dīn Termizī's mosque.³⁸² Bābā Farīd visited Bukhara and Baghdād.³⁸³

Miracles of Bābā Farīd have also been described in the *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*. For example, once Bābā Farīd and his eminent disciple Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq did not find a boat in the river, and the Shaykh asked his disciple to close his eyes. When he reopened his eyes, he saw that they had crossed the river. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq enquired how it was possible. Bābā Farīd replied that it was due to recitation of the *surah al-Muzammil*.³⁸⁴ Once some travelers visited Bābā Farīd to judge his spirituality and raised different questions. Bābā Farīd defined the sainthood as: "If a saint asks a bundle of wood to turn into gold, it will". Before his statement was completed, the whole bundle had turned into gold.³⁸⁵ Once Bābā Farīd and Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān were

³⁷⁸Ibid., 43-44.

³⁷⁹Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 88.

³⁸⁰Ibid., 64.

³⁸¹Ibid., 156-57.

³⁸²Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 36-37.

³⁸³Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 135-36.

³⁸⁴Ibid., 98.

³⁸⁵Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 117.

travelling in a dangerous area where brutes and thugs dwelled Abundantly. There was no boat in the river, so Bābā Farīd crossed it on foot.³⁸⁶

Bābā Farīd visited Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī at Kirmān and spent some days in his company. During these days, some mystics came to Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī's hospice and asked everyone who claimed to be a mystic to show their miracles (*karāmat*). Bābā Farīd, while showing his miracle, asked them to close their eyes. When they reopened their eyes, they found themselves in front of the Holy Ka'aba. It is also corroborated by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that Bābā Farīd often offered his *Fajr* and '*Ishā*' prayers in Ka'aba.³⁸⁷ The *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* also informs about the Qādī of Ajōdhan who, in his bid to create hurdles for Bābā Farīd, visited eminent theologians of Multān in vain to get a *fatwā* against the Shaykh.³⁸⁸

Bābā Farīd died on the fifth of Muharram. He called Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' before his death and finished the Holy Qurān five times in one night. Every hair on the Shaykh's body seemed as if soaked in blood. On his last night, he repeated his '*Ishā*' prayer four times and asked everyone to leave his apartment. The peoples heard two voices, "The Friend left to meet the Friend" and "there was an *amānat* (deposit) on the earth which was handed over to ALLAH Almighty". After his death, ALLAH Almighty bestowed a crown on him.³⁸⁹ On the night of his passing, a saint in Ajōdhan dreamt that the doors of the skies were opening as he heard a voice saying, "Khwājah Farīd al-Haq left for His Lord, and His Lord is happy with him".³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 174-75.

³⁸⁷ Amir Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, trans. Muhammad Latif Malik. (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2015), 291-92.

³⁸⁸ Amir Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, 1304 AH/1887 AD), 127.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 80-81.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 115.

2.2.4.2- Critical Analysis of the *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*

Amīr Khusru's *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* is a significant source of information about Bābā Farīd like Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. However, it lacks complete information in certain areas, for example, it is silent about the identity of who Bābā Farīd wanted to appoint as his chief *khalīfah*. Bābā Farīd told Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that he wanted to bestow *waliya* (sainthood) to somebody else but ALLAH Almighty ordered otherwise.³⁹¹ But Hamīd Qalandar mentions that it was no other but Bābā Farīd's son whose name was also Nizām al-Dīn.³⁹² Other controversies in facts and figures in *Afḍal al-Fawā'id* include the statement that Bahlūl, a prominent mystic, was a contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghazna (d.1030).³⁹³ However, it is also a fact that more than one mystic whose name was Bahlūl is found in the mystical compendia. Amīr Khusru narrates certain aspects regarding Bābā Farīd's death which are not found in contemporary sources. These include the blood on the Shaykh's hair, the voices, the Shaykh ordering his disciples to leave him alone, and his offering night prayer four times. Sijzī and Amīr Khūrd maintain that Bābā Farīd offered night prayer thrice. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār's title of 'Kākī' is also reported in *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*: the Shaykh's disciples showed their desire for *kāk* (bread) so Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār entered the water of the Hūd-i-Sultān (Hūd-i-Shamsī) and threw hot and fresh *kāk* from the water.³⁹⁴ This event is not reported in Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

2.2.4.3- Amīr Hassan 'Alā' Sijzī (d.1335)

Najm al-Dīn Hassan, popularly known as Amīr Hassan Sijzī, was born in Badaun in 1254 A.D. He was one of the prominent disciples of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. In

³⁹¹Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 3.

³⁹²Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmi, 224.

³⁹³Khusru, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, 78.

³⁹⁴Ibid., 116-17.

his youth Sijzī joined Prince Muhammad (d.1285) who was the favorite son of Sultān Balban (r. 1266-87). Till his death he remained attached to the sultāns of Delhī. In academia, therefore, he became popular due to his compilation of the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and his excellent contribution in the field of *ghazals*. Amīr Hassan Sijzī also wrote a prose treatise (collection of poetry) entitled *Mukh al-Ma'anī* in which he discusses different topics of Sufism. The treatise is available at the Muslim University Aligarh. After Amīr Khusru (d. 1325), who was known as the Parrot of India, Amīr Hassan Sijzī was perhaps the second most famous Persian poet of fourteenth century-India. Amīr Hassan was also known as the Sa'adī of Hindūstān.³⁹⁵ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' gave special attention to him.³⁹⁶ Amīr Hassan died in 1336 at Deogir and is buried there.

2.2.5- *Fawā'id al-Fuād*

Amīr Hassan Sijzī got eternal fame due to the compilation of *Fawā'id al-Fuād* based on the conversations of Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā'. He started to compile this work on Sha'bān 3, 707 AH/ January 28, 1308 AD and completed it on Sha'bān 20, 722/ September 2, 1322 A.D. It means that he spent almost fifteen years in completing this work. The book is divided into five parts and one hundred and eighty-eight sittings or assemblies (*majālis*).

The *Fawā'id al-Fuād* became popular during the lifetime of its author. Amīr Khusru, one of his contemporaries and a legendary Persian poet of the thirtieth century, offered him whole of his literary works for the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*.³⁹⁷ The language used by Amīr Hassan in that *Malfūzāt* is simple, elegant and fascinating. One distinguished thing of

³⁹⁵Nizāmī, *The Life and Time of Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, 5. See also M. Sharaf Alam, Hassan Sijzī and Shaikh Sharaf ud Dīn Ahmad Maneri (A Comparative Study of Their Mystic Thoughts & Persian Prose). Journal of Subcontinent Researchers University of Sistan and Baluchistan. Vol.2, No.4, p. 8.

³⁹⁶Amir Khusru, *Afḍal al- Fawā'id*, 94.

³⁹⁷Chakravarty, *Reading Fawā'id-al-Fuād: Text, Testimony and History*, 56. See also: Alam, *Hassan Sijzī and Shaikh Sharaf ud Dīn Ahmad Maneri (A Comparative Study of Their Mystic Thoughts & Persian Prose)*, 8.

Hassan's *Fawā'id al-Fuād* is his regular use of the calendar. He mentioned the time or date of every meeting he recorded in that work. Another main characteristic is its authenticity. Contrary to earlier Chishtī *Malfūzāt*, researchers recognized it as a reliable source. The main themes of the *Malfūzāt* are morality as evident in its name *Fawā'id al-Fuād* ('Morals for the Hearts'), true faith in God, love, peace, forgiveness, and true devotion to the Prophet (PBUH) and the Shaykh and the rejection of the materialism and worldly desires. Historically, the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* also has great importance as it discusses the religious, social and cultural aspects of medieval India. Furthermore, in the medieval period when the '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*' became part and parcel of the Ṣūfī syllabus *Fawā'id al-Fuād* also won the same status among the Chishtī Ṣūfis.

2.2.5.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Fawā'id-al Fuād*

There is no information in *Fawā'id al-Fuād* about the early life or the childhood of Bābā Farīd nor about his ancestors. However, a little information has been found about his mother and some other family members.

2.2.5.2- Family of Bābā Farīd

In the one hundred and eighty-eight assemblies of the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' discusses only five family members of Bābā Farīd: his mother, a brother, Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, two sons, named Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn and Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn, and one grandson, named Mamman (Muhammad).

2.2.5.3- The Mother of Bābā Farīd

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' does not mention the name of the mother of Bābā Farīd. However, he describes certain anecdotes which show her high spiritual level. One night a thief came to her house. Every one of her family members was sleeping but she was busy in worship. The thief lost his eyesight just after entering her house. He cried: "if there be man in this house, let him be as my father or brother. If there be as

woman let her be as my mother or sister. However, it may be, I know that it is due to her/his reverence for God that I have been blinded. Please pray for me”. Moreover, he promised that he would not commit the same sin again. The Shaykh’s mother prayed, and the thief recovered. Furthermore, the next day he visited her home and converted to Islam with his whole family.³⁹⁸

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ also discusses the death of the mother of Bābā Farīd, Qursam Bībī. He maintains that Bābā Farīd sent his brother Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil to bring his mother to Ajōdhan. On the journey his mother felt thirst and Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn left to search of water, leaving her sitting beneath a tree. When he returned, he did not find her there. He looked for her in the vicinity but failed to find her. When he reached Ajōdhan, he told Bābā Farīd the whole story. Bābā Farīd ordered for the preparation of food and for charity. After some days, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil was crossing the same place and once again visited that same tree and found some bones there. “These must be the bones of my mother, possibly some lion or other beast killed her,” Khwājah Najīb said to himself. He took all the bones and brought them to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. When on the order of Bābā Farīd the bag of bones was opened they found nothing. According to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, this was one of the miracle or wonders that occurred Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’s life.³⁹⁹

2.2.5.4- Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil and the Sons of Bābā Farīd

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ also shares information about Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, the younger brother and *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. Fortunately, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ became the neighbor of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil at Delhī.⁴⁰⁰ He maintains that he could not find a man like him. Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn

³⁹⁸Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 80.

³⁹⁹Ibid., 80-81.

⁴⁰⁰Ibid., 96.

Mutawwakil did not know which day or which month it was, and he had no idea about the prices of grain or meat.⁴⁰¹ When Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn told Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn that it was popular among the people that whenever the Shaykh said “O Lord!” after prayer, one could hear a reply (from ALLAH): “I am Present, My man”. Bābā Farīd replied negatively. The former further enquired about the apostle *Khedar* (Khwājah Khizr) coming to him. The Shaykh again rejected the claim. Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil also asked whether the *abdāl* or *mardān-i-ghaib* visited him. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn replied: “you may be one of the *abdāl*.”⁴⁰² Seventy *abdāl* (some authors say forty) are appointed in each age, who control the whole world.

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ has mentioned the third brother of Bābā Farīd. He maintains that his name was Muhammad and he lived in Badaun. He further maintains that Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil often visited his brother in Badaun. Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn was the beloved son of Bābā Farīd, who was an army man by profession. Due to the great affection of the Shaykh for him, he at times would become rude with Bābā Farīd. But the Shaykh was never offended by his rudeness.⁴⁰³

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn also discusses Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn, another son of Bābā Farīd. A disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī visited Bābā Farīd along with his son. His son started discussing with the Shaykh rudely. Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn entered the Shaykh’s room and slapped that person. Bābā Farīd ordered his son for compensation. Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn finally gave some money and a costly cloth to this man and his father. Both were pleased and forgave him.⁴⁰⁴ Muhammad was a grandson of Bābā Farīd also known as Mamman. Someone complained to Bābā Farīd

⁴⁰¹Ibid., 84.

⁴⁰²Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 80.

⁴⁰³Ibid., 138.

⁴⁰⁴Ibid., 102-3.

that he was indulged in drinking. When Bābā Farīd called him and enquired about it, he denied it. Bābā Farīd accepted his words and talked to him candidly.⁴⁰⁵

2.2.5.5- Poetry and Bābā Farīd

Although Khawaja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' does not talk about the Punjābī poetry of Bābā Farīd, it is quite clear from *Fawā'id al-Fuād* that Bābā Farīd had a great interest and commands of Persian poetry. For instance, when Shams Dabīr (one of the disciples of Bābā Farīd) requested Bābā Farīd for permission to recite a long poem which was written in the praise of the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd allowed him and when he finished it, the Shaykh asked him to recite it again. Later, the Shaykh explained every line of that poem and suggested some recommendation for further improvement. Moreover, Bābā Farīd told Shams Dabīr that the preceptors did not like eulogy.⁴⁰⁶

2.2.5.6- Diet of Bābā Farīd

Shams Dabīr served Bābā Farīd as a cook and prepared food for him.⁴⁰⁷ However, Bābā Farīd often remained in fast. "He usually broke his fast with *sharbat* and distributed half or two-third of the glass among those present in his assembly". Similarly, two breads presented before him "the bread weighed less than two pounds and was basted with the layer of fat. He would break one of the loaves into pieces and would distribute it among the people". The remaining one "he would offer some to the selected persons". After that the Shaykh would offer his evening prayers and would remain totally absorbed in meditation till dinner. After dinner the Shaykh would not eat anything till the breaking of the fast the next evening.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵Ibid., 95.

⁴⁰⁶Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 83.

⁴⁰⁷Ibid., 104.

⁴⁰⁸Ibid., 34.

2.2.5.7- Bābā Farīd as Head of the Chishtīyyah *Silsilah*

Bābā Farīd visited his Shaykh fortnightly unlike Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and other prominent disciples who visited the Shaykh daily. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and another Shaykh (Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ did not mention his name) had a great desire to become the spiritual successor of their Shaykh. However, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, in the same assembly of *samā’* in which he passed away, ordered that “give my cloth (cloak), prayer mat, stick and wooden shoes to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn”. The same night Bābā Farīd saw his Shaykh in his dream who was calling him. Bābā Farīd left Hānsī and after four days of his Shaykh’s death, he reached Delhī. Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī submitted all these relics to Bābā Farīd. He lived for two to seven days at the house of his Shaykh and finally left for Hānsī.⁴⁰⁹

Some disciples of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī even objected that his Shaykh appointed him for Delhī. Bābā Farīd replied that the blessing his Shaykh bestowed on him was the same both in the city and desert. Bābā Farīd left Delhī because he realized that his devotees were facing hurdles when they would desire to meet him. Similarly, when Sarhangā, one of the disciples of Bābā Farīd, appeared two or three times for seeking the blessing of the Shaykh the gatekeepers did not allow him. One day when Bābā Farīd came out from his house, he fell on the feet of the Shaykh and told him the whole story. This led the Shaykh to the decision not to live in Delhī anymore.⁴¹⁰

2.2.5.8- Meditation and Renunciation of the World

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that he heard from Bābā Farīd that once he asked his Shaykh, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī to give him permission for *chillah* and that he wanted to live in seclusion. When the former negatively replied as

⁴⁰⁹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 118.

⁴¹⁰Ibid. 118.

“there is no need to perform *chillah*, as it will popularize you and moreover, no such practice has been transmitted by our masters”. Bābā Farīd further asked that “his Shaykh is well aware about him; he has no intention to get worldly fame”. Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī remained silent. Bābā Farīd stated that was the only moment when he spoke some daring words before his Shaykh and for the rest of his life, he remained very ashamed and repentant on it.⁴¹¹

2.2.5.9- Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan

When Bābā Farīd settled at Ajōdhan the Qādī (Judge) of that town turned against him. He tried his level best to create problems for the Shaykh. He even visited the ruling elites and the ‘*ulema*’ of Multān and complained about Bābā Farīd. The Qādī would complain that “where it is permitted that someone sit in a mosque, listen to musical performances and from time to time even begin to dance”. When the religious scholars asked him the name of that person, Qādī of Ajōdhan told that it was Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. They replied, “about him we can say nothing”.⁴¹²

2.2.5.10- Relationship with the Common Peoples and Ruling Elite

Although Bābā Farīd loved seclusion, but it was impossible in Ajōdhan because of widespread fame. Countless people would visit him every day. The hospice of Bābā Farīd remained open till mid night. He treated everyone equally. Moreover, there was no difference between his public and private life. He would distribute everything he received among the mendicants and visitors.⁴¹³ Furthermore, he would discuss only those topics which were familiar to and deeply studied by the visitors.⁴¹⁴ The Shaykh

⁴¹¹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 68-69.

⁴¹²Ibid., 64.

⁴¹³Ibid., 49

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 60.

advised his disciples to try to make their enemies happy and give a due share to the deserving.⁴¹⁵

Due to the great demand of the people Bābā Farīd asked his Shaykh to tell him about writing the amulet. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār allowed him as he said “this work rests neither in your hand nor in mine. The amulet is ALLAH’s name; write and give them ALLAH’s word”. Bābā Farīd assigned that task to his prominent disciples Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁴¹⁶

However, the Shaykh did not like to make any link with the ruling elite. Ghiyās al-Dīn known as Alagh Khān (prime minister) visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and offered some amount of money and ownership of four villages. Ghiyās al-Dīn explained that money was for the *darwaishes* and land was for the Shaykh’s personal use. Bābā Farīd accepted the gift of money as he replied: “Give me money. I will dispense it to the *darwaishes*”. While he declined to accept the agricultural land, and saying: “there are many who long for it. Give it away to such person”.⁴¹⁷ Similarly, when some misappropriation had been found in the account of Nizām al-Dīn *Kharītdār*, who built a hospice for Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, the later requested Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn to pray for his safety. Bābā Farīd maintains: “Our spiritual ancestors did not follow this practice of building hospices, he who opts to build a hospice will experience what you are now experiencing”.⁴¹⁸

Later, however, Bābā Farīd opened his gate even for the ruling elite and allowed Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-66) to visit his hospice along with his army, regardless of its great number. The Shaykh hung his clothes on a wall for the people to revere

⁴¹⁵Ibid., 90.

⁴¹⁶Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 125.

⁴¹⁷Ibid., 66.

⁴¹⁸Ibid., 52-53.

them. Those clothes ended up into pieces. Bābā Farīd finally asked his disciples at the mosque to make a circle around him to avoid further viewers. However, an old *farash* (keeper of the royal carpet) broke the circle and began to pull the Shaykh's feet so he might kiss them. It was really painful for the Shaykh but the *farash* cried "O Shaykh! Do you feel annoyed? Thank ALLAH for that blessing bestowed on you". Upon hearing that, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn started weeping, embraced the old man and apologized.⁴¹⁹ In the Chishtī *silsilah*, it is forbidden for the head of the order to entertain the ruler, Bābā Farīd, however, in his final years opened the gate for all.

Moreover, Bābā Farīd also dispatched letters to the sultān and governors on behalf of the downtrodden. Once an '*amil* (revenue minister) visited Bābā Farīd and complained against the governor and requested his intervention. Bābā Farīd sent someone before the governor. At first, there was no response but after some time, he appeared before Bābā Farīd and apologized⁴²⁰ for being late.

2.2.5.11- *Samā'*

Bābā Farīd was very fond of *samā'*. Once, when he could not find any singers, ordered Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq to read a letter by Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī. When he read the words "*faqīr*" "*haqīr*" "*daif*", "*nahif*" and "Muhammad 'Attā' who is the slave of the *darwaishes*", the Shaykh was filled with ecstasy.⁴²¹ His Shaykh, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, had earlier died in the state of such ecstasy.⁴²²

2.2.5.12- *Zakat* as defined by Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd maintains that there are three types of *zakat*: first is *zakat-i-sharī'ah* (alms of law) which is payment of five dirhams on two hundred; second is *zakat-i-tarīqa* (alms of path) which is payment of one hundred and ninety-five dirhams on two

⁴¹⁹Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 94.

⁴²⁰Ibid., 95.

⁴²¹Ibid., 96-97.

⁴²²Ibid., 118.

hundred; third is *zakat-i-haqīqah* (alms of truth) in which everything is paid and nothing is kept.⁴²³

2.2.5.13- Problems faced by Bābā Farīd

Among Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn's myriad problems, one was the jealousy of the Qādī of Ajōdhan. He tried unsuccessfully to get a *fatwā* against Bābā Farīd from the theologians of Multān. But the Shaykh never spoke ill of his rivals. Once an assassin was captured with a knife from Bābā Farīd's *Jamā't Khānah*, but he was condoned. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' reports that he was attending the Shaykh, who was in prostration as usual, after offering the morning prayer. Meanwhile, an assassin arrived and greeted loudly, disturbing the Shaykh's focus. Bābā Farīd told Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that a person had arrived who was a Turk of middle height and was yellowish. Khwājah Nizām, seeing that the assassin matched that description, replied affirmatively. The Shaykh further described that he had a chain around his waist and was wearing something in his ear. Upon Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's positive response, Bābā Farīd asked him to let the assassin go before he was disgraced. The assassin heard this and fled.⁴²⁴ Moreover, the governor of Uchach and Multān, Shēr Khān, got jealous of Bābā Farīd's high popularity. Bābā Farīd remained destitute in his final days as Shēr Khān tried to stop all the *futuh* (gifts) toward the *Jamā't Khānah*.⁴²⁵ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' records that once someone cast a spell on Bābā Farīd. Upon the magician's apprehension, the governor sent him before the Shaykh, Bābā Farīd forgave him and asked the governor for his release.⁴²⁶

⁴²³Ibid., 69.

⁴²⁴Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 99.

⁴²⁵Ibid., 136.

⁴²⁶Ibid., 114.

2.2.5.14- Death of Bābā Farīd

On his last night, Bābā Farīd fell unconscious after offering ‘*Ishā*’ prayer with the congregation. When he came to, he offered the same prayer twice again.⁴²⁷ He passed away on Muharram 5th at the age of ninety-three.⁴²⁸ He died because of *Khalah* (Inflammatory Bowel Disease, IBD). Once due to IBD, Bābā Farīd ordered Khwājah Nizām al-Awliyā’ and some other disciples to pray for his health during their nocturnal prayers. Furthermore, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ maintains that Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī passed away three years after Sa‘ad al-Dīn Hamūya. Three years later, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyyā died, and, finally, after three more years, Bābā Farīd also passed away.⁴²⁹

Due to Bābā Farīd’s altruistic life, there was nothing left for his funeral and burial. A door had to be destroyed to obtain bricks for his grave.⁴³⁰

2.2.5.15- Some Miracles of Bābā Farīd

A man left Delhī to repent before Bābā Farīd. On his way, a prostitute singer approached and eventually lured him. As both rode one camel, someone appeared before him, slapped and warned him about indulging in sin before appearing at Bābā Farīd’s. When he reached before Bābā Farīd, he was told that ALLAH Almighty had protected him from sin.⁴³¹

Muhammad Naishāpurī, one of Bābā Farīd’s disciples, was travelling in Gujrāt. He saw a Hindu raider with a bare sword moving towards him. Naishāpurī uttered loudly: “Help me Shaykh! Help me Shaykh!”. The sword fell from the raider’s hand and he requested Naishāpurī for protection.⁴³² Muhammad Shah Ghurī, another of Bābā Farīd’s disciple,

⁴²⁷Ibid., 127.

⁴²⁸Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 34-35.

⁴²⁹Ibid., 85.

⁴³⁰Ibid., 132.

⁴³¹Ibid., 136.

⁴³²Ibid., 51.

once visited the Shaykh in a state of worry. Upon Bābā Farīd's inquiry, Muhammad Ghurī explained his brother's miserable condition who was on his death bed and had limited time. The Shaykh told him, "Go, your brother will have recovered". When he returned home, his brother was eating,⁴³³ he had recovered.

Once five rude bad-tampered *darwaishes* visited Bābā Farīd at his hospice. They complained that they had visited different places but never found a proper saint. Bābā Farīd asked them to stay at his *Jamā't Khānah* for a short while for he would show them such a saint. They declined the offer. Bābā Farīd advised them to adopt the deserted route but they again disagreed and died on their journey.⁴³⁴

2.2.5.16- *Khulafā'* (Successors)

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' has briefly discussed Bābā Farīd's *khulafā'*. Among them one is Shaykh's own brother named Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil who has already been discussed. Others include Khwājah Badr al-Ishāq and Shaykh 'Arif. For Shaykh 'Arif, it is reported that Bābā Farīd gave him *khalāfat* of Sīstān (currently Sehwan Sharīf in Sindh). Earlier, he was the Imām of a mosque in Multān. When the governor of Multān gave him hundred rupees as a gift for Bābā Farīd, he gave half to the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd asked him if he had divided it like a brother. Upon hearing this, he offered the whole amount and became a disciple.⁴³⁵ Khwājah Wahīd al-Dīn, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan's grandson, was also a disciple and a *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd.⁴³⁶ Further, Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī's grandson, was also a disciple of Bābā Farīd.

⁴³³Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 143.

⁴³⁴Ibid., 154.

⁴³⁵Ibid., 134.

⁴³⁶Ibid., 147.

2.2.5.17- The *Malfūẓāt* of Bābā Farīd

While discussing Bābā Farīd's *Malfūẓāt*, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that he appreciated his style of writing. Bābā Farīd scrupulously examined the writing and approved them with appreciation.⁴³⁷ However, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' never mentioned its title. Hence, there was controversy regarding the authorship of the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*.

2.2.5.18- Contradictions about the Age and Year of Death of Bābā Farīd

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that Bābā Farīd died at age of ninety-three. According to Amīr Khūrd, Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H./1173 A.D. and died in 664 A.H./1265 A.D. at the age of ninety-five.⁴³⁸ Sijzī avers that Bābā Farīd passed away in 1262 A.D. because Sa'ad al-Dīn Hamwiyya died in 1252 A.D.⁴³⁹

2.2.5.19- Is the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd* a Biography or a Dispersed Detail of Bābā Farīd?

The *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd* is one of Amīr Hassan's remarkable contributions which covers a decade and a half of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's life. In fact, during these fifteen years, Sijzī met Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' only one hundred and eighty-eight times. Hence, it is impossible for these few assemblies to cover all the aspects regarding Bābā Farīd.

About Bābā Farīd, Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd* cannot be considered a biography of the Shaykh but only a dispersed account of information, stories and events of his life. The *Malfūẓāt* is silent about Bābā Farīd's forefathers, siblings, wives, daughters, and *khulafā'*, particularly 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar. Further, Bābā Farīd's date and place of birth, his travels and his *Sajjādah Nashīns* are also missing.

⁴³⁷Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, 20-21.

⁴³⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 91.

⁴³⁹*The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return (Mirsad al-'Ebad men al-Mabda' ela'l-Ma'ad) A Sufi Compendium by Najm al-Din Razi, known as Daya*, trans. Hamīd Alagīr (New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 3.

Furthermore, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' only slightly mentions two of the Shaykh's sons named Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn and Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' time and again discusses Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Shaykh 'Alī of Makkah, Muhammad Shah Ghurī, Shams Dabīr, Muhammad Naishāpurī and Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī but never mentions their successorship (*khalāfat*). He only affirms the *khalāfat* of a disciple named Shaykh 'Arif. The information is missing probably due to Sijzī's limited attendance in assemblies.

It can be inferred that the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* is not a biography of Bābā Farīd, but it shares more information as compare than many hagiographers about Bābā Farīd .

2.2.5.20- Comparison of Fawā'id al-Fuād and other Contemporary Sources Regarding the Biography of Bābā Farīd

In *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, Amīr Hassan never mentions Qādī of Ajōdhan's name, while in *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, it is mentioned as 'Abdullah.⁴⁴⁰ Amīr Khūrd mentions Bābā Farīd's mother with reference to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁴⁴¹ *Fawā'id al-Fuād* gives little information about Bābā Farīd's magic incident, while Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* gives full account of the incident including the magician's name and how Bābā Farīd recovered from it.

2.2.5.21- Some Misconception about Fawā'id al-Fuād

According to some researchers like Hassan Nawāz Shah, some invalid information has been added by different translators in *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. One such misconception is ascribed to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that he asserted Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī's *khalāfat* from Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. Moreover, Shah explicitly mentions that apart from three manuscripts of *Fawā'id al-Fuād* published by

⁴⁴⁰ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 84. See also Jāndār, *Durr-e-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 202.

⁴⁴¹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 87-88.

Fakhar al-Matab Press Delhī, Hussainī Press Delhī 1865, and Hindu Press Delhī 1865, all the manuscripts mention that it was actually Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Turpushatī who received the *khalāfat* from Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā rather than Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrwardī.⁴⁴² However, an Urdu translation by Shamas Barelvī in (second edition 1992) also clearly states that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ mentioned the name of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Turpushatī rather than Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrwardī.⁴⁴³ Further, some Persian manuscripts including the Hassani Press which published *Fawāid al-Fuād* in 1865 also narrates the actual information.⁴⁴⁴ Hence, Shah’s claim is unjustified.

Another critical statement about *Fawāid al-Fuād* is that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ declined the attribution of the statement, “Muhammad, along with others, will be under my skirt on the Day of Judgment,” to Bāyazīd of Bustām.⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, this fabricated statement of Bayazid of Bustam was firstly found in *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā’* by Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār who also rejects its authenticity.

2.2.6- *Nafa’is al-Anfās*

It is another *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb compiled by Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī. It has forty-eight *Majālis*, from Muharram 732 A.H./ 1331 A.D. to 4th Safar 738 A.H./1st September 1337 A.D. *Nafa’is al-Anfās* is not yet published, however, I have obtained two manuscripts of that work. The first one has one hundred and thirty-

⁴⁴²Hassan Nawaz Shah, Shaykh *Shihāb al-Dīn Umar Suhrwardī ar Fawāid al-Fuād Ki Aīk Haqāyat ka Tahqīqī Jaiza*, Taṣfiah vol, 2, (Lucknow: Alnuriyah Publishers, 2015), 216-22, See also: Sijzī, *Fawāid al Fuād*, trans. Khwājah Hassan Nizāmi (Lahore: Zawiya Publishers, 2003), 457.

⁴⁴³Amīr Hassan ‘Ala Delhwī Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, trans. Shams Barelvī (Delhi: Manzoor Book Shop, 1992), 390-91. See also Amīr Hassan ‘Ala Delhwī Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*. ((Delhi: Hassani Publishers, 1282 AH/ 1865-66), 156.

⁴⁴⁴Amīr Hassan ‘Ala Delhwī Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*. (Delhi: Hassani Publishers, 1282 AH/ 1865-66), 156: See also Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, trans. Barelvī, 390-91.

⁴⁴⁵Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 123: see also Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* (Lahore: Al-Faruq Book Foundation, 1997), 120.

five pages and has forty-six sessions while second has one hundred and sixty-eight pages and forty-eight assemblies.

2.2.6.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Nafa'is al-Anfās*

Khawājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb describes many miracles of Bābā Farīd such as an illiterate person visited him, and the Shaykh ordered him to deliver sermons to people. After receiving that instruction, the same man realized spirituality, inner knowledge and soon became a knowledgeable person.⁴⁴⁶ Once a woman visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and told that she had lost her son. The Shaykh told her to feed the hungry people. She did so and got her son back. After some days, when she visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn along with her son who pointed out the Shaykh as the man who he provided him with bread and water. Similarly, once a merchant visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and told a strange story. Once when his boat was nearly sunk, people cried and asked Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn to protect them. Finally, the Shaykh saved their boat.⁴⁴⁷ Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd visited Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn when he was on his military campaign from Multān to Lāhōre, he had never offered an amount less than fifty *tanka* to the Shaykh. Simultaneously, a student arrived to seek the blessing of the Shaykh and saw people giving him five hundred *tanka* as gift while he had only five *tanka*. He felt ashamed and did not submit the amount. He sat alone as everyone left. He came to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and asked, “What is the difference between *Ilhām-i-Rabānī* (intuition from ALLAH) and *Ilhām-i-Shaitanī* (intuition from devil)?” The Shaykh replied that intuition *Ilhām-i-Rabānī* is to pay five *tanka* while *Ilhām-i-Shaitanī* is to return without paying.⁴⁴⁸ Once Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn was going to a mosque.

⁴⁴⁶Rukn al-Din Kāshānī, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*. Handwritten Manuscript, 16.

⁴⁴⁷Ibid., 39-40.

⁴⁴⁸Ibid., 63-64.

On the way, a snake bit him but died on the spot. When astonished people asked him about the snake's death, he told that he broke his promise and died.⁴⁴⁹ Likewise, a man visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. He had some problem with the state administration and requested the Shaykh to intervene on his behalf. Shaykh al-Islam told him that he too did not accept someone's intercession and said, "as you sow, so shall you reap".⁴⁵⁰ While discussing the importance of congregational prayer, Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb described the following incident of Bābā Farīd. A visitor came to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and told a story that he had heard praises of a *darwaish* in Khurāsān from a scholar and had left to seek his blessing but on the way, he dreamt that the same *darwaish* had passed away. When he reached his home, he found him alive. The *darwaish* informed him that his dream was true because he missed one of his congregational prayers.⁴⁵¹ While discussing the policy of love, harmony and unity of Bābā Farīd, the author mentions the following incident. Once a disciple offered a knife to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, but he did not accept and asked him to give him needle that joins things.⁴⁵²

Once two *qalandar* visited Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn wearing rings in their necks, feet and bracelets in their hand. The Shaykh did not like these rings and explained that these were symbols of hellish people. Moreover, while talking about Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb maintains that he was a son in law and guard of Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn who did not allow anyone to see the Shaykh in his *hujrah* when the Shaykh would meditate.⁴⁵³ Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn described about the fast that one should keep fast on the first and last dates of every month. *Sahrī*

⁴⁴⁹Ibid., 128.

⁴⁵⁰Kāshānī, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, 23.

⁴⁵¹Ibid., 40.

⁴⁵²Ibid., 58.

⁴⁵³Ibid., 76-79.

is necessary even if it means drinking a single drop of water. He further said that three things are the sunnah of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH): to do *Iftār* on its starting time; do *sahrī* late; and keep the right hand on the left while staying in prayer.⁴⁵⁴ Once Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn during *samāʿ* and fell into ecstasy. While leading the people in prayer, he recited following verses of poetry instead of verses of Holy Qurān.

فضل تو آن نیست که کس را رسید

این همه سود است که مارا رسید⁴⁵⁵

Your grace is not what reached anyone

This is all the benefit that has come to us

Once Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn visited a *darwaish* who offered him food. He was fasting so he did not eat, but during *iftār*, he wept about why he did not break his fast and eat the blessed food before the *darwaish*.⁴⁵⁶ There was a villager saint who spent most of his time in mosque. He had shown devotion toward both Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Dīn and said that these were matchless saints in the world.⁴⁵⁷

2.2.6.2- Critical Analysis of *Nafaʾis al-Anfās*

Nafaʾis al-Anfās generally describes miracles and stories of different saints. It is very important *Malfūzāt* which provides plenty of information about Bābā Farīd. Substantial new information has also been shared by the author regarding the former Shaykh. Moreover, besides the numerous miracles, the *Malfūzāt* also reveals some points of

⁴⁵⁴Ibid., 79-80.

⁴⁵⁵Kāshānī, *Nafaʾis al-Anfās*, 82.

⁴⁵⁶Ibid., 124.

⁴⁵⁷Ibid., 166.

Bābā Farīd's philosophy such as: a), Bābā Farīd disdain worldly display of asceticism, as mentioned above, he warned the *qalandars* about wearing rings etc. as they highlighted themselves as ascetics; b) his teachings of love, peace and egalitarian unity in society as he did not accept the knife but demanded for a needle the function of which is to sew things; c) the Shaykh gave equal respect to women and elaborated that women are equally competent like men in the field of knowledge, wisdom and sainthood; and d) and his emphasis on fasting.

2.2.7- *Shamāil al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al-Atqiyā*

Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al-Atqiyā is another *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d.1337) compiled by Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī before 1337 A.D. he was a devoted disciple of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb. *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al-Atqiyā* is another important Chishtī *Malfūzāt* and like Amīr Hassan Sijzī's *Fawāid al-Fuād*, Hamīd Qalandar's *Khayr al-Majālis* and Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr (d. after 1337) also won eternal popularity due to *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*. Besides this *Malfūzāt*, he has also compiled another *Malfūzāt* of his Shaykh entitled *Nafa'is al-Anfās*. *Shamāil al-Atqiyā* surpasses almost all the early Chishtī *Malfūzāt* regarding the consultation and accessibility of Islamic literature. He consults seventy-five works on *sharī'ah*, one hundred and twenty-five books on Sufism, fifty sources on oral tradition.⁴⁵⁸ Besides the Chishtī *Malfūzāt*, he also consults eminent works such as *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, *Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat*, *Risālah Qushayrīyya*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā'*, *Mirsād al-'Ebād*, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and *Kashf al-Asrār*.

⁴⁵⁸Carl W. Ernst, *The Interpretation of the Classical Sufi Tradition in India: The Shamāil al-Atqiyā of Rukn al-Dīn Kāshānī*. (Summer, 1994), 6.

2.2.7.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Shamāil al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al Atqiyā*

Popular *Malfūẓāt* of the Chishtī Ṣūfīs are *Anīs al-Arwāh*, conversation of Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī; *Dalīl al-‘Ārifīn*, conversation of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan; *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, utterance of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī; *Fawāid al-Fuād*; *Rāhat al-Mahbūbīn*; and *Qiwām al-Aqwaid*, *Malfūẓāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. Moreover, Rukn al-Dīn mentions two *Malfūẓāt* of Bābā Farīd named as *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Mutahayarin*. Shaykh ‘Alī Bihārī compiled a book entitled *Rahadī* and Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī compiled a book entitled *Risālah*.⁴⁵⁹

Kāshānī described that in *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Haq-wa-Dīn describes three categories of *zakat*: *zakat-i-sharī‘ah*, *zakat-i-tarīqah* and *zakat-i-haqīqah*. *Zakat-i-sharī‘ah* means giving away five dirhams from two hundred-dirhams; *zakat-i-tarīqah* means keeping only five dirhams and distributing the rest one hundred and ninety-five dirhams; and *zakat-i-haqīqah* refers to giving away everything and keeping nothing.⁴⁶⁰ Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā once asked Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn—who was visiting him after his itinerary—how much spirituality he had obtained. The latter replied if he wanted for the chair of the former to disappear, it will. The chair disappeared even though Bābā Farīd had only said the words.⁴⁶¹ The author has also described some Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd:

جس کا سائیں جاگتا

سو کیوں سوئے رات⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al Atqiyā*. (Hyderabad: Ashraf Press, n.d), 6-7.

⁴⁶⁰Ibid., 93.

⁴⁶¹Ibid., 116.

⁴⁶²Ibid., 146.

One whose Lord is awake

Why would he sleep!

Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa-Dīn maintains that for one who complies ALLAH, all humanity submits to him.⁴⁶³ It is a persistent call from ‘*Alam-i-ghaib* (Lord) that only those hearts are alive which contain pain and love and crave to see their Lord and those who have such hearts become eternal.⁴⁶⁴ Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa-Dīn further said that the veil of ignorance is darkness while the veil of knowledge is light (*Nūr*); if veil of light prevails, the veil of ignorance will itself vanish.⁴⁶⁵ He also discusses ‘*Alam-i-Malakūt*, ‘*Alam-i-Lāhūt* and ‘*Alam-i-Jabarūt*. When one surpasses ‘*Alam-i-Malakūt*, the secrets of ‘*Alam-i-Lāhūt* and ‘*Alam-i-Jabarūt* are revealed to him. A man in these worlds keeps complete silence and obsesses so much in the love of the Lord that he loses all conception of time. He will be raised in same condition on the day of judgement and will be fully engrossed with the light of God.⁴⁶⁶

2.2.7.2- Critical Analysis of *Shamāil al-Atqiyā-o-Dalail al-Atqiyā*

It is very important *Malḡūẓāt* which provides plenty of information about Bābā Farīd. One significant aspect of that *Malḡūẓāt* is that Rukn al-Dīn Kāshānī describes and frequently consults the *Malḡūẓāt* of early Chishtī Ṣufīs of South Asia. The author describes some *Malḡūẓāt* and books which are not accessible now such as *Asrār al-Mutahayarīn*, a *Malḡūẓāt* of Bābā Farīd; and *Rahadī* of Shaykh ‘Alī Bihārī who was one of the eminent disciples of Bābā Farīd. Another very important aspect of that *Malḡūẓāt* is that Rukn al-Dīn describes Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd which support the

⁴⁶³Ibid., 161.

⁴⁶⁴Kāshānī, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al Atqiyā*, 270.

⁴⁶⁵Ibid., 298-99.

⁴⁶⁶Ibid., 407.

argument that Bābā Farīd was a Punjābī poet and poetry of *Gurū Granth* belongs to Bābā Farīd rather than Farīd Thanī.

2.2.8- *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb

Ahsan al-Aqwāl is a compilation of conversations of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d.1337) by his disciple Hamād bin ‘Ammād Kāshānī before 1337. It is a didactic discourses for the common man. Hamād Kāshānī’s language is simpler and clearer than Sijzī. This *Malḡūzāt* contains twenty-nine chapters which shed light on various spiritual and moral topics like the preceptor-disciple relationship, *samā’*, prayers and ‘*urs*’ celebration (death anniversary of the saints). Khwājah Hamād also compiled some other books include *Munaf‘al-Muslīmīn*, a book on Islamic jurisprudence and *fiqhah*, and two other books on Sufism entitled *Asrār al-Tarīqat* and *Hasūl al-Wasūl*.⁴⁶⁷

2.2.8.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*

Bābā Farīd encouraged his disciples to bring gifts when visiting each other even if it was merely grass. However, he never accepted any gift if he knew that it was intended for somebody else. Once Maulānā ‘Ammād al-Dīn Tayrgar was on his way to Multān to gift a *Tafsīr* to Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. He visited Bābā Farīd in Ajōdhan and informed him although the *Tafsīr* was for Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, he was ready to gift it to Bābā Farīd, and he would gift another *Tafsīr* to Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. Bābā Farīd replied that he was not a thug and would not accept anything which belonged to somebody else.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷Faruqi, *Naqd Malḡūzāt*, 95.

⁴⁶⁸Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 13.

Bābā Farīd's disciples had shown great respect towards him and never turned their back on him.⁴⁶⁹ Even Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', the favorite *khalīfah* of the Shaykh, declined to wear a *jhamrātī* (a special brand of cloth), gifted by one of his disciples, for he had never seen Bābā Farīd wearing *jhamrātī*. However, when Shaykh's another disciple postulated that he had seen Bābā Farīd in *jhamrātī*, Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' accepted the gift.⁴⁷⁰

Ahsan al-Aqwāl also chronicles some miracles of Bābā Farīd. Once person brought a request to Bābā Farīd for the return of his dear lost ox. Bābā Farīd told him the location of the ox. The owner found the ox at the exact location. Similarly, a disciple lost his horse and requested the Shaykh for its return. The latter said that he would grant two horses instead of one, but the disciple demanded the same horse. He demanded the same horse even as the number was increased to seventy. Finally, Bābā Farīd told him the location of his horse. Soon, he found his horse, and within a month, got another seventy horses.⁴⁷¹

Once some *jinn*s dressed as mendicants in black clothes visited Bābā Farīd who ordered them to bring their leader to a room. When he arrived, Bābā Farīd locked the door. He deprived him of food but his followers, who stayed at *Jamā't Khānah*, were well fed. Bābā Farīd visited the leader on the third day and told him that the door will be opened only if he embraced Islam. The leader agreed and confessed that no saint in Hindūstān and Khurāsān knew his reality during the last thirty years, but it was only the Shaykh (Bābā Farīd) who recognized him.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁴⁷¹ Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 65-66.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 66-67.

One of Bābā Farīd's disciples complained that his trees always produced bitter fruit. Bābā Farīd took the fruit in his hand and said, "O fruit, don't be bitter again". Afterwards the trees produced fine fruit.⁴⁷³ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' dreamt that he entered a gathering of Ṣufīs stopped him from participation. After some time Bābā Farīd arrived at the gathering and told that Ṣufī that he had accepted Nizām al-Dīn, so the former allowed him to join them.⁴⁷⁴

2.2.8.2- Bābā Farīd's Ecstasy

Bābā Farīd lived an ascetic life and he wished the same for his disciples. Once, some disciples complained about continuous hunger and starvation in the *Jamā't Khānah*. Bābā Farīd asked them to leave his hospice and get married.⁴⁷⁵ Once during ecstasy, the Shaykh asked Mahmūd, one of his disciples, "Mahmūd! Are you alive?", meaning that he should stand up. When Mahmūd stood up, Bābā Farīd fell into ecstasy.⁴⁷⁶

2.2.8.3- Initiation

Anybody who visited Bābā Farīd to be his disciple was ordered to perform the *halq* (shave one's head). While discussing the *halq*, the Shaykh told Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' a tradition of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) that the *Satan* (devil) lives under every hair. Bābā Farīd further maintained that before doing *halq*, one should keep the above-mentioned tradition in perspective.⁴⁷⁷ The *halq* is also a mandatory ritual of hajj.

⁴⁷³Ibid., 147-48.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 74.

⁴⁷⁵Kāshānī, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, 88-89.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 131.

⁴⁷⁷Ibid., 47.

2.2.8.4- Critical Analysis of *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*

Unlike the popular *Malfūzāt* such as *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, and *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* is hardly available in the markets making the access difficult. *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* also provides scattered information about Bābā Farīd like other *Malfūzāt*. Also, it contains some rare information which is missing in many other sources.

2.2.9- *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*

Ma'dan al-Ma'anī is the *Malfūzāt* of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Ahmad Yahyā Munerī (d.1381) compiled by his eminent *khalīfah* named Shaykh Zain Badr 'Arabī in Persian language. It was compiled during 749 A.H. to 751 A.H./ 1348 A.D. to 1350 A.D. Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī is a popular Ṣūfī of Fourteenth century-India. He belongs to the Firdūsīyyah clan of Kubravīyyah *silsilah*. Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī visited different popular saints such as Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d.1325), Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn popularly known as Bū 'Alī Qalandar (d.1324) and finally did *bay'at* on the hand of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī (d.1332).⁴⁷⁸ *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī* has two volumes and sixty-three chapters which deal with life of Holy Prophet (PBUH), *sharī'ah* and mystical topics such as *tūwhīd*, *imān*, *namāz*, fast, *hajj*, self, spirit, meditation, *aūrād-i-wazaif*, relationship of Shaykh and disciple, robe, *sajda-i-ta'zīmī* (A prostration performed without the intention of worship in honor of anyone

⁴⁷⁸Dr. Sayed Shah Muhammed Naeem Nadawi, *Introduction to Maktūbāt-i-Sadī*. (Karachi: Educational press, n.d), 18. It is also mentioned that Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī wanted to join the circle of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' but when he reached at Delhī Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' passed away. Delhwī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 118: See also Malik Mohamed, *The Foundations of the Composite Culture in India*. (Delhi: Aakar Publishers, 2007), 118. While Ghauthī Shattārī mentioned two traditions about that incident he argued that one notion is that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was passed away before the arrival of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī at Delhi while other is that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' himself ordered him to do *bay'at* on the hand of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 98.

other than ALLAH), good and bad dreams and *samā'* etc. The Shaykh himself read the whole *Malfūzāt* carefully for the sake of its genuineness.⁴⁷⁹ Besides *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, some other *Malfūzāt* of the Shaykh are *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Khwān-i-Pūr Na'mat*, *Mukh al-Ma'anī*, *Munis al-Murīdīn*, *Maghaz al-Ma'anī*, *Tuhfa-i-Ghaibī*, and *Ganj-i-la Yafanī*. He has also compiled numerous books such as *Sharah Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, *Arshād al-Tālibīn*, *Arshād al-Sālikīn*, *Fawāid al-Murīdīn*, *Lataif al-Ma'anī*, *Risālah-i-Arshādāt* and *Fawāid al-Ruknī*. Furthermore, his letters won more popularity as compared to his *Malfūzāt* and books. These letters are entitled *Maktūbāt-i-Sadī* (hundred letters) and *Maktūbāt-i-Dū Sadī* (two hundred letters), most of these books and *Malfūzāt* are still unpublished and rare.

2.2.9.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*

Once during Friday prayer, one of the disciples of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn sat just behind his Shaykh in the mosque and fell into ecstasy. The Qādī and his sons did not like his action and threw him out of the mosque. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did not show any response on his disciple's insult and came out of the mosque. When he saw his disciple regain his consciousness, Shaykh informed him that it was the time of *ma'rāj* of his Shaykh (Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn) and that is why his disciple also got some bounty and became unconscious. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn further told that now he (disciple) could also take revenge from the Qādī and his sons so that no one dare to harm the mendicants. After a few days, Qādī's son fell ill. He realized that it had happened owing to the wrath of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn as they had misbehaved with his disciple. He brought some food and a man to intercede and implore before Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn for forgiveness. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did not agree at first but later due to the constant beseeching of Qādī, he

⁴⁷⁹Shaykh Zain Badr 'Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*. (Compl. 1350), trans. Sayed Shah Qaseem al-Dīn Ahmed Sharfī (Bihar: Maktabah Sharf, 2011), 30.

said that Qurān's decision will be considered final. Qādī agreed. Finally, when Qurān opened the verses of wrath disclosed, so his son died, and Qādī was ruined. Moreover, one of the disciples of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī raised a question before his Shaykh that why Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did not forgive the Qādī? Shaykh replied that it was a justice of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn as wreak vengeance on the cruel is justice. Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī further said that it is also possible that it was not a miracle of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, but ALLAH Almighty wanted to teach a lesson to His people.⁴⁸⁰ Once Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn came to mosque and saw a saint sitting there. He returned to his home but did not find any food. So, he grinded millet and prepared bread for the saint. After eating bread, saint bestowed Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn what he demanded. Saints have their own specific territorial area of *wilayat* (sainthood) and the other saint does not allow to permanently settle in one's territory. Once such a saint settled in Ajōdhan which was territory of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn but died soon.⁴⁸¹ Once Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn saw a dream, he conferred many people and even Holy Qurān but was not satisfied about its *ta'bir* (meaning of the dream). Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' told his Shaykh that it was a good dream. When the Shaykh asked him how he knew about its *ta'bir*, the former replied that once his Shaykh (Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn) told him that when a man tells his dream to anyone and his hand moves toward the sky or towards the right side, it means his dream was good. While on the other hand, if his hand moves downward or toward ground or towards the left, it means that his dream was bad. And when the Shaykh described his dream, his hand moved towards the sky.⁴⁸² Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī further described that once Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn recited the following verses:

⁴⁸⁰ Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, trans. Sharfi, 122-24.

⁴⁸¹ Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, trans. Sharfi, 255-70.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 535-36.

کر وی ضما بر سرما بار دگر!

من بیچ نه کردیم خدا میداند!

His chorus is annexed to the cold!

I did not do anything, God knows!

Khawājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' told that he failed to understand the reason of these verses coming into his Shaykh's mind. Moreover, Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī describes that these verses indicate the incident of *Iblīs* who asked ALLAH Almighty why He bestowed superiority to Ādam over him, while he believes only on the superiority of His Lord.⁴⁸³

2.2.9.2- Critical Analysis of *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*

Ma'dan al-Ma'anī is very important *Malfūẓāt* which shows the scholarly level of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī. Like Bābā Farīd's *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, in *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī has also consulted plenty of sources (almost forty works) some popular works are *Fatāwā-i-Kabīr*, *Fatāwā-i-Zahīrī*, *Ruh al-Arwāh*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat*, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, *Mirsād al-'Ebād*, *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā'*, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, *Maktūbāt Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī*, *Lawāih*, *Sirāj al-'Ārifīn* and *Fawāid al-Fuād* etc. It provides plenty of information about Bābā Farīd.

Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī describes the incident of Qādī which is quite different in *Siyar al-Awliyā'* like, a) Qādī did not bring any person to intercede, b) it was the son of Bābā Farīd who complained about the Qādī and it became the cause of

⁴⁸³ Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, trans. Sharfī, 633.

his destruction, rather than the above-mentioned incident of a disciple of Bābā Farīd, c) Qādī himself was paralyzed and passed away rather than his son.

Another important aspect of *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī* is that Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī frequently consulted *Sirāj al-'Ārifīn Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁴⁸⁴ *Sirāj al-'Ārifīn*, like *Anwār al-Majālis*, *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Imām Muhammad, Bābā Farīd's grandson, *Tuhfat-al-Abrār Karāmāt al Akhyār Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn Ṣufī another grandson of Bābā Farīd, *Khulāsat al-Lataif Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Shaykh 'Alī Jāndār is unfortunately now unavailable. So, credit goes to *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī* which has saved some part of *Sirāj al-'Ārifīn*.

2.2.9.3- Hamīd Qalandar

Hamīd Qalandar was a prominent disciple of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd. In addition to a poet, he was known as *Qalandar* because he would distribute among the ascetics the bread given to him by his Shaykh. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' told his father, Maulānā Tāj-al-Dīn, that his son will also become a *qalandar*. Hamīd became Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's disciple at an early age. After the Shaykh's death, he joined Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb's and Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd's company. He died in 768 AH/ 1366-67 A.D.⁴⁸⁵ while comparing Hamīd Qalandar and Amīr Hassan Sijzī as Ṣufīs and poets, the latter surpasses in both fields.⁴⁸⁶ Hence *Khayr al-Majālis* lacks the prestige obtained by *Fawā'id al-Fuād*.

⁴⁸⁴ Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, trans. Sharfi, 170, 171, 175, 217, 239, 308, 331, 357, 604 & 635.

⁴⁸⁵ Arabī, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, trans. Sharfi, 239-40.

⁴⁸⁶ Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute*, 28-29. See also Lawrence, Bruce B., *The Chishtīyya of Sultanate India: A Case Study of Biographical Complexities in South Asian Islam*. vol. XLVIII/3 & 4. (JAAR Thematic Studies, 1982), 56.

2.2.10- *Khayr al-Majālis*

Khayr al-Majālis, another important *Malḡūzāt* of fourteenth-century India, is the conversation of Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd compiled by Hamīd Qalandar. The former was Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's eminent *khalīfah*. *Khayr al-Majālis* was compiled from 750 A.H./1349 A.D. to 760 AH/1358 A.D. *Khayr al-Majālis* lacks information about the time frame of the *majālis*. Sayyed Muhammad al-Hussainī, never authenticated the *Malḡūzāt* as he adduced Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd: "I have said something different from what he (Hamīd Qalandar) has written".⁴⁸⁷ In addition to many original (published and hand-written in Persian) manuscripts of *Khayr al-Majālis*, two translations have also been published, one in Urdu and one in English. The Urdu translation, "*Sirāj al-Majālis*" was published in Karachi by Javid Press. Ishtat Husain Ansari and Hamīd Āfaq Siddiqi published English translation. Despite mistakes in both translations, the Urdu version is better than the English one. In reference to the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd, Qalandar's *Khayr al-Majālis* provides information which is missing in other sources.

2.2.10.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Khayr al-Majālis*

Regarding Bābā Farīd, *Khayr al-Majālis* provides plenty of information. Although Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd forbade his disciples to pen saints' miracles, the book discusses numerous miracles of Bābā Farīd.

2.2.10.2- Early Life of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd's father was a Qādī in a village name Kothīwāl. Bābā Farīd was known as *Qādī bacha dīwāna* (the Qādī's mad son) due to his meditation during childhood. When

⁴⁸⁷Hussainī, *Jawām' al Kalm*, trans. Dardai, 244.

Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī arrived in Kothīwāl, and enquired about the famous local mystics, he was directed to Bābā Farīd. He visited Bābā Farīd and gifted him a pomegranate. Bābā Farīd was fasting. So he gave it to the children. One seed of that pomegranate fell, and Bābā Farīd broke his fast with that same seed. After eating that seed, Bābā Farīd realized the spiritual light in his heart. Afterwards, he was worried why he did not eat the whole pomegranate. A few years later, he visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī, who told him that his need was fulfilled as Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī's whole blessing was contained in that single seed rather than in the whole pomegranate.⁴⁸⁸

Bābā Farīd, while studying in a mosque at Multān at *Sarai Halwai*, met Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī for the first time. He informed Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn on his inquiry that he was studying a book named *Nāfa'*. The Shaykh said, "it will be *Nāfa'* (beneficial) for you". Bābā Farīd fell at the feet of his Shaykh and said that all benefit belonged to him.⁴⁸⁹

2.2.10.3- Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, originally Mas'ūd, subsequent to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's death, visited Delhī where Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī bestowed the Chishtīyyah regalia on him. He was further told of his Shaykh's suggestion that if he wished, he could marry his widow. He left Delhī for Hānsī because the large number of visitors created problems for him. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn himself said that he wanted to live where he was unknown and could meditate uninterruptedly. Therefore, he visited different places and finally selected Ajōdhan as his abode because its people were largely anti-Şufīs, bad tempered and cruel. Bābā Farīd had two or three wives. He lived

⁴⁸⁸Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Niẓāmī, 219-20.

⁴⁸⁹Ibid., 220.

a life of hunger and starvation at Ajōdhan at first. But later ALLAH Almighty bestowed on him wealth and prosperity.⁴⁹⁰ Moreover, following his Shaykh's death, Bābā Farīd spent some time with Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī at Delhī, who was another eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Because of his (Bābā Farīd) popularity, he left Delhī, kept himself busy in meditation, relied on wild fruit, and was as distinguished from Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī as the sky is distinguished from the earth.⁴⁹¹ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' maintains that whenever they had enough wild fruit at Bābā Farīd's hospice, it was like a day of 'Eīd. The Shaykh's disciples even begged for food sometimes.⁴⁹²

Some of Bābā Farīd's children were farmers by profession. The *mutaṣarrif* ('*amil* or governor) of Ajōdhan created constant problems for them. Bābā Farīd endured them till his sons complained that there was no use of his sainthood to them. The Shaykh threw his stick roughly on the ground. The '*amil* at the very moment realized severe pain in his stomach. When taken before the Shaykh, the latter refused to see him and said: "the arrow has left the bow", adding, "for forty years Mas'ūd, did as ALLAH Almighty wished, now their wishes are one".⁴⁹³ Similarly, Shihāb the Magician's son cast a spell on the Shaykh due to envy.⁴⁹⁴

By and large, *Khayr al-Majālis* discusses two successors of Bābā Farīd: Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. Bābā Farīd wanted to appoint his own son, Nizām al-Dīn, as his spiritual successor as he told Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', "I want to bless my son, Nizām al-Dīn, but ALLAH wants that grace to be

⁴⁹⁰Ibid., 88-89.

⁴⁹¹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 187-88.

⁴⁹²Ibid., 150.

⁴⁹³Ibid., 182.

⁴⁹⁴Ibid., 116-17.

given to you”. Finally, the Shaykh bestowed the *khalāfat* on Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁴⁹⁵

2.2.10.4- Miracles

As mentioned above, Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn, forbade the mention of the saints’ miracles but *Khayr al-Majālis* discusses several Bābā Farīd’s miracles. Hamīd Qalandar reports a town situated some thirty-four *farsangs* from Ajōdhan which was ruled by a cruel Turk. The ruler had an eagle very dear to him. He warned his *Amīr-i-Shikar* (in charge of hunting) that if the eagle disappeared, he would execute his family. Unfortunately, *Amīr-i-Shikar* lost the eagle as his friends persuaded him to let the eagle free for a short while with other eagles. *Amīr-i-Shikar* told Bābā Farīd of the whole situation. Bābā Farīd offered him food and tried to console him to no avail. Bābā Farīd pointed his finger and the eagle was seen sitting in the same direction. *Amīr-i-Shikar* caught and brought it before the ruler. Both *Amīr-i-Shikar* and the ruler became Bābā Farīd’s disciples.⁴⁹⁶

Once an oil-dealer near Ajōdhan lost her wife. The ruler of that area invaded his village and made prisoners along with his beloved wife. The oil-dealer brought the matter before Bābā Farīd telling him that he was nearing death due to his lost wife. He said that he had enough money to buy forty to fifty slave girls, but he wanted his wife back. Simultaneously, the *dīwān* of the same *amīr* appeared before Bābā Farīd as a prisoner and requested prayer for his release. Bābā Farīd predicted that the *amīr* will release and reinstate him. Bābā Farīd asked him to return the oil-dealer’s wife after his restoration. The *dīwān* agreed. On Bābā Farīd’s order, the oil-dealer went with the *dīwān*. The *amīr*

⁴⁹⁵Ibid., 224.

⁴⁹⁶Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 147-50.

freed the latter and gave him a slave girl. When the oil-dealer saw her, it was none other than his own wife.⁴⁹⁷

There were two brothers in Ajōdhan, both were *munshī* (accountants) by profession. One brother left to become Bābā Farīd's disciple. He kept himself busy in meditation at the *Jamā't Khānah* while his brother looked after his family. Few days later, the *munshī* brother fell seriously ill and people started preparing for his funeral prayer. His brother wept bitterly, brought the matter before the Shaykh, and added that he was worried about his family. Bābā Farīd told him that his brother had recovered. When he returned, he found it to be true.⁴⁹⁸

Once a *qalandar* visited Bābā Farīd while he was busy in meditation in his apartment. He never saw anyone during meditation. The *qalandar* sat on the Shaykh's prayer mat and started to eat. He took some herbs in a beggar's bowl and began to mix them in water. When some of the mixture spilled on the mat, Khwājah Badr al- Ishāq interrupted the *qalandar* and asked him to stop. The *qalandar*, furious, started to attack with his bowl. At that very moment, Bābā Farīd came out, gripped the *qalandar*'s hand, and said: "Oh *qalandar*! do not do this for my sake." The *qalandar* replied: "When a *darwaish* (saint) raises his hand, he does not put it down without hitting". The Shaykh requested him to throw his bowl on the wall. He did the same and the wall collapsed.⁴⁹⁹

2.2.10.5- The Title "Ganj-i-Shakar"

As in Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fuād* the title Ganj-i-Shakar was also not discussed in *Khayr al-Majālis*.

⁴⁹⁷Ibid., 236-38.

⁴⁹⁸Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Niẓāmī, 148.

⁴⁹⁹Ibid., 130-31.

2.2.10.6- Critical Analysis of the *Khayr al-Majālis*

Khayr al-Majālis is one of the worth-mentioning works (*malḥūz*) regarding the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. However, it pales in comparison with *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Fawā'id al-Fuād* as the former is the first detailed biography of Bābā Farīd while the latter provides more information as compared to *Khayr al-Majālis*.

Some minor differences have been found while comparing *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Jawām' al-Kalim* and *Siyar al-Ārifīn*. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Bābā Farīd's father, was the Qādī of Kathōwāl but Hamīd Qalandar wrongly mentions it as Kothīwāl. Further, Qalandar describes that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī himself realized Bābā Farīd's constant confusion about the pomegranate bestowed to him by Khwājah Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī and told him to be at peace. Amīr Khūrd maintains that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn asked Bābā Farīd during his first encounter in a mosque at Multān, "Mas'ūd what are you studying?"⁵⁰⁰ while Hamīd Qalandar maintains that the Shaykh enquired, "Maulānā, which book you are studying?"⁵⁰¹ suggesting that he did not know his future *khalīfah*'s name.

2.2.11- *Durr-i-Nizāmī* by 'Alī Shah Jāndār

'Alī Shah bin Mahmūd Jāndār was another distinguished *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. Amīr Khūrd mentions his name as 'Alī Shah Jāndār.⁵⁰² 'Abdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī refers to him as 'Alī Shah Jāndād.⁵⁰³ He was referred to himself as

⁵⁰⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 60.

⁵⁰¹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 220.

⁵⁰²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 449.

⁵⁰³Delhwī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 94.

‘Alī bin Mahmūd Jāndār.⁵⁰⁴ Nisar Ahmad Fārūqī insists on ‘Jāndār’ as it was the name given to the security guards of the sultān of Delhī during the *Sultanate* period.⁵⁰⁵

Durr-i- Nizāmī of ‘Alī bin Mahmūd Jāndār is another *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ which moderately discusses Bābā Farīd. The original *Malḡūzāt* is hardly available. Hājī Yāsīn Nizāmī rendered it to Urdu. It is divided into thirty chapters. Besides *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, ‘Alī Jāndār compiled another work known as *Khulāsāt al-Lataif*⁵⁰⁶ which is extinct now. Amīr Khūrd also consults this source in his masterpiece *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. However, Bruce B. Lawrence declares it an ‘inferior work’.⁵⁰⁷ Generally, the *Malḡūzāt* provides information akin to *Fawāid al-Fuād and Siyar al-Awliyā’* with some valuable additions about Bābā Farīd. One similarity with *Fawāid al-Fuād* regarding Bābā Farīd is that Jāndār never uses the word Ganj-i-Shakar.

2.2.11.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Durr-i-Nizāmī*

Bābā Farīd completely trusted ALLAH Almighty. He even left his ‘*asā* (stick) during sickness as he realized that he was relying on his stick instead of his Lord. He inculcates the same (complete trust in ALLAH) to his disciples. He, therefore, dissuaded his disciples to take loan⁵⁰⁸ advised them to keep his enemy happy and recommended for them *akhlās-i-nafai*, which he defined as each action or deed of purely for God. Moreover, the Shaykh prayed for his disciples that “may ALLAH bestow them pain” which means true and deep love of ALLAH Almighty.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁴Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*. Trans. Nizāmī, 53.

⁵⁰⁵ Nisar Ahmad Faruqi, *Naqd Malḡūzāt*. (Lahore: Department of Islamic Heritage, 1989), 132.

⁵⁰⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 449.

⁵⁰⁷Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Ṣūfism*, 45.

⁵⁰⁸Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*., trans. Nizāmī, 60.

⁵⁰⁹Ibid., 85-91.

At a very young age, Bābā Farīd was visited by a prominent saint Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī in the mosque of Kathōwāl and received a pomegranate from him. He, however, distributed the pomegranate as he was fasting. While opening his fast, he found one seed of the same pomegranate in the mosque. Bābā Farīd would later worry greatly about not eating the whole pomegranate. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī informed Bābā Farīd that all the blessing of the Shaykh was contained only in one seed that he had eaten.⁵¹⁰

By and large, Bābā Farīd would fast whether it be summer or winter. He would break his fast with a half glass of sweet water and two bread slices of which one was distributed among the audience. Moreover, the Shaykh never did his *sahrī* and never ate wheat; but always relied on millet. He would bathe daily.⁵¹¹

Bābā Farīd got the blessing of both Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī Ajmerī at Delhī. He visited his Shaykh every fortnight while Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī always remained present in front of his Shaykh. The latter also had a great desire to become Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī’s successor, but the Shaykh nominated Bābā Farīd as his *khalīfah* and advised Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī to handover the Chishtīyyah regalia to Bābā Farīd.⁵¹²

2.2.11.2- Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan

Bābā Farīd spent a long time at Hānsī but due to increased popularity, he settled at Ajōdhan and lived his last twenty-seven years there.⁵¹³ Qādī of Ajōdhan named ‘Abdullah and his son, Abū al-Faḍal, created problems for Bābā Farīd continuously for

⁵¹⁰Ibid., 241-42.

⁵¹¹Jāndār, *Durr-i- Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*, trans. Nizāmi, 118.

⁵¹²Ibid., 138-39.

⁵¹³Ibid., 213.

eighteen years. After eighteen years ‘Abdullah visited the Shaykh and apologized because his son was paralyzed. Qādī requested Bābā Farīd to pray for his son but was refused when the latter consulted Holy Qurān. When Qādī reached home Abū al-Faḍal was no more.⁵¹⁴

The Shaykh spent a very simple and austere life. He only had a blanket on which he would sit during the day and would take in the night. He detested loans and advised the same to his disciples as he maintains “anyone who is my disciple cannot take loan”. But he allowed three dirhams to a writer as someone complained that he had no paper nor ink.⁵¹⁵ Bābā Farīd concentrated on the renunciation of the world and avoided worldly desires. He maintains that whenever a person repudiates the world and its desires, ALLAH Almighty puts the world and its leaders under his feet.⁵¹⁶

Bābā Farīd’s brother, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, lived in Delhī. A Turk noble had built a mosque at Delhī, appointed the former as its *Imām* and provided him a house. The Turk spent one lac rupees on his daughter’s marriage. Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil unsuccessfully advised him to spend the same amount in the way of ALLAH as the true believer is one who loves ALLAH more than his family and wealth. Shaykh Najīb visited Bābā Farīd and informed him of the matter. Bābā Farīd pacified him and told him not to worry as ALLAH Almighty would send a better person to replace the Turk. The prediction of Bābā Farīd soon proved true as after some days, another Turk named Ayetgar arrived and served Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Moutawakel’s family well.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴Ibid., 202.

⁵¹⁵Ibid., 170-72.

⁵¹⁶Jāndār, *Durr-i- Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*, trans. Nizāmi, 181.

⁵¹⁷Ibid., 95.

Bābā Farīd described three categories of *zakat*: *zakat-i- sharī'ah*, *zakat-i-tarīqah* and *zakat-i-haqīqah*. In *Zakat-i- sharī'ah*, a man pays five dirhams from two hundred-dirhams. In *zakat-i-tarīqah*, a man keeps only five dirhams and distributes one hundred and ninety-five dirhams. In *zakat-i-haqīqah*, all two hundred dirhams are given away.⁵¹⁸

Bābā Farīd's methodology to admit someone as his disciples was that he would order the newcomer to recite *surah al-Fatiha*, *al-Akhlās*, last verse of *al-Baqarah* and seventeenth and eighteenth verses of *surah Āle 'Imrān*'s. Moreover, he would also take oath that they would follow the Islamic *sharī'ah* and look after their hands, feet and eyes⁵¹⁹ meaning that would never harm anybody with their hand, never go to commit a sin with their feet, and never watch vulgar things with their eyes.

Normally, Bābā Farīd recited verses of different Ṣūfī poets. Jāndār mentions some of these verses:

برکه در بند نام و آوازه است

⁵²⁰خانه او بیرون دروازه است

One whose track is tied to the name and the song,

his home lies outside the gate

Bābā Farīd passed away on the fifth of the Muharram, three years after the death of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 113.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 136.

⁵²⁰ Jāndār, *Durr-i- Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*, trans. Nizāmi, 214.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 252-53.

2.2.11.3- Critical analysis of *Durr-i-Nizāmī*

Durr-i-Nizāmī is a less detailed account of Bābā Farīd unlike other *Malfūzāt* including *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis* and *Ahsan al-Aqwāl* etc. ‘Alī Shah Jāndār does not mention Bābā Farīd’s forefathers, his birth, matrimonial life, itinerary and his *khulafā*’ except Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. The Turk who appointed Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil as Imām of the mosque in Delhī remains unnamed by Jāndār. Amīr Hassan Sijzī and Amīr Khūrd refer to the Turk as Ayatam or Ayatmarī. Moreover, according to Amīr Khūrd, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil suggested the Turk to spend two lac or double amount in the way of ALLAH.⁵²²

Jāndār does not mention *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus* but only discusses that Bābā Farīd tried to get permission from that *chillah* which was not allowed by his Shaykh.⁵²³ This is inaccurate as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī later on had given permission to Bābā Farīd for *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus* which he had performed in Masjid-i-Hajj of Uchach.

Many publishing mistakes have also been found in the Urdu translation of *Durr-i-Nizāmī* like Nasīr al-Dīn Matajah (instead of Nasīr al-Dīn Qabachah who was governor of Multān), *Surah al-Nabiyah* (instead of *Anbiyāh*) (p. 127), Holy Prophet (PBUH)’s annunciation of Paradise for Abū Bakr (RA) is described as Holy Prophet (PBUH)’s annunciation of *Pushat* (back) for Abū Bakr (RA) instead of Paradise (p. 154), Tradition of Dūrūd is incomplete and there are some words missing from the translation of the same *hadīth* (p. 132),.

Another mistake is about Sarhangā who was appointed as a guard of the house of Bābā Farīd and did not allow his disciples to visit the Shaykh. When Bābā Farīd became

⁵²² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 78-79: See also *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 52.

⁵²³ Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī* (*Guftār-i-Mahbūb*), trans. Nizāmī, 119.

aware of this, he left for Hānsī.⁵²⁴ This is also inaccurate. The fact is that Sarhangā was a devotee of Bābā Farīd who came from Hānsī to visit his Shaykh but was not allowed by the guard. When Bābā Farīd became aware he left Delhī.

‘Alī Jāndār avers that Bābā Farīd had done his *bay’at* on the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Kathōwāl.⁵²⁵ In fact, Bābā Farīd had his *bay’at* at Multān instead of Kathōwāl. Moreover, he was eighteen years old when he became a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

The author maintains that Abū al-Faḍal was the son of the Qādī of Ajōdhan, whose name was ‘Abdullah, and it was the son of the Qādī who was paralyzed. The fact is that Qādī ‘Abdullah himself got paralyzed and passed away on the day he criticized the Shaykh in the Friday congregation, and just after he left the Shaykh’s hospice. Moreover, Abū al-Faḍal was also his other name.⁵²⁶

‘Alī Jāndār provides some additional information about the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd which are absent in the contemporary hagiographical sources. For example, Bābā Farīd never allowed his disciples to perform any *chillah* he maintained that his company was more than *chillah*.⁵²⁷ Similarly, the author tells the complete method of the *bay’at*. Moreover, he maintains that Khwājah Niẓām al-Awliyā’ visited Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī while he was on his death bed. The latter, due to severe illness, missed some of his prayers. As Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ told Bābā Farīd about Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn’s passing, the Shaykh had tears in his eyes. He enquired about his prayers and Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ replied that he missed his prayers for three days owing to severe illness. Bābā Farīd remained silent but Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī

⁵²⁴Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī* (*Guftār-i-Mahbūb*). Trans. Nizāmi, 139.

⁵²⁵*Ibid.*, 241.

⁵²⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 84-85.

⁵²⁷Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī* (*Guftār-i-Mahbūb*). Trans. Nizāmi, 167.

maintains that it was not a positive sign.⁵²⁸ Same incident has been described in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, but the person who skipped prayers remains anonymous. Moreover, Jāndār's *Durr-i-Nizāmī* is the only source which describes that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was present at the time of death of Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī. Also, the event of Bābā Farīd allowing a writer to get a loan is absent in other sources. The *Malfūzāt* also informs how Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' cried "Yā Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn" in his dream for assistance against a murderer, and the murderer disappeared.⁵²⁹ The way of meditation (*murāqabah*) of Bābā Farīd,⁵³⁰ verses of 'Ayan al-Qadhat Hamdānī for his eminent disciple Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā',⁵³¹ Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' did not turn his back toward Bābā Farīd and fell down repeatedly.⁵³² The *khalāfat* of Fakhar al-Dīn Safā Hānī⁵³³ have not been described in early sources. Bābā Farīd granted his *khalāfat nāmah* to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in 660 A.H./ 1262 A.D.⁵³⁴ which is quite different as compared to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* who mentioned two dates 664 A.H./1265 A.D. and 669 A.H./1270 A.D. the date mentioned by 'Alī Jāndār is accurate as Bābā Farīd was died in 664 A.H./1265 A.D.

2.2.12- *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*

Sirāj al-Hidāyah is another important *Malfūzāt* of medieval India. It is the *Malfūzāt* of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī popularly known as Makhdūm Jahānīyyah Jahān Gasht. He was one of the prominent Suhrwardī Shaykhs. He also got *khalāfat* from Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Fateh, (grandson of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā), Amīn al-Dīn

⁵²⁸Ibid., 237.

⁵²⁹Ibid., 163.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 156.

⁵³¹ Ibid., 160.

⁵³²Jāndār, *Durr-i- Nizāmī (Guftār-i-Mahbūb)*, trans. Nizāmi, 148.

⁵³³Ibid., 141-42.

⁵³⁴Ibid., 140.

Ghaōzōnī and Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī.⁵³⁵ He passed away at the age seventy-eight in 1383-84 A.D.

Like Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' more than one *Malfūzāt* belong to Makhdūm Jahānīyyah. These are: *Jama' al-'Ulūm*, compiled by Abū 'Abdullah 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī bin Sa'ad bin Ashraf Delhwī; and *Khazīnat al-Fawā'id al-Jalāliyah* popularly known as *Khazana Jalālī* compiled by Ahmad al-Maduba Bahā' bin Ya'qūb bin Hussain bin Mahmūd bin Sulaimān al-Tulambī. Another *Malfūzāt* is *Jawāhir-i-Jalālī* collected by his disciple Faḍalullah bin Diyā al-Abbāsī.

Sirāj al-Hidāyah is the conversations of Makhdūm Jahānīyyah collected by Ahmad Barnī or Ahmad Mu'īn Siyah Posh 'Alvī. The *Malfūzāt* is divided into nine chapters. Chapter one deals with the traditions of Holy Prophet (PBUH). Chapter two deals with the preceptor-disciple relationship. Chapter three discusses *sharī'ah*. Chapter four deals with miracles and stories of saints including Bābā Farīd. Chapter five describes the stories of the prophets. Chapter six discusses different true and false Ṣūfī orders including the main themes and superiority of *Ahle Sunnat wa al-Jamā't*. Chapter seven discusses the *ahādīth* which describe the benefits of different foods, vegetables, fruits and herbs. Chapter eight deals with Arabic and Persian poetry. The last chapter deals with common issues of *sharī'ah*. Unlike *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Khayr al-Majālis*, Ahmad Barnī neither provides the time frame nor the assemblies of the *Malfūzāt*.

Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī would consult *Tafsīr* Imām Zāhid and Imām Rādī frequently. Moreover, he also consulted Abū Tālib Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb* and Imām Ghazzālī's *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*. He also discusses some ruling elite of Delhī such as Fīrūz Shah Tughluq (r. 1351-88) and Khān-i-Khānah Zafar Khān.

⁵³⁵Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*. vol.2. (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1992), 57-59.

2.2.12.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*

Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī discusses Bābā Farīd very concisely in *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and like many other *Malfūzāt* such as *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* also provide shattered stories of Bābā Farīd and other prominent saints.

2.2.12.2- *Silsilah* of Bābā Farīd

The *silsilah* has the following order: ‘Alī bin Abū Tālib, Hassan al-Baṣrī (d.110 A.H/ 728 A.D), ‘Abdul Wāhid bin Zaid (d. 177 A.H/ 793 A.D), Fuḍail bin Ayāz (d.187 A.H/ 803 A.D), Ibrāhīm bin Adham (d. 165 A.H/ 782 A.D), Huzaifah Mar‘ashī (d. 207 A.H/ 823 A.D), Hubairah al-Baṣrī (d. 287 A.H/ 900 A.D), Shaykh Mamshād ‘Alo- Dīnurī (d.299 A.H/ 911 A.D), Abū Ishāq Shāmī (d. 325 A.H/ 937 A.D), Abū Yūsuf Chishtī (d.459 A.H/ 1067 A.D), Shaykh Mūdūd Chishtī (d. 527 A.H/ 1132 A.D), Hājī Sharīf Zindanī (d. 612 A.H/ 1215 A.D), Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī (d. 617 A.H/1220 A.D), Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan Sijzī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ajōdhanī.⁵³⁶

2.2.12.3- Bābā Farīd and a Mendicant

Once a hungry *darwaish* visited Bābā Farīd in his hospice and told him that he had not eaten anything for the last three days. It was the time of *iftār*. One disciple brought millet. Food was prepared for the mendicant. He ate and prayed before God: “O Lord! Protect Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn from poverty and entertain his wishes and bestowed him enormous wealth and prosperity”. After that Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn received numerous *futuh* (gifts) from unknown sources.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶Ahmad Barnī. *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, ed. Qadi Sajjad Hussain. (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, n.d), 117.

⁵³⁷Barnī. *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, ed. Hussain. 357.

2.2.12.4- Critical Analysis of *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*

Sirāj al-Hidāyah, published by Indian Council of Historical Research at New Delhī, is quite different especially in the case of Bābā Farīd as compared to the manuscript of *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* consulted by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī. The former manuscript provides little information about the Shaykh as compared to the latter. The missing information about Bābā Farīd can only be found if all available handwritten manuscripts of the former volume are published.

While discussing the lineage of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, the Shaykh skips two prominent preceptors named Abū Ahmad Chishtī (d.355 A.H/ 966 A.D) who was one of the chief *khulafā*’ of Abū Ishāq Shāmī and Abū Muhammad Chishtī (son and *khalīfah* of Abū Ahmad Chishtī).

2.2.13- *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are significant regarding the hagiographical literature about the Chishtī Ṣufīs of South Asia. Being the head of Chishtī Ṣufī *silsilah*, Shaykh Muhammad al-Hussainī, produced more literary works than his Indian predecessor Chishtī Shaykhs. *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*, the conversation of Sayyid Muhammad al-Hussainī, compiled by his elder son and *khalīfah*, Sayyid Akbar al-Hussainī, is the most famous *Malfūzāt* of the Chishtīyyah compendia during the fifteenth century. His contemporary Chishtī Ṣufīs including Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī (d.1425) and Mas‘ūd Bakk (d.1387) also produced numerous important works. *Lataif-i-Asharaftī* is a masterpiece of the former, while *Mirāt al-‘Ārifīn* is the best work of the latter.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁸Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*. (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Aca

The central theme of *Jawām‘ al-Kalim* is the Holy Prophet (PBUH), his family (Ahle Bay‘at) and the Islamic mystics. General topics of Sufism such as *samā‘*, meditation, renunciation of the world and blessing of *dhikr* and *aūrād* have also been discussed in this *Malfūzāt*. Compilation duration of *Jawām‘ al-Kalim* is almost one year, from 18 Rajab 802 A.H/ 15 March, 1400 A.D. to 22 Jamādī al-Thānī 803 A.H/ 7 February 1401 A.D. and that of *Jawām‘ al-Kalim* is the same as arranged by Sijzī in *Fawāid al-Fuād*.

2.2.13.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*

Like *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Khayr al-Majālis* and *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Jawām‘ al-Kalim* is also an incomplete biography of Bābā Farīd but provides some genuine information about his life and teachings. Although Muhammad al-Hussainī declared *Khayr al-Majālis* an apocryphal *Malfūzāt* but some of his incidents almost match the former *Malfūzāt* regarding Bābā Farīd.

Qādī Sulaimān, Bābā Farīd’s father, had four sons who were born in a village named Kothīwāl. Bābā Farīd became popular as the mad son of Qādī in the village for he never talked to anyone and spent his time in a mosque in worship and meditation. After his father’s death, his brothers divided the agricultural land, but Bābā Farīd relinquished his share.⁵³⁹ During his childhood Bābā Farīd kept himself busy in additional prayers in Kothīwālī mosque hence becoming popular as the mad son of Qādī. Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī visited him at the same mosque. Bābā Farīd received a pomegranate from the Shaykh and distributed it since he was fasting. While opening his fast, he found a seed of that pomegranate on the floor. After eating that seed, he felt the spirituality and later got worried about not eating the whole pomegranate. When he shared this incident

demy of Philosophy, 1978), 47-54.

⁵³⁹Hussainī, *Jawām‘ al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 149.

with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, he informed that all the blessing of the Shaykh was contained only in that one seed.⁵⁴⁰

Bābā Farīd kept four dresses with him his whole life. The first dress was for wearing, second for washing, third for emergency (if suddenly something made his clothes impure) and fourth is for a newcomer or a traveler who needs clothes.⁵⁴¹

Before joining Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's circle, Bābā Farīd had already accomplished the status of a complete saint because of his arduous worship. He just required a little guidance which is why left his Shaykh's company soon.⁵⁴² Bābā Farīd himself said that "for forty years Mas'ūd did as ALLAH Almighty wished him to do, now what he wished is one".

While discussing issues which disturbed one's spirituality, Bābā Farīd disclosed that his own spirituality was disturbed when he accepted a gift of an amount from the Sultān of Delhī due to his insistence.⁵⁴³ The Shaykh also granted *khalāfat* for some time to a child when Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī passed away and his son Burhān al-Dīn was presented before the Shaykh to get his blessing. He was bestowed *khalāfat nāmāh*.⁵⁴⁴

At Ajōdhan, the son of Shihāb the Magician cast a spell on Bābā Farīd causing him to fall seriously ill refusing food and suffering from insomnia. His grandson (Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān's son) found from someone that it was the son of Shihāb the Magician who was behind it. The same person told that the remedy for the spell was that to spend a night at Shihāb's grave and repeat specific verses. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' went to the graveyard at night, a man appeared in front of him and told him to dig the grave.

⁵⁴⁰Ibid., 545-46.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 273.

⁵⁴²Hussainī, *Jawām ' al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 411-12.

⁵⁴³Ibid., 510.

⁵⁴⁴Ibid., 557.

When he did so, he found an idol which was covered with needles. Bābā Farīd took shower at a place named Farīd Wāl and removed every needle from that image, and finally recovered.⁵⁴⁵

Bābā Farīd's miracles are also found in *Jawām ' al-Kalim*. For example, a *qalandar* named Mahmūd visited Bābā Farīd and said that he would not move from his hospice until the Shaykh accepted him as his disciple. He also said that he had visited different saints and hospices. Suddenly, Bābā Farīd disappeared from the mosque and after some time returned with his cloth muddy. Bābā Farīd told Mahmūd that he visited all the saints mentioned by Mahmūd.⁵⁴⁶ Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā once fell from his roof and was seriously wounded. At that moment, he announced that ALLAH Almighty had informed him that anyone who would just see him within three days will be freed from hell. So, people took him in a carriage to help him visit the whole city of Multān. Bābā Farīd, after discovering that prediction, announced that Bahā' al-Dīn talked only of three days, but if anybody who saw him (Bābā Farīd) at any time or saw his disciples or disciples of the disciples, would be forgiven.⁵⁴⁷ A man named Habīb came to Bābā Farīd to tell him how ten months before the governor attacked his village and took his wife as slave. He requested the Shaykh to pray for the recovery of his wife. Food was presented before him, but he refused to eat. At the same time, a stamp-dealer came to the Shaykh as a prisoner and requested to pray for his freedom. Bābā Farīd predicted that he would be released, and the governor would give him a house, a stick and a concubine. Furthermore, the Shaykh asked the prisoner to hand over that slave woman to Habīb. Although the prisoner agreed but Habīb was reluctant and demanded his own wife. Bābā Farīd ordered him to follow what he had suggested. When the prisoner

⁵⁴⁵Ibid., 251-52.

⁵⁴⁶Hussainī, *Jawām ' al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 116.

⁵⁴⁷Ibid., 543-44.

reached before the governor at Delhī, the Shaykh's prediction came true. So, he gave that female slave to Habīb, which was no other but his own wife.⁵⁴⁸

2.2.13.2- The Title “Ganj Shakar”

Once Bābā Farīd had not eaten for three days continuously. Finally, a wine shop keeper presented some food, but his stomach did not accept, and he vomited for the food was not *halāl*. On another occasion, he had not eaten for some days and he left for his Shaykh. On the way, he fell down due to weakness and some mud got into his mouth which turned into sugar. When he reached before his Shaykh, he asked him that he will be ‘Shakar Khawār’ (sugar eater).⁵⁴⁹

2.2.13.3- Justification of *Chillah-i- Ma‘kus*

Bābā Farīd tried to get permission for a *Chillah* (forty days’ meditation in seclusion) from his Shaykh. The Shaykh refused at first but due to Bābā Farīd’s insistence, he permitted *Chillah-i- Zanānah*. Bābā Farīd enquired about the *Chillah* and found that it was a *Chillah-i-Ma ‘kus*, an inverted *Chillah* of forty days. A disciple of Khwājah Gēsū-Darāz asked why Bābā Farīd’s mouth never bled while he was hung downward in the well. The Shaykh replied that due to his hard *mujāhadāt* and meditation, he had insufficient blood in his body and intestines, so his veins were dry.⁵⁵⁰

2.2.13.4- Critical Analysis of *Jawām‘al-Kalim*

Jawām‘ al-Kalim is an important source on the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. The *Malfūzāt* discusses a plethora of incidents (as discussed above) and shares substantial information about Bābā Farīd which is not found in other contemporary sources, for

⁵⁴⁸Ibid., 580-81.

⁵⁴⁹Hussainī, *Jawām‘ al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 412.

⁵⁵⁰Ibid., 412-413.

example, the incidents of Mahmūd, division of the property of Bābā Farīd and his brothers, and dresses of Bābā Farīd. It is also the first *Malḡūzāt* in which Shaykh Muhammad al-Hussainī explains the title Ganj-i-Shakar and why it was granted to Bābā Farīd. Similarly, Muhammad al-Hussainī also rationally justifies *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. Likewise, Muhammad al-Hussainī informs about Shaykh Wahīd, another *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd at Delhī, whose mention is missing in any contemporary and early-contemporary sources.⁵⁵¹

2.2.13.5- Weak points of the *Jawām' al-Kalim* regarding Bābā Farīd

Some minor mistakes and incorrect additions are found in *Jawām' al-Kalim*. Sayyed Muhammad al-Hussainī inaccurately argues that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī directly guided Bābā Farīd how to perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. Moreover, he maintains that Bābā Farīd remained in meditation during the day time during the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*.⁵⁵² Actually it was Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī apprised Bābā Farīd of the practice and the method of *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*.⁵⁵³ Moreover, Bābā Farīd kept himself busy in meditation between '*Ishā*' and *Fajr* prayer,⁵⁵⁴ rather than the day time. The incident of Mahmūd Qalandar is also unverified as it was Yūsuf of Hānsī who visited Uchach and told Bābā Farīd about the saints of the region causing him to disappear.⁵⁵⁵

Sayyed Akbar al-Hussainī inaccurately maintains that Bābā Farīd had four brothers. In contrast, Amīr Khūrd, Jamālī and later hagiographers proclaim that Qādī Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān had three sons. Moreover, Sayyed Akbar al-Hussainī also postulates that the four brothers divided the agricultural land forcing Bābā Farīd to either take his share or

⁵⁵¹Hussainī, *Jawām' al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 581-82.

⁵⁵²*Ibid.*, 412-413.

⁵⁵³Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 68-69.

⁵⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 81.

give a written statement of his abdication.⁵⁵⁶ In truth, Bābā Farīd had two brothers including Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, about whom it is unconscionable to expect that he divided the property and demanded a written statement. In the magic incident, some information is not found in other contemporary and near-contemporary sources. This information includes Bābā Farīd taking bath at Farīd Wālā, his grandson telling about the magic, and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' hitting Shihāb's grave and a man suddenly appearing. Jamālī maintains that Khwājah Badr al-Sulaimān saw a saint in his dream who told him that Shihāb's son had cast a spell on Bābā Farīd, recited a *d'ua*, and asked for it to be repeated on Shihāb's grave. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', while repeating the *d'ua*, found an idol of flour covered with horsehair and many needles. The same idol was presented before the Shaykh who ordered the needles to be taken out and the horsehair be disentangled. As the process completed Bābā Farīd had recovered.⁵⁵⁷

The incident of Burhān al-Dīn Ṣufī's *bay'at* is also contains discrepancies. For example, Amīr Khūrd maintains that when Burhān al-Dīn Ṣufī was presented before the Shaykh by Mādar-i-Mōminān, Bābā Farīd granted him the *khalāfat nāmāh*. When questions were raised about his age, Bābā Farīd answered that the crescent is also small.⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, the incident of Habīb as described by Hamīd Qalandar is different compared to Hussainī's *Jawām' al-Kalim*. Qalandar keeps the person who lost his wife anonymous only mentioning him as an oil-dealer who lived near Ajōdhan. Furthermore, the *dīwān* rather than a stamp-dealer appeared before Bābā Farīd as a prisoner. Bābā

⁵⁵⁶Hussainī, *Jawām' al Kalm*, trans. Dardai, 149.

⁵⁵⁷ Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, 39-40.

⁵⁵⁸ Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 183.

Farīd predicted that the *amīr* will release, reinstate, and grant him a slave girl without a house and stick.⁵⁵⁹

2.2.14- *Lataif-i-Asharaft*

The *Lataif-i-Asharaft* is an authentic and original *Malḡūzāt*⁵⁶⁰ of Shaykh Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī (d. 1386) compiled by his prominent *khalīfah* Nizām al-Dīn Yamenī, who spent thirty years in his company.⁵⁶¹ Shaykh Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī was a prominent Chishtī saint of fourteenth century-India. He belonged to the respectable Sayyed family. His father, Sultān Ibrāhīm, was the king of Samān. At the age of fourteen he completed his education and, in the same year, ascended the throne of Samān as his father passed way. During his reign, he regularly visited Khwājah ‘Alā’ al-Dōllah Samnānī. Moreover, the apostle *Khedar* also taught esoteric knowledge and guided him. Later, the apostle *Khedar* advised Shaykh Ashraf to join ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Bengālī’s circle. He, therefore, left for Hindūstān at the age of twenty-three, paid homage to the Chishtī shrines at Delhī, and finally came to his preceptor Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Bengālī who gave him the title Jahāngīr.⁵⁶² ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Bengālī was a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Akhī Sirāj who was one of the prominent *khulafā’* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁵⁶³

The *Lataif-i-Asharaft* has also been translated into Urdu. The first volume of the *Malḡūzāt* is more important with regard to Bābā Farīd’s biography as it deals with the leading esoteric elite of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* from their origins up to the fourteenth century. Other Ṣufī orders and their prominent saints such as Naqshbandīyyah,

⁵⁵⁹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmi, 236-38.

⁵⁶⁰Lawrence, *Sufī Martyr of Love*, 229.

⁵⁶¹Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol.3, 618.

⁵⁶²Lāhōrī, *Khazinat al-Aṣṣfiyā’*. Vol.1., 371-373.

⁵⁶³Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol.1, trans. Shams Bareilvi, 548.

Suhrwardīyyah and Qādirīyyah have also been discussed in that volume. Similarly, *tūwhīd* (oneness of God), types of *waliya*, definition of Sufism and the Ṣufī, the hierarchy of saints in Islam, differences among miracles, wonderment and *astadrāj*, (miracles performed by non-Muslims), and the Shaykh-disciple relationship are other main topics. Volume two deals with Khwājah Ashraf Jahāngīr's own spiritual experiences, his itinerary, and the fundamentals of Islam like prayer, fasting, *zakat* and Hajj. The third volume describes the life and teachings of Holy Prophet (PBUH), the four pious caliphs, some other prominent companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the twelve Shi'a imāms and some leading Ṣufī poets.

2.2.14.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Lataif-i-Asharaft*

Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn, popularly known as Ganj-i-Shakar, once gave '*Awārif al- Ma'ārif*' as a gift to one of his *khulafā'*.⁵⁶⁴ Haḍrat Ganj-i-Shakar performed *chillah* in Rodūlī (located in Faidābād District Uttar Pradesh, India) and people observe its fragrance till now. Moreover, the Shaykh also performed numerous *chillah* in the village mosque of Pailī Maiw.⁵⁶⁵ Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar had given the title of Abū Hanīfah to Khwājah Dawūd Pailī when the latter visited the shrine of Haḍrat Ganj-i-Shakar.⁵⁶⁶ Similarly, while discussing Bābā Farīd's simplicity, the *Malfūzāt* recounts that once a disciple sent a costly gift of a silk dress for him but he added a little bit of rough and old cloth in that dress. He said that both expensive and ordinary cloths equally cover one's body, adding that it is good for a person that to use simple cloth.⁵⁶⁷

Shaykh Ganj-i-Shakar visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrwardī along with Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān Jalāl Tabrīzī but Shaykh

⁵⁶⁴Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol. 1, trans. Bareilvi, 560.

⁵⁶⁵Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol. 3, 627.

⁵⁶⁶Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharaft*. Vol. 1, trans. Bareilvi, 555.

⁵⁶⁷Ibid., 680.

Shihāb al-Dīn accepted the *bay‘at* of Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and sent Shaykh Kabīr (Bābā Farīd) and Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān back to Hindūstān. Moreover, it is incorrectly mentioned that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā passed away in 666 A.H./ 1268 A.D.⁵⁶⁸ which was in fact 661 A.H./ 1262 A.D.

2.2.14.2- *Khulafā’*

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ is the most famous *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. He even sometimes consulted with Bābā Farīd’s soul to accept initiations (*bay‘at* of a disciple).⁵⁶⁹ Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir were other prominent *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd. There was a misunderstanding between (Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir) them, but it was resolved later.⁵⁷⁰

2.2.14.3- Critical analysis of *Lataif-i-Asharafi*

The *Lataif-i-Asharafi* provides little information about Bābā Farīd. Moreover, the scattered information does not adduce a clear picture of the Shaykh. It focuses on the *khulafā’* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. There are some errors in the *Malfūzāt* like Khwājah Muhammad, Bābā Farīd’s grandson, mentioned as Khwājah Muhammad Amīn. Moreover, the author mentions that Khwājah Muhammad visited Bābā Farīd’s shrine at Ajōdhan and never returned.⁵⁷¹ The fact is that he was buried at Delhī near the shrine of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.

Yamenī further maintains that Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī sent Bābā Farīd and Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān to Hindūstān, while that was actually Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī instead of Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Jalāl. Moreover, the Shaykh never sent him

⁵⁶⁸Ibid., 597-98.

⁵⁶⁹Yamenī, *Lataif-i-Asharafi*. Vol. 1, trans. Barelvi, 556.

⁵⁷⁰Ibid., 569.

⁵⁷¹Ibid., 550-51.

to the Indian Subcontinent as Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī spent long time in his company.

2.2.14.4- Muhammad Bin Mubārak Kirmānī

Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubārak ‘Alwī Kirmānī popularly known as Amīr Khūrd was born at Delhī. His father Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak (d.1338) was born in Ajōdhan and at a very young age, he became Bābā Farīd’s disciple. Later, after the Shaykh’s death, he became a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁵⁷² Furthermore, the grandfather of Muhammad bin Mubārak named Sayyid Muhammad Mahmūd Kirmānī (d.1311) was a very prominent disciple of Bābā Farīd. He was a rich and influential person of Kirmān. He frequently visited Delhī and Lāhōre for commercial purposes. He also frequently visited his uncle, Sayyid Ahmad, who settled at Multān.

After his first encounter with Shaykh Farīd, Muhammad Mahmūd deliberately left Kirmān and settled at Ajōdhan. Sayyid Ahmad tried his best to convince Sayyid Mahmūd to stay in Multān. He even married his daughter, Bībī Rānī, to him. But he failed to change his mind. Furthermore, when Sayyid Ahmad presented the name of Shaykh Bahā’ al- Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī as an alternative to Bābā Farīd, Sayyid Mahmūd rebuffed and said: “I don’t have an inclination of heart towards him”. He left Multān with his wife for Ajōdhan where he spent almost eighteen years in Shaykh Farīd’s *Jamā’t Khānah*. Further, he also looks after the household expenditure of the Shaykh.⁵⁷³

Muhammad bin Mubārak ‘Alwī Kirmānī, known as Amīr Khūrd, at a young age became Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’s disciple. After his Shaykh’s death, he joined

⁵⁷²Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 157.

⁵⁷³Ibid., 155.

Khawājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī and got *khalāfat nāmah*. He died in 770 A.H.⁵⁷⁴

2.2.15- *Siyar-al- Awliyā’ dar Ahwāl Wa Malfūzāt-i- Mashaikh-i-Chisht*

Amīr Khūrd compiled this important work during 1351 to 1368. *Siyar al-Awliyā’* is neither a pure *tadhkirāt* genre nor a *Malfūzāt* but a mixture of both. It has ten chapters. He starts the book with praise of ALLAH; His Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (d.632); first four pious caliphs, Abū Bakr (d.634), ‘Umar bin Khattāb (d.644), ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān (d.656), ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (d.661); Imām Hassan bin ‘Alī (d.670) and Imām Hussain bin ‘Alī (d.680). After introduction, the first chapter deals with earlier Ṣūfīs from Hassan of Baṣra (d.728) to Shaykh ‘Uthmān Harūnī (d.1220). He does not discuss these Ṣūfīs in detail but presents a bird-eye view on their lives. Furthermore, at some places he uses a somewhat irrational approach while discussing the same Ṣūfīs. For example, while discussing Khawājah Mamshād ‘Alō Dīnwarī, Kirmānī maintains: “during the daytime, this saintly person neither ate nor drank and kept the fast from his birth till his death”.⁵⁷⁵

Kirmānī provides few detail about non-Indian Chishtī preceptors or Shayūkh (sing. Shaykh), but discusses the Indian Chishtī preceptors in detail including Khawājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan Sijzī (d.1236), Khawājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d.1235), Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd (d.1265), Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (d.1325) and Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (d.1356). Among them the last three are in more detail.

⁵⁷⁴Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’*. vol.1., 320-21.

⁵⁷⁵Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 19.

Comparing the above discussed *Malfūzāt* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'* it reveals that the latter source is the first detailed biography of Chishtī Ṣufīs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent.

2.2.15.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Siyar al- Awliyā'*

The *Siyar al-Awliyā'* is Bābā Farīd's first inclusive biography. The *Fawā'id-al Fuād* and other *Malfūzāt* skip many events and aspects of Bābā Farīd, as well as of his predecessors. Kirmānī, however, not only provides thorough detail about Bābā Farīd but also provides information about the ancestors, offspring's, family and the *Khulafā'* of the former Shaykh.

Furthermore, in contrast to Amīr Hassan Sijzī, Amīr Khūrd provides brief biographies of all the earlier Chishtī Ṣufīs. Regarding Bābā Farīd, the author discusses the Shaykh's approach toward the ruling class, toward the Muslims, non-Muslims, as well as towards the contemporary non-Chishtī Ṣufīs particularly, the Suhrwardīs of South Asia. To Amīr Khūrd's credit, he also discusses the role of Chishtī *Jamā't Khānah* and the institution of audition or *samā'* (devotional or religious music), and the role of both institutions in the expansion of Chishtī *silsilah* in South Asia. Amīr Khūrd, however, compared to Amīr Hassan 'Alā' Sijzī, has a somewhat exaggerated narration style.

2.2.15.2- Early Life of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H./ 1174 A.D.⁵⁷⁶ He was a descendant of Farrukh Shah Kābulī who was a powerful monarch of Kābul.⁵⁷⁷ Later, they lost their empire during

⁵⁷⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 91.

⁵⁷⁷Ibid., 58.

the Mongol upheaval under Changīz Khān (r. 1206-27). After defeat on the battlefield, Bābā Farīd's grandfather, Qādī Shu'aīb, migrated to Punjab.⁵⁷⁸

The Ghaznavid ruler showed great respect toward Qādī Shu'aīb and ordered the governor of Qasūr to cater to him. The qādī of Qasūr helped him settle in a town named Kathōwāl where he was also appointed as the Qādī (judge).⁵⁷⁹

2.2.15.3- Asceticism, Meditation and Seclusion of Bābā Farīd

Amīr Khūrd Kirmānī portrays Bābā Farīd as an ascetic child who renounced the worldly life at a very young age. Moreover, due to such inclination, he became popular as *Qādī Bacha Dīwāna* (The Qādī's Mad Child).⁵⁸⁰ Furthermore, according to Amīr Khūrd, Bābā Farīd's mother, Qursam Bībī, played a vital role in his spiritual growth and mystic development. The author also mentions some miracles of Qursam Bībī like a thief losing his eyesight just after entering in her house but recovering after apologizing, and converting his whole family at the hand of Qursam Khātūn the next day.⁵⁸¹ Due to intense meditation and arduous worship, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī pointed him out as the great future mystic of Islam. Moreover, over his guilt due to tattered dress, the former Shaykh tried to pacify Bābā Farīd as he told him about a mystic (Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn himself) who spent seven years without trousers.⁵⁸²

Bābā Farīd left for Multān for higher education as at that time it was the center of Islamic learning in South Asia. Amīr Khūrd proclaims that Bābā Farīd left for Multān at the age of fifteen as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn visited him at Multān in 584 A.H./1188-

⁵⁷⁸Ibid., 60

⁵⁷⁹Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 59.

⁵⁸⁰Ibid., 62.

⁵⁸¹Ibid., 88.

⁵⁸²Ibid., 63.

89 A.D.⁵⁸³ while Jamālī maintains that at that time Bābā Farīd was eighteen years old.⁵⁸⁴

The first encounter between Bābā Farīd and his preceptor Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī happened in Multān in the mosque in which the former was enrolled for education. Interestingly, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā also arrived there at the same moment. Amīr Khūrd further added that due to Bābā Farīd's fame, the Suhrwardī Head had a desire to meet him. Furthermore, Bābā Farīd joined Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and both left for Delhī.⁵⁸⁵ Jamālī, however, argues that Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn ordered Bābā Farīd to stay in Multān and joined him after completing his education.⁵⁸⁶

Furthermore, even after joining his Shaykh's company, Bābā Farīd continued his habit of asceticism, strenuous meditation and worship with full zeal. Amīr Khūrd maintains that for that purpose he visited his preceptor only fortnightly⁵⁸⁷ as he otherwise remained busy in contemplations and meditations. In addition, the passion of further arduous meditation increased day by day, and, at last, he requested his Shaykh to give him permission for *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. The Shaykh at first declined but agreed after observing Bābā Farīd's meditational nature. According to Amīr Khūrd, the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* is a forty-day or forty-night worship in a way that one fastens one of his legs with a rope and hangs upside down in a well. It is also mandatory that there is a tree in the same well which must be in a mosque. It was quite difficult to find such a well but Bābā Farīd, with a constant effort, found it out in Uchach. Moreover, he tried his best to perform this *chillah* in a way that no one knew of it. Masjid-i-Hajj at Uchach proved to be the best place for that meditation. Bābā Farīd successfully completed that *chillah*

⁵⁸³Ibid., 91.

⁵⁸⁴Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 48.

⁵⁸⁵Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 61.

⁵⁸⁶Ibid., 49.

⁵⁸⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 61.

with the help of one of his devotees named Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn Mainaī, who was also a *mu'adhan* (the person who calls for prayer) in the same mosque.⁵⁸⁸ It was immensely fortunate for Bābā Farīd that Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan (preceptor of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī) blessed him at Delhī.⁵⁸⁹

Although Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, another prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, had a desire and a great hope to be appointed as the successor of his Shaykh but the Shaykh nominated Bābā Farīd as the next head of Chishtī *silsilah*.⁵⁹⁰

While discussing Bābā Farīd further as an ascetic, his seclusion and avoidance of the worldly fame, Kirmānī maintains that Bābā Farīd left Delhī when Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī praised him in his Friday sermon, and left Hānsī, too, when Khwājah Nūr Turk during his speech showed respect towards him. He turned towards 'deserts and wilderness', shifted to Kathōwāl that was his native town for some time, and finally left for Ajōdhan that was an unfamiliar town.⁵⁹¹

Furthermore, Bābā Farīd maintained while condemning worldly life: "do not put your life at peril for the worldly fame and riches." He added: "the worst human being is one who keeps himself engaged merely in eating and dressing".⁵⁹² Furthermore, he never accepted any *jāgīr* from the sultān.⁵⁹³ However, later on, being head of Chishtīyyah order, he changed his attitude on asceticism and seclusion, opened his gate for all without any difference of cast and creed, including the nobility.

⁵⁸⁸Ibid., 68-70.

⁵⁸⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 72.

⁵⁹⁰Ibid., 72.

⁵⁹¹Ibid., 62.

⁵⁹²Ibid., 76.

⁵⁹³Ibid., 80.

2.2.15.4- Bābā Farīd as a Humanist

After asceticism and meditation, Kirmānī explores another important aspect of Bābā Farīd's life; his tolerance and humanism. The concept of humanism has nowadays gained popularity and is deemed indispensable for global peace. Being a head of Chishtī Ṣufī *silsilah*, Bābā Farīd carried on his work as a humanist. Rich and poor, ruling elite and the subjects were treated equally before the Shaykh. He followed the non-violent policy and appreciated his successors doing the same. In this regard, when Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' tolerated Sharf al-Dīn Qaiāmī who spoke some ill words for Bābā Farīd, the Shaykh appreciated his beloved successor.⁵⁹⁴

Furthermore, due to his popularity and reputation, different narrow-minded people turned against the Shaykh. Sometimes he ignored them, other times he even forgave them. Throughout his life, he never retaliated against anyone. He even forgave the man who came to attack him.⁵⁹⁵ He never paid any attention toward Qādī of Ajōdhan who created constant trouble for him and his family for almost eighteen years.⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, the Shaykh maintain that if anybody wants to live a happy, peaceful life and avoid humiliation, he should never react against his rivals.

2.2.15.5- The Shaykh's Approach toward the State and the Ruling Elite

Generally, the Chishtī Ṣufīs never wanted a relationship with the ruling class, especially the sultān or the emperor. In this regard, Amīr Khūrd elaborates Bābā Farīd's approach toward the state and ruling elite. The Shaykh, like his predecessors, avoided relationship with the ruling class. He, therefore, also warned his successors to avoid such

⁵⁹⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 83.

⁵⁹⁵Ibid., 80.

⁵⁹⁶Ibid., 84-85.

relationship. For him, it was the best way of attaining a high spiritual level as he said: “If you want to attain higher levels, don’t have affection for the sons of the kings.”⁵⁹⁷

2.2.15.6- Spiritual Authority of Bābā Farīd

Amīr Khūrd describes many miracles of Bābā Farīd some of which are discussed below. One of Bābā Farīd’s prominent disciples, Muhammad Shah Ghurī’s brother, was on his death bed. Muhammad Shah told his Shaykh: “only a little ray of life is left in him and now when I have appeared in your presence, it will not be strange that he might have died.” Bābā Farīd replied: “Go, your brother is cured”. When he returned home, Muhammad Ghurī saw that his brother had recovered and was eating.⁵⁹⁸ A man lost his dear wife in a raid but found her due to the prayer of the Shaykh al- Shayūkh al- ‘Alam.⁵⁹⁹ In addition, the author discusses the miracles of Bābā Farīd’s hair in detail as he narrates that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ had a hair of Bābā Farīd’s beard which he used as a *ta’wīz* (amulet) for the treatment of his disciples’ diseases. Everyone was cured by that sacred hair. More surprising was that it sometime was not found, which meant that a particular person will not recover and will die soon.⁶⁰⁰ Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (r. 1266-1287), the prime minister of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-66), got the throne of Delhī when the Shaykh prayed for him.⁶⁰¹ Sharf al-Dīn Qaiāmī spoke ill words for Bābā Farīd, which were reported to the latter by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. Bābā Farīd replied: “Qaiāmī is no more”. When Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ reached Delhī, he found that Sharf al-Dīn had passed away.⁶⁰² It does not mean

⁵⁹⁷Ibid., 75.

⁵⁹⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 85-86.

⁵⁹⁹Ibid., 83-84.

⁶⁰⁰Ibid., 78.

⁶⁰¹Ibid., 79-80.

⁶⁰²Ibid., 83.

that Shaykh prayed for his death. But he knew of it through his divine power. He shared the news to enrich his favorite disciple's belief.

2.2.15.7- Death of Bābā Farīd

The author maintains that during the last days of his life, Bābā Farīd and his family faced constant starvation. One of his sons even died due to lack of food.⁶⁰³ The Shaykh passed away on Muharram 5, 664 AH (October 17, 1265). Moreover, on the last night, he offered '*Ishā*' prayer thrice. He was not buried at his desired place as Nizām al-Dīn, the Shaykh's favorite son, dissuaded his brothers due to some materialistic intentions.⁶⁰⁴

2.2.15.8- Justification of Kirmānī about the title Ganj-i-Shakar

Contrary to Amīr Hassan Sijzī, Amīr Khūrd elaborates the reason why Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar. He points out that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī bestowed that title to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn because stones turned into sugar when the Shaykh broke (*iftār*) his fast of *tayy* with them.⁶⁰⁵ However, Jamālī maintains that Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar because he spent almost seven days in the fast of *tayy*. Moreover, when he slipped and fell and some mud got into his mouth, it turned into sugar. After that incident, he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.⁶⁰⁶ While the literature particularly produced during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elaborates numerous reasons about the title Ganj-i-Shakar, most are far from the reality.

2.2.15.9- Family and Descendants

While discussing the descendants of Bābā Farīd, the author, being a devotee, shows lauded approach toward the family of the Shaykh as he says: "Due to their description

⁶⁰³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 67.

⁶⁰⁴Ibid., 89-91.

⁶⁰⁵Ibid., 67-68.

⁶⁰⁶Jamālī, *Siyar al-ʿArifīn*, 46.

in this book, the writer has great hope of being pardoned by ALLAH Almighty”.⁶⁰⁷ Furthermore, for the Shaykh’s sons, he maintains “they are an ocean of leaning, a mine of learning, and leaders of *tarīqah* (path), the sun of the world of the reality”⁶⁰⁸ However, he provides good detail about the sons, daughters and grandsons of the Shaykh. Nevertheless, he skips details about his wives as he only mentions that the Shaykh had many *harem* (wives).⁶⁰⁹

According to the author, the descendants of Bābā Farīd were immense in number “who were spread east and west”. Moreover, the Shaykh had five sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah lived a mystic life.⁶¹⁰ Amīr Khūrd mentions Shaykh Nasrullah’s son’s name as Shaykh Zāda Bāyazīd and Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn as grandson of Shaykh Nasrullah. Later, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn on the order of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ settled in Malwa.⁶¹¹

Another son of Bābā Farīd, Shihāb al-Dīn, was a good scholar, a decent friend of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, and spent most of his time in the company of his father.⁶¹² Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān was another son of Bābā Farīd who, after mutual consensus among his brothers, was appointed the first *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd and was buried at dome of Bābā Farīd.⁶¹³ After his death, his elder son, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, popularly known as Mūj-i-Diryā, was appointed the second *sajjādah nashīn* of the shrine of his grandfather. He gained great popularity due to his ascetic and saintly

⁶⁰⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā’*, 185-86.

⁶⁰⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 185.

⁶⁰⁹Ibid., 66.

⁶¹⁰Ibid., 185-86

⁶¹¹Ibid., 198.

⁶¹²Ibid., 186.

⁶¹³Ibid., 188-89.

life.⁶¹⁴ Amīr Khūrd gives more detail of Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn than of any other grandson or descendants or family members of Bābā Farīd.

Nizām al-Dīn was the favorite son of Bābā Farīd. He was very aggressive. But, due to his affection, the Shaykh ignored whatever he did. He was a solider and due to his bravery was known as Haider the Second. He was martyred on the battlefield when the non-believers (Mongols) attacked Ajōdhan. Surprisingly, his corpse was never found.⁶¹⁵ Sooner or later, most of the grandsons of Bābā Farīd left for Delhī and were attached to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. The same is the case with the grandson of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn bin Bābā Farīd named Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn who was buried at Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn’s own tomb at Delhī.⁶¹⁶ Amīr Khūrd does not provide any information about Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn’s son except mentioning his name as Khwājah Ibrāhīm who was married with Amīr Khūrd’s aunt. But like Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah’s grandson, the author also provides some detail about the grandson of Nizām al-Dīn.

The last and the youngest son is Khwājah Ya‘qūb. He always remained busy in worship and disappeared by some unknown powers.⁶¹⁷ Amīr Khūrd mentions two sons of Khwājah Ya‘qūb named Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn and Khwājah Qādī. The former was martyred and buried at Deogir while the latter died at Delhī and was buried at the Mound of the Companions of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁶¹⁸ It is also surprising that, on one hand, Amīr Khūrd argues that the people of Deogir and Telangāna were devotees and

⁶¹⁴Ibid., 193.

⁶¹⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 189-90.

⁶¹⁶Ibid., 199.

⁶¹⁷Ibid., 190.

⁶¹⁸Ibid., 197.

slaves of Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn,⁶¹⁹ while, on the other hand, he maintains that he was martyred at the same place.

From the critical observation of the panegyric compiled by Amīr Khūrd, one can easily realize that Shaykh Farīd’s daughters had mystically surpassed his sons. Among the Shaykh’s three daughters, the eldest was Bībī Mastūrah, a saintly woman.⁶²⁰ Nevertheless, Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al Awliyā’* is silent about her husband. However, her two sons are mentioned as Khwājah ‘Azīz al-Dīn and Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn. Like many other paternal and maternal grandsons of Bābā Farīd, the former was also attached with Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. ‘Azīz al-Dīn was an excellent calligrapher and wrote a *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ entitled *Tuhfat-al-Abrār Karāmāt-al-Akhyār*. Most of the *Malḡūzāt* was perused by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ himself.⁶²¹ The second son, Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn, was also attached to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and due to high the devotion to his Shaykh, he spent his whole life with him and was buried at the Mound of the Companions.⁶²²

Regarding his second daughter, Bībī Sharīfah, due to her high mystic position, Bābā Farīd maintained that if in Islam, *khalāfat* (successorship) was permissible for women he would nominate her daughter Sharīfah as his successor.⁶²³ The third daughter, named Bībī Fātimah, was married to one of his prominent disciples, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī. She was brought to Delhī by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ after her husband’s death. Surprisingly, it was rumored that he wanted to marry her. When she found out, she fell seriously ill. When Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ heard of the

⁶¹⁹Ibid., 197.

⁶²⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 191.

⁶²¹Ibid., 202.

⁶²²Ibid., 203.

⁶²³Ibid., 191.

news, he left for Ajōdhan to visit his Shaykh's shrine. But Bībī Fātimah died before his arrival at Delhī. She was buried in the mausoleum of his brother Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. Bībī Fātimah had two sons, Imām Muhammad and Imām Musa. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' paid great attention towards both. They were also famous like all the other maternal grandsons of the Shaykh.⁶²⁴ Imām Muhammad got the *khalāfat* from Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. The latter also allowed him to take *Bay'at*, appointed him as imām in the mosque, and no one could sit at a place higher than Imām Muhammad. He also had a good command on the science of music. Both brothers spent their whole lives with Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and were buried at the Mound of the Companions at Delhī.⁶²⁵

2.2.15.10- *Khulafā'*

For students or researchers of Sufism, particularly of the Chishtī Ṣufīs of medieval period, the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* is undoubtedly a plausible source. The author not only provides a good detail about Shaykh Farīd, his family and descendants, but also sheds light on his spiritual successors or *khulafā'*. However, it is very strange that the author does not provide detail about Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar (d.1291) who was the second favorite *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd after Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.

2.2.15.11- Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'

He was a beloved successor of Bābā Farīd. After his Shaykh, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' is also greatly credited for popularizing and expanding Chishtī *silsilah* in the

⁶²⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 191-93.

⁶²⁵Ibid., 200-01.

Subcontinent. Amīr Khūrd discusses him in more detail than Bābā Farīd. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was a complete picture of his Shaykh.

2.2.15.12- Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil

Among the Shaykh's prominent *khulafā'*, one was Bābā Farīd's own brother named Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. He lived at Delhī. He spent an ascetic life and was unaware of the current day or month.⁶²⁶ He visited his Shaykh at Ajōdhan almost nineteen times and each time requested him to pray for him as he wanted to see him once more. But the Shaykh, having prayed nineteen times consecutively, was unresponsive the last time. Astonishingly, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil was not able to see his Shaykh anymore as he passed away when he reached Delhī. He spent almost seventy years at Delhī and was buried there outside the *mandah* gate.⁶²⁷

2.2.15.13- Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī

About Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, the author gets most information from his father Sayyid Mubārak Muhammad Kirmānī. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq bin 'Alī bin Ishāq hailed from Delhī and was a famous theologian. While leaving for Bukhara to discuss some jurisprudent issues, he visited the hospice of Bābā Farīd. When the latter described his theological issues elegantly, Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was so impressed that he left Delhī forever and settled at Ajōdhan. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was closely attached to his Shaykh. He spent most of his time in serving his mentor as Amīr Khūrd maintains that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' once told that his attention toward Bābā Farīd was matchless compared to any of his disciples. Moreover, ten disciples together did not serve the Shaykh as he did alone. Bābā Farīd also showed great love and

⁶²⁶Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 167.

⁶²⁷Ibid., 169.

affection towards him and even married his daughter to him. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, later, left the *Jamā'at Khānah* due to some misconceptions created between him and Bābā Farīd's eldest son, Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān. He shifted to the Jāmiā' mosque of Ajōdhan. He was buried in the same mosque.⁶²⁸ Amīr Khūrd mentions that Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq also wrote a masterpiece on '*Ilm-i-Tasārraf*' entitled *Tasārf-i-Badarī*.⁶²⁹ This book is not available now. Amīr Khūrd also mentioned many miracles of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. For instance, Sharf al-Dīn, the governor of Dīpāl Pur and one of his disciples, had been dismissed but got his job again due to the prayer of the Shaykh. A wild lion bowed down before Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. The sun did not set till his order.⁶³⁰ Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq died in 1291 A.D. Although he was equally popular and spiritually recognized, no sub-order or *silsilah* (like Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' eponym Nizāmīyyah and Sābirīyyah from 'Alī Ahmad Sābir) belonged to him. It is because, firstly, like his Shaykh, he loved to live an ascetic life and, secondly, as he was living with his preceptor, it was impossible for him to lead the foundation of another sub-*silsilah* at Ajōdhan.

2.2.15.14- Shaykh Jamāl al- Dīn of Hānsī

Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī was another prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. Bābā Farīd had such affection for him that he spent almost twelve years at Hānsī. Moreover, once he said: "Jamāl! I want to sacrifice for you head long".⁶³¹ After his death, Bābā Farīd bestowed the *khalāfat nāmah* to his son, Burhān al-Dīn Ṣufī, who was quite young at that time.⁶³² Furthermore, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn achieved high spiritual status before

⁶²⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 170-71.

⁶²⁹Ibid., 173.

⁶³⁰Ibid., 175-77.

⁶³¹Ibid., 178.

⁶³²Ibid., 182-83.

his Shaykh as Amīr Khūrd maintains that no one considered anyone a legitimate successor (*khalīfah*) of Bābā Farīd until Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī endorsed that particular *khalāfat nāmah*. Even Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, the favorite disciple of Bābā Farīd, was ordered by the Shaykh to present his *khalāfat nāmah* before Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsī for ratification.⁶³³ Bābā Farīd loved poverty (*faqr*) and suggested the same for his disciples. When Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn complained about his constant starvation, the Shaykh replied it was obligatory within the spiritual domain. Moreover, when his slave woman popularly known as *Mādar-i-Mōminān* (mother of the believers), told Bābā Farīd that since he got his Shaykh attachment Jamāl al-Dīn rendered or gave up all worldly intentions and faced starvation, Bābā Farīd showed happiness and satisfaction.⁶³⁴ Amīr Khūrd does not mention the year of Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī’s death. However, he died in 1261 A.D. during the lifetime of Bābā Farīd.

2.2.15.15- Shaykh ‘Arif

Amīr Khūrd mentions another *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd named Shaykh ‘Arif. The governor of Uchach and Multān gave him a gift of one hundred *tankas* (name of the currency of that time) for Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn but he submitted only fifty *tankas* to the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd amusingly discussed his distribution. He got ashamed and presented the remaining money to the Shaykh as well. Moreover, he requested Bābā Farīd to accept him as his disciple. Bābā Farīd not only accepted him as his disciple but also granted him the *khalāfat nāmah* of Sīstān. According to the author, Shaykh ‘Arif returned the *khalāfat nāmah* to Bābā Farīd as he maintained: “It is not within my capacity. I cannot carry on the burden of this heavy responsibility and the engagement

⁶³³ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 179.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 180-81.

of the elderly spiritual guides. I am content with the ‘Shaykh of the whole world’ (Bābā Farīd), your sight of affection and favor. It is sufficient for me.” Later, he left for Ka‘aba and died there.⁶³⁵ Shaykh ‘Arif was not as popular as the above-mentioned successors of Bābā Farīd and played a lesser role in the expansion of Chishtī *silsilah* than the above mentioned *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd.

2.2.15.16- Shaykh ‘Alī Sābir (‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir)

‘Alī Ahmad Sābir, eponym of the Sābirīyyah Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, is a very popular Ṣufī order in the Indo-Pāk-Subcontinent. However, it is strange that Amīr Khūrd provides little information about ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. The author maintains that Bābā Farīd bestowed on him the *khalāfat nāmah* and he was the only successor of the Shaykh who did not get any command or will from his Shaykh as Bābā Farīd said to him: “Hay Sābir! Go you will pass nicely”. ‘Alī Sābir lived happily. Amīr Khūrd further maintains: “he was very pleasing and cheerful person”.⁶³⁶

2.2.15.17- Critical Analysis of *Siyar al-Awliyā’*

Amīr Khūrd often uses the name Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn and Shaykh al-Kabīr for Bābā Farīd while Amīr Hassan Sijzī mentions his name as Shaykh al-Islam Farīd al-Haq wa-Dīn. According to Amīr Khūrd, Bābā Farīd was born in 569 AH/1174 A.D.⁶³⁷ He was a descendant of Farrukh Shah Kābulī, the king of Kābul.⁶³⁸ However, there is not a single historical source which describes Farrukh Shah Kābulī as a sovereign monarch of Kābul. Moreover, as a monarch, Amīr Khūrd’s portrayal of Farrukh Shah seems concocted as he maintains: “all the kings of the world

⁶³⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 184-85.

⁶³⁶Ibid., 185.

⁶³⁷Ibid., 91.

⁶³⁸Ibid., 58.

were submissive and obedient to him.”⁶³⁹ In fact, Amīr Khūrd discusses Bābā Farīd in nine points or nine headings but he mentions them as eight because he repeats the fifth point.

Amīr Khūrd mistakenly maintains that Bābā Farīd’s forefathers lost their empire during the Mongol upheaval under Changīz Khān (r. 1206-27), and after defeat in the battlefield, Bābā Farīd’s grandfather, Qādī Shu‘aīb, left for the Punjab.⁶⁴⁰ The fact is that Changīz Khān invaded Central Asia and Kābul in 1218 A.D. while the family of Bābā Farīd had migrated almost some seventy years before the Mongol invasion, when the descendants of Mahmūd of Ghazna (d.1030) were on the eve of their decline. Moreover, it was the *Ghuzz* (Turk tribe, Ottoman Turks are also a clan of *Ghuzz* tribe) tribe which attacked Kābul and defeated Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad⁶⁴¹ father of Qādī Shu‘aīb.⁶⁴² The former lost his life in the battlefield. Moreover, Bābā Farīd, according to the author was born in the village Kathōwāl near Multān in 569 A.H./1173-74 A.D. which means that he was born about forty-six years before the Mongol invasion on Kābul and Qandhār. Amīr Khūrd’s claim that Bābā Farīd’s family was defeated and migrated to South Asia during the Mongol upheaval is, therefore, unsubstantiated. Furthermore, the author does not provide any detail about Qādī Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, the father of Bābā Farīd, and two other brothers of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān.

Similarly, some chronological errors have also been found in *Siyar al- Awliyā’* like the author mentioned the date of *bay‘at* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī as 522 A.H./1128 A.D. ⁶⁴³ While the fact is that Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan the preceptor

⁶³⁹Ibid., 58.

⁶⁴⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 60

⁶⁴¹ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 10, foot note. 4.

⁶⁴²Allah Diyā *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 186.

⁶⁴³Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 48.

of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was born in 537 A.H/ 1142-43.⁶⁴⁴ Amīr Khūrd paradoxically creates confusion about the exact date of death of Bābā Farīd as on one hand, he maintains that Bābā Farīd died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H./ October 16, 1265,⁶⁴⁵ while on the other hand, he states that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' received his *khalāfat nāmah* from Bābā Farīd on Ramḍān 13, 669 A.H./April 24, 1271. The Shaykh also advised Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' to show his *khalāfat nāmah* to Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn at Hānsī.⁶⁴⁶ The fact is that the author has mistakenly mentioned 659 A.H. as 669 A.H. as Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī had passed away in the same year 659 A.H./ 1261 A.D.

2.2.16- Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan Chishtī's *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan Chishtī was born in 1431 A.D. in Ahmadābād (Gujrāt). Bājan (musical instrument) was a title granted by his Shaykh. His father's name was Ma'az al-Dīn who was a descendant of Hubal bin Khattāb, a brother of 'Umar bin Khattāb, the second pious caliph of Islam. Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan was Shaykh Rahmatullah's *khalīfah*, and was also associated with Shaykh 'Azīzullah Mutawwakil, Shaykh Latīf al-Dīn Daryā Nōsh, and Khwājah Muhammad bin Zāhid Yūsuf Chishtī. He died in 1506 A.D.⁶⁴⁷ He was a well-known Ṣufī poet of Gujrāt. *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah* is a mixture of dīwān, *Malfūzāt* (he compiled the *Malfūzāt* of his Shaykh named Shaykh Rahmatullah) and *tadhkirāt*. The book has seven chapters. First chapter provides a brief biography of Shaykh Rahmatullah, Shaykh 'Azīzullah Mutawwakil, Shaykh Latīf al-Dīn Daryā Nōsh, and Khwājah Muhammad bin Zāhid Yūsuf Chishtī. Second chapter deals with the activities of the people of path. Third chapter deals with

⁶⁴⁴Lāhorī, *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā'*. Vol. 1, 265.

⁶⁴⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 89-91.

⁶⁴⁶Ibid., 116.

⁶⁴⁷Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 225-27.

the life of the people of reality (*Ahle-i-Haqīqat*). The fourth chapter discusses the *at-tuwḥīd*. Fifth chapter discusses *aūrād* and *wazāif*. Sixth chapter deals with twenty specific *aūrād* mentioned by predecessors' saints, while the last chapter deals with the poetry of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan Chishtī. The book is too rare, and its only known manuscript is available in catalogue of Āzar collection, the Main Library of the University of Punjab, Pākistān. The page numbers are not mentioned in that manuscript. The date of compilation of *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah* is not mentioned in the whole book. However, it was perhaps completed in the last or the second last decade of 15th century A.D.

2.2.16.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Kābulī Ajōdhanī was a *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Shaykh al-'Alam Langar-i-Jahān Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar granted a turban to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' with his own hand and appointed him *khalīfah* for Delhī. The Shaykh further told that he made him master of *haft aqlīm*. During his last moments, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar became unconscious but recover during the time of each prayer. While discussing the death of Bābā Farīd, the author provided same information shared by Amīr Khūrd in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. The robe, 'asā and prayer-mat of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was handed over to Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Mūj Daryā. The following Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd have been described by Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan:

سائین سیوت کل کئی ماس نہ رہیا دیہ

تب تلک سائین سیوسان تب تلک پوسون کہہ⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁸Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan Chishtī. *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*. Handwritten manuscript. (not paginated)

2.2.16.2- Critical Analysis of *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*

It is another important work which provides plenty of information about Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn and Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mūj Daryā. Most significant in the book regarding Bābā Farīd are the Punjābī verses of the former Shaykh. This is the second work after *Shamāil al-Atqiyā* which narrates Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd. Some mistakes have also been found in the work such as Bahā’ al-Dīn Bājan mentions Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn as Bābā Farīd’s son while he was in fact his grandson.

2.2.16.3- Hāmid bin Faḍalullah Jamālī

Maulānā Hāmid bin Faḍalullah Jamālī was a distinguished Ṣūfī and intellectual of the Sixteenth Century-India. He was born in 845 A.H./ 1441 A.D. His original name was Jalāl Khān, while his title was “Jalālī”, which was changed to Pīr Jamālī by his preceptor, Shaykh Samā‘ al-Dīn.⁶⁴⁹ In the *Siyar al-‘Arifīn* he himself mentions his name as Hamīd bin Faḍalullah and his title as ‘Darwaish Jamālī’.⁶⁵⁰ He was a Suhrwardī Ṣūfī and a prominent Persian poet of his time. He had cordial relations with Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Muhammad Bābar (r. 1526-30), the founder of Mughal dynasty in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent, and his son Nasīr al-Dīn Humayūn (r. 1530-56). He also wrote *qasīda*

⁶⁴⁹Shaykh Samā‘ al-Dīn was the grandson of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī popularly known Makhdūm Jahānīyyah Jahān Gasht (the world traveller) and one of the prominent *khalīfa* of Sayyid Kabīr al-Dīn Ismail. He wrote several books most famous is *Muftah al-Asrār*. He was died in 901 A.H./1496 A.D., at the very long age of one hundred and ninety-six and buried at Haud-i-Shamsī Delhī. *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 182-83: See also *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 211.

⁶⁵⁰Hāmīd bin Faḍalullah Jamālī, *Siyar al- Arifīn*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, n.d), 1-2.

(eulogy) in the praise of the two monarchs. Jamālī died in 942 A.H./1536 A.D. and was buried in Delhī near the tomb of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī.⁶⁵¹

Jamālī was a practicing Ṣufī; he widely travelled the Islamic mystic centers such as Makkah, Madinah, Yamen, Syria, ‘Irāq, Jerusalem, Azerbaijān, Gillān, Khurāsān, Africa and Rome. He also visited many Ṣufī shrines as well as the shrines of the Prophets.⁶⁵² He had great prominence before his Shaykh who loved him very much and even allowed him to visit in his *hujrah*.⁶⁵³ Faḍalullah Jamālī produced several books. *Mirāt al Ma‘anī* and *Mahr-o-Mah* are well-known *Masnawī* of Jamālī. He also got the title, Amīr Khusru the Second.⁶⁵⁴

2.2.17- *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn*

Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn is his magnum opus. The book was compiled between 1531 to 1535. It was dedicated to the Mughal emperor Humayūn (r.1530-56). *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn* is the first Ṣufī hagiographical compendium of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent which was written in a scientific manner.⁶⁵⁵ His work is an authentic source free from legend and creation and has authentic integrity equal to *Fawāid al-Fawad*, *Khayr al-Majālis* and the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.⁶⁵⁶ However, Prof. Muhammad Habib states that although Jamālī was a great saint but his work cannot be considered authentic because he added some information which is not found in *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Khayr al-Majālis*.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵¹Delhwī, *Akhbār al- Akhyār*, 227-28: See also *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’*, vol 4., 137-38.

⁶⁵²Jamālī, *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn*, 2.

⁶⁵³Ibid., 182.

⁶⁵⁴Salim Zaweed, *Medieval Monuments of Mehrauli: Reality and Myth*. (IHC: Proceedings, 76th Session, 2015), 748.

⁶⁵⁵Muhammad Aslam, *Tārīkhī Maqālāt* (Lahore: Nadawat al-Musanefeen publishers, 1970), 12.

⁶⁵⁶Nizāmī, *The Life and Time of Shaikh Farīd U’D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 6.

⁶⁵⁷Jamālī, *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn*, 129.

Siyar al-‘Ārifīn discusses six Chishtī Ṣufīs including Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī and Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. Moreover, it discusses seven Suhrwardī Mashaikh who are Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī, Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn ‘Arif, Abū al-Fateh Rukn al-Dīn (Shah Rukn-i-‘Alam), Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī (Makhdūm Jahānīyyah), Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī and Shaykh Samā’ al-Dīn.

While discussing Bābā Farīd, Jamālī, therefore, does not adduce *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā’*, the *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd. The sources which came under his consideration regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography are *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Khayr al-Majālis*. Moreover, like ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, Jamālī also in some cases relies on oral information. Like Amīr Khūrd, Jamālī shows great reverence toward Bābā Farīd and all other twelve saints discussed in his masterpiece. For example, he maintains that all the *ghauth* and *qutab* of Hindūstān came into the circle of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī (d.1236).⁶⁵⁸ He declares Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā the ruler of the realm of esotericism, *ghauth* (highest rank among the Awliyā’ or saints) of the entire world who had no parallel.⁶⁵⁹ He equates Shaykh Samā’ al-Dīn to Abū Yazīd of Bustām (d.874) and Junaid of Baghdād (d.910).⁶⁶⁰

2.2.17.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*

Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was Bābā Farīd’s father and Mahmūd of Ghazna’s (r. 998-1030) nephew. He migrated from Kābul during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī and settled in a village name Kathūwāl near Multān. Later, he was appointed as a Qādī

⁶⁵⁸Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 4-5.

⁶⁵⁹Ibid., 103.

⁶⁶⁰Ibid., 172.

in the same village. He married the daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān had three sons: the eldest, ‘Azu al-Dīn Muhammad; the second, Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd; and the youngest, Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. The mother of Bābā Farīd was known well for her piety. Once, a Hindu thief came into her house but as he entered, he lost his eyesight. He cried and proclaimed that if he recovered, he would never do it again and would convert to Islam. She prayed for him and he recovered. Early next morning, he visited her along with her wife and children, told the whole incident to the mother of Bābā Farīd and embraced Islam. He later became a saint, known as Shaykh ‘Abdullah and served the family of Bābā Farīd his whole life. He buried in Kathōwāl. Qādī Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān and A‘zu al-Dīn Muhammad are also buried there.⁶⁶¹ The grave of Qursam Bībī, however, does not exist as she became the victim of the forest’s beasts near Ajōdhan when Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil brought her from Kathōwāl to Ajōdhan on the order of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁶²

The first encounter of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī happened at Multān in the Mosque of Maulānā Minhāj al-Dīn when Bābā Farīd was eighteen years old. He lived and studied in the same mosque and recited complete the Holy Qurān daily. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī left for Delhī and suggested him to live in Multān and complete his education first. Bābā Farīd visited Qandhār for higher education and stayed there for five years. After that he reached the feet of his Shaykh at Delhī. An apartment was constructed for him in the tower situated near the western gate of Delhī in which he kept busy in worship. He visited his Shaykh fortnightly while Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and Shaykh Ahmad Nahar Wālī (who also got *khalāfat* from Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī) always remained present before their Shaykh.

⁶⁶¹ Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 31-32.

⁶⁶² Ibid., 49-50-

After a short while, Bābā Farīd became popular at Delhī. So, after getting his Shaykh's approval, he left for Hānsī. After his Shaykh's demise, he settled at Ajōdhan.⁶⁶³

Bābā Farīd visited Delhī just after the death of his preceptor and received the spiritual regalia. He stayed there almost a week and again left for Hānsī because huge gathering of visitors disturbed the meditational and solitary nature of Bābā Farīd. Moreover, the gatekeepers of the *hujrah* of Bābā Farīd disallowed Sarhangā, an ascetic disciple of Bābā Farīd, to visit his Shaykh. When the latter became aware of the incident, he immediately extrapolates to exit Delhī. He stayed for some time at Hānsī where he granted his *khalāfat nāmāh* to Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī. He left Hānsī as he became popular there as well.⁶⁶⁴

Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar because he spent almost seven days in the fast of *tayy* and while on his way to the hospice of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī on a rainy day, he slipped and fell. Some mud got into his mouth which turned into sugar. After that incident, he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.⁶⁶⁵

Bābā Farīd reached Ajōdhan which was situated near Dīpāl Pur. People of that town were ill-tampered and non-believers which satisfied Bābā Farīd and he settled outside the town under a big tree. Bābā Farīd married at Ajōdhan and all his children were born there ('Alī Asghar mentions that the Shaykh married in Delhī). He built his house near *Jam'ia* Mosque of Ajōdhan from where his fame spread worldwide. Qādī of Ajōdhan and his followers created problems for Bābā Farīd and his descendants. The former tried to get *fatwā* against *samā'* of Bābā Farīd from the '*ulema*' of Multān but did not succeed. Similarly, he hired a *qalandar* for the assassination of Shaykh but again failed

⁶⁶³Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 36-37.

⁶⁶⁴Ibid., 31-32.

⁶⁶⁵Ibid., 46.

as Bābā Farīd became aware it through his divine power and shared the hidden agenda of the *qalandar* with him indirectly through Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. At the end, Qādī ceased to exist and all his followers became the devotees of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁶⁶

Bābā Farīd never abused the *qalandar* who visited and disturbed him with his harsh attitude. The *qalandar* severely criticized him and proclaimed that he had made himself an idol and had forced people to worship him. Bābā Farīd replied that he had done no such thing. But it was the blessing of ALLAH Almighty. At the end, the *qalandar* bowed his head due to friendly and soft attitude of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁶⁷ At Ajōdhan, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī's grandson, Wahīd al-Dīn visited Bābā Farīd for *bay'at*. Bābā Farīd told him: "it is not proper to make you my disciple as I ate a particle of the leavened bread of your family". But Wahīd al-Dīn fell at the feet of Bābā Farīd and maintained: "O Master! Where shall I find a preceptor like you in the whole world?" adding, "I am not the one to give you up" until the Shaykh accepted his *bay'at*. Upon seeing such high devotion, Bābā Farīd made him his disciple and granted him the patched garment of *khalāfat*.⁶⁶⁸

There was a town just four *farsangs* from Ajōdhan ruled by a cruel Turk, named Qashal Khānī Turk. His *amīr-i-shikar* (in charge of hunting) was warned that if he lost his favorite eagle, he will execute his whole family. Unfortunately, the *amīr-i-shikar* lost the eagle. He, therefore, brought the matter to Bābā Farīd. Bābā Farīd pitied at his misery and informed him that his eagle was sitting on the wall of the castle. The *amīr-i-shikar* grabbed the eagle and returned. The Turk ruler, who was not well-wisher of Bābā Farīd, became his disciple after knowing of the matter. Moreover, the *amīr-i-shikar* left the

⁶⁶⁶Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, 34-35.

⁶⁶⁷Ibid., 35.

⁶⁶⁸Ibid., 41-42.

worldly life and became a devotee of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁶⁹ A Muslim oil-dealer who was living in a village near Ajōdhan had lost his beloved wife when the governor of Dīpāl Pur attacked his village. He visited Bābā Farīd and implored for prayer. Bābā Farīd asked him to stay at his hospice for three days. On the third day, a *munshī* of the same governor appeared before the Shaykh as prisoner. The *munshī* made an agreement with the soldiers that if they took him to the hospice of Bābā Farīd, he would reward them with costly gifts. When he visited Bābā Farīd, he requested him to pray for his reinstatement. Bābā Farīd predicted the revival of his post but ordered him to hand over the slave girl to the oil-dealer which he would receive from the *dārūgha* (governor or sometime used as the in charge of police). Upon hearing this, the oil-dealer wept bitterly and said that he had enough wealth and he could easily purchase eight slave girls, but he wanted his own wife as he had fallen in love with her. However, on the order of Bābā Farīd, he joined the prisoner *munshī*. When they reached before the *dārūgha*, he forgave the *munshī* and gave him a horse and a slave woman which was recognized as the oil-dealer's wife. The *munshī* handed her to oil-dealer. Both husband and wife came to Bābā Farīd and became his disciples.⁶⁷⁰

While discussing the brother of Muhammad Shah Ghurī who was on his death bed the author shares information akin to Amīr Khūrd.⁶⁷¹ Likewise, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' used a hair of Bābā Farīd's beard as an amulet. Each patient who got this amulet was cured and it became quite popular in Delhī.⁶⁷²

Bābā Farīd also aided his disciples in any danger. For instance, when Muhammad of Naishāpur, a prominent disciple of the Shaykh, saw dacoits who were ready to attack

⁶⁶⁹Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, 43-44.

⁶⁷⁰Ibid., 44-45.

⁶⁷¹Ibid., 38-39.

⁶⁷²Ibid., 52-53.

him, he cried, “Yā Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn hādar bāsh” (O Shaykh Farīd! present yourself!). On hearing this, the dacoits threw their swords away and cried “grant us protection!” and ran away.⁶⁷³ Likewise, the Shaykh slapped a young man who was going from Delhī to Ajōdhan for repenting on Bābā Farīd’s hand, and being attracted by a whore singer on the way.⁶⁷⁴ A man from Delhī named Diyā al-Dīn Danishmand, who was a teacher in a *madrassah*, visited Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan but was worried as he was not good at Islamic law. But surprisingly, Bābā Farīd discussed a topic in which he had good command.⁶⁷⁵

The *mutaṣarrif* (‘*amil*’ or governor) of Ajōdhan had a good relationship with the Qādī. So, he created problems for Bābā Farīd and his offspring. On Shihāb al-Dīn’s complain, he tapped his stick (‘*asā*’) roughly on the ground. At the same time, the *mutaṣarrif* felt severe pain in his stomach and died in his home.⁶⁷⁶ Another rival of Bābā Farīd was the son of Shihāb the Magician. When Bābā Farīd suddenly gave up eating, and the *hakīm* (doctors) failed to diagnose the disease, he sent Khwājah Badr al-Sulaimān, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and some other disciples for prayer in the graveyard. Khwājah Badr al-Sulaimān saw a saint in his dream who told him that the son of Shihāb cast a spell on Bābā Farīd. He also told a *d’ua* to him and asked him that same *d’ua* should be repeated on Shihāb’s grave. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, while repeating the same *d’ua*, found an idol of flour which was covered with horsehair and many needles. The idol was presented before the Shaykh who ordered the needles to be taken out and the horsehair be disentangled. As the process was completed, Bābā Farīd fully recovered.

⁶⁷³Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, 38.

⁶⁷⁴Ibid., 53.

⁶⁷⁵Ibid., 50.

The governor sent the Magician at the hospice of Bābā Farīd and had decreed a death sentence for him but Bābā Farīd forgave him.⁶⁷⁷

Five *darwaishes* visited Bābā Farīd's hospice at Ajōdhan, postulated they had never seen any prominent saint in the world. Bābā Farīd suggested that if they stayed for a little while at his *khānqāh*, he would show them such a *darwaish*. They did not agree and left ignoring the Shaykh's advice about not taking the forest path. All five of them were found dead as Bābā Farīd had predicted just after their departure.⁶⁷⁸ Similarly, a *qalandar* visited Bābā Farīd, when he was busy in meditation he was not to be disturbed. The *qalandar* sat on the blanket which was placed for him by a disciple of Bābā Farīd as Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq forbade him from seeing Bābā Farīd. Badr al-Dīn Ishāq also presented food for that *qalandar*. The *qalandar* finished his food and became engaged in making a juice of green grass known as *anbān*. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq severely rebuked the *qalandar* when he saw some juice spilled on Bābā Farīd's blanket. The *qalandar* retaliated by attacking Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq and trying to throw the cup at him. Bābā Farīd himself came out of his cell, grabbed the hand of the *qalandar*, and apologized for Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. The *qalandar*, on the request of Bābā Farīd, threw the cup at a wall which collapsed at once.⁶⁷⁹ On another occasion, when Maulānā Muhammad Multānī, a disciple of Bābā Farīd, could not find a spreading sheet for food and was consumed with the thought, Bābā Farīd made a circle around the food with his finger and said: "Maulānā Muhammad! If the spreading sheet is not available, then this circular mark drawn will have the order of that spreading sheet. Eat food".⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁷Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arifīn*, 39-40.

⁶⁷⁸Ibid., 41.

⁶⁷⁹Ibid., 42.

⁶⁸⁰Ibid., 47.

2.2.17.2- Relationship with the Ruling Elite

Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-66) showed great devotion toward Bābā Farīd as he visited him along with his minister Balban at Ajōdhan during his military campaign toward Uchach and Multān. The sultān presented costly gifts such as four villages and some amount of money to Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh declined the gift of *jāgīr*. However, he accepted the cash as it could be distributed among the poor.⁶⁸¹ Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, a prominent successor of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī resided in a marvelous hospice constructed by Nizām al-Dīn *Kharītdār*. However, after some time he faced a critical situation as Nizām al-Dīn *Kharītdār* was arrested in the case of embezzlement which was proven at court. Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī wrote a letter to Bābā Farīd and reported: “an office-bearer under the dīwān built a hospice for me and provided bounties and feasts for the service of the mendicants. Now he has been taken away for accountability due to which I am perplexed. The request is for a prayer so that he could get relief and the business of the mendicants remains provided with means.” Bābā Farīd criticized his policy to develop relationship with the ruling class as he replied: “one who does not tread upon the ways and means of his own Shaykh, he is confronted with such events due to which his mind remains perplexed. Who was there amongst our preceptors who got built a hospice for himself and ascended on it?”⁶⁸² The reason of that strict response of Bābā Farīd toward Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī was that the Chishtī brotherhood forbade its chief preceptors any relationship with the ruling elite.

⁶⁸¹ Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arifīn*, 48.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 50-51.

2.2.17.3- Meditation

A major characteristic of the life of Bābā Farīd was his meditation. Bābā Farīd requested his Shaykh's permission for *chillah* which was refuted. He always kept the fast whether he was fit or not. Mostly, he relied on forest fruits and vegetables despite receiving heaps of food from the ruling class. He would distribute that food among the poor and the needy.⁶⁸³

2.2.17.4- Spiritual Discourse and Training of the Disciples

When any of the Shaykh's disciples demanded the *khalāfat nāmāh* without completing his spiritual path, Bābā Farīd would apprise them of their weakness through some spiritual ways. For instance, Yūsuf, a disciple of Bābā Farīd, complained before his Shaykh: "I have spent so many years serving you but never got any bounty while many, right after they reached the presence of the Shaykh, secured bounty and successorship (*khalāfat nāmāh*).” Bābā Farīd asked a four-years old child, who was a descendant of the Shaykh, to bring a brick for him from a heap. He brought a complete brick. On the order of the Shaykh, the child brought complete or proper bricks for Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq but brought only a half-brick for Yūsuf. The Shaykh replied to Yūsuf: "what can I do when one is not equal to others? It is the distinction of ALLAH Almighty. Take what ALLAH Almighty has granted and be grateful"⁶⁸⁴

2.2.17.5- Some Prominent Successors of Bābā Farīd

Jamālī mentions numerous successors of Bābā Farīd. Some of them including Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī, Shaykh 'Arif of Uchach, Hamīd of Bengāl, accepted Bābā

⁶⁸³Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Arifīn*, 47-48.

⁶⁸⁴Ibid., 57-58.

Farīd as their preceptor after realizing his divine power. Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq fell at Bābā Farīd's feet when he explained his questions before the former had raised them. He, therefore, resolved the questions for which he had made a journey from Delhī to Bukhara. As a reputed theologian of Delhī, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq lacked respect for Ṣufīs before his encounter with Bābā Farīd.⁶⁸⁵ Similarly, Hamīd was serving the *dārūgha* (governor) of Bengāl. Bābā Farīd, through his divine power, appeared before Hamīd to enlighten him about the divine purpose of life and to inform that he was wasting his life there. The Shaykh later granted him *khalāfat* for Andar Putī, a place near Delhī, but he got permission for hajj and disappeared.⁶⁸⁶ Similarly, Shaykh 'Arif submitted one hundred pennies instead of two hundred to Bābā Farīd which was given by the governor of Uchach as gift to the Shaykh. When the Shaykh told the reality to Shaykh 'Arif, he fell at his feet and stated that '*ulema*' are not equal to the Ṣufīs. Bābā Farīd later granted him the *khalāfat nāmah* of Sīstān.⁶⁸⁷ Maulānā Dawūd Mahmūd Bahli (Hamīd Qalandar mentions him as Dawūd Pailī) was another prominent disciple and *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. He kept himself busy in meditation his whole life.⁶⁸⁸

2.2.17.6- Death of Bābā Farīd

Bābā Farīd died on Wednesday, fifth Muharram. Before his death he offered night prayer thrice and ordered Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq to present spiritual regalia to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 55-56.

⁶⁸⁶Ibid., 54-55.

⁶⁸⁷Ibid., 55-56.

⁶⁸⁸Ibid., 56-57.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., 59.

2.2.17.7- The *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*: Its Contrasts and Conflicts with Earlier Sources

Despite the grand stature of Jamālī’s work, there are some minor and major contradictions existed. These include the incident of Qursam Bībī and the thief with reference to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’s *Fawāid al-Fuād*, which contains some differences. Amīr Hassan Sijzī argues that the thief said: “If anybody is in the house, he or she is my father or mother, or brother or sister and I think he or she has made me blind”. Furthermore, Sijzī does not mention his Islamic name, ‘Abdullah, his popular sainthood during his lifetime, nor that he was buried in Kathōwāl.⁶⁹⁰ It is worth mentioning that the tomb of Shaykh ‘Abdullah still exists at Kathōwāl. It justifies Jamālī’s claim and nullifies Prof. Muhammad Habib’s criticism who challenged the authenticity of the *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn* based on oral information and provides information which is missing in the contemporary sources. Similarly, Jamālī doesn’t rely only on *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Khayr al-Majālis* but he also consults other prominent intellectuals and even the *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd to get further information, as well as verification of certain events regarding Bābā Farīd. Moreover, besides the aforementioned works, Jamālī states that he had consulted some other sources regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd whose names or titles were not mentioned.⁶⁹¹

However, the author in some cases has skipped important information about Bābā Farīd. These are like the incident of the sermon of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, another prominent disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, where he applauded Bābā Farīd leading to the latter’s popularity at Delhī and causing him to leave. Similarly, the author does not mention the event of Khwājah Nūr Turk who

⁶⁹⁰ Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 80.

⁶⁹¹ Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 46, 47, 55.

praised Bābā Farīd in his Friday's sermon, which is considered the prime cause of his withdrawal from Hānsī.⁶⁹²

Similarly, while discussing the incident of Sarhangā, Jamālī argues that Sarhangā was a *majdhūb* (divinely mad person) Ṣufī and got a chance to visit Bābā Farīd when the latter left his *hujrah* to offer the Friday prayer. Amīr Hassan Sijzī and Amīr Khūrd do not mention that Sarhangā was a *majdhūb* nor do they mention that he saw Bābā Farīd when the latter left for Friday prayer.⁶⁹³ Likewise, Amīr Hassan Sijzī maintains that the governor of Multān had given one hundred *tanka* to Shaykh 'Arif⁶⁹⁴ rather than two hundred. Jamālī proclaims that it was the Bābā Farīd's routine to complete the Holy Qurān daily as a teenager, a fact not mentioned by Amīr Khūrd, Amīr Hassan Sijzī or Hamīd Qalandar. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, Jamālī provides information with minor differences as compared to Amīr Khūrd. The latter maintains that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī bestowed that title to Bābā Farīd because pebbles turned into sugar every time in the mouth of Bābā Farīd whenever he wanted to break (*iftār*) his fast of *tayy*.⁶⁹⁵

Jamālī does not mention the name of the qādī of Ajōdhan while Amīr Khūrd mentions it as Qādī 'Abdullah.⁶⁹⁶ Similarly, Jamālī maintains that the hired assassin of the qādī was a *qalandar* and he had a knife under his armpit while Amīr Hassan Sijzī proclaims that he was a Turk and does not mention about the knife nor that the qādī hired him.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 62.

⁶⁹³ *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 118: See also *Siyar la-Awliyā*, 73.

⁶⁹⁴ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 134.

⁶⁹⁵ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā*, 67-68.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁶⁹⁷ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 99.

Similarly, Amīr Khūrd also does not mention that the same assassin was hired by the qādī of Ajōdhan. Moreover, unlike Sijzī, he does not proclaim that he was Turk.⁶⁹⁸

Jamālī has penned down many miracles of Bābā Farīd almost all which refer to *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Khayr al-Majālis*. Although there are some minor and major additions in his masterpiece regarding these miracles. While narrating the incident of the eagle, Jamālī describes it with reference to Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī but the latter provides a nuanced account of the same. The differences include the distance of the Turk's town from Ajōdhan which is thirty-four *karoh* rather than four. Hamīd Qalandar mentions the village name as Bhola which skipped by Jamālī. The Turk, according to Hamīd Qalandar, only threatened the *amīr-i-shikar*'s life rather than his whole family. Likewise, Hamīd does not mention that the *amīr-i-shikar* left the worldly life forever and spent the rest of his days at the hospice of Bābā Farīd.⁶⁹⁹ Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī does not mention that the oil-dealer was a Muslim, nor does he mention that the governor of Dīpāl Pur pillaged the oil-dealer's village. Similarly, he does not proclaim that Bābā Farīd suggested to the oil-dealer to live at his *Jamā't Khānah* for three days. Similarly, Hamīd Qalandar maintains that the oil-dealer proclaim to have so much money that he could purchase forty or even fifty slave girls. Jamālī mentions it as eight slave girls. Moreover, the *dārūgha* giving a costly horse to the *munshī*, as postulated by Jamālī, is also not found in *Khayr al-Majālis*.⁷⁰⁰ Amīr Khūrd discusses the same event very briefly without mentioning that the oil-dealer was talking about his wife (it may be his slave girl). Moreover, he also does not mention that the village of the oil-dealer was destroyed by the governor of Dīpāl Pur, that the oil-dealer was a Muslim, that Bābā Farīd ordered him to stay at his

⁶⁹⁸Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 80.

⁶⁹⁹Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Niẓāmī, 137-140.

⁷⁰⁰Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Niẓāmī, 137-40.

hospice for three days, nor that there was the gift of a costly horse.⁷⁰¹ However, there is no other known source which proves that the oil-dealer was a non-Muslim. If he was a non-Muslim, still there was a great chance that he visited Bābā Farīd and implored for help as Hindus, too, shown great respect to the Shaykh. Jamālī rightly mentions that it was the governor of Dīpāl Pur who sacked the oil-dealer's village because Dīpāl Pur was the nearest town to Ajōdhan. Even nowadays, both cities share their boundaries with each other. Similarly, the oil dealer's village was located at the boundary of Ajōdhan and Dīpāl Pur. Another important incident skipped by Amīr Khūrd is the spell or magic attack on Bābā Farīd. Amīr Hassan Sijzī only briefly narrates that anecdote.⁷⁰² Credit, therefore, goes to Muhammad al-Hussainī and even more to Jamālī for providing full detail of the incident.

Furthermore, while discussing the incident of *mutaṣarrif* (governor), there is a clear contradiction between Jamālī and Hamīd Qalandar. The latter, for instance, does not mention any relationship between the qādī of Ajōdhan and the *mutaṣarrif*. He does not mention that Shihāb al-Dīn complained before Bābā Farīd about *mutaṣarrif* but refers to the complainants as 'sons' of Bābā Farīd. Hamīd Qalandar maintains that *mutaṣarrif* (governor) alleged that the descendants of Bābā Farīd had illegally occupied agricultural land in Ajōdhan. When the *mutaṣarrif* was on his death bed, he was brought at the house of Bābā Farīd, but the Shaykh refused to see him as he said: "the arrow has left the bow".⁷⁰³

In addition to this, like Amīr Khūrd, Jamālī also has some misconceptions about Bābā Farīd. These include details like Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Bābā Farīd's father, was

⁷⁰¹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 83-84.

⁷⁰² Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 114.

⁷⁰³ Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 179-80.

Mahmūd of Ghazna's nephew.⁷⁰⁴ In fact, Mahmūd (r. 998-1030) was the descendant of the last Persian ruler Yazd Gird⁷⁰⁵ while Bābā Farīd is a descendant of 'Umar bin Khattāb. Moreover, both Mahmūd of Ghazna and Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān are from different eras, and that chronological gap weakens the author's argument. Furthermore, that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān came to Multān rather than Qādī Shu'aīb is inaccurate. Furthermore, he argues that at that time Muhammad Ghurī was the ruler of the Subcontinent, but it was Bahram Shah. Similarly, the author does not mention Bābā Farīd's mother, Qursam Bībī's name. Further, he mentions Bābā Farīd's elder brother as 'Azu al-Dīn Muhammad which is, in fact, 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd.

Some other minor misconceptions found in *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn* include information about the *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd. Amīr Khūrd maintains that the governor of Uchach and Multān gave Shaykh 'Arif one hundred *tankas* for Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn but he submitted fifty *tankas* to the Shaykh (Jamālī mentions two hundred *tankas*). Similarly, another notable difference regarding Shaykh 'Arif is that according to Amīr Khūrd, he returned the *khalāfat nāmah* of Sīstān to Bābā Farīd due to the great responsibility and left for the Ka'aba where he died and was buried there.⁷⁰⁶ Similarly, Amīr Khūrd skips the statement of Shaykh 'Arif that there can be no comparison of '*ulema*' and mystics. Jamālī mentions that Shaykh Hamīd Andar Putī returned the *khalāfat nāmah* to the Shaykh and departed for the Holy city of Makkah. Similarly, while making a comparison of *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn* with other earlier sources, particularly, the *Siyar al-*

⁷⁰⁴ Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, 31-32.

⁷⁰⁵ Genealogy presented by Minhāj as Sirāj Jawzjānī in in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Sultān Mahmūd is Mahmūd b. Subuktigīn b. Jūq b. Qara Bahkam b. Qara Arslān b. Qara Mallat b. Qara Nu'man b. Fīrūz b. Yazd-Gird. Minhāj al-Dīn Jawzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, ed. Cap. W. Nassau Lees, Maulvi Khadim Hossain and Abd al-Hay. (Calcutta: College Press, 1864), 6. While genealogy of Sultān Mahmūd presented by Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāhī Farishta: Mahmud b. Subuktigīn b. Juqakan b. Qara al-Hakam b. Qarzl Arslan b. Qara Nu'man b. Fīrūz b. Yazd Gird. Abu al-Qāsim Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shah Farishta, *Tārīkh-i-Farishta*. Vol. 1, trans. Abdul Hayy Khawaja (Lahore: Al-Mizan Publishers, 2009), 51

⁷⁰⁶ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 184-85.

Awliyā', Jamālī skips on few facts of the life of Bābā Farīd. For instance, he does not mention anything about the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, particularly Qādī Shu'aīb, the grandfather of Bābā Farīd. Similarly, he does not discuss the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*.

CHAPTER- 3

BĀBĀ FARĪD IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries are also very rich in hagiographical compendia pertaining to Bābā Farīd, primarily in Persian language. Although Jamālī's *Siyar al-ʿArifīn* was compiled in the sixteenth century, being the first exclusive *tadhkira* of South Asian Ṣufīs, it was discussed above in Chapter Two. Other works focusing on Bābā Farīd are discussed in the proceedings sections.

3.1- *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ*

The *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* was compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf Chishtī Siddīqī bin Shah Muhammad Chishtī. This book is on the verge of being lost forever. Only two manuscripts are available now, one in the Jhandair Research library, Mailsi District in the Punjab and other is in National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad. The author started to compile this work in Ramḍān 951 A.H./ 1544 A.D. however, he did not mention when it was completed. The *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* contains sequential biographies starting from Holy Prophet (PBUH) along with the four righteous caliphs as preamble. Subsequently, he discussed in depth the biographies of Hassan al-Baṣrī, Khwājah ʿAbdul Wāḥid bin Zaid, Fuḍail bin Ayāz, Ibrāhīm bin Adham, Shaykh Huzaifah Marʿashī, Shaykh Hubairah al-Baṣrī, Khwājah Mamshād ʿAlī- Dīnūrī, Abū Ishāq Shāmī, Abū Ahmad Chishtī, Abū Muhammad Chishtī, Abū Yūsuf Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Mūdūd Chishtī, Hājī Sharīf Zindanī and Khwājah ʿUthmān Harūnī. He also discusses South Asian Chishtī Ṣufīs including Khwājah Muʿīn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd Ganj-i-Shakar and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ.

3.1.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā*'

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ajōdhanī was one of the prominent saints of Islam, he was a Fārūqī (a descendant of ‘Umar Fārūq, the second pious caliph). His name was Mas‘ūd, while Farīd al-Dīn was his title. He was a prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The author mentioned numerous miracles attributed to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. While describing the incident of oil-dealer, the author provides similar information as given by Hamīd Qalandar in *Khayr al-Majālis*; while discussing diet, tough life and death of Bābā Farīd, Muhammad Yūsuf shared matching information to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā*'. He gives an account of the ailments of the Shaykh, how Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq became his devotee, and his (Bābā Farīd) spiritual guardianship to Muhammad Naishāpurī at Gujrāt, the author once again provides information which is consistent to *Siyar al-Awliyā*' and *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*. Likewise, giving the account of the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the appointment of Bābā Farīd as next head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* and the reasons for quitting Delhī, the author once again provides similar information to *Siyar al-Awliyā*'. The author further adds that Makhdūm Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn accepted the cash presented by the sultān of Delhī. But he did not accept the agricultural lands. He stayed for a while at Delhī and later permanently shifted to a village named Ajōdhan. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar appointed Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' as his *khalīfah* at Delhī. Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī was another popular *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd. He was so popular that Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī offered all of his disciples to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn as his replacement.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁷Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf, *Tadhkirat al-Aṣfiyā*'. (compl. 1545) Handwritten Manuscript, 172-82.

3.1.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā*'

It is an important hagiographical source regarding the Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. Although the author refers to *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*,⁷⁰⁸ *Siyar al-Awliyā*' and *Siyar al-Ārifīn* but his main source of information was early Chishtī *Malḡūzāt* such as *Anīs al-Arwāh*, *Dalīl al-Ārifīn*, *Ganj-al-Asrār*, *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn*, *Asrār al-Awliyā*' and *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. The later *Malḡūzāt* are conceived as fabricated by Prof. Muhammad Habib, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Carl W. Earnest and Bruce B. Lawrence. They postulated that none of the earlier sources mentioned these *Malḡūzāt* in the text. This book provides a logical ground to counter their argument. The author was a contemporary of Hāmid bin Faḍalullah Jamālī which gives a new insight into the authenticity of these *Malḡūzāt*. Muhammad Yūsuf is the first hagiographer who profusely referred to the *Asrār al-Awliyā*' and the *Rāhat al-Qulūb Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd. In the addition to the Chishtī *Malḡūzāt*, the author also consulted Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār's *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā*' and 'Abdul Rahmān Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-Ans*. He also mentioned the sister of Bābā Farīd. Similarly, he was first hagiographer who mentioned that Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī did not endorse the *khalāfat nāmah* of maternal nephew of Bābā Farīd (author did not mention name of 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir). Besides this, he skipped some important aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd such as his forefathers and their migration to North India, his family, the education of Bābā Farīd, his life at Kathōwāl, Delhī and Hānsī. Additionally, his book is silent about the poetry of Bābā Farīd, his *sajjādah nashīns* and the Door of Paradise.

⁷⁰⁸It is another *malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-din Awliyā' compiled by 'Abdul 'Azīz bin Abu Bakr, Amir Khurd also mentioned about that *malḡūzāt*, however, it is not extant now.

3.2- The *Majālis al-Hasanah*

The *Majālis al-Hasanah* is the *Malḡūḡāt* of Shaykh Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Naṡr (d. 1575) compiled by his disciple Shaykh Muhammad Chishtī. It was completed in 982 A.H./ 1575 A.D. and consist on twenty-three assemblies. The *Majālis al-Hasanah* provides enough information about the *adhkār* (sing. *dhikr*; means chanting the name of ALLAH) of Chishtī Ṣufīs. These assemblies also contain information about Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Khwājah Naṡr al-Dīn Chirāg-i-Delhī, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Allāma, Shaykh Muhammad Jamāl popularly known as Shaykh Jamman and Shaykh Mahmūd Rājan.

3.2.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Majālis al-Hasanah* and its Critical Analysis

The *Majālis al-Hasanah* is an important source of *Malḡūḡāt* regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd as new information has been found in this *Malḡūḡāt*. The author maintains that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar performed seven and sometime four types of different *adhkār*. Moreover, he also did *dhikr* in Hindi language, these include *Ayēhān tūn*, *Aūhān tūn*, *Aūhā tun*, *Ayēhān tūn*, while in the four types of *dhikr* he repeated Yā Qarīb, Yā Muhīt, Yā Mujīb, Yā Rafīq and sometime Yā Raqīb. The author mentioned for the first time the method tying the turban used by Bābā Farīd. Unlike Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar spent his life in poverty. He had numerous children owing to Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn’s prayers. Moreover, when Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn arrived at Delhī, all the disciples of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī gave full attention to Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, except Bābā Farīd, who gave devotion to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn became very happy after realizing Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn’s

devotion towards his Shaykh and bestowed the turban on him. The author did not mention the time frame of the *majālis*. Some mistakes have been found in that *Malḡūzāt*, such as he mentioned Abū Jahal (d.624) as the uncle of Holy Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Similarly, the author's claim that Khwājah Kamāl al-Dīn 'Allāma brought two bags of gold and silver from his pilgrimage is also debatable.⁷⁰⁹

3.3- Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans

Mirzā La'al Baig La'alī Badakhshī (d. 1613) compiled the *Samārat al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans*. The author was one of the courtiers of Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar (r.1556-1605) who was one of the prominent Mughal emperors of South Asia. It is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. The book was compiled in 1000 A.H./1592 A.D.⁷¹⁰ The author has also discussed other noteworthy Ṣūfīs of different *silsilah* in his masterpiece.

3.3.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Samārat al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans

The author mentioned the genealogy of Bābā Farīd as Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ajōdhanī bin Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn bin Shaykh Shu'aīb bin Shaykh Ahmad bin Shaykh Yūsuf bin Shaykh 'Alī bin Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn bin Shaykh Farrukh Shah Kābulī bin Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn bin Shaykh Mas'ūd bin Shaykh Wa'az al-Akbar bin Shaykh Wa'az al-Asghar bin Shaykh Nasrullah bin Shaykh 'Abdullah bin Shaykh Mahmūd bin Shaykh 'Abdullah bin 'Umar bin Khattāb. In this biography the author primarily referred Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, such as the migration of the grandfather of Bābā Farīd toward Northern India, his parents, early life, encounter with

⁷⁰⁹Shaykh Muhammad Chishtī, *Majālis al-Hasanah*. (compl. 1575 A.D.). (Lahore: Allah Wale Ki Komi Dukan, n.d), 1-43.

⁷¹⁰Dr. Sayyed Kamal Haaj Sayyed Jawadi, Introduction to *Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans*. (Tehran: Aloom-i-Insani wa Mutaliat-i-Farhangi, 1376 A.H./ 1957 A.D.), 38.

Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and the death of his Shaykh along with other important events of his life.⁷¹¹

The author maintains that when Bābā Farīd did his *ba'yt* on the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, other prominent saints were also present including Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Abū al-Mawaid, Maulānā ‘Alī Akbar Kirmānī, Sayed Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Kirmānī, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Turk and Khwājah Mahmūd Moinaduz. The author further related that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had ordered Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn to perform *Namāz-i-Ma'kus*. Shaykh Ganj Shakar was not familiar with it, so, he requested Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq who was another *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī to teach him the method of this practice. Shaykh Farīd did this *chillah* in the Jām‘ia Mosque of Uchach, known as Jām‘ia Masjid Hajj.⁷¹²

The author told the cognate stories about the title Ganj-i-Shakar which were mentioned by Amīr Khūrd in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and Jamālī in his *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*. Similarly, he also added an anecdote that when Shaykh Farīd enquired from a trade caravan about their goods. Although they were carrying sugar, but they wrongly said that it was salt. When they reached the market, they were surprised to see that the sugar had turned into salt. They again came to Shaykh Farīd and apologized, consequently salt turned back into sugar.⁷¹³ Later, the same story was also related by Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith in his masterpiece *Akhbār al-Akhyār*.

⁷¹¹Mirzā La‘al Baig La‘alī Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Sayyed Kamal Haaj Sayed Jawadi. (Tehran: Aloom-i-Insani wa Mutaliat-i-Farhangi, 1376 A.H./ 1957 A.D.), 206-08.

⁷¹²Ibid., 208-09.

⁷¹³Ibid., 213.

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn had also visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhwardī at Baghdād who granted him *khirqah* (robe) and *khalāfat nāmah*.⁷¹⁴ Once again, the author relies on the *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn* while discussing the incident of magic done by the son of Shihāb the Magician.⁷¹⁵ The author has also described the devotion of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r.1246-66) to Bābā Farīd.⁷¹⁶

The author, while discussing daily routine and diet of Bābā Farīd, adduces from Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fuād*.⁷¹⁷ The author also described many miracles of the Shaykh and, in this regard, he relies heavily on *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*.

The author maintains that in his last night the Shaykh offered 'Ishā' prayer thrice and told Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq he should give over his 'asā, (stick) and *khirqah* (robe) to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. While reciting "Yā Hayy-o-Yā Qayūm" his soul departed this world. It was Śimser (Eng. Saturday), Muharram 5, 668 A.H./ (September 21, 1269 A.D) and the age of the Shaykh was ninety-five years.⁷¹⁸

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq who was one of the *khalīfah* and the son in law of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn compiled the conversations of his Shaykh entitled *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, as Amīr Hassan Sijzī compiled *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, the conversations of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁷¹⁹

3.3.2- Critical Analysis of *Samarāt al-Qudūs min Shajrat al-Ans*

The author produced research-oriented work regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd as well as other prominent Śufīs of Subcontinent. By and large, the author while discussing

⁷¹⁴Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Jawadi, 212.

⁷¹⁵Ibid., 217-19.

⁷¹⁶Ibid., 227-28.

⁷¹⁷Ibid., 228.

⁷¹⁸Ibid., 229-30.

⁷¹⁹Ibid., 230.

Bābā Farīd, consulted contemporary and early contemporary sources. He relied heavily on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, and also frequently consulted the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and the *Siyar al-'Arifīn*. However, Mirzā La'al Baig La'alī did not consult the *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Lataif-i-Asharafi*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb including *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Shamā'il al-Atiqiyā* and *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*.

Similarly, there are some mistakes in that work, such as the author postulated the father of Bābā Farīd migrated from Kābul to Multān during the time of Shams al-Dīn Ghurī which is not a fact.⁷²⁰ It was Qādī Shu'aīb who migrated toward Norther-India. Moreover, during that time the Ghaznavid were the rulers of Northern-India rather than the Ghurīd. Likewise, the author proclaimed that it was Shams al-Dīn Ghurī who replaced the former dynasty, while the fact is that it was Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghurī who overthrown the Ghaznavid in Northern India. It was the first attempt to present a complete genealogy of Bābā Farīd. However, it does not match the genealogy presented by later hagiographers such as 'Alī Asghar, Allah Diyā and Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī. These hagiographers did not mention Shaykh 'Alī and Bahā' al-Dīn as the forefathers of Bābā Farīd.⁷²¹

The author postulated Khwājah Badr al-Ishāq was one of the prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The fact is that Khwājah Badr al-Ishāq was the eminent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd rather than Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. It was Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī who was prominent the prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who guided Bābā Farīd for the *Namāz-i-Ma'kus* rather than Khwājah Badr al-Ishāq. Similarly, author's statement that Khwājah Badr al-

⁷²⁰Badakhshī, *Samarāt al-Qudūs Min Shajrat al-Ans*, ed. Jawadi, 206-07.

⁷²¹Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*. pp. 47-48: see also *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 178-79: See also *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, 186.

Dīn Ishāq submitted Chishtīyyah regalia to Bābā Farīd is not a fact. It was Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī who handed over these relics to Bābā Farīd. Likewise, Bābā Farīd was at Hānsī when his Shaykh passed away rather than at Ajōdhan.⁷²² In the case of magic spell Sayyed Muhammad al-Hussainī postulated that Bābā Farīd sent Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in the graveyard rather than Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān.⁷²³ Furthermore, the contemporary sources did not mention that the son of Shihāb the Magician apologized to Bābā Farīd and became his disciple. However, there is a possibility that when Bābā Farīd saved his life from the wrath of the governor he might have joined the circle of the Shaykh.

Although Bābā Farīd visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī (*Afḍal al-Fuād*, *Lataif-i-Asharafī* and *Tārīkh-i-Farishta* have described their meeting), it is not mentioned in the contemporary sources that the Shaykh granted the robe and the *khalāfat nāmah* to Bābā Farīd. Thus, the claim of the author about the robe and *khalāfat nāmah* of Bābā Farīd is not wholly sustainable. Bābā Farīd in all his life shown great respect and affection toward this Suhrwardī saint. He gave same name, Shihāb al-Dīn, to one of his sons as a token of respect to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī. To attain *khalāfat* from another Ṣufī *silsilah* is an acceptable practice as Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī also got *khalāfat* from the Chishtīyyah and Suhrwardīyyah saints. This practice even continues today. The author also frequently adduces *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, the *Malfūẓāt* of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd.

⁷²² Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 118: see also Jāndār, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmī, 138-39.

⁷²³ Hussainī, *Jawām' al Kalim*, trans. Dardai, 251-52.

3.4- The *Akhhbār al-Akhyār fī Asar al-Abrār*

Akhhbār al-Akhyār is a masterpiece of Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith of Delhī (d.1648). It is also conceived of as a popular work in Şufī hagiographical literature. C.A. Storey argued that it was compiled before 1588 and revised in 1590,⁷²⁴ while Carl W. Ernst maintains that it was completed in 1591 and considered as the best biographical work of India.⁷²⁵ Bruce B. Lawrence also appreciates the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and argued that in many cases the author consulted authentic sources.⁷²⁶ The former historian as well as Mercia K. Hermansen, however, maintains that the book was completed in 1618. The book attained popularity during the life of the author.⁷²⁷

The author divided South Asian Şufīs into five groups. The first three groups have been discussed chronologically while the fourth deals with the *malāmatī* or *majdhūb* (ascetic enraptured Şufīs) and the last group is dedicated to Şufīs who were women. ‘Abdul Haq placed Bābā Farīd in the second group and discusses him succinctly.

3.4.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*

The author maintains Bābā Farīd was the *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. He did not stay at any place for a long period of time because he loved seclusion, dedicated meditation and renunciation of the world. He settled in Ajōdhan because its people were against the Şufīs and saints. He started matrimonial life in Ajōdhan, and all his children were born there. Bābā Farīd did not have a strong source of income and

⁷²⁴Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2, 979.

⁷²⁵Carl W Ernst, *From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Sufi Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate*. History of Religion, vol. 24, no. 4. (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 312.

⁷²⁶Bruce B. Lawrence. *The Chishtīyya of Sultanate India: A Case Study of Biographical Complexities in South Asian Islam*. vol. XLVIII/3 &4. (JAAR Thematic Studies, 1982), 56.

⁷²⁷Marcia K. Hermansen & Bruce B. Lawrence, *Indo Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications. Beyond Turk and Hindu Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*. ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence. (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), 161.

lived a very tough life. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' states that whenever he found adequate food that day became a day of rejoicing for him and for the rest of the disciples of the Shaykh Farīd. At times the spell of hunger was so prolonged that one of his sons died due to malnutrition.⁷²⁸

The author further maintains that Bābā Farīd lived a very simple and humble life. Once a devotee presented a gift of cloth to him. But he couldn't wear it for long time. He gifted that cloth to Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil saying that it is hindering my spiritual attention. Like Mirzā La'al Baig La'alī, Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith too relies on *Fawā'id al-Fuād* while discussing the diet of Bābā Farīd.⁷²⁹ The author discussed the title "Ganj-i-Shakar", the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* and the death of Bābā Farīd with reference to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁷³⁰

3.4.2- A Critical Analysis of the Biography of Bābā Farīd in *Akhhār al-Akhyār*

The *Akhhār al-Akhyār* of Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī is a remarkable work in the Indo-Pāk panegyric literature. The author relies primarily on contemporary sources. While discussing Bābā Farīd there are a few minor and major liabilities found in his masterpiece. By and large, the author discusses the miracles of the Shaykh Farīd and misses various essential aspects of his life. These are the family background of Bābā Farīd, the early life of the Shaykh and itineraries (before his visit to Delhī). He did not mention in depth his wives and daughters. Moreover, the author did not mention how many years Bābā Farīd spent at Ajōdhan and which type of socio-religious problems he faced. Other important points which are not described by Shaykh 'Abdul

⁷²⁸Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*. (Lahore: Nuriyyah Rizviyyah Publishers, 2009), 52-53.

⁷²⁹Ibid., 52.

⁷³⁰Ibid., 53-54.

Haq Muhadith are the Shaykh's relationship with the state as well as with the other non-Chishtī Ṣūfīs, particularly, the Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah*. The author mistakenly used the reference of *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while mentioning the incident of the merchants whose sugar was turned into salt.

The author claims he found some *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd that were compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁷³¹ A similar statement has been mentioned by Amīr Khūrd in his *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. However, in my opinion these *Malḡūzāt* were neither from *Rāhat al-Qulūb* nor the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*. Another possibility is that as Amīr Khūrd maintains that an anonymous saint compiled *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd.⁷³² It is quite clear that this anonymous saint was not Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' because Amīr Khūrd was disciple of the great Shaykh. So, in this context, it is unlikely that Amīr Khūrd failed to mention his Shaykh's name.

3.5- *Akḡbār al-Aṣḡiyā'*

Akḡbār al-Aṣḡiyā' was compiled by 'Abdul Samad Tamīmī Ansārī Akbarābādī bin Shaykh Afḡal Muhammad in 1015 A.H./1606-7 A.D.⁷³³ He was one of the sister's son of Abū al-Faḡal, the latter was a prominent historian and prime minister of Akbar the Great (r.1556-1605). He focused well on the education of 'Abdul Samad.⁷³⁴ He discusses two hundred and sixty saints in *Akḡbār al-Aṣḡiyā'*. Moreover, he presented the biographies of the saints in chronological order, starting with the biography of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī.

⁷³¹Delhwī, *Akḡbār al-Akḡyār*, 54.

⁷³² Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā'*, 76.

⁷³³Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2, 983.

⁷³⁴ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farīd -Ud-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, 7.

3.5.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Akhhār al-Aṣfiyā'*

The author states that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was one of the *khulafā'* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan blessed Bābā Farīd and recognized him as a distinguished future saint. The description of the migration of Qādī Shu'aīb mentioned in the book is incorrect, because author mentioned that Qādī Shu'aīb migrated during the Mongol invasion. According to the author, Bābā Farīd obtained higher education in Multān and there he also met Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. He became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar because when he was keeping the fast and found nothing to break it, he popped some pebbles into his mouth which turned into sugar. Bābā Farīd had cordial relation with Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, who was a cousin of the great Shaykh. Bābā Farīd was fond of *samā'* and advocated it as well.⁷³⁵

3.5.2- Critical Analysis of *Akhhār al-Aṣfiyā'*

This book contains short information about Bābā Farīd. Numerous aspects of the life of the Shaykh have been skipped. These include the parents of Bābā Farīd, his childhood, his journey, his life at Delhī, Hānsī and at Ajōdhan, the matrimonial life of the Shaykh, descendants and *sajjādah nashīns*, philosophy of Bābā Farīd, daily routine, poetry, method of (*bay'at*) initiation and the role of the *Jamā't Khānah*. While talking about the selection of data, the author skipped the majority of the contemporary and early-contemporary sources which deal with the life and teachings of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn such as *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Sirāj al-Hidāya* and the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb. He relies primarily on Shaykh 'Abdul Haq

⁷³⁵ Abdul Samad Akbarābādī, *Akhhār al-Aṣfiyā'* (MS & it is also available at Maulana Azad Library, Muslim University Aligarh), 102-06.

Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*, in some extent he consulted *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. The author wrongly mentioned that the forefathers of Bābā Farīd migrated during the invasion of Changīz Khān.

3.6- *Gulzār-i-Abrār*

The *Gulzār-i-Abrār* is another noteworthy hagiographical work on the Ṣūfīs of South Asia. It was compiled by Muhammad Ghauthī bin Hassan bin Musa Shattārī Mandwī. The book was completed in 1014-1022 A.H./1613 A.D.⁷³⁶ It was divided into four gardens (chapters) and alphabetically discusses 575 different saints. The author has also mentioned the location of the shrines of these saints.

3.6.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Gulzār -i-Abrār*

The author mentioned the name of Bābā Farīd as Mas'ūd Ibne Sulaimān bin Yūsuf. The further genealogy of Bābā Farīd all the way back to 'Umar bin Khattāb has also been described in the book.⁷³⁷ The author referred to the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while describing the migration of the family of Bābā Farīd his education, his encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī, and his date of death. The author further maintains Bābā Farīd visited Kābul and Sīstān for further education and finally returned to Delhī.⁷³⁸

Bābā Farīd became popular at Delhī which compelled him to move to Hānsī and finally to Ajōdhan. While talking about the people of Ajōdhan the author provides information

⁷³⁶Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 8.

⁷³⁷Mas'ūd bin Sulaimān bin Qādī Shu'aib bin Ahmad bin Yūsuf bin Shihāb al-Dīn bin Farrukh Shah Kābulī (*Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 47-48), 'Ali Asghar mentioned it as Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mus'ūd Shakar Ganj b. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu'aib b. Shaykh Ahmad b. Shaykh Yūsuf b. Shaykh Muhammad bin Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī (*Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 178-79).

⁷³⁸Shattārī. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 48.

akin to what is described in *Khayr al-Majālis*. The author particularly described the rigorous meditation of Bābā Farīd and maintains that Bābā Farīd out classes all other saints of Hindūstān in meditation.⁷³⁹

The author reports that there are different incidents that pertain to his title of “Ganj-i-Shakar”. He maintains that the most authentic story about the title “Ganj-i-Shakar” is the incident of the trade caravan. (That incident, however, is not found in contemporary sources but was mentioned by La‘al Baig La‘alī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith of Delhī).

3.6.2- The Family of Bābā Farīd

The author provides some valuable information about the descendants of Bābā Farīd and adds that he had five sons and three daughters. The eldest son was Shaykh Nasrullah. His children settled at Malwa. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, his second son, was a learned scholar and a good friend of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. Third son was Badr-al Dīn Sulaimān who was later appointed as the first *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd. It is also mentioned that he obtained the robe of *khalāfat* from Shaykh Zūr and Shaykh Ghur of Chisht. Nizām al-Dīn was the fourth son of Bābā Farīd, who was very near and dear to his father. He was a soldier and died on the battlefield. But his corpse was not found. The youngest son was Shaykh Ya‘qūb who was made to disappear by the *Rijāl al-Ghaib*.⁷⁴⁰

Bābā Farīd had three daughters, the eldest was Bībī Mastūrah, followed by Bībī Sharīfah and Bībī Fātimah. Bībī Mastūrah became widow at young age but never married again. She had one son named Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn, who was a great mystic.

⁷³⁹Shattārī. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 49.

⁷⁴⁰Ibid., 49-51.

Bībī Sharīfah was woman of great spiritual achievement, and Bābā Farīd often mentioned that if the *sharī‘ah* would allow him, he would appoint her as his spiritual successor. Bībī Fātimah was married to Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. She had two sons named Khwājah Muhammad and Khwājah Musa. After the death of their father Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ brought them up at Delhī.⁷⁴¹

3.6.3- Critical Analysis of the *Gulzār-i-Abrār*

The *Gulzār-i-Abrār* is another important work of the seventeenth century regarding Bābā Farīd, his descendants and spiritual successors. Just as Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith of Delhī, Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī also discusses Bābā Farīd pithily but skipped some important aspects of the life of the Shaykh. Some legends and concocts stories have also been found in this book regarding biography of Bābā Farīd e.g. the forefathers of Bābā Farīd migrated toward South Asia when Changīz Khān invaded Kābul and Qandhār, the name of the grandfather of Bābā Farīd as Yūsuf which is in fact Shu‘aīb, he mentions Sulaimān as the father of Bābā Farīd, which is, in fact, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. In addition, the author mentioned Shaykh Yūsuf (one of the forefathers of Bābā Farīd) as a son of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, who was the son of Shaykh Muhammad. Similarly, he claimed that Bābā Farīd’s genealogy traces back to the second pious caliph of Islam, ‘Umar bin Khattāb after ten generation⁷⁴² which is also highly questionable.

Shattārī also provides some new information especially about ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir (eponym Sābirīyyah Chishtīyyah *silsilah*), the maternal nephew of Bābā Farīd whose *khalāfat nāmah* was torn into pieces by Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī. The

⁷⁴¹Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 52.

⁷⁴²Ibid., 48.

sister of Bābā Farīd complained to the Shaykh and requested the endorsement of Sābir's *khalāfat*. But Bābā Farīd spurned her request saying: that Farīd will not stitch what Jamāl has torn. However, when Shaykh Sābir's mother told her son the response of her brother he stated if Jamāl had torn his *khalāfat nāmāh* into pieces, then Sābir's *sabr* (patience) will eliminate even the *khalāfat* of Jamāl. It was proven true as Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī could not form any branch of the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* and no one followed him after his death as his *khulafā*.⁷⁴³ While, on the other hand, Shaykh Sābir founded a very popular branch of Chishtīyyah order known as Chishtīyyah Sābirīyyah. In *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* 'Alī Asghar Chishtī discusses this event differently. He maintains that Khwājah Jamāl-Dīn Hānswī greeted 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir at his home and showed great respect towards him but did not endorse his *khalāfat nāmāh*. The reason for not endorsing the *khalāfat nāmāh* was the *Jalālī* (hotly ascetic) nature of Sābir which made him an inappropriate choice for Delhī as it was the capital of the Muslim empire.⁷⁴⁴ Ghauthī Shattārī's statement regarding unpleasant remarks of Sābir against Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī is arguable. It is not comprehensible that 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir could make harsh remarks against an appointee of Bābā Farīd. Ghauthī Shattārī and 'Alī Asghar Chishtī both agreed that 'Alā al-Dīn Sābir was later granted the *khalāfat nāmāh* of Kalyar.

Ghauthī Shattārī mentioned that Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar due to his miracle when the sugar of the merchants was turned into salt. Nevertheless, that incident is not mentioned in contemporary sources. In fact, Bābā Farīd became known as Ganj-i-Shakar when the stones turned into sugar in his mouth during his seven days of fasting. Moreover, the author proclaimed that Bābā Farīd requested his Shaykh to

⁷⁴³Shattārī. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 53.

⁷⁴⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 281.

allow him to visit Qandhār and Sīstān for higher education.⁷⁴⁵ The former place was famous for Islamic education and Sufism especially during the medieval period because of Chisht a town located in Qandhār. It is pertinent to mention that there were two cities sharing the common name of Sīstān. One is now known as Sehwan district of the province of Sindh and the second one was Sīstān of Iran. However, Bābā Farīd hardly visited the Sīstān which became present-day Sehwan. Yet his visit to Qandhār is authentic information because various contemporary sources mentioned it and his Iranian Sīstān trip can't be ruled out because Qandhār and Sīstān are located near to each other. Moreover, Jamālī mentioned in *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn* that Bābā Farīd delegated some *khulafā'* to Sehwan then Sīstān.

The author maintains that Bābā Farīd had fastened a millet bread on his chest for a few years to control his desires of hunger and to increase self-control.⁷⁴⁶ This is also a legend. Rationally speaking, one cannot attach such strange fiction to the Ṣūfīs. Surprisingly, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī proclaimed that Bābā Farīd relied on the leaves and wooden breads⁷⁴⁷ for several years rather than the 'millet bread'.⁷⁴⁸ While discussing the offspring of Bābā Farīd, Shattārī mentioned that Shaykh Nasrullah was the real son of the Shaykh, while Amīr Khūrd and 'Alī Asghar Chishtī maintain that he was the adopted son of Bābā Farīd. Like Amīr Khūrd the author has exaggerated while

⁷⁴⁵Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 48.

⁷⁴⁶Shattārī. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 49.

⁷⁴⁷The wooden bread associated with Bābā Farīd is still available at the shrine of Bābā Farīd, it is quite clear the wooden bread can't be eatable, according to 'Alī Asghar Chishtī their only purpose was to keep the people's interference at arm's length. Whenever people offered him food, the Shaykh shown the bag of wooden breads, so that they couldn't be disturbed his spiritual practices. He relied on leave and jungle fruit rather than these wooden breads. Although both contemporary and early contemporary sources have not shared slight information, however, *Ādī Granth* adduces following verse (فریدا روٹی میری کاٹھ دی ، لاون) (میری بھکھ) which substantiated 'Alī Asghar Chishtī's postulation.

⁷⁴⁸Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 186.

discussing the descendants of Bābā Farīd. Shattārī out of deep devotion to Bābā Farīd ranked his eight children bestowed sainthood (*waliya*) to the whole world and their dignity was also beyond the limits.⁷⁴⁹ Moreover, Shattārī maintains Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn Ṣufī, the grandson of Bābā Farīd, had all the qualities to get *khalāfat* of Prophet Ādam.⁷⁵⁰ Another exaggeration found in Shattārī’s work is that due to the *khulafā’* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ each and every house of Hindūstān came to right path.⁷⁵¹

Like many other hagiographers Ghauthī Shattārī has also skipped the matrimonial life of Bābā Farīd. His masterpiece is also silent about numerous other important events and incidents of Bābā Farīd’s life, especially his life at Ajōdhan. The encounter of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī and Shaykh Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan has also been left out. Moreover, Ghauthī Shattārī did not mention the Shaykh’s response toward the state, ruling elite, common people, other Ṣufī orders and toward the non-Muslims. The author has also not consulted certain important sources such as *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Jawām‘ al-Kalim*, *Lataif-i-Asharafī* and *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb.

3.7- *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*

‘Alī Asghar Chishtī bin Mūdūd Chishtī was a descendant of Bābā Farīd. He won popularity because of his biographical work entitled *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. The book is an all-inclusive biography of Bābā Farīd, his descendants and *sajjādah nashīns*. It was completed in 1623⁷⁵² and has five chapters. While discussing Bābā Farīd, the author

⁷⁴⁹Shattārī, *Gulzār-Abrār*, 49-50

⁷⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 52.

⁷⁵¹*Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁵²Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar.*, 7: see also Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2., 986.

consulted authentic contemporary and near-contemporary sources. Paradoxically, on the other hand, the author also relied on fabricated work such as *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*. Like Faḍalullah Jamālī, ‘Alī Asghar also took information from oral sources. Additionally, the author sometime did not apply rational approach.

3.7.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*

While discussing the forefathers of Bābā Farīd and their migration toward Northern India, the political condition of that region, the response of the Ghaznavid ruler towards Qādī Shu‘aib, the parents of Bābā Farīd, and the incident of the Hindu thief who converted to Islam at the hands of Qursam Bībī, the author agrees with Amīr Khūrd the author of *Siyar al-Awliyā*. As mentioned above Amīr Khūrd did not provide logical reasons for the migration of Bābā Farīd’s ancestors as ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī did. About the offspring of Bābā Farīd ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī added that Hājirah Bībī also known as ‘Affat Panah Bībī was the only sister of Bābā Farīd and mother of ‘Alā’ la-Dīn Sābir. This is the third source which mentioned the sister of Bābā Farīd and the first to mention her name as well. Earlier Muhammad Yūsuf Chishtī and Ghauthī Shattārī are the first and second hagiographers, respectively, who mentioned the Shaykh’s sister. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, father of Bābā Farīd, was appointed qādī of Kathōwāl after the death of his father.⁷⁵³ Like La‘al Baig La‘alī, and Ghauthī Shattārī ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī also presented the genealogy of Bābā Farīd.⁷⁵⁴ Bābā Farīd was born on Sha‘bān 30th (eight

⁷⁵³ ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Handwritten Manuscript. (1301 A.H./1884 A.D.), 182-84.

⁷⁵⁴ Following pedigree of Bābā Farīd presented by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 178-79: Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shakar Ganj b. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu‘aib b. Shaykh Ahmad b. Shaykh Yūsuf b. Shaykh Muhammad bin Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī bin Nasīr -al-Dīn bin Sultān Mahmūd b. Shaykh Shādmān Shah bin Sultān b. Shaykh Mus‘ūd b. ‘Abdullah bin Wa‘az al-Asghar b. Wa‘az al-Akbar bin Abu al-Fateh b. Shaykh Ishāq b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Nasir b. ‘Abdullah (RA) b. Haḍrat ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA). However, Allah Diyā Chishtī presented somewhat different genealogy of Bābā Farīd in *Siyar al-Aqtāb* (*Siyar al-Aqtāb*, 186), as compared to ‘Alī Asghar. Like the former mentioned Shaykh Ahmad bin Yūsuf. Moreover, Allah Diyā maintains that the original name of Farrukh Shah Kābul (ruler of Kābul) was Shihāb al-Dīn while ‘Alī Asghar mentioned that his original name was Shaykh Ahmad.

month of Islamic calendar) 569 A.H.⁷⁵⁵ (April 4, 1174 A.D.). He was the first hagiographer to mention the complete date of birth of Bābā Farīd. Early sources only mentioned the year of the birth of Bābā Farīd.

The author has stated with the reference of *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn* that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was the maternal nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna.⁷⁵⁶ The authenticity of that relationship has been discussed in detail in the second chapter. Moreover, like Ghauthī Shattārī, ‘Alī Asghar has also proclaimed that Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā were maternal cousins.⁷⁵⁷

While discussing the Hindu thief like Jamālī, ‘Alī Asghar maintains that Qursam Bībī suggested his Islamic name as ‘Abdullah, who served the family of Bābā Farīd and buried at the same village Kathōwāl. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān and ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd are also buried in this village.⁷⁵⁸ The author has also mentioned the encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī. While discussing Bābā Farīd’s stay at Multān ‘Alī Asghar relies on three eminent works including the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, the *Khayr al-Majālis* and the *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*.⁷⁵⁹

After completing his education Bābā Farīd joined Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī and did his *bay’at*. On that occasion some prominent Ṣūfīs including Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kirmānī, Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak, Shams al-Dīn Turk and Mahmūd Moinaduz were present. The bestowing of *khalāfat* so early to Bābā Farīd was not liked by some people and they complained to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn: “how did he win the Shaykh’s bounty (*khalāfat*) for such a short period?” Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn

⁷⁵⁵ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 175.

⁷⁵⁶ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 183.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 187.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 184.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 207.

Bakhtiyār Kākī replied that Farīd had already achieved his divine destiny.⁷⁶⁰ At Delhī Bābā Farīd visited his Shaykh after two weeks and rest of the time kept busy in meditations. When he became too popular among the local people, got permission from his Shaykh and moved to Hānsī. At Hānsī he faced same problem and finally settled in Ajōdhan.⁷⁶¹

Before the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī requested him to suggest his successor and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn recommended the name of Bābā Farīd as his spiritual heir. Furthermore, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ordered Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī to handover all his Regalia (prayer mate and the stick, ‘*asā*’) to Bābā Farīd. After the demise of Shaykh Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī informed Bābā Farīd about the death of his Shaykh through a letter. But Bābā Farīd himself became aware of his mentor’s death in a dream. Bābā Farīd came from Hānsī to his Shaykh’s shrine on the third day after his death. He stayed there for almost seven days then moved back to Hānsī and, finally, to Ajōdhan. The author maintains that Bābā Farīd bestowed *khalāfat* to Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī after the death of his Shaykh.⁷⁶²

Being the head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, Bābā Farīd strictly followed the policies of his previous preceptors, particularly, the arrangement of *samā’* and avoiding making any relationship with rulers. In this regard, when Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, faced a critical situation (the sultān of Delhī created problems for him) Bābā Farīd told him that he was confronted with a problem because he had begun relations with the ruling elite. The story was that one of the courtiers of the sultān of Delhī built a hospice for Khwājah

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 196.

⁷⁶¹ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 196.

⁷⁶² Ibid., 210-11.

Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and lavishly spent money to maintain its arrangements.⁷⁶³ Later, the same courtier indulged in embezzlement, and the sultān ordered to investigate the matter which resulted in an unpleasant relationship. Because Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī was receiving huge amount from the courtier he was inflicted in the case.

Bābā Farīd finally settled in Ajōdhan which was town near to Dīpāl Pur according to the author. Majority of its people were non-believers. He settled at outside the town under a tree. Later, he shifted near the Friday Mosque of Ajōdhan and all of his children were born there.⁷⁶⁴ While discussing the geographical location of Ajōdhan, the author did not mention the popular river Sutlej, which was the second largest River of Pākistān after Indus River up to 1960 (in 1960 Ayyub Khān the then president of Pākistān accepted the Indian right to the Sutlej river)

At Ajōdhan Bābā Farīd converted the local people and its surrounding's villages like Pholeban, Sarsachōliyan, Jhakarwālī and Dahkīyyan.⁷⁶⁵ All these villages were under the influence of a Hindu *jōgī* named as Bāl Nāth, who himself converted to Islam at the hand of Bābā Farīd. On the humble request of Bāl Nāth, Bābā Farīd accepted him as his disciple and bestowed on him the Muslim name 'Abdullah. 'Abdullah was buried just in front of the entrance gate of the burial chamber of Bābā Farīd.⁷⁶⁶ The main problem faced by Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan was the severe enmity of the qādī named 'Abdullah. He tried his level best to create problems for Bābā Farīd and even tried to assassinate the Shaykh. When he became paralyzed then he realized that it happened because of the wrath of Bābā Farīd. He, therefore, asked his men to take him at the

⁷⁶³Ibid., 236-37.

⁷⁶⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 285.

⁷⁶⁵Ibid., 271.

⁷⁶⁶Ibid., 212.

Jamā't Khānah of Bābā Farīd but he was died on the way.⁷⁶⁷ Amīr Khūrd mentioned that he appeared before Bābā Farīd at his *Jamā't Khānah* and implored the Shaykh to condone him but was not entertained.⁷⁶⁸ Regarding the life style of Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, his family, audiences and his approach toward the sultān of Delhī, 'Alī Asghar provides similar information to *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁷⁶⁹ The author described encounter of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī and Bābā Farīd a little bit different compared to contemporary sources. He maintains that when the great Shaykh arrived at Delhī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī greeted him. However, Bābā Farīd did not receive him. Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī himself visited Bābā Farīd at his *hujrah* and both saints prayed for Bābā Farīd and blessed him.⁷⁷⁰

One notable characteristic of *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* is the description of the wives of Bābā Farīd. According to 'Alī Asghar, the Shaykh married at Delhī but all of his children were born at Ajōdhan.⁷⁷¹ The author mentioned that Bābā Farīd, according to one source, had four wives named Huzairah Bībī, daughter of Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (r.1266-87), the second was Sharu Bībī, the third Shakar or Shkaru Bībī (the last two were the slave girls of Huzairah Bībī), the fourth was Umm-i-Kulthūm, mother of Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah. Just after his first marriage with Huzairah Bībī, Bābā Farīd left Delhī and shifted his brother and *khalīfah* Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil in his place. One of the reasons that lead him to leave Delhī was frequent precious gifts from Balban to his daughter. Furthermore, the author maintains that according to anonymous sources, Bābā Farīd had two wives namely Huzairah Bībī and Umm-i-Kulthūm. Although in both cases 'Alī Asghar did not mention the name of the books.

⁷⁶⁷Ibid., 214.

⁷⁶⁸ Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 84-85.

⁷⁶⁹Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 214-15.

⁷⁷⁰Ibid., 255-56.

⁷⁷¹Ibid., 211.

However, the former is more reliable information compared to the later.⁷⁷² Jamālī, therefore, postulated that Bābā Farīd married at Ajōdhan⁷⁷³ rather than at Delhī.

Bābā Farīd had five sons and three daughters, and all from Huzairah Bībī. The male children of Bābā Farīd are Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ganj-i-‘Ilm, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, Shaykh Ya‘qūb and Shaykh ‘Abdullah. As daughters of Bābā Farīd the author maintains the first was Bībī Fātimah, the second Bībī Mastūrah and the third was Bībī Sharīfah. About Shaykh Nasrullah the author states that he was the adopted son of Bābā Farīd.⁷⁷⁴

The author mentioned some miracles of Bābā Farīd which are not found in contemporary and early-contemporary sources. Being a descendant and devotee of Bābā Farīd he tried to distinguish Bābā Farīd from his contemporary Ṣufīs, including Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Shaykh ‘Uthmān Marwandī popularly known as Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar (Red Falcon), and Shaykh Mahmūd Moinaduz. In this regard, he narrated different stories and miracles which highlighted Bābā Farīd’s high divine level, some of these anecdotes, however, are apocryphal and concocted.

The author maintains that Bābā Farīd, Shaykh Bahā’-al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī and Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar left for pilgrimage of Holy City of Makkah. At a river they saw a fisherman and asked him to cast his net one by one on the behalf of these saints. But nothing was captured on first three attempts. The last attempt was made on the behalf of Bābā Farīd. It was difficult to pull out the net, so the saints also joined the fisherman. As the net came out, they were astonished to see that a pious man was sitting in the net and reciting the Holy Qurān. Moreover, he presented bread and

⁷⁷²Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 215-18.

⁷⁷³Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Arīfīn*, 34.

⁷⁷⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 218.

pudding (*halwa*) and said that he prepared this dumpling for Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar.⁷⁷⁵ A similar mythical story is found in the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* which narrates that Khwājah Abū al-Hassan Nūrī ordered the fisherman to cast the net in the Tigris river and proclaimed that if he was a true saint then you would catch a fish whose weight will be exactly one hundred kilo grams. The fisherman cast his net into the river and caught a fish whose weight was the same what the Shaykh predicted.⁷⁷⁶

Similarly, 'Alī Asghar also described the incident of the *amīr-i-shikar* and the oil-dealer. 'Alī Asghar Chishtī adduces from Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī's *Khayr al-Majālis* to describe both incidents. However, some additional information is reported by 'Alī Asghar regarding the oil-dealer's story: a) he specified that the governor of Dīpāl Pur destroyed the village; b) the oil-dealer and his wife were Muslims; c) later they became the disciples of Bābā Farīd. According to 'Alī Asghar Chishtī, Bābā Farīd protected his devotees whenever they were in danger. In this regard, he shared a similar incident of Muhammad Naishāpurī which was described by Amīr Hassan Sijzī in the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*.⁷⁷⁷

Bābā Farīd spent his whole life as a humanist and recommended the same to his disciples and descendants. In this regard, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī narrates an anecdote that once a leading theologian named Fasiḥ al-Dīn became envious of Bābā Farīd due to his great popularity among the masses and the ruling class. As a Result, he challenged the academic level of Bābā Farīd and raised some questions before the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd intentionally did not answer the questions owing to the worldly nature of pseudo-scholar. However, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' interrupted and answered lucidly.

⁷⁷⁵ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 187-89.

⁷⁷⁶ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 110.

⁷⁷⁷ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 239.

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn did so because he thought that Fasih al-Dīn wanted to disgrace his Shaykh. Bābā Farīd did not like Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's reaction and ordered him to vacate his *Jamā't Khānah*. However, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' approached Fasih al-Dīn and apologized before him. When the later became aware of the whole situation he was so impressed with the soft nature of Bābā Farīd he became a disciple and served Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn his whole life.⁷⁷⁸ Similarly, the qādī of Ajōdhan named Abū Muslim, (Amīr Khūrd mentioned his name as 'Abdullah) tried his the best to create problems for Bābā Farīd. however, the Shaykh did not react.⁷⁷⁹ The Shaykh also pardoned an assassin⁷⁸⁰ and the magician who cast a spell upon him.⁷⁸¹

Bābā Farīd tried his level best to keep the material world at arm's length. He did not show any attachment with the ruling elite. Bābā Farīd always declined the offer of agricultural land whenever, the sultān or any of his nobles offered. However, sometimes he accepted the cash gift and divided them among the poor's instantaneously. In this regard, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī provides additional information to the contemporary and near-contemporary sources. He maintains that once Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd sent four thousand *dīnār* and agricultural land as a gift to Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh accepted the amount and ordered Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq to distribute it among the poor's and emphasized that he should not keep a single penny in the *Jamā't Khānah* for the next day.⁷⁸² While mentioning worldly desires and renunciation of the world the author related different stories, such as the world appearing as golden snakes in front of the *hujrah* of Bābā Farīd but he gave no heed to them.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁸Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 200-01.

⁷⁷⁹Ibid., 214.

⁷⁸⁰Ibid., 218-19.

⁷⁸¹Ibid., 221-23.

⁷⁸²Ibid., 215.

⁷⁸³Ibid., 204.

‘Alī Asghar Chishtī mentioned five names of Bābā Farīd that was bestowed by ALLAH Almighty as a *wazaif*. Anybody who repeats these names one lac times in forty days, his or her every problem will be resolved. These names are Khwājah Farīd, Maulānā Farīd, Darwaish Farīd, Hājī Farīd and Shaykh Farīd.⁷⁸⁴ The author further mentioned ninety-nine names of Bābā Farīd which, too, are used as remedy for every problem.⁷⁸⁵

Although the author consulted earlier sources when discussing the title “Ganj-i-Shakar,” he also added new stories regarding the title. He maintains that it is popular belief about the title Ganj-i-Shakar that Bābā Farīd was very fond of sugar during his childhood and his mother kept some sugar under his prayer mat daily. She tried to make him assured that it comes from ALLAH Almighty as a reward of prayer. Furthermore, the only purpose of this practice was to make him regular in his morning prayer. Once his mother was not at home and no one put sugar under his prayer mat. But he found even more sugar than usual. That’s why he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.⁷⁸⁶

The author maintains with the reference of Makhdūm Jahānīyyah Jahān Gasht (the World Traveler) *Malfūzāt Sirāj al-Hidāyah* that Bābā Farīd saw a caravan which was carrying sugar. The Shaykh inquired about their goods and they lied that it was lentil. The same caravan turned back to the Shaykh to apologize as they found that all their sugar had been turned into lentil. Similarly, Bahram Khān Khānah-i-Khānah proclaimed that all sugar turned into salt when the caravan tells a lie before the Shaykh.⁷⁸⁷ A similar story has been described by La‘al Baig La‘alī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith of Delhī. While discussing the death of Bābā Farīd, the author provides

⁷⁸⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 263.

⁷⁸⁵Ibid., 296-98.

⁷⁸⁶Ibid., 185.

⁷⁸⁷Ibid., 259-60.

almost the same information to Amīr Kurd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁷⁸⁸ However, he wrongly mentioned the age of Bābā Farīd as one hundred and twenty years.⁷⁸⁹

Once on a travelling journey of Bābā Farīd and Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar, Shaykh Dawūd and Shaykh Mahmūd Moinaduz also joined them. On the way a lethal snake had bitten Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā who recovered when Shaykh Farīd recited the name of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and put some mud on the injured part.⁷⁹⁰ Not only all these Shayūkh were impressed with the spiritual power of Bābā Farīd. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī, too, became fascinated with his divine status and sympathetic nature, particularly, when Bābā Farīd removed Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn's tooth pain by praying for him. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn also bestowed on him his masterpiece '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*' and said that he had written it for him (Bābā Farīd).⁷⁹¹

'Alī Asghar Chishtī is also the first hagiographer who provided information regarding the Door of Paradise. The author maintains that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' saw the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in his dream who informed him that anyone who enters from that door ALLAH Almighty will protect him from hell.⁷⁹² Similarly, he is the first compiler who provides information about one of the uncles of Bābā Farīd named Shaykh Sa'ad Hājī.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁸Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 295-96.

⁷⁸⁹Ibid., 199.

⁷⁹⁰Ibid., 190.

⁷⁹¹Ibid., 192-93.

⁷⁹²Ibid., 295.

⁷⁹³Ibid., 479.

3.7.2- Critical Analysis of the *Jawāhir-i- Farīdī*

‘Alī Asghar Chishtī’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* is a very important and detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author consulted the majority of contemporary and early-contemporary sources including *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Afḍal al-Fawāid*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Jawām’ al-Kalim*, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, and *Lataif-i-Asharāfī*. Moreover, he is the first hagiographer till his time who consulted the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* the *Malḡūzāt* of Sayed Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī (d.1384). But it is also a fact that the texts of *Fawāid al-Fuād* and the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* have lost some of their information. It is a credit to ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī that he discussed the matrimonial life and wives of Bābā Farīd at length. Most of the historians from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries consulted his masterpiece for constructive research on Bābā Farīd. This is another credit of *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* that it discusses Bābā Farīd in detail compared to other sources compiled up to that time. Despite these merits, certain faults exist in his work which are discussed below.

3.7.2.1- Irrational Approach

The author, therefore, in some cases did not apply a rational approach and in other cases, exaggeration has also been found, such as the visit of Bābā Farīd to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī along with Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. During the journey they saw many sheep and horses of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī wearing silver and gold jewelry, respectively. Moreover, when they entered in the Shaykh’s room, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn killed two men by strangling their throats and, on inquiring

about the matter, he declared that these two men were the *anfās* (sing. *nafs* means self or ego) of Shaykh Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā.⁷⁹⁴

Similarly, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī proclaimed that the local people of Kathōwāl failed to confirm the beginning of Ramḍān and consulted Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān (father of Bābā Farīd) to discuss this issue. He informed them that today a child has born in his house and if he would not suck milk then it would be considered as the first of Ramḍān. The next year the local people became aware of Ramḍān due to the fasting practice of Bābā Farīd.⁷⁹⁵ The said event is debatable.

While talking about the solitary meditations of Bābā Farīd on the command of his mother, the shared information of the author is concocted. For instance, she sent Bābā Farīd to the jungle and he spent ten years in meditation and utilized leaves and herbs for survival. When he came back after that arduous *riyāḍat* he became too weak. Furthermore, he complained about pain, while she was combing him. His mother replied that all his meditation has went in vain because the plants faced similar pains when he uses to pluck their leaves for his diet.⁷⁹⁶ So, Bābā Farīd again went for meditation for another ten years and this time he kept piece of wood as a bread instead of eating leaves. Whenever people offered him food, he declined theirs offer by showing the wooden breads. The author further states that he had seen more than a thousand wooden breads in his shrine. On his arrival, when his mother realized that he had falsely told people he has breads, she postulated the mendacity had nullified this period of worship as well and sent him for meditation again.⁷⁹⁷ During his third expedition, he performed the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* for twelve years. During the *Chillah* the

⁷⁹⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 190-92.

⁷⁹⁵Ibid., 175.

⁷⁹⁶Ibid., 86.

⁷⁹⁷Ibid., 186.

birds-built nest on his body.⁷⁹⁸ All these incidents are irrational and concocted. Bābā Farīd joined the *madrasah* of Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī at Multān during his teenage years. From Multān he left for Kābul, Qandhār, Baghdād and other Islamic mystic centers for obtaining further education. Moreover, such incidents have not been mentioned in earlier sources. This leads to a conclusion that the said stories are legends.

Some other illogical anecdotes are also mentioned by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī; a) Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ saw many golden snakes in front of his Shaykh’s *hujrah* at night. He tried to catch them but could not. When he informed Bābā Farīd about the incident, the Shaykh contempt his action. However, he explained that these snakes were symbol of the world and worldly desires which were trying to attract him every night but failed;⁷⁹⁹ b) The material world appeared before Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ as a beautiful woman, when he was visiting the shrine of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī;⁸⁰⁰ c) Abū Bakr Shiblī, a prominent *khalīfah* of Junaid of Baghdād, visited a saint who bestowed spirituality everyone even to dogs; d) Bābā Farīd saw a scorpion that was as big as a camel and saw a snake who weighed 40000 kilo grams;⁸⁰¹ e) Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn remained standing for almost twenty years and did not sit for a moment;⁸⁰² f) Bābā Farīd often visited Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan at Ajmer and kept busy in meditation there.⁸⁰³ This event that Bābā Farīd visited Ajmer is arguable as Bābā Farīd used to visit his own Shaykh fortnightly. The other events mentioned above are irrational in nature.

⁷⁹⁸ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 187.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid., 204.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 273-74.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 195.

⁸⁰² Ibid., 324.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 247.

As mentioned above ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī in many cases provides valuable information and explores some new aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd. But one of the major faults of his work is his irrational approach.

3.7.2.2- Contradictions

In addition to the irrational narratives, another major fault of the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* is its contradictions, such as when Bābā Farīd visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, he was playing with children. When Bābā Farīd met with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn, he asked Shaykh Farīd to bring his bowl. But Bābā Farīd failed to move the bowl. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn explained that it was not the chair of Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā which he (Bābā Farīd) hurled into the sky (the incident is mentioned in the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*). Khwājah Qutab al-Bkhtiyar Kākī further said that he was thinking that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn is immature. He reprimanded Bābā Farīd about his thoughts about Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardi’s breasts (he had large breasts like the women). Due to these incidents Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī did not accept his *bay‘at*.⁸⁰⁴ He ordered Bābā Farīd to live in his company. However, later, he accepted his *bay‘at* when he was succeeded in bringing warm water for his Shaykh at the cost of an eye paid to a callous woman and granted him the *khalāfat nāmāh*.⁸⁰⁵ Contrary to this, he refers to the *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā’* that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī accepted Bābā Farīd’s *bay‘at* right after his arrival at Delhī and bestowed him the *khalāfat nāmāh*. That is a clear contradiction. The author narrates different stories about *bay‘at*.

⁸⁰⁴ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 274.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 207-9.

3.7.2.3- Legends and Fabrications

There are various legends and fabrications in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, for instance; a) concerning Shams Dabīr (the secretary), who was a poet and disciple of Bābā Farīd, the author maintains that he visited his Shaykh at Ajōdhan and complained about stringent poverty. The author further maintains that due to the prayer of the Bābā Farīd he was appointed minister of Shams al-Dīn Altu Tamash (Iltutmish) (r.1211-36).⁸⁰⁶ The fact is that Bābā Farīd moved to Ajōdhan after the death of sultān. Moreover, contemporary sources show that Shams was not appointed as minister but as *dabīr* which means an accountant;⁸⁰⁷ b) Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā saw a person in a jungle who was riding on a lion. He requested Shaykh Farīd to visit his town as his people were waiting to see him. When Bābā Farīd reached there, all creation (human being and animal) became his disciples. Bābā Farīd appointed seventy thousand *khulafā'* in that place.⁸⁰⁸ It seems impossible that such a large numbers of *khulafā'* could have been appointed at a single place. However, there is the possibility of using the word *khulafā'* erroneously in place of disciples. If we consider that that mistake happened then the above statement is just barely believable; c) Similarly, the above-mentioned story of the pious man who prepared bread and pudding (*halwa*) for Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar during his journey to Makkah,⁸⁰⁹ is far from the reality. Furthermore, as mentioned above, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī maintains that Bābā Farīd visited shrine of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the apartment (*hujrah*) of Bābā Farīd still existed near the shrine of the Prophet (PBUH). He further maintains that the *hujrah* had remained close for a long period of time but finally, one of the *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā

⁸⁰⁶ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 309.

⁸⁰⁷ Bruce B. Lawrence, *Morals for the Heart*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 228.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., 206.

⁸⁰⁹ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 187-89.

Farīd opened the door of that *hujrah* through his spiritual power.⁸¹⁰ In fact, Bābā Farīd did not visit the holy city of Makkah and Madīnah Munawarah as contemporary sources do not confirm that pilgrimage; d) Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā had a beautiful slave girl, who was a hellish one. He prayed forty times to change her fate, but his prayers were not entertained. During these days Bābā Farīd visited him at Multān. Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā sent the same girl to carry water for ablution of Bābā Farīd. He became aware of his friend's trick and prayed for that girl. ALLAH Almighty changed her distress fate. On this Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā's complained to ALLAH Almighty, ALLAH replied that it was promised to Bābā Farīd during his *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* that all of his supplications would be accepted.⁸¹¹ Such an incident is not mentioned in contemporary and near-contemporary sources; e) The author further maintains that as a *qutab* (highest position in the hierarchy of the Islamic sainthood) Bābā Farīd was superior compared to the previous *aqtāb*. While realizing such an astonishing divine power some ascetics of *Koh-i-Qāf* (the mountain of Qāf) tried to kill the Shaykh but they surrendered in the end before Bābā Farīd. Similarly, when a discussion started among the saints of Lebanon as to whether Bābā Farīd was a *qutab* or not. One by one, their saints visited the Shaykh, and, surprisingly, did not return. In the end, all of them arrived at Ajōdhan and Lebanon became lacking in saints. Bābā Farīd ordered them to return to Lebanon as it was the land of the Ṣufīs.⁸¹² These incidences are fabricated and are not found in contemporary sources; f) 'Alī Asghar maintains with the reference of *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* that Bābā Farīd became aware about *Shaitān* (Iblīs) who tried to betray the Indian non-believers (Hindus). Therefore, he defeated him through his divine power and curtailed his activity of misguiding the

⁸¹⁰ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 341-42.

⁸¹¹ Ibid., 197-98.

⁸¹² Ibid., 99-200.

native peoples.⁸¹³ This event is not found in the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* published by Indian Council of Historical Research; g) ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī mistakenly refers some cases to *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Like the incident of appointment of ten thousand *khulafā’* on the earth, eighteen thousand five hundred and forty in the water (oceans, rivers), two hundred in the air, four hundred in the first sky, seven thousand on mountains, fourteen thousand in the seventh sky, while seven hundred are unknown. However, this information does not exist in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Furthermore, ‘Alī Asghar and Amīr Khūrd are agreed on the appointment of some *khulafā’* such as Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir, Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil. However, ‘Alī Asghar has mentioned numerous other *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd namely Muhammad Sirāj, Shaykh ‘Alī Shakar Rayz, Shaykh ‘Alī Shakar Bār, Shaykh Zakarīyyā Sindhī, Shaykh Zain al-Dīn of Damascus, Shaykh ‘Alī Sialkotī, Shaykh Bābā Dhārā, Shaykh Jamāl Kābulī, Shaykh Muhammad bin Mahmūd Kirmānī, Shaykh Sadr Dīwāna, Shaykh Rakn al-Dīn, Shaykh Muhammad Shah Ghurī, Khwājah Muhammad Naishāpurī, Maulānā ‘Alī Bihārī,⁸¹⁴ Hamīd and Shaykh ‘Arif.⁸¹⁵ In fact, excepting the first five *khulafā’*, the rest of these are not justifiable because they are not mentioned in contemporary Ṣufī literature. While discussing the bestowment of *khalāfat* on the sons of Bābā Farīd, ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī postulated that Bābā Farīd himself granted *khalāfat* to Shihāb al-Dīn Ganj-i-‘Ilam (the Treasury of Knowledge) Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān, Nizām al-Dīn, Shaykh Ya‘qūb, and Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah.⁸¹⁶ Contrarily, Amīr Khūrd explicitly mentioned that Bābā Farīd requested Khwājah Ghur

⁸¹³Ibid., 258-59.

⁸¹⁴Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 275-76.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 240-42.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 275-76.

and Khwājah Zūr to grant the robe of *khalāfat* to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān;⁸¹⁷

h) While talking about the title Ganj-i-Shakar ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī added some other legends; Bābā Farīd during one of his journeys, stayed at a village situated in a jungle. The native people were the great devotees of the Shaykh. Their chief had a beautiful daughter who after seeing the Shaykh had a great desire to marry Bābā Farīd. She never disclosed her desire to anyone. But due to this aspiration, she became pregnant. People scorned her because of her illegitimate pregnancy. Bābā Farīd again visited the same village after six months. The local men criticized Bābā Farīd and asserted that the Shaykh has committed adultery. Bābā Farīd became aware of the incident and said that it might have happened due to that girl’s pious desire of marriage. The people conditionally agreed to the statement of Bābā Farīd and demanded to see rain of sugar. Upon listening the demand, Bābā Farīd supplicated that He (ALLAH) who made pregnant this girl without husband will also make sure of the rain of sugar. Right after the completion of the statement the desired rain started. Due to this incident he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar. Later, that girl gave birth to a baby boy and Bābā Farīd had many descendants from the child.⁸¹⁸ However, except ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, all other early Ṣufī panegyric literature of South Asia is silent about the miracle of rain of sugar. Similarly, he added that during the night of the *ma’raj* the Holy Prophet (PBUH) received some trays (ledge) of sugar from ALLAH Almighty on the behalf of Bābā Farīd. ALLAH Almighty said that this sugar is a gift from one of your followers (Bābā Farīd). You should eat this sugar and distributes it among your companions. That’s why Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar.⁸¹⁹ Such an incident is debatable.

⁸¹⁷ Amir Khurd. *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 189.

⁸¹⁸ Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 269-70.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., 230.

Moreover, none of the biographies of Prophet (PBUH), nor the books of *ahādīth*, neither the hagiographies of Bābā Farīd has discussed such an anecdote.

i) Likewise, ‘Alī Asghar maintains that when Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ganj-i-Alam was born Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ was in Ajōdhan.⁸²⁰ Contrary to the statement it is important to mention that Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ had same age. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ visited Bābā Farīd in 1258 at the age of twenty ;J) ‘Alī Asghar also wrongly mentioned that the ruler of Ghazna handed over a gift of money to Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznavī for Bābā Farīd. And Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznavī presented half of the amount to Bābā Farīd. Upon this Bābā Farīd disclosed the unjust act of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznavī. So, Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznavī gave Bābā Farīd all the money and became his disciple and was later granted *khalāfat*.⁸²¹ However, the *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Siyar al-’Arifīn* say that the gift was sent by governor of Uchach through Shaykh ‘Arif.

k) Another incident is that Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī arrived at Delhī and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī asked Bābā Farīd for the greeting of his preceptor. Bābā Farīd, however, due to great love and attachment for his own Shaykh did not go to receive Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī. Furthermore, Bābā Farīd explained before his Shaykh that he had one heart which he had given to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. In this regard, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī himself visited him at his *hujrah* and Bābā Farīd kissed his feet. On the ordered of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn prayed for Bābā Farīd and bestowed him whatever received from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan. Meanwhile, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan prayed and bestowed to Bābā Farīd what he received from his Shaykh Khwājah

⁸²⁰Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 238.

⁸²¹Ibid., 254.

‘Uthmān al-Harūnī (d.1221).⁸²² It is almost impossible in Islamic mysticism in general and in the Chishtī *silsilah* in particular that the disciple will not follow what his preceptor suggested. Amīr Khūrd maintains that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn did not ask Bābā Farīd to come out and greeting his Shaykh outside the city.⁸²³

3.7.2.4- Analysis and Comparison

In some cases, the author did not adopt an analytical approach and failed to mention the reasons of differences which exist in various events as compared to contemporary sources. As mentioned above, such irrational approach creates problem for latter historians. For example, while talking about Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān the author, on the one hand, quote Amīr Khūrd Kirmānī, who did not mention any blood relations with Mahmūd of Ghazna, while, on the other hand, he quotes Jamālī who declared that he was the nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna. In this way the author failed to generate his own opinion. An axiological drawback has also been found in the book as the author did not seem to be rational and in many cases relies on *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*’ which is axiomatically a fabricated source. Moreover, in some cases, he has copied full paragraph from the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, *Khayr al-Majālis* and *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*. Additionally, in some cases, ‘Alī Asghar relied on oral history and also mentioned some incidents on behalf of his mother and father.

3.8- The *Majma‘ al-Awliyā*’

The *Majma‘ al-Awliyā*’ was compiled by Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī bin Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, who was one of the eminent disciples of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (d.1624), popularly

⁸²² Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 255-56.

⁸²³ Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, 72.

known as Mujadid ‘Alif Thānī.⁸²⁴ Badr al-Dīn was an intellectual Ṣūfī, he wrote some prominent works such as the *Hadarāt al-Qudūs* and the *Majma‘ al-Awliyā’*. The former book is the biography of the prominent Naqshbandīyyah saints primarily emphasized on Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī while the latter work is a biography of saints of different *salāsīl* (sing. *silsilah*). The *Majma‘ al-Awliyā’* is a detailed study about the life of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. Some historians like Muhammad Aslam claims that book was compiled by ‘Alī Akbar Karorī rather than Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī which is not reality. The book was compiled in 1043 A.H./1633-34 A.D.⁸²⁵ and it has twelve chapters.

3.8.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Majma‘ al-Awliyā’*

The author maintains that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar was a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and was also blessed by Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn tried his best not to exhibit his miracles. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar the author provided nearly similar information to Faḍalullah Jamālī’s *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*.⁸²⁶

The author adduces from the *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, while describing some popular miracles of Bābā Farīd. Incidents such as the encounter of Shaykh ‘Arif with the great Shaykh, the incident of *qalandar* who visited the hospice of Bābā Farīd and tried to attack on Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq when the later did not allow him to see Bābā Farīd. Similarly, the author provided valuable information about Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq.⁸²⁷ The author maintains that Bābā Farīd died on Saturday, Muharram 5, 670 A.H./ August 13, 1271 A.D. at the age of eighty. The Shaykh took ablution offered two

⁸²⁴Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī, *Hadarāt al-Qudūs*, vol. 2, trans. Ghulām Mustafa Khan, 756-59.

⁸²⁵Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar.*, 8: See also C.A Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part. 2, 991.

⁸²⁶Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī, *Majma‘ al-Awliyā’*. (handwritten manuscript compl. 1731), 295-96.

⁸²⁷Ibid., 296-97.

additional (*rak'at*) in prayer and died in the condition of prostration.⁸²⁸ Bābā Farīd's sons were also well-known mystics. Moreover, the grandson of Bābā Farīd, named Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Mūj Daryā, was also a prominent saint of his time and Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq was one of his devotees.⁸²⁹

3.8.2- Critical Analysis of the *Majma' al-Awliyā'*

Although the *Majma' al-Awliyā'* is a Naqshbandīyyah's *tadhkira*, one can find adequate information about the prominent Chishtī saints of medieval India, including Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī and Sayyed Gēsū Darāz. Similarly, the author also discussed Bābā Farīd, his children, and eminent *khulafā'* including Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī, Khwājah Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil and Shaykh 'Arif of Multān.

While discussing Bābā Farīd, the author did not consult the majority of the contemporary and early-contemporary sources such as the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Jawām' al-Kalim* and the *Malḥūzāt* of Khwājah Burhan al-Gharīb. However, his main reliance was on Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. Yet he skipped some information which is described by Jamālī. For example, in the case of Shaykh 'Arif, Jamālī maintains that Bābā Farīd granted him the *khalāfat* of Sīstān,⁸³⁰ the (*khalāfat*) declined by Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī. Moreover, there is erroneous information about Shaykh 'Arif, e.g. Amīr Hassan Sijzī maintains that the

⁸²⁸Ibid., 297.

⁸²⁹Sirhindī, *Majma' al-Awliyā'*, 298.

⁸³⁰Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 56.

governor had given Shaykh ‘Arif one hundred *tanka*⁸³¹ while Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī mentioned two hundred. Similarly, the author states that leaves turned into sugar when Bābā Farīd fell on the ground in fact it was mud which turned into sugar.⁸³² The author’s claims that Bābā Farīd was died at the age of eighty on 670 A.H. which is also not fully acceptable as the Shaykh died on 664 A.H., at the age of ninety-five years,⁸³³ or at the age of ninety-three.⁸³⁴

He skipped numerous aspects and incidents of the life of Bābā Farīd such as his forefathers and their migration toward south Asia, the birth and early life of Bābā Farīd, his mother and father, the itineraries of the Shaykh, his meditation, particularly, the *chillah-i-ma’kus*, his life at Delhī, Hānsī and Ajōdhan. Moreover, he does not mention the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd which have been described by Amīr Khūrd.

3.9- *Safinat al-Awliyā’*

Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son of Mughal emperor Shah Jahān (r. 1628-56), he was born in 1615 A.D. Dārā was a great Ṣufī as well as a distinguish mystic intellectual. He compiled several works the most prominent are *Majma’ al-Bahrain*, *Sakīnat al-Awliyā’*, *Risālah-i-Haq Numa*, *Safinat al-Awliyā’*, *Tarīqat al-Haqīqat*, *Hasnāt al-’Ārifīn* and *Muntakhibat-i-Asar Bas'ai wa Ehtimam*

He had also a good knowledge of Hinduism, he rendered *Bhagavad-Gītā* from Sanskrit to Persian and translated the *Upanishads* under the title “*Sirr-i-Akbar*” (The Greatest Mystery).⁸³⁵ As his younger brother’s (Aurangzīb’s) order Dārā Shikoh was beheaded at Sarai Jajo, some thirty-five kilometers southeast of Āgrā on 30 August 1659 A.D. in

⁸³¹ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 134.

⁸³² Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, 46.

⁸³³ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 89-91.

⁸³⁴ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 34-35.

⁸³⁵ Ilyse R. Morgenstein Fuerst. *A Muslim Bhagavat Gita: ‘Abdul-Rahman Chishtī’s Interpretative Translation and its Implications*. Journal of South Asian Religious History. (Vol. 1, 2015), 12.

order to avoid an uprising of the people of Delhi that would likely have occurred, owing to the great love felt for Dārā Shikoh by the common people. His final resting place is said to an unmarked grave at the mausoleum of his great grandfather, Humayun in Delhi. One of Dārā's last acts, probably a foolish act for a military commander, was to send his remaining troops with the body of his beloved only wife, Nadīra Banu Begum (1618-1659), whom he had loved from childhood, to the *dargah* of his *murshid*, Mīān Mīr (1550-1635), at Lahore to be placed under the great Shaykh's protection until the Day of Judgment.⁸³⁶

Prince Dārā Shikoh compiled the *Safinat al-Awliyā'* at the age of twenty-five. He was rational in his approach while compiling that work. He did not accept the age of Salmān Fārsī (the Persian) who was one of the prominent companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as some historians proclaimed the former live life of many hundred years.⁸³⁷ One major characteristic of his work like Ghauthī Shattārī he mentioned the location of the shrines, date of birth and date of death of every saint described in his book.⁸³⁸ The book was completed in 1049 A.H./ 1640 A.D.⁸³⁹ The author has discussed four hundred Ṣūfīs. He started his book with the biography of Holy Prophet (PBUH), the four pious caliphs and the twelve Shiite imāms. He also discussed some mystic women in his book.

⁸³⁶ Hugh van Skyhawk, *A Note on Death and the Holy Man in South Asia*, in "Well Articulated Better Paths, Sufi Saints as Links between Religious Communities", ed. Van Skyhawk (Islamabad: Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, 2014), 8

⁸³⁷ Ibne Ḥajar (d. 1449 A.D) maintains that al-Dhahabī (d. 1348 A.D) proclaimed Salmān Fārsī lived a life of more than two hundred and fifty years while Abu al-Shaykh in his book *Tabaqāt al-Ashabanayn* argued that his age was not less than three hundred and fifty years. Ahmed bin 'Ali Ibne Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Isaba fī tamyiz al-Sahaba*. Vol.3 (Bairut: Darul Kutab al-Alamiyya, n.d), 119-20.

⁸³⁸ Lawrence, *An Indo-Persian Perspective on the Significance of Early Persian Sufi Masters. The Heritage of Sufism: Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700-1300)* Vol. 1, ed. Lewisohn, 24-25.

⁸³⁹ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 8. See also Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2, 996.

3.9.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Safīnat al Awliyā*'

Mas'ūd bin 'Azu al-Dīn was a descendant of second pious caliph 'Umar bin Khattāb (d. 644), his mother was the daughter of Wahīd al-Dīn Khunjadī.⁸⁴⁰ While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar the author provides similar information to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā*'. Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī prophesied about Shaykh Farīd that he will become a great Falcon who will reside at *Sidrat al-Muntaha* and eminent saints even Ghouth, Qutab would seek the blessing of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. The author further added that Shaykh Farīd left for Hānsī during the lifetime of his Shaykh and after the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn he settled in a village known as Ajōdhan which was situated near Dīpāl Pur. Shaykh Farīd passed away on 5th Muharram 664 A.H. at the age of ninety-five years.⁸⁴¹

3.9.2- Critical Analysis of *Safīnat al Awliyā*'

It is a brief biography of Bābā Farīd and there is some wrong information added while some important information has been skipped by the author. He did not discuss the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, his early life, his meditation, itineraries, matrimonial life and offspring of Bābā Farīd. Dārā Shikoh wrongly mentioned 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd⁸⁴² as father of Bābā Farīd instead of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. Moreover, the author wrongly mentioned Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī as Wahīd al-Dīn Khunjadī. Surprisingly, Dārā Shikoh did not use 'Bābā' for Bābā Farīd in his whole work.

⁸⁴⁰Dārā Shikoh, *Safīnat al-Awliyā*', ed. Mr. Bell (Agra: Madrassah Agra, 1853), 163-64.

⁸⁴¹Shikoh, *Safīnat al-Awliyā*', ed. Bell., 164-65.

⁸⁴²Ibid., 163.

3.10- *Siyar al-Aqtāb*

Allah Diyā Chishtī was the son of Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahīm Chishtī who was born at Karanah Pānīput. He was disciple of ‘Abdul Salām Shah A‘ala Chishtī and was also compiled his *Malfūzāt* with the title of *Jawāhir-i-A‘ala*. Allah Diyā was contemporary of Mughal emperor Shah Jahān (r.1629-58). He became popular due to his Chishtī hagiographical work entitled *Siyar al-Aqtāb*. It was completed in 1646 A.D.⁸⁴³ or 1646-47.⁸⁴⁴ The book starts from the biography of ‘Alī bin Abi Tālib (d.661 A.D.) and discusses almost all the prominent Chishtī Ṣūfīs from eight centuries to seventeenth century A.D. this is the first book which also described Chishtī Sābirī Ṣūfīs. Shah A‘ala was a Chishtī Sābirī preceptor and that’s why *Siyar al-Aqtāb* centralized the same sub-order of the Chishtīyah *silsilah*. However, it is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd, and other earlier Chishtī Shaykhs of South Asia.

3.10.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Siyar al-Aqtāb*

As mentioned above *Siyar al-Aqtāb* is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. According to the author Bābā Farīd was born in 595 A.H.⁸⁴⁵ 1198 A.D. his family name was Mas‘ūd which latter on changed by popular Ṣūfī Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār⁸⁴⁶ (d.1221) into Farīd al-Dīn. Like ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, Allah Diyā too mentioned his one hundred and one names which are used as *wazāif*.⁸⁴⁷ The author has also described the genealogy of

⁸⁴³Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 8.

⁸⁴⁴Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2, 1004.

⁸⁴⁵Allah Diyā bin Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahīm, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Muhammad Muin ud Din Dardai (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1979), 187.

⁸⁴⁶Ibid., 185.

⁸⁴⁷Ibid., 185-86.

Bābā Farīd.⁸⁴⁸ While talking about Qādī Shu‘aīb the author relies on Amīr Khūrd.⁸⁴⁹ Like Jamālī, Allah Diyā also maintains that Mahmūd of Ghazna was the uncle of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān.⁸⁵⁰ However, while discussing Qursam Bībī, the author relies on Sijzī’s *Fawāid al-Fuād* and Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Qursam Bībī was the daughter of Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī and was very pious woman.⁸⁵¹ The author once again relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā’* while discussing the encounter of Bābā Farīd and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.⁸⁵²

Bābā Farīd received the robe (*khirqah-i-khalāfat*) and *asm-i-a‘zam* from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and at that time Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, ‘Alī Kirmānī, Sayed Nūr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Maulānā Mubārak, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Abū al-Mawaid, Shams al-Dīn Turk and Khwājah Mahmūd were also present.⁸⁵³ While discussing the title Shakar-i-Ganj, Allah Diyā relies on Amīr Khūrd and also provides some new information.⁸⁵⁴ While discussing the life of Bābā Farīd at Delhī and Hānsī, the author once again relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.⁸⁵⁵

As a head of Chishtī *silsilah* Bābā Farīd stayed at Delhī just for three days and then, despite much persistence of the local disciples and saints, he returned to Hānsī. After a short period of time he even left Hānsī, too, and settled at Ajōdhan. He further maintains that Bābā Farīd liked Ajōdhan for a while but decided to quit it as well up on his

⁸⁴⁸Following pedigree of Bābā Farīd presented by Allah Diyā Chishtī in *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, p. 186: Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shakar Ganj b. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu‘aib b. Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad b. Shaykh Yūsuf b. Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī b. Nasir Fakhar-al-Din Mahmūd b. Shaykh Sulaimān b. Shaykh Mas‘ūd b. ‘Abdullah Wa‘az al-Asghar b. Wa‘az al-Akbar Abu al-Fateh b. Shaykh Ishāq b. Shaykh Nasr b. ‘Abdullah (RA) b. Haḍrat ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA).

⁸⁴⁹Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 187

⁸⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁵¹*Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁵²Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 187-88.

⁸⁵³*Ibid.*, 189.

⁸⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 188.

⁸⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 188-90.

becoming popular. However, he was advised by his Shaykh in a dream that he should stay in Ajōdhan⁸⁵⁶ later, the same was ordered by ALLAH Almighty.⁸⁵⁷

The author penned down several miracles of Bābā Farīd already mentioned in contemporary sources and described some new miracles, such as the dispute of agricultural land between a petitioner and Shaykh Farīd's son. When the ruler inquired about the ownership the land, the land itself replied; "O Fool! You asked who is the owner of this land? Be aware! the whole world is the possession of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd". Similarly, he describes another new incident that sweets turned into gold for travelers who asked for financial assistance to Bābā Farīd. He narrated the following miracles adduce from the contemporary sources that the brother of Muhammad Shah was recovered due to the Shaykh's prayer and the Ṣufīs who visited Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī found themselves at the Ka'aba due to the prayer of Bābā Farīd. Furthermore, a *darwaish* and some of his friends' who hailed from Jerusalem visited Bābā Farīd. He postulated that he saw Shaykh Farīd at Jerusalem. Upon his announcement Shaykh Farīd reminded him his promise that he will not disclose it with anyone. Furthermore, Bābā Farīd explained that the Ka'aba and the Jerusalem would be present at the abode of the saints. Moreover, the particular saint himself saw the Ka'aba and Jerusalem when Bābā Farīd asked him to close his eyes. The saint apologized and became his disciple.⁸⁵⁸

After arriving at Ajōdhan Bābā Farīd realized that a *jōgī* was creating problems for the native people. The unnamed *jōgī* (the author did not mention his name) was forcefully usurping milk and food from the local people and, on denial, the fresh stuff turned into

⁸⁵⁶Ibid., 190.

⁸⁵⁷Ibid., 190.

⁸⁵⁸Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 193-96.

blood due to his magic. The Shaykh forgave the *jōgī* when he surrendered on his magic proved to be useless against the Shaykh. Bābā Farīd ordered him to leave that place and did not disturb the people anymore. Bābā Farīd later settled at the home of the *jōgī* and said; “only *faqīr* (mendicant) can live in the house of *faqīr*”.⁸⁵⁹

While discussing the philosophy of Bābā Farīd, Allah Diyā maintains that he defined Ṣufī as moralistic, self-denial, and free from worldly desires. While discussing the principles of *darwaishī* (saintliness), the author provided information mirroring Bābā Farīd’s *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. Moreover, Bābā Farīd defined *isrāf* (extravagancy) as any amount which is not spent in the way of ALLAH.⁸⁶⁰

Similarly, the author maintains that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān proclaimed that anyone who just look at his face ALLAH Almighty will save him or her from the hell. Mian Bhora a disciple of Bābā Farīd declined to see him, when Bābā Farīd became aware of that incident he became unconscious for some time due to ecstasy. When he retained his consciousness, he stated; “ALLAH Almighty has promised him, anyone who will be his disciple or the disciple of his disciple, or who belong to his *silsilah* will not go to the hell”.⁸⁶¹

While talking about Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī, one of the eminent disciples of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, Allah Diyā proclaimed that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā preoccupied him through his spiritual power and the later tried to quit the circle of Bābā Farīd. Bābā Farīd, therefore, imprecated him when the former tried to get permission to leave Multān; “Go and make your face black,” Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī lost his beauty and felt so guilty that he declined to desert. After a long period of

⁸⁵⁹Ibid., 190-91.

⁸⁶⁰Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 192.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 197-98.

time a merchant, who was also a disciple of Bābā Farīd, saw the miserable condition of Jamāl al-Dīn and requested the Shaykh to condone him. Bābā Farīd accepted the request, embraced him and pray for him, so Jamāl al-Dīn became more beautiful than before and regained his spiritual authority.⁸⁶²

3.10.2- Critical Analysis of *Siyar al-Aqtāb*

Although the *Siyar al-Aqtāb* is very informative and an important source regarding the Chishtī Ṣūfis of South Asia, some faults are also part of this work. While talking about Bābā Farīd, Allah Diyā mentioned the date of birth of the Shaykh as 595 A.H./1198 A.D.⁸⁶³ which is far from the fact as both the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and the *Fawā'id al-Fuād* mentioned it as 569 A.H.,⁸⁶⁴ and 571 A.H.,⁸⁶⁵ respectively. Similarly, he mentioned the date of death of Bābā Farīd as 669 A.H.⁸⁶⁶ 1270 A.D. which is also debatable as in this way the total age of Bābā Farīd became almost seventy two years while he himself mentioned that Bābā Farīd died at the age of ninety-five.⁸⁶⁷ Likewise, the genealogy of Bābā Farīd presented by the author traced his family tree back to the Banu 'Adī, one of the clans of the Quraish, while, on the other hand, he mentioned that Mahmūd of Ghazna was the maternal uncle of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. The fact is that Mahmūd was a descendant of Yazd-gird.⁸⁶⁸ Furthermore, chronologically the above-mentioned

⁸⁶²Ibid., 192-93.

⁸⁶³Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 187.

⁸⁶⁴Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 34-35.

⁸⁶⁵Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 91.

⁸⁶⁶Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 198.

⁸⁶⁷Ibid., 185.

⁸⁶⁸Genealogy presented by Minhāj as Sirāj Jawzjānī in in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Sultān Mahmūd is Mahmūd b. Subuktigīn b. Jūq b. Qara Bahkam b. Qara Arslān b. Qara Mallat b. Qara Nu'man b. Fīrūz b. Yazd-Gird. Minhāj al-Dīn Jawzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, ed. Cap. W. Nassau Lees, Maulvi Khadim Hossain and Abd al-Hay. (Calcutta: College Press, 1864), 6. While genealogy of Sultān Mahmūd presented by Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāhī Farishta: Mahmud b. Subuktigīn b. Juqakan b. Qara al-Hakam b. Qarzl Arslan b. Qara Nu'man b. Fīrūz b. Yazd Gird. Abu al-Qāsim Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shah Farishta, *Tārīkh-i-Farishta*. Vol. 1. trans. Abdul Hayy Khawaja (Lahore: Al-Mizan Publishers, 2009), 51

relationship is also challengeable as Mahmūd died (d. 1030) more than a hundred years before the birth of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān.

Bābā Farīd was born in a village named Kathōwāl, while Allah Diyā mentioned it as Kahoniwal. Another debatable information shared by the author is that Bābā Farīd obtained the robe of *khalāfat* from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan in the presence of some popular Ṣufīs, including Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Sayed Nūr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Maulānā Mubārak, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Abū al-Mawaid, Shams al-Dīn Turk and Khwājah Mahmūd. The fact is that these Ṣufīs were present when Bābā Farīd took *bay‘at* at the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. But no contemporary source postulates that Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan granted him the robe of *khalāfat*. The encounter of Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī as mentioned above occurred at Baghdād,⁸⁶⁹ rather than in Sīstān as described by Allah Diyā.

While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author maintains that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī predicted that Bābā Farīd will receive sugar for the rest of his remaining life. This is also an exaggerated addition. Similarly, the author proclaimed that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī visited Bābā Farīd only once in a week, while the fact is that it was Bābā Farīd who visited his Shaykh after every two weeks. Surprisingly, the author did not discuss the itinerancies of Bābā Farīd.

The incident of a competition between Bābā Farīd and a *jōgī* is also debatable. It is because Bābā Farīd in his whole life did not turn against his rivals either they were the magicians (son of Shihāb), qādī (‘Abdullah), assassins (an assassin was arranged by Qādī ‘Abdullah to try to kill the Shaykh) or worldly ‘ulema’. Moreover, if one should accept the authenticity of that event then there is a good possibility of *jōgī*’s conversion

⁸⁶⁹Khusru, *Afḍal al- Fawāid*, trans. Malik, 291-92.

to Islam as mentioned by many other hagiographers rather than his expulsion from Ajōdhan along with his fellow men. ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī for instance, proclaimed that the *jōgī* (he mentioned his name as Bāl Nāth) was converted at the hand of Bābā Farīd and became the Shaykh’s disciple, ‘Abdullah being recommended as his new name.⁸⁷⁰ Shaykh Muhammad Akram Qudūsī also argued that the *jōgī* along with his *chailahs* (disciples, students) converted to Islam and the Shaykh granted him the *khalāfat nāmah* of Sīstān.⁸⁷¹ Additionally, the incident of Mian Bhora does not fully match with earlier sources. The source of this incident is *Jawām ‘ al-Kalim*, Sayed Gēsū Darāz maintains that ALLAH Almighty informed Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā after receiving a severe injury as he fell down from his roof, that anyone who just saw him during first three days he/she will go to paradise. Moreover, Sayed Gēsū Darāz did not mention anything about Mian Bhora.⁸⁷²

While talking about the *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd, the author wrongly proclaimed that in the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd he has discussed his twenty *khulafā’*. Moreover, he proclaimed that among these successors one of the most important is ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir.⁸⁷³ In fact, in the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Asrār al-Awliyā’* one cannot find the name of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir.

Similarly, in some cases the author like ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī did not follow rational approach. He proclaimed that Bābā Farīd was sitting under a tree and suddenly a severe storm started which destroyed many trees. One big branch of the same tree was broken but remained in the air as Bābā Farīd looked toward that branch. Moreover, the same

⁸⁷⁰Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 212.

⁸⁷¹Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. (Lahore: Zia al-Quran Publishers, 1993), 447-48.

⁸⁷²Hussainī, *Jawām ‘ al Kalim*. Dardai, 543-44.

⁸⁷³Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 198.

branch is still hanging on the space as well.⁸⁷⁴ The anecdote of Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī that he wanted to join the circle of Shaykh Baha la-Din Zakarīyyā is more a legend as Amīr Khūrd discusses Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī in detail, but he did not mention that incident. Similarly, Amīr Hassan Sijzī and Faḍalullah Jamālī are also silent about the story. Likewise, the issue of agricultural land is also debatable. While discussing about the event of a Ṣufī who came from Jerusalem, Allah Diyā added another legend as he wrote when the saint closed his eyes on the order of Bābā Farīd he saw Ka‘aba and Jerusalem there. ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī described that anecdote with a little bit different way like only one Ṣufī of Jerusalem visited Bābā Farīd rather than group of Ṣufīs.⁸⁷⁵ Amīr Khūrd on the other hand mentioned that a Ṣufī came from Jerusalem and Bābā Farīd granted him the robe of *khalāfat* first day of his arrival and explained he did so because of his long journey.

Another main cause of legends and fabrications found in *Siyar al-Aqtāb* is the careless observation of the author towards the contemporary sources. In this regard, he maintains that Yūsuf of Hānsī a best friend of Bābā Farīd when returned from the pilgrimage of Makkah, Bābā Farīd therefore inquired him what he had realized at the House of ALLAH Almighty. Yūsuf replied that he saw many ascetics and Ṣufīs there. Bābā Farīd suddenly disappeared and returned for a short while. Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ was much surprised and inquired where he was disappeared?⁸⁷⁶ On the other hand Amīr Khūrd differs Yūsuf of Hānsī visited Uchach and discussed about the Ṣufīs of Uchach rather than the Makkah. Moreover, Yūsuf himself asked to Bābā Farīd that where he was suddenly disappeared rather than Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁴Ibid., 196

⁸⁷⁵Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 253.

⁸⁷⁶Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, trans. Dardai, 196.

⁸⁷⁷Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 81.

3.11- The *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah*

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muhammad Barnāwī was a Ṣūfī of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. Like many other Chishtī saints ‘Alā’ al-Dīn kept himself busy in worship and offered evening and morning prayer with same ablution. He had great desire to write biographies of his *silsilah*.⁸⁷⁸ He had also a great command on music. The *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah* is a detailed biography of the Chishtī saints. This book is not yet published and like *Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat*, its only handwritten manuscript is available in the catalogue the catalogue of Azar collection, Main Library of Punjab University Lāhore, Pākistān. Moreover, this manuscript is also not in a good condition, and its first forty pages has already lost. The numbering of the pages is also not clearly visible. The exact date of its compilation is also not known. Besides this book ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Barnāwī has also compiled another book entitled *Ramūz al-Sālikīn*. He was died in 1082 A.H./ 1671 A.D. at the age of eighty-two years and his tomb is situated at Barnawah, India.

3.11.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdusiyya Qudsiyya

The author while discussing the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, their migration from Kābul to Multān, early life, his encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and life of Bābā Farīd at Delhī provides similar information as described by Amīr Khūrd. He mentioned the name of Bābā Farīd as Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Makhdūm Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn Ganj Shakar. Bābā Farīd did his *bay‘at* on Ramḍān 5th 584 A.H., at the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Moreover, the former compiled the *Malḡūzāt* of the later entitled *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*.⁸⁷⁹ While describing the title Ganj-i-Shakar he provides same information shared by Amīr Khūrd in *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and

⁸⁷⁸Muhammad Umar al-Dīn Tālib, *Shajrah Tayyibah*. (Gujranwala: 2008), 77.

⁸⁷⁹‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muhammad Barnāwī, *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah*. (Handwritten Manuscript), 62-64.

La‘al Baig La‘alī in *Samārat al-Qudūs*. Similarly, while talking about the departure of Bābā Farīd from Delhī and Hānsī, his life at Ajōdhan, relationship with the ruling class, the devotion of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd and Alagh Khān (Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban) to the Shaykh and his death he adduces material from *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.⁸⁸⁰

3.11.2- Critical analysis of *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah*

The *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah* is one of the important sources regarding the biography of Chishtī Ṣūfīs. The author was himself a well-known Ṣūfī of the same *silsilah*. By and large he relies contemporary sources and provides genuine information about the Chishtī Ṣūfīs of South Asia. It is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd. Moreover, the author while discussing Bābā Farīd mainly relies on *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Similarly, while making a comparison of *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah* with Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, ‘Abdul Samad’s *Akhhār al-Aṣfiyā’* and Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī’s *Gulzār-i-Abrār* regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Barnāwī’s work provides more information about Bābā Farīd compared to the former works.

As mentioned above the author produced a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd but still he skipped few incidents such as the meeting of Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, why Bābā Farīd left Delhī during the life of his Shaykh and why he left Delhī again after the death of his Shaykh, reason of the departure of Bābā Farīd from Hānsī and the descendants of Bābā Farīd. Furthermore, Barnāwī failed to explore the actual reason of the migration of Qādī Shu‘aīb from Kābul.

⁸⁸⁰Barnāwī, *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah*, 64-74.

3.11.3- Abdul Rahmān Chishtī

Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān ibn ‘Abdul Rasūl ibn Qāsim ibn Shah Bodh ‘Abbāsī ‘Alawī Chishtī was born in 1005 A.H./1597 A.D. He was *khalīfah* of Shaykh Hamīd who was also his elder brother. Like Allah Diyā Chishtī, ‘Abdul Rahmān also belonged to the Sābirīyyah branch of Chishtī *silsilah*. He was the descendant of Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abdul Haq of Rodūlī who was one of prominent Ṣufī of the same branch. Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān had a good command on Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit languages. He passed away in 1683 and was buried in Rodūlī, India.⁸⁸¹

Like Muhammad Dārā Shikoh, ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī has also thoroughly consulted Hindu sacred books and even instructed his fellow Muslims to study Hindu’s religious works such as *Bhagavad-Gītā*. It is also worth mentioning that he translated *Bhagavad-Gītā* from Sanskrit to Persian⁸⁸² with the title *Mirāt al-Haqaiq*. He was a prolific Ṣufī writer and produced many books such as, *Mirāt al-Makhlūqāt*, *Nafa’is-i-Rahmānī*, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, *Aūrād-i-Chishtīyyah*, *Mirāt al-Mas’ūdī* and *Mirāt al-Madai*. *Mirāt al-Asrār* was the celebrated work of Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān. The author ranked the Sābirīyyah Ṣufī order higher than other Ṣufī orders, even the Nizāmīyyah Chishtī branch, by saying that the qutab is always selected from Sābirīyyah order.⁸⁸³

3.12- *Mirāt al- Asrār*

Mirāt al-Asrār is a detailed biography of the prominent Ṣufīs of Islam, it was completed in 1654. The author divided the Ṣufīs into twenty-three generations and that covers a

⁸⁸¹ Roderic Vassie, ‘Abdul Rahman Chishtī & the Bhagavad-Gita: “Unity of Religion” Theory in Practice. *The Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)* Vol. 2, ed. Leonard Lewisohn. (Oxford: One World Press, 1999), 367-68: See also Siyal, *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar*, p. 267.

⁸⁸² Ilyse R. Morgenstein Fuerst. “A Muslim Bhagavad-Gita: ‘Abdul-Rahman Chishtī’s Interpretative Translation and its Implications.” *Journal of South Asian Religious History* Vol. 1. (2015): 7-8.

⁸⁸³ Hermansen & Lawrence, “Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative communications,” 163.

period of almost one thousand years from seventh century A.D. to seventeenth century A.D. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (d.632), Abū Bakr (d.634), ‘Umar bin Khattāb (d.645), ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affan (d.656) are included on the first generation. The fourth caliph ‘Alī bin Abū Tālib (d.661) and the eleven Shiite imāms are in the second generation. Meanwhile, Khwājah Abū Ishāq Shāmī has been discussed in the tenth generation. Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān discusses Bābā Farīd Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar in detail in the nineteenth generation.⁸⁸⁴

3.12.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Mirāt al-Asrār*

Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān shared information akin to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliya* while discussing the ancestors of Bābā Farīd, their migration towards Hindūstān, parents of Bābā Farīd and his first meeting with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. After completing his education from Multān Bābā Farīd visited different other Islamic centers as well as prominent saints including Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhwardī, Shaykh Ajal Shīrāzī and Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī. These saints appreciated the spiritual passion and the divine level of Bābā Farīd and they further blessed him. After that Bābā Farīd came back to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī who granted him *khalāfat nāmah* just three days after his arrival. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī consulted prominent sources including the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn* and *Akhbār al-Akhyār*. Similarly, while discussing the meeting of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, the *Chillah-i- Ma‘kus*, the death of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and why Bābā Farīd quit Delhī, the author once again provides similar information to the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁸⁴ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 7.

⁸⁸⁵ ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*. (Nawal Kishor: n.d), 294-97.

Bābā Farīd came to Hānsī, however, when he became very popular, he left for Kothīwāl which was his native town. Kothīwāl situated near to Multān and Bābā Farīd anticipated that he will become popular there too, so he went to Ajōdhan which was a small town and was an unacquainted place. He spent the last sixteen or twenty-four years of his life at Ajōdhan. The Shaykh married there and resided near the Friday Mosque of Ajōdhan. He lived very simple and austere life at Ajōdhan and relied on wild fruit and vegetable.⁸⁸⁶ He died on Muharram fifth, 668 A.H./1269 A.D. or 669 A.H./1270 A.D. The Shaykh offered his night prayer thrice and recalled his eminent disciple Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' before his death.⁸⁸⁷ While discussing the children of Bābā Farīd the author shared information akin to Amīr Khūrd. However, the author described that Shaykh Ya'qūb (son of Bābā Farīd) belonged to Malāmtīyyah Ṣufī *silsilah*.⁸⁸⁸

3.12.2- Critical Analysis of the *Mirāt al-Asrār*

Mirāt al-Asrār is another comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd and is important work as compared to *Akbar al-Akhyār*, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* and *Akhhār al-Aṣṣfiyā'*, although these three books are also considered as reliable *tadhkirāt* but provides short information about the former saint and other esoteric elite. *Mirāt al-Asrār*, is also surpass the former works (regarding Bābā Farīd) as the author has consulted majority of the contemporary and early-contemporary sources including *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. The author has also consulted early Chishtī *Malfūzāt* such as *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn* and *Lataif-i-Asharāfī*. Moreover, he also presented his analysis about different well-known

⁸⁸⁶Ibid., 301.

⁸⁸⁷Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 310.

⁸⁸⁸Ibid., 311-14.

sources such as *Tabaqāt al-Şufiyah*, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, *Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat*, *Hujjat al-Sālikīn*, *Ādab al-Murīdīn*, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, *Fatuhāt-i-Makiyyah*, *Fasūs al-Hikam*, *Minhāj al-'Abad*, *'Urwat al-Wusqah*, *Chahal Majālis*, *Fasal al-Khattāb*, *Nafahāt al-Ans*, *Lawaih*, *Lataif-i-Asharaftī* and *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁸⁸⁹ However, being a devotee of Chishtī Şufīs, he also exaggerated like Amīr Khūrd in description of various events. 'Abdul Rahmān Chishtī has also described different new titles of Bābā Farīd like *Qutab al-Akbar*, *Aftab-i-Anwār -i-Wilayat* and *Raahnuma-i-Wasilīn-i-Haq*.

Although *Mirāt al-Asrār* is an important book regarding the Şufī biographical compendia but there are some mistakes also exist in it, such as a) he relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while discussing the migration of Qādī Shu'aīb from Kābul to Multān⁸⁹⁰ which is not fully acceptable, b) the birth place of Bābā Farīd as Kothīwāl which is in fact Kathōwāl, c) death of Bābā Farīd in 668 A.H./ 1269 A.D. or 669 A.H./ 1270 A.D.⁸⁹¹ which is also not fully defendable as Bābā Farīd died in 664 A.H./ 1265 A.D. Moreover, Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān Chishtī did not consult some very important sources like the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (*Baqiyat al-Gharaib*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Shamāil al-Atiqiyā*, *Gharaib al-Karāmāt* and *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*), *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, and *Jawām' al-Kalim*.

Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān mistakenly described with the reference of Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī that Bābā Farīd married with numerous women at Ajōdhan.⁸⁹² While Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd did not mention that he married at Ajōdhan, and explicitly mentioned that Bābā Farīd had two or three wives.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁹Ibid., 34-35.

⁸⁹⁰Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 294.

⁸⁹¹Ibid., 310-11.

⁸⁹²Ibid., 304.

⁸⁹³Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majālis*, ed. Nizāmī, 88-89.

Surprisingly, the author who himself was a celebrated intellectual Ṣufī has wrongly mentioned that like Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī had also great expectation that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī would appoint him as his successor.⁸⁹⁴ Khwājah Hamīd al-Nāgaurī was an eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, so it was impossible that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who was too the *khalīfah* of the same Shaykh will appoint him as his successor.

Correspondingly, Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī did not mention the name of the Qādī of Ajōdhan and maintains Qādī of Ajōdhan and his whole family died due to constant problems he created for Bābā Farīd,⁸⁹⁵ while the contemporary and early-contemporary sources mentioned only about the death of Qādī ‘Abdullah.

He described almost all the miracles of Bābā Farīd which has been designated by Amīr Khūrd in *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Furthermore, like ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī has also shared some new information about Bābā Farīd which has not found in any contemporary and early-contemporary hagiographical sources and interestingly has mentioned the references of these incidents. For example, while talking about the incident of the throne of ALLAH Almighty and its guards, the author refers to Muhammad Ghouth Gwaliorī’s *Aūrād-i-Ghauthīyyah*.⁸⁹⁶

3.13- Tadhkira Punj Pir (Biography of Five Saints) and its Analysis

This is another book of Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī which deals with five big Ṣufīs of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* of Indo-Pāk subcontinent including Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn

⁸⁹⁴Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 303.

⁸⁹⁵Chishtī, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 307.

⁸⁹⁶Ibid., 309.

Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. The author has taken all the information of *Tadhkira Punj Pir* from his masterpiece entitled *Mirāt al-Asrār*.

3.14- *Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat*

Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat was compiled by Ghulām Mu‘īn al-Dīn ‘Abdullah Khweshgī Qasūrī. It has ten chapters, chapter one discusses first five Chishtī Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent including Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd al-Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī. Chapter two to six discusses the *khulafā’* of the former five Shayūkh. Chapter seven deals with the common Chishtī Ṣufīs. Chapter eight discusses Suhrwardī Ṣufīs, Chapter nine deals with common Ṣufīs and last chapter discusses *majdhūb* and women Ṣufīs. The author like Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān was himself a practicing Ṣufī of Chishtīyyah order. He strictly followed Ibne-i-‘Arabī’s doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (the unity of beings) and that’s why he explicitly counters Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī’s doctrine *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* (the unity of witnessing) which is opposite to the former doctrine. The author discusses early Chishtī Ṣufīs of South Asia in detail. The book was completed in 1094 A.H./ 1682 A.D.⁸⁹⁷ and like *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qūdsīyyah* its only manuscript in Pākistān is available in the catalogue of Sheerani collection, Main Library of University of Punjab Lāhore, Pākistān.

⁸⁹⁷ Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 8.

3.14.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Ma‘arij al-Walāyat*

Ghulām Mu‘īn al-Dīn consulted *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Khayr al-Majālis* while describing the early life of Bābā Farīd and his forefathers. He used the title “Shaykh Kabir” for Bābā Farīd. While describing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, he provides matching narrations mentioned by Amīr Khūrd, La‘al Baig La‘alī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq.⁸⁹⁸

Haḍrat Ganj-i-Shakar had performed his *Namāz-i-Ma‘kus* in the Jam‘ia Mosque of Uchach named Masjid-i-Hajj. The *khatīb* (imam) of that mosque was one of the devotees of Bābā Farīd. So, he performed this *chillah* in Uchach to keep it secret from the common people. Abū Sa‘īd Tabrīzī, who was the preceptor of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, also performed the same *chillah* because he came to know that same *chillah* was performed by Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).⁸⁹⁹

The author primarily focused on the miracles of Bābā Farīd and relies on contemporary and near-contemporary sources. He described the incident of a *qalandar* who insisted that Bābā Farīd handover belongings of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyar Kākī to him, including a comb. Bābā Farīd handed over all the things except the comb. On his constant insist, Bābā Farīd replied he had drowned him and his blessings in the river. Consequently, the *qalandar* went into the river and drowned. Similarly, he narrated other incidents such as the *mutaṣarrif* who was creating constant problems for the family of the Bābā Farīd, the story of ill brother of Muhammad Shah Ghurī, the son of Shihāb the Magician, and the anecdote of *amīr-i-shikar*.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁸Ghulām Mu‘īn al-Dīn, *Ma‘arij al-Walāyat*. Handwritten Manuscript, 21-25.

⁸⁹⁹Mu‘īn al-Dīn, *Ma‘arij al-Walāyat*, 43-45.

⁹⁰⁰Ibid., 56-59.

3.14.2- Critical Analysis of the *Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat*

The *Ma‘ārij al-Walāyat* is another important *tadhkira* regarding the Chishtī Ṣūfīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. One key prowess of that book is that the author provided some paragraphs of those sources which are not extant now, such as *Anwār al-Majālis Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ compiled by Khwājah Muhammad bin Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, *Tuhfat-al-Abrār Karāmāt al-Akhyār Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ compiled by Shaykh ‘Azīz al-Dīn, *Khulāsāt al-Lataif Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ compiled by Shaykh ‘Alī Jāndār, Diyā al-Dīn Barnī’s *Ṣalāt-i-Kabīr* and *Inayat Nāmah* etc.

It is the detailed biography of Bābā Farīd; the author has discussed majority of the important aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd. However, like many other important sources some faults have also been traced in the work such as the author has failed to explore the exact time period of the migration of the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn Mainaī was the *mu‘adhan* and disciple of Bābā Farīd rather than the imām of the Masjid-i-Hajj.⁹⁰¹ Moreover, it was Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd Abū al-Khayr who argued that he performed *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus*⁹⁰² rather than Abū Sa‘īd Tabrīzī.

The author consulted majority of contemporary and early-contemporary sources such as *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Jawām‘ al-Kalim* and *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*. However, like other hagiographers he also fails to get access the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (*Baqiyat al-Gharaib*, *Nafa‘is al-Anfās*, *Shamāil al-Atiqiyā*, *Gharaib al-Karāmāt* and *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*), *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and *Lataif-i-Asharafi*.

⁹⁰¹ Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 70.

⁹⁰² Sijzī, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, 7: See also Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 70.

3.14.3- Sayed Muhammad Bulāq

Muhammad Bulāq Kāshānī Nizāmi was the descendant of the sister of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. He produced two biographical works known as *Raudah-i-Aqtāb* and *Matlūb al-Tālibīn* at the end of seventeenth century A.D. His works not only discussed the eminent saints of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* but also described the ideals of Islamic mysticism.

3.15- *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*

Raudah-i-Aqtāb is a comprehensive biography of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī. However, the author has briefly discussed the early Chishtī Ṣūfīs as well as the Chishtī Ṣūfīs of South Asia from eight centuries to fourteen centuries A.D. The book has seven chapters and in fifth chapter the author discusses Bābā Farīd.

3.15.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*

Like many other hagiographers Muhammad Bulāq also relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while demonstrating the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, his early life, encounter with his Shaykh and his offspring. The author maintains Bābā Farīd joined his Shaykh at Multān and from there left for Delhī. It is mentioned in *Rāhat al-Qulūb* that Bābā Farīd visited different saints of Balkh and Bukhara and finally came to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn became disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at the age of thirteen or fifteen years.⁹⁰³ While discussing the title *Ganj-i-Shakar* he provides similar anecdotes which provided by Amīr Khūrd in *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and Faḍalullah Jamālī in *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. He described story of merchant (whose sugar turned into salt), little bit different as compared to La'al Baig

⁹⁰³Muhammad Bulāq, *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*, ed. Chiranjī Lāl (Delhi: Muhib-i Hindi Press, 1887), 58-59.

La‘alī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq of Delhī.⁹⁰⁴ The Shaykh died in Muharram 5th 668 A.H./ September 4, 1269 A.D. at Ajōdhan, now a day known as Pākattan.⁹⁰⁵

3.15.2- Critical Analysis of the *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*

Raudah-i-Aqtāb is a brief account of Bābā Farīd and the author relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Akhhār al-Akhyār*. Muhammad Bulāq Hussain did not share any new information about Bābā Farīd. Like many other hagiographical sources, certain flaws are also found in *Raudah-i-Aqtāb* such as there is no information about the early life of Bābā Farīd, brothers and sisters of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, name of Qursam Bībī, daily routine of Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, problems faced by Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan, his matrimonial life, his sister, role of Bābā Farīd in the expansion of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*.

Moreover, he mentioned Qursam Bībī’s father as Mullah Wajid al-Dīn Khunjadī which is in fact Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī. Correspondingly, the author proclaimed that Bābā Farīd left for Delhī along with his Shaykh just after their first encounter at Multān which is also not acceptable. The fact is that when Bābā Farīd shown his desired to join his Shaykh at Multān, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī asked him to stay at Multan and should complete his education first.⁹⁰⁶ Similarly, the author’s claim that Bābā Farīd became the disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at the age of thirteen or fifteen does not match with the contemporary sources. Amīr Khūrd postulated that Bābā Farīd left for Multān for higher education at the age of fifteen⁹⁰⁷ and after that he visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. While Faḍalullah Jamālī argued that

⁹⁰⁴Ibid., 59-60.

⁹⁰⁵Ibid., 60-61.

⁹⁰⁶Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 36-37.

⁹⁰⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 91.

Bābā Farīd saw his Shaykh first time at the age of eighteen in Multān ⁹⁰⁸which is more reasonable.

Similarly, the author proclaimed that Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn was the real son of Bābā Farīd who was in fact an adopted son of the Shaykh. The author has wrongly mentioned the military profession of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn another son of Bābā Farīd instead of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn.⁹⁰⁹ Contrarily, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn spent his whole life with his father.⁹¹⁰ Likewise, Muhammad Bulāq's claim that Bābā Farīd died in 668 A.H. is also debatable.⁹¹¹ Additionally, the author did not mention that it was Ghaznavid ruler (Bahram Shah) who gave great respect to the grandfather of Bābā Farīd and why Qādī Shu'aib migrated toward Northern-India?

The author failed to consult many important contemporary sources including *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Burhan al-Dīn Gharīb and even more surprisingly, *Fawā'id al-Fuād* which is the *Malḡūzāt* of his own paternal forefather, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.

3.16- *Matlūb al-Tālibīn*

Matlūb al-Tālibīn is a biography of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Muhammad Bulāq Kāshānī Nizāmī. However, like *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*, the author in *Matlūb al-Tālibīn* has only partially discussed the early Chishtī Shayūkh. In addition to the Chishtī saints, the author has also discussed different types of *wilayat*, fundamental principles of Sufism, types of *khalāfat*, hierarchy of saints e.g. abdāl, awtād, qutab etc.,

⁹⁰⁸Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 36-37.

⁹⁰⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 189-90: See also Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 50-51

⁹¹⁰Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 186.

⁹¹¹Ibid., 91.

samā’, *wazāif* of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* and the way of *bay‘at* (initiation). The book was completed in 1111 A.H./ 1699 A.D.⁹¹²

3.16.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Matlūb al-Tālibīn*

The author shared same information in *Matlūb al-Tālibīn* which he provides in his former book entitled *Raudah-i-Aqtāb*.⁹¹³ There is not even a minor addition has been found regarding Bābā Farīd in this book.

3.16.2- Critical Analysis of *Matlūb al-Tālibīn*

The critical analysis of *Raudah-i- Aqtāb* applies to *Matlūb al-Tālibīn*.

3.17- The *Muftah al-Karāmāt*

Muftah al-Karāmāt is a combination of the *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* which deals with the life and times of Shaykh Yahyā Madanī Chishtī (d.1689) and Bābā Farīd, compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Fādal. Shaykh Yahyā Madani was the descendant of Khwājah Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Allāma who was an eminent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. The book was completed in 1115 A.H./ 1703 A.D.

3.17.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Muftah al-Karāmāt*

The complete name of the Shaykh Farīd is Mas‘ūd bin Sulaimān ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd. He was the descendant of Amīr al-Mominin ‘Umar bin Khattāb. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was born on Saturday, twenty-ninth Sha‘bān at Khalowal, which is situated near to Multān. From the very first day of his life the Shaykh keep the fast. While discussing arrival of Bābā Farīd at Delhī, the author shared similar information to ‘Alī Asghar’s

⁹¹²Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 8.

⁹¹³Muhammad Bulāq. *Shawāhid-i-Nizāmī (Matlūb al-Tālibīn)*, trans. Muhammad Zaman Ali (New Delhi: Jan-i-Jahan Publishers, 2010 A.D.), 143-45.

Jawāhir-i-Farīdī.⁹¹⁴ Whereas while describing the title Ganj-i-Shakar the author provides almost similar information to Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* and Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhār al-Akhyār*.⁹¹⁵ Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī praised and blessed Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. He died on Šimser (Saturday), Muharram 5, 664 A.H./ 1265 A.D. or 670 A.H./ 1271 A.D. at the age of ninety-five. His grave is in Pattan.⁹¹⁶

3.17.2- Critical Analysis of the *Muftah al-Karāmāt*

This is another detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. however, the author did not consult the contemporary sources at all. He relies heavily on 'Alī Asghar's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* but he added that Bābā Farīd was born on Šimser (Saturday). However, he did not mention the year of birth of Bābā Farīd, while 'Alī Asghar maintains that it was 30 Sha'bān 569 A.H./ 1174 A.D.⁹¹⁷ Similarly, the author added a legend. He maintains that when Bābā Farīd visited his Shaykh at Delhī he found him so beautiful that he became preoccupied and fell asleep. At that moment he ejaculated. When Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī realized his situation, he advised him to go to his *hujrah*. Shaykh Farīd found a river in his Shaykh's *hujrah*, took a bath, and offered his prayer.⁹¹⁸ This is a fabricated story which is far from reality. Similarly, at one place the author described name of Bābā Farīd as 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd, which is, in fact, the name of the elder brother of Bābā Farīd. Likewise, he mentioned Kathōwāl as Khalōwāl and described Pākpatan as Pattan. Moreover, while narrating the title Ganj-i-Shakar, he did not consult Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁴Muhammad Fādal, *Muftah al-Karāmāt*. (Handwritten manuscript completed in 1115 A.H./ 1703 A.D.), 517-21.

⁹¹⁵Ibid., 518-19.

⁹¹⁶Ibid., 520-21.

⁹¹⁷Asghar, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 175.

⁹¹⁸Fādal, *Muftah al-Karāmāt*, 517-18.

⁹¹⁹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar ul Awliyā'*, 67-68.

3.17.3- Muhammad Akram Barāsawī

Shaykh Muhammad Akram bin Shaykh Muhammad ‘Alī bin Shaykh ALLAH Bakhsh was born in a town name Barās near Karnāl and was known as Barāsawī. He was descendant of Imām Abū Hanīfah. His grandfather, Shaykh ALLAH Bakhsh, was a well-known Ṣufī of his time. Muhammad Akram took *bay‘at* at the hands of many saints, including Makhdūm ‘Abdul Rashīd, Shaykh Luqmān⁹²⁰ and Miyan Mīr Qādirī. Moreover, he also took *bay‘at* in three different Ṣufī *salāsīl* including Chishtīyyah, Suhrwardīyyah and Qādirīyyah.⁹²¹ He also received the robe of *khalāfat* from Miyan Saundah in 1700.⁹²² Muhammad Akram Barāsawī was an intellectual Ṣufī and compiled many books such as *Jawāhir-i-Mūdūdī*, *Ma‘rifat al-Nafs*, *Jawāhir-i-Sitta* (six diamonds), *Minhāj al-Sālikīn* and *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. After Allah Diyā Chishtī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān, Muhammad Akram Barāsawī is the third distinguished Sābirī hagiographer.

3.18- *Iqtibās-al-Anwār*

Iqtibās al-Anwār or *Sawātī al-Anwār* is the masterpiece of Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī. The book has four chapters and was completed in 1132 A.H./1720 A.D.⁹²³ It is a detailed biography of Chishtī Ṣufīs in general and the Sābirīyyah *silsilah* in particular.

⁹²⁰ Muhammad Akram Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. (Lahore: Matba‘ Islamia, n.d), 911-19.

⁹²¹ Muhammad Iqbal Mujadidi, *Tadhkira ‘Ulema wa Mashaikh Pāk-o-Hind*. Vol.1. (Lahore: Progressive Books, 2013), 418-19.

⁹²² Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, Part 2, 1019.

⁹²³ Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 8. Nizāmī wrongly mentioned it 1142 A.H. see Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Dīn Ganj-I-Shakar*, 9.

3.18.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Iqtibās al-Anwār*

The author maintains that Bābā Farīd was the descendant ‘Umar bin al- Khattāb. Farrukh Shah was one of the forefathers of Bābā Farīd who was very powerful ruler of Kābul and Ghaznī was also a part of his empire. Later, native of Ghazna captured Kābul. However, the forefather of Bābā Farīd after losing their empire stayed there. While discussing the migration of Qādī Shu‘aīb toward Lāhōre and parents of Bābā Farīd the author provided information akin to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. After the death of Qādī Shu‘aīb his son named Jamāl la-Dīn Sulaimān was appointed as a new qādī of Kathōwāl.⁹²⁴

While discussing the night in which Bābā Farīd was born he maintains people of Kathōwāl were confused as it was cloudy weather and they could not see the crescent of holy Month of Ramḍān. Additionally, he stated that an abdāl named Bhairwa told the people that tonight a child who will be a *qutab* will born in the home of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, if he did not suck milk then you should take it as an evidence of Ramḍān and observed fast. So, Bābā Farīd did not suck milk and all these people kept their fast as well.⁹²⁵

Regarding the meeting of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī the author has shared information akin to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Bābā Farīd on the recommendation of his Shaykh completed his education at Multān and later left for Qandhār for further studies where he spent five more years. During these five years Bābā Farīd visited different prominent saints such as Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī, Shaykh Ajal Shīrāzī and Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁴Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 160-61.

⁹²⁵Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 162.

⁹²⁶ 162-63.

Bābā Farīd after completing his education visited Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. Shaykh told “Maulānā Farīd has come to me after completing his spiritual endeavors”. On the third day of his arrival at Delhī Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī granted him *khalāfat*.⁹²⁷

Perceptively, while talking about the title Ganj-i-Shakar the author has consulted almost all contemporary and early-contemporary and even the seventeenth century literature. He described three different anecdotes regarding that title which were described by Amīr Khūrd, Jamālī, La‘al Baig La‘alī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith of Delhī.⁹²⁸

Similarly, life of Bābā Farīd at Delhī and Hānsī, death of his Shaykh and why he left the former two places and settled at Ajōdhan, the author shared information akin to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. At Ajōdhan Bābā Farīd spent either sixteen or twenty-four years of his life.⁹²⁹

Bābā Farīd faced many challenges at Ajōdhan. It was the place of *jōgīs* (Hindu Yōgīs), who turned against Bābā Farīd. One among them started to fly in the air and later converted to Islam along with his five hindered disciples on the hand of Bābā Farīd, it was because the miraculous show of the Shaykh beat him in the air and forced him to come back. Bābā Farīd granted him *khalāfat* of Sīstān and granted *walāyat* to all his disciples.⁹³⁰ Allah Diyā Chishtī, however, maintains that *jōgī* and his disciples did not convert to Islam and left Ajōdhan after losing their contest. Moreover, Bābā Farīd settled at his residence.⁹³¹

⁹²⁷Ibid., 163.

⁹²⁸Ibid., 164.

⁹²⁹Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 165-66.

⁹³⁰Ibid., 166-67.

⁹³¹Allah Diyā, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, rans. Dardai, 190-91.

While discussing the austere life of Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan the author once again relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn died either in 668 A.H./ 1269 A.D., or 669 A.H./ 1270 A.D. during the rule of Ghiyās al- Din Balban.⁹³²

3.18.2- Critical Analysis of *Iqtibās al-Anwār*

Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī produced another worth mentioning work which has a great importance in the Ṣufī compendia of South Asia. The author regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd relied on contemporary, near-contemporary and seventeenth century's well-known sources. He can be considered first Chishtī hagiographer who had shown critical approach while discussing Bābā Farīd or any other saint. In this regard, he disagreed many times with different prominent hagiographers, for example he truly spurn the claim of Jamālī and Allah Diyā Chishtī that Jamāl al- Din Sulaimān was a nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna (d.1030).⁹³³ Furthermore, he disagreed with Allah Diyā Chishtī that merchant (whose sugar turned into salt) became the disciple of Bābā Farīd, he argued that there is not any contemporary, early-contemporary and even the seventeenth century's hagiographers who has shared that particular information.⁹³⁴

He declared that *Siyar al-Awliyā'* provides the most authentic information about *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* and rejected the exaggerated notions of the later hagiographers such as 'Alī Asghar Chishtī.⁹³⁵ Moreover, he spurn the claim of Allah Diyā that Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Adham was one of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd and argued he did not have a son. Similarly, the author argued that Bābā Farīd married at Ajōdhan rather than at Delhī. Furthermore, he disapproved the marriage of Bābā Farīd with Huzairah Banu

⁹³²Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 173-75.

⁹³³Barāsawī, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, 161.

⁹³⁴Ibid., 164.

⁹³⁵Ibid., 164-65.

daughter of Sultān Ghiyās al-Din Balban. Likewise, he disagreed with Allah Diyā's claim that Bābā Farīd had six sons as well.⁹³⁶ Furthermore, like Sayed Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior, Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī also shared his own spiritual experiences regarding the divine status of Bābā Farīd.⁹³⁷

Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī does not refer to contemporary and early-contemporary sources while providing some information such as Throne of ALLAH and the prediction of Bhairwa the Abdāl about Bābā Farīd etc. Muhammad Akram has also consulted *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn* a *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. While talking about the migration of Qādī Shu'aīb his information is not reliable because he adduces from Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

It is quite clear that the manuscript of *Siyar al-Aqtāb* consulted by Muhammad Akram Barāsawī is relatively different as compared to the book available now a days. Similarly, the manuscripts of *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* consulted by Jamālī and 'Alī Asghar Chishtī, respectively, are different as compared to the *Malḡūzāt* available now. Moreover, Muhammad Akram Barāsawī has discussed the incident of the prominent *jōgī* of Dīpāl Pur who converted to Islam with the reference of *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, but it is not found in now a days publicly available *Malḡūzāt*. It is a fact that during medieval period the *jōgīs* had great socio-religious importance in South Asia. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' also mentioned similar incident of Shaykh Safī al-Dīn Gazrunī and his encounter with a *jōgī* who was flying in the air but was defeated by the Shaykh.⁹³⁸ Another information is the marriage of Bābā Farīd with Huzairah Banu which is not found in available book of *Siyar al-Aqtāb*.⁹³⁹ Likewise, the incident of

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 172-73.

⁹³⁷ Ibid., 168-69.

⁹³⁸ Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 33.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 172.

Shaykh Gardīz another prominent Ṣufī of Multān who accepted the *bay'at* even after his demise from his grave described by Muhammad Akram Barāsawī again with the reference of *Siyar al-Aqtāb* but such incident is not found in the available book.⁹⁴⁰

The author mainly relies on *Siyar al-Aqtāb* while mentioning the date of death of Bābā Farīd which is fairly arguable. Although Barāsawī provides a detail biography of Bābā Farīd but still he skipped few important incidents of the life of the Shaykh such as the enmity of the Qādī of Ajōdhan, he has also skipped some contemporary *Malfūzāt* such as *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Nafā'is al-Anfās*, *Gharaib al-Karāmāt* and *Baqiyat al-Gharaib*.

3.19- Akhbār al-Jamāl

Rājī Muhammad Kowlī born in Kowl, which is situated near 'Aligarh. He was descendant of Shaykh Shah Jamāl. He dedicated title of his book *Akhbār al-Jamāl* to Shah Jamāl. The exact time of Shaykh Jamāl is not known as the author did not mention both the date of birth and death of death of Shaykh Shah Jamāl. However, he mentioned that Shah Jamāl was the contemporary of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r.1325-1351 A.D). *Akhbār al-Jamāl* was completed in 1153 A.H./ 1740 A.D.

The book encompasses a long chronological period which starts from Prophet Ādam (PBUH) to seventeenth century A.D. Like Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān Chishtī, Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī and Muhammad 'Alī Asghar Chishtī, Muhammad Kowlī has also described the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the first four pious caliphs and the eleven Shiite imāms and the majority of prominent Ṣufīs of Islam from the eight century to the seventeenth century A.D.

⁹⁴⁰Ibid., 169.70.

3.19.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Akhhbār al-Jamāl*

The author has presented genealogy of Bābā Farīd.⁹⁴¹ He provides meager information about the early life of Bābā Farīd, forefathers and mother and father of the great Shaykh. While how Bābā Farīd received *khalāfat*? and his itinerary the author shared information akin to Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān in *Mirāt al-Asrār* and Muhammad Akram Barāsawī in *Iqtabas al-Anwār*.⁹⁴² Although he did not mention any contemporary source, yet he described the title of Ganj-i-Shakar similar to these sources. He mentioned five sons of Bābā Farīd named as Badr al-Dīn, Nizām al-Dīn, Shihāb al-Dīn, Nasīr al-Dīn and Ya‘qūb.⁹⁴³ Bābā Farīd died on Muharram fifth, 664 A.H. and his shrine is at Pattan a town located between Lāhōre and Multān.⁹⁴⁴

3.19.2- Critical Analysis of the *Akhhbār al-Jamāl*

Rājī Muhammad Kowlvī provides concise account of Bābā Farīd. There are some faults like the selection and presentation of data, such as; a) he did not mention even a single reference to contemporary and early-contemporary source, b) the presented genealogy is not accurate, c) he wrongly mentioned Shaykh Yūsuf as the Father of Qādī Shu‘aīb while earlier hagiographers like Ghauthī Shattārī, ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, and Allah Diyā mentioned it as Shaykh Ahmad, d) Kowlvī mentioned Shaykh Yūsuf son of Shaykh Muhammad which does not match with the earlier hagiographers.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴¹Genealogy presented by Kolwi is as following: Shaykh Sulaimān bin Shaykh Shu‘aīb bin Shaykh Yūsuf bin Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn bin Shaykh Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī bin Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn bin Sultān popularly known as Shān shah bin Sultān Sulaimān bin Sultan Mas’ūd bin Sultān ‘Abdullah bin Sultān Wa‘az al- Asghar bin Sultan Wa‘az al-Akbar bin Shaykh Ishāq bin Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Shaykh Nasīr bin Shaykh ‘Abdullah bin Haḍrat Amir al-Mominin ‘Umar bin Khattāb. *Akhhbār al-Jamāl*, 185.

⁹⁴²Rājī Muhammad Kowlvī, *Akhhbār al-Jamāl*, ed. Azar Midakhat Safwi (Delhi Nou: Centre of Persian Research Iran, 1393 A.H.), 185-86.

⁹⁴³Kowlvī, *Akhhbār al-Jamāl*, 186-87.

⁹⁴⁴Ibid., 188.

⁹⁴⁵Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 48: see also *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, 178-79, see also *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, p. 186.

The author has skipped numerous important aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd, like he did not mention about Qādī Shu‘aib, the migration of the forefathers of Bābā Farīd toward South Asia, the childhood of Bābā Farīd, parents of Bābā Farīd, his encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Bakhtiyār as well as with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, his meditations, particularly, the *Chillah-i- Ma‘kus*, his matrimonial life, his relationship with Khwājah Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Khwājah Nūr Turk and his approach towards the state as well as toward non-Muslims. The author also has skipped the meeting of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan with Bābā Farīd, the incident of Sarhangā and the Shaykh’s departure toward Hānsī after the death of his Shaykh. It can be deduced from the information provided by Rājī Muhammad Kowlvī that he might have consulted *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*.

3.20- *Jām‘ al-Salāsīl*

Jām‘ al-Salāsīl is another biography of the Ṣufīs of Islam compiled by Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī. The author discussed majority of the prominent Ṣufīs of all the popular Ṣufī orders. In the beginning he provided genealogy of all the Ṣufīs orders, while started first chapter with description of righteous four caliphs, family of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the twelve Shiite imāms. The remaining book gives chronological study of the Ṣufīs. The book was completed in 1154 A.H./1741 A.D.

3.20.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Jām‘ al- Salāsīl*

The author relied on Jamālī’s *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn* while discussing parents of Bābā Farīd as he maintained the father of Bābā Farīd was maternal nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna and the family of Bābā Farīd had migrated from Kābul to Multān during the reign of

Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī. By and large the author described different miracles of Bābā Farīd and skipped other aspects of his life.⁹⁴⁶

3.20.2- Critical Analysis of the *Jām‘al- Salāsal*

The author mainly relied on ‘Abdul Rahmān Jāmī’s *Nafahāt al-Ans* while describing non-South Asian Ṣūfīs. He discussed Bābā Farīd pithily and didn’t add new information. He has consulted *Fawāid al-Fuād* and *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn* and skipped majority of other important contemporary sources such as *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Lataif-i-Asharāfī* and *Malḡūzāt* Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb. There is also erroneous information in the book. The author wrongly mentioned Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān migrated from Kābul to Multān during the reign of Muhammad Ghurī and mentioned Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān as the paternal nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna. The fact is that it was Qādī Shu‘aīb, the grandfather of Bābā Farīd, who migrated to Northern India during the reign Bahram Shah. Likewise, he also skipped the early life of Bābā Farīd, his itineraries, matrimonial life, way of life, *Malḡūzāt*, date of birth and death, his relationship with the common peoples, with non-Muslims, with the state and with the contemporary non-Chishtī Ṣūfīs.

3.21- *Ahsan al-Shamāil*

Ahsan al-Shamāil is the *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī (d.1730) compiled by his *khalīfah* Muhammad Kamgār Khān al-Hussainī. It was completed in 1156 A.H./ 1743 A.D. Besides these *Malḡūzāt*, Muhammad Kamgār Khān has also compiled *Majālis-i-Kalimi*,⁹⁴⁷ *Malḡūzāt* of Shah Kaleemullah Delhwī (d.1729); and

⁹⁴⁶Majd al-Din Badakhshānī, *Jām‘ al-Salāsil*. Handwritten Manuscript (comp. in 1154 A.H./ 1741 A.D.), 820-25.

⁹⁴⁷*Majālis-i-Kalimi* is the shortest Chishtī *malḡūzāt* which have only fourteen brief assemblies and it does not provide any information about Bābā Farīd.

Malḡūḡāt of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī. Ahsan al-Shamāil provides plenty of information about Bābā Farīd. Moreover, it also discusses earlier eminent Chishtī Ṣūfīs such as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Mūdūd Chishtī, Hājī Sharīf Zindānī, Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī, and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Many incidents of Holy Prophet (PBUH) have also been described. It was a custom of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī that he would often order some of his disciples to read any prominent book of *sharī‘ah* or Sufism in his *majālis*. Hence, frequent books including Shaykh Muhammad’s *Bahar al-Asrār*, Imām Ghazzālī’s *Kīmīyā-i-Sa‘ādat*, Muhammad bin ‘Abdullah Khatīb Tabrīzī’s *Mishakat Sharīf*, Shaykh Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī’s *Lataif-i-Asharfi*, Makhdūm Jahānīyyah’s *Malḡūḡāt* (author did not mention name of *Malḡūḡāt*) and *Manāqib-i-Chishtīyyah* were read. The understudied manuscript is taken from Aligarh Muslim University, but it is so worn that page numbers are not mentioned, and many pages are illegible. Other source is its Urdu translation published from Āurangābād, Maharashtra in 2003.

3.21.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Ahsan al-Shamāil*

It is mentioned in *Asrār al-Awliyā’* that if any disciple preserves single *malḡūḡ* of his Shaykh, ALLAH Almighty rewards him the equivalent of one thousand years of worship. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar did his *bay‘at* in his old age at the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. He remained present before his Shaykh all the time. During one of these days, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar saw his Shaykh playing polo. He was shocked and blamed himself that he did *bay‘at* in his old age to a young man who still took interest in games, however, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī esoterically became aware about his disciple’s intention. He asked Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn to join him in the game. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did so but after some time he

became too tired to play. Once Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar during ecstasy asked Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' tell him if he had any desire. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' later regretted why he did not request his Shaykh to pray for his death during *samā'* and in ecstasy. Khwājah Abdāl, one of the disciples of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī, came to his Shaykh with a pamphlet. On the Shaykh's inquiry, it was known that it was the *Malfūzāt* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. The Shaykh asked him to read these *Malfūzāt*. When he did so, many people were so impressed with the *Malfūzāt* that they were weeping. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar allowed only his close associates to join in *samā'* (these men were permanent participant of the *samā'* of the Shaykh). Moreover, he closed the door during *samā'*. Same was followed by his disciples. Once someone saw a disciple of his at Delhī, who had renounced the world and kept busy in meditation, sometimes arranging *samā'* and inviting two of his friends. He was shocked when Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn unexpectedly visited him during *samā'* and told him that their *samā'* was disturbed due to the arrival of the Shaykh. Moreover, when people came to know that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn visited him, he became popular and his routine was disturbed. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn told him that he will not visit him at the daytime and/or during *samā'*.⁹⁴⁸

Some incidents and information regarding Bābā Farīd in *Ahsan al-Shamā'il* is quite debatable. Bābā Farīd did his *bay'at* at the Hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at a young age. He did not stay at the hospice of his Shaykh after doing his *bay'at* for a long time because he kept himself busy in meditation and visited fortnightly. The

⁹⁴⁸Muhammad Kamgār Khān al-Hussainī *Ahsan al-Shamā'il*. Handwritten manuscript. (compl.1743), 1-96. Muhammad Kamgār Khān al-Hussainī, *Majālis-i-Qalīmī wa Ahsan al-Shamā'il*, trans. Qadī Ghauth Muhy al-Din Ahmed Siddiqui (Maharashtra: Sawaira Offset Press, 2003), 55-292. (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 56, 101-2, 139, 153-54, 214-15, & 291).

incident of polo is missing in contemporary sources. Additionally, it is strange to mention that a disciple of Bābā Farīd was disturbed by the arrival of his Shaykh as in Sufism in general and in Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in particular, a disciple considers the company of his Shaykh as the greatest blessing for him. The author has discussed both *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd known as *Asrār al-Awliyā'* and *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. However, he does not mention the title of the *Malfūzāt* compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.

3.22- The *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*

Mir Muhammad Yūsuf al-Hussainī al-Wāstī Balgharāmī Delhwī has compiled *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*, it was completed in 1745. The author discusses Chishtīyyah, Naqshbandīyyah, Qādirīyyah Suhrwardīyyah and Awaisīyyah prominent Ṣufīs from eight century A.D., to seventeenth century A.D. but he has given special attention to the Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. He also discusses the differences among the miracle, *karāmat* and *astadrāj*. Similarly, like Muhammad Bulāq, Muhammad Yūsuf has also described the hierarchy of the saints in Islam.

3.22.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*

The author has described two elements of the life of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, first is his meditation and second is why he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar? While discussing both of these aspects he relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁹⁴⁹ When the 'ulema' raised objections on *samā'*, Bābā Farīd therefore explained its spiritual benefits. Moreover, while making a comparison between the Ṣufīs and 'ulema' the Shaykh elaborates that Ṣufīs among 'ulema' are like moon among the stars. Bābā Farīd died at

⁹⁴⁹Mir Muhammad Yūsuf al-Hussainī, *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*, trans. Shaykh Hashmat Ali Nashat. (Lahore: Muhammad Salim Shami, n.d), 234-35.

the age of ninety-five, on Muharram 5th, 664 A.H. while chanting *Yā Hayy, Yā Qayūm*.⁹⁵⁰

3.22.2- Critical Analysis of *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al- Abrār*

Jawāhir Shakar Ganj wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār is another short biography of Bābā Farīd. One main characteristics of the book is that the author provides reliable information about Bābā Farīd. In many cases, he relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

There are some minor mistakes in *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj Wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*, such as Bābā Farīd did not offer *Fajr* prayer during his *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* and came out from the well after sun rises, while the fact is that the Shaykh came out from the well before dawn and offered *Fajr* prayer with the congregation. Another weak point of the book is that, although the author relies on authentic sources, he skipped the majority of important contemporary and near-contemporary sources such as *Shamāil al-Atiqiyā*, *Nafa'is al-Anfas*, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Afḍal al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Sirāj al-Hidāya Lataif-i-Asharafī*, *Tadhkirāt al-Asfiyā'*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Samarāt al-Qudūs* and *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*.

Similarly, the author has skipped many important incidents of the life of the Shaykh such as the forefathers of Bābā Farīd, their migration toward South Asia, the birth of Bābā Farīd, his father and mother, the encounter of Bābā Farīd with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, attitude of the qādī of Ajōdhan, the spell casting on Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and his family and children. Additionally, he did not describe numerous miracles of the Shaykh that were narrated in the earlier sources. Moreover, he did not make a

⁹⁵⁰Ibid., 236.

comparison between the Chishtī hospice of Ajōdhan under Bābā Farīd and the Suhrwardī hospice in Multān under Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the book does not share any new information about Bābā Farīd.

3.23- The *Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār*

The *Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār* is the *Malfūẓāt* of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad of Nārōwāl (d. 1789) compiled by his disciple Maulvī Muhammad Gholwī. The time of compilation is not mentioned. However, it was completed before 1790. Khwājah Nūr Muhammad of Nārōwāl was a prominent *khalīfah* of Shaykh Nūr Muhammad Muhārī (d.1791). The *Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār* primarily discusses Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārī, Khwājah Nūr Muhammad of Nārōwāl and Hafiz Muhammad Sultān Purī. It partially discusses Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar.

3.23.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār* and its Analysis

Shaykh al-'Alamīn Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn was a complete model of *sharī'ah*, *tarīqah* and *haqīqah*. He gave special attention to the cleanliness and often remained in ablution. He paid equal attention to every viewer. His personality was like a sun which enlightened the whole world. The Shaykh had told four principles to his disciples, these are: to eat little, speak little, sleep little and little association with the worldly people. It was wont of Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn that when food was presented before him, he ate two or three morsels and rest of the food was divided among the audience. The author further maintains that the old name of Pākpatan was Ajōdhan, it became popular as Pākpatan because of the settlement of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. The author

has described the title Ganj-i-Shakar with the reference of Shaykh ‘Abdul Ghafūr Lārī, who was maternal nephew of Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān Jāmī as Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did not broke his fast for seven days, during that starvation he left to visit his Shaykh at his hospice. On the way he was chanting ALLAH, ALLAH, but due to severe weakness fell on the ground, some mud came to his mouth which turned into sugar. When his Shaykh came to know he told him there is possibility that ALLAH may make your personality sweet like sugar; and from that day he became popular as Shakar Bar or Shakar Ganj or Ganj-i-Shakar. While talking about the importance of the *Malfūzāt*, Khwājah Nūr Muhammad repeated the same statement of Bābā Farīd mentioned by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī in *Ahsan al-Shamāil*,⁹⁵¹ as Khwājah Farīd al-Haq wa Din Mas‘ūd Ajōdhanī once said that if any disciple preserves single *malfūz* of his Shaykh, ALLAH Almighty rewards him the equivalent of one thousand years of worship.⁹⁵² Like, other *Malfūzāt Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār* shared some valuable information and few scattered stories about the Shaykh.

3.24- *Shajrat al-Anwār*

Maulānā Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhrī compiled *Shajrat al-Anwār*. He was one of the disciples of Khwājah Fakhar al-Dīn Delhwī (d.1784) who was an eminent Chishtī Shaykh of eighteenth century-India. The *Shajrat al-Anwār* deals with the prominent Chishtī Ṣūfis of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. The book is not yet published, and the exact year of compilation is also not confirmed, however, there is a possibility that it was compiled during 1780s or 1790s.

⁹⁵¹Muhammad Kamgār Khān Hussainī. *Ahsan al-Shamāil*. Handwritten manuscript, 1-2.

⁹⁵²Maulvī Muhammad Ghōlwī, *Khayr al-Adhkār fī Manāqib al-Abrār*, ed. Abdul Aziz Sahar. (Wah Cantt: Qalam Qar Publishers, 2010), 37-78. (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 37,50,77,78)

3.24.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Shajrat al-Anwār*

The author has mentioned the name of Bābā Farīd as Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shakar Bar Ajōdhanī. He refers *Siyar al-Awliyā’* while describing the grandfather and parents of Bābā Farīd, his meditation, appointment as a head of Chishtīyyah order, life at Ajōdhan, relationship with the state and the death of the Shaykh. Similarly, while discussing the early life of Bābā Farīd he relies once again on Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and Hamīd Qalandar’s *Khayr al-Majālis*.⁹⁵³ Likewise, the author has thoroughly discussed how Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar? In this regard, he has consulted *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār* and *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

After leaving Hānsī, Bābā Farīd arrived at Kotīwāl but hardly stay there and left for Lāhōre. Lāhōre on that time was destroyed by Changīz Khān. Finally, the Shaykh came to Ajōdhan which was an unfamiliar place and settled near the Jam‘ia Mosque of Ajōdhan. Bābā Farīd married there at Ajōdhan.⁹⁵⁴ It is narrated in *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’* that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn had three wives. Huzairah Banu, the first wife of the Shaykh was the daughter of Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban, second was Bībī Sharu and third was Bībī Shakaru.⁹⁵⁵ He further argued that Umm-i-Kulthūm was another wife of the Shaykh who was widow and mother of Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah.⁹⁵⁶ While discussing the children of Bābā Farīd the author once again relies on Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*.⁹⁵⁷ He has described numerous miracles of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd and heavily relies on ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’* and to some extent refers the contemporary sources.⁹⁵⁸

⁹⁵³Maulānā Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhrī, *Shajrat al-Anwār*. Handwritten manuscript, 393-97.

⁹⁵⁴Fakhrī, *Shajrat al-Anwār* 422-23.

⁹⁵⁵Ibid., 486.

⁹⁵⁶Ibid., 491.

⁹⁵⁷Ibid., 494-96.

⁹⁵⁸Ibid., 462-68.

Prominent *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd were Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq of Delhī, Shaykh 'Arif Sīstānī, Shaykh Dawūd and Sayed Mahmūd Kirmānī.⁹⁵⁹

3.24.2- Critical Analysis of the *Shajrat al-Anwār*

Shajrat al-Anwār is a comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd in which the author has tried to discuss majority of the prominent aspects of the life of former Shaykh. He has frequently consulted contemporary sources. By and large, the author in majority cases (except the miracles and *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd) provides rational and genuine information. Besides this, some major and minor flaws has also existed in that work like; a) he wrongly mentions the period of the migration of Qādī Shu'aīb, b) Sultān of Delhī granted him Qadī-ship, c) Kathōwāl as Kotīwāl, d) Bābā Farīd, La'al Shahbāz Qalandar, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān, Shaykh Dawūd and Shaykh Mahmūd all together came to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrwardī is dubious as the contemporary sources do not justify that particular journey and moreover, one cannot find any relationship of Bābā Farīd with the above mentioned saints except Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, e) Likewise, he declared Shaykh Dawūd and Sayed Mahmūd Kirmānī prominent *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd which is also not fully acceptable as the contemporary and near-contemporary sources did not provide matching information. Although the later was the grandfather of Muhammad Bin Mubārak Kirmānī who compiled first biography of the Chishtī Saints of South Asia entitled *Siyar al-Awliyā'* he too did not mention that Bābā Farīd granted the *khalāfat nāmāh* to his grandfather.

⁹⁵⁹Ibid., 226- 29.

The author did not consult some important contemporary sources such as *Shmail al-Atiqiyā*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fuād*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Lataif-i-Asharfī*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā'* and *Samarāt al-Qudūs*. While discussing the miracles of Bābā Farīd the author heavily relies on *Gulshan-i- Awliyā'* which is axiomatically a fabricated source. Moreover, he has shared little information about the offspring of Bābā Farīd, did not mention about the Qādī of Ajōdhan, and a spell attack on Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. Moreover, he did not try to make a comparison between the Chishtī hospice under Bābā Farīd and the Suhrwardī hospice under Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā.

3.25- *Ma'yar-i-Salīkān-i-Tarīqat*

Mir 'Alī Shēr Qāni (d.1789) was a renowned Sindhi intellectual. He produced numerous dīwān and works on geography, history and Sufism, these are like *Dīwān-i-Qāl Ghum*, *Masnawi Shamah*, *Masnawi Qadha and Qadar*, *Tuhfat al-Ikrām*, *Maqālāt al-Shu'ra*, *Masnawi Qissa Qamrōp*, *Sāqī Nāmāh*, *Wāq'yāt-i-Haḍrat Shah*, *Tārīkh-i-Abbasiyyah* and *Lab-i-Tārīkh-i-Kalhora*.⁹⁶⁰ *Ma'yar-i-Salīkān-i-Tarīqat* was completed in 1788 and it discusses sixteen hundred and ninety Islamic personalities.

3.25.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Ma'yar-i-Salīkān-i-Tarīqat*

Bābā Farīd was the descendants of 'Umar bin Khattāb and was a *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Aweshī Kākī who was the *khalīfah* of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Sijzī. Bābā Farīd enjoyed friendly relations with Khwājah Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and both undertook journeys together. Moreover, they also wrote letters to each other. Bābā Farīd made a long itineraries and finally settled at Ajōdhan. Here he married, and his

⁹⁶⁰Makhdūm Amīr Ahmed, *Introduction to Mīr 'Alī Shēr Qāni's Tuhfat al Ikrām*. (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006), 47-77.

children were also born at Ajōdhan. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar and date of death of Bābā Farīd, ‘Alī Shēr Qāni provides matching information to the *Siyar al-Awliyā*’ while about the People of Ajōdhan shared similar informed to *Khayr al-Majālis*.⁹⁶¹

3.25.2- Critical Analysis of *Ma‘yar-i-Salīkān-i-Tarīqat*

The book shares brief information about Bābā Farīd, while numerous aspects of his life have been skipped including his parents, early life, stay at Delhī, Hānsī, his social life, meditation, descendants, *sajjādah nashīns* and *khulafā*’.

Some errors also existed in the book, he mentioned Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Aweshī Kākī. While talking about the title Ganj-i-Shakar ‘Alī Shēr Qāni, on the one hand, accurately mentioned the story of *tayy* of Bābā Farīd described by Amīr Khūrd, while, on the other hand, like Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith he refers the story of the trade caravan to the *Siyar al-Awliyā*’. But the later incident is not found in *Siyar al-Awliyā*’. The author mentions only a single reference (of the *Siyar al-Awliyā*’) during his whole account of Bābā Farīd. Similarly, he did not consult the majority of the contemporary works that deals with Bābā Farīd.

3.26- *Khulāsat al-Fawāid*

The *Khulāsat al-Fawāid* is the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi (d.1790), compiled by his disciple Qādī Muhammad ‘Umar Hakīm. The *Malfūzāt* is divided into two parts: part one consists of the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi; part two deals with different *sharī‘ah* issues discussed by Khwājah Nūr

⁹⁶¹Mīr ‘Alī Shēr Qāni, *Ma‘yar-i-Salīkān-i-Tarīqat*, trans. Muhammad Hassan Yahya (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2010), 421-22.

Muhammad Muhārī. Muhammad ‘Umar Hakīm does not mention the timeframe of the assemblies of that *Malfūzāt*.

3.26.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Khulasat al-Fawāid* and its Analysis

It is surprising that the *Khulāsāt al-Fawāid* provides little information about Bābā Farīd, Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārī was one of the great devotees of Bābā Farīd and remained head of Chishtī *silsilah*. Moreover, he visited the shrine of Bābā Farīd more than any other head of this *silsilah*. Hence, he had a close connection with the *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd who exchanged information with him regarding Bābā Farīd.

Bābā Farīd once asked Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī to give him permission for amulets, since people from different areas of the Punjab requested amulets from him. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī granted permission and explained that not everything is your or in his hands. So, he should give ALLAH’s names as amulets to them. Moreover, one of the major benefits is that the viewers became happy and satisfied. One of the signs of the great spiritual level of Bābā Farīd was that, in his presence, the audience would fall into ecstasy, including the imām during the congregational prayers.⁹⁶²

3.27- *Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’*

The *Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’* is an all-inclusive biography of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan compiled by Qādī Sayed Imām al-Dīn Hassan Khān. He was a prominent poet of his time. The author discusses the prominent *khulafā’* of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan,

⁹⁶²Qādī Muhammad ‘Umar Hakīm, *Khulasat al-Fawāid*, trans. Muhammad Bashir Akhtar Allahabad (Rahimyar Khan: 1961), 14-115. (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 56 & 59).

khulafā' of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and the *khulafā'* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. The book was completed in 1213 A.H./ 1798 A.D.

3.27.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Mu'īn al-Awliyā'*

The forefathers of Bābā Farīd migrated toward Lāhōre during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was born in 584 A.H./ 1188 A.D. He was the *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who visited him first time at Multān. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn became very much popular at Delhī, so he left for Hānsī and after some time shifted to Ajōdhan. At Ajōdhan Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn tried to create problems for Bābā Farīd. He also visited the governor of Multān and raised false allegations against Bābā Farīd. But when failed in his purpose, he therefore hired a *qalandar* to assassinate the Shaykh. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd died in 664 A.H./1265 A.D.⁹⁶³

3.27.2- Critical Analysis of the *Mu'īn al-Awliyā'*

As mentioned above the *Mu'īn al-Awliyā'* is primarily a biography of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan. That is why the author provides only concise information about Bābā Farīd. While talking about the sources, the author hardly consulted the contemporary and near-contemporary sources regarding Bābā Farīd.

Similarly, errors have also been in that work. The author's claim about the migration of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd that they came to Lāhōre during the rule of Muhammad Ghurī is not acceptable as they migrated during the rule of Bahram Shah, the last ruler of the house of Mahmūd of Ghazna. Similarly, the author described the date of birth of Bābā Farīd as 584 A.H./ 1188 A.D. which is far from the fact. Bābā Farīd was born in

⁹⁶³Imām al-Dīn Hassan, *Mu'īn al-Awliyā'*. (Ajmer: Muin al-Hind Publishers, n.d), 173-75.

569 A.H./ 1174 A.D.⁹⁶⁴ The author wrongly mentioned Qādī ‘Abdullah,⁹⁶⁵ of Ajōdhan as Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn. Similarly, the author mentioned Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb as one of the *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd,⁹⁶⁶ who, in fact, was a prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.

⁹⁶⁴Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al- Awliyā’*, 91.

⁹⁶⁵Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 84. See also Jāndār, *Durr e- Nizāmī*, trans. Nizāmi, 202.

⁹⁶⁶Hassan, *Mu‘īn al-Awliyā’*, 174

CHAPTER- 4

BĀBĀ FARĪD IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The nineteenth century, like the sixteenth century, lacks in richness regarding the biographical literature on Bābā Farīd. However, Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, a matchless historian and intellectual of his time in the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent, is an important exception. The twentieth century is the richest in the production of numerous biographies of Bābā Farīd. Some of them are research-oriented works, while others are semi-scholarly works.

4.1- *Mirāt al-Awliyā'*

The *Mirāt al-Awliyā'* was compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Shu‘aīb (d.1823) and was completed in 1811 A.D. Shaykh Muhammad Shu‘aīb presented a comprehensive biography of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and concise biographies of the first four pious caliphs. The book also presented a hagiographical account of the Chishī Sūfīs from Shaykh Hassan al-Baṣrī to Shaykh ‘Abdul Ahad (*khalīfah* of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī). Similarly, prominent Qādirī, Naqshbandī and Kubravī prominent Sūfīs are also discussed. For the Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah* the author discussed only Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī.

4.1.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Mirāt al-Awliyā'*

Original name Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar was born Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd. He was a maternal nephew of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna. His father, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, arrived in Multān during the reign of Sultān Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was married to Qursam Bībī and had three sons, namely, ‘Azīz al-Dīn

Mahmūd, Farīd al- Mas‘ūd and Najīb al-Dīn Mahmūd. While discussing the incident of the thief who was converted at the hand of Qursam Bībī and how Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar, the author shared information akin to Jamālī’s *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*. Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī praised and blessed Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar at Delhī. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī along with Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī and La‘al Shahbāz Qalandar.

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn asked them to slaughter a cock at a place where no one could see them. All of them slaughter their cocks in a specific place except Shaykh Farīd al- Dīn, who told Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn that ALLAH sees him at every place. At Ajōdhan there was a *jōgī* who was so popular that the king and common people showed him great devotion. After Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar settled in that town the *jōgī*’s influence decreased day by day. for this reason, he went to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and challenged him to mystical combat. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn accepted his challenge, and the *jōgī* started to fly in the air. But, in the end, he was defeated and converted at the hand of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn died on Muharram 5, 660A.H. at the age ninety-five. ⁹⁶⁷

4.1.2- Critical Analysis of the *Mirāt al-Awliyā’*

The author skipped some aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd such as his birth and early education, matrimonial life and descendants, his life at Delhī, Hānsī and Ajōdhan, his meditation practices, particularly, the *Chillah-i-Ma ‘kus*, his *Jamā ‘t Khānah*, his attitude toward Muslims and non-Muslims, the common people and the ruling elite. Moreover,

⁹⁶⁷Shaykh Muhammad Shu‘aib. *Mirāt al-Awliyā’*. (compl. 1811), ed. Qādī Mīr Ahmad Shah. (Akbar Pura: 1899), 117-121.

the author has consulted the *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn* and the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and skipped the remaining hagiographical sources. Moreover, the book does not explore new aspects of the life of Bābā Farīd.

As in other hagiographical sources, the *Mirāt al-Awliyāʾ* is also not free of errors: a) it was Qādī Shuʿaīb who migrated from Kābul not Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān; b) the forefathers of Bābā Farīd migrated during the rule of Ghaznavid; c) ʿAzu Dīn Mahmūd is described as ʿAzīz al-Dīn Mahmūd and Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil is mentioned as Najīb al-Dīn Mahmūd; d) a journey of Bābā Farīd is fabricated as Laʿal Shahbāz Qalandar never accompanied the great Shaykh on a journey; e) the incident of the *jōgī* is fabricated as the author stated that he was so popular that the king also showed respect toward him; f) Bābā Farīd died in 664 A.H.

4.2- *Takmīlah Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*

The *Takmīlah Siyar al-Awliyāʾ* was compiled by Khwājah Gul Muhammad Ahmad Purī in 1230 A.H./1815 A.D. It is almost inaccessible in Pākistān. The author discusses the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and other Chishtī saints from Hassan al-Baṣrī to Muhammad Sulaimān of Tunswa. Majority of the saints are discussed very briefly. However, Shah Kalīm Ullah Jahānābādī, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Āurangābādī, Khwājah Fakhar al-Dīn Delhwī, Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi and Khwājah Muhammad Sulaimān Tunswī have been discussed in detail. In addition to the Chishtī saints the author also discusses Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī and Shaykh ʿAbdul Qādir Jilānī succinctly.

4.2.1- The Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Takmīlah Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*

The author provides little information about Bābā Farīd. He assigns different titles to Bābā Farīd such as *Sultān al-ʿĀrifīn*, *Burhān al-Muhaqqiqīn*, *Qutab al-Aqtāb*, Shaykh

al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Farīd al-Haq wa-Sharah wa-Dīn. He maintains that Haḍrat Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar was Sulaimān’s son. Shaykh Ganj-i-Shakar died on Šimser (the sixth day of the solar week, corresponding to English Saturday), Muharram 5, 664 A.H./ October 16, 1265 A.D. He further maintains that other hagiographers mention the year of death of the Shaykh as 668 A.H./1269 A.D. and 669 A.H./1270 A.D.⁹⁶⁸

Furthermore, the author proclaims that Bābā Farīd and Khwājah Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā were great friends. When someone wrongly informed Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā said some ill words about him, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā became aware of it and wrote a letter to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn in which he mentioned, “there is a competition of love between you and me”. Bābā Farīd replied, “We have love, not competition”.⁹⁶⁹

4.2.2- Critical Analysis of the *Takmīlah Siyar al-Awliyā’*

Surprisingly, the author who himself was a Chishtī Shaykh discusses the first five great saints of the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* of South Asia too briefly. Paradoxically, he discusses the medieval Qādirī, Suhrwardī and Naqshbandī saints in detail. There are both minor and major mistakes in that book are such as: a) the author mentions three dates of Bābā Farīd’s passing i.e. 664 A.H., 668 A.H. and 669 A.H.; b) he argues that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā died on Safar, 7, 665 A.H./ November 1266, during the period of Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (r. 1266-87),⁹⁷⁰ which is inaccurate as the Shaykh died on 662 A.H./1262 A.D; c) the author mentions the dates of death of Khwājah Fuḍail bin Ayāz

⁹⁶⁸Gul Muhammad Ahmad Purī, *Takmīlah Siyar al-Awliyā’*. (Delhi: Rizvi Publishers, n.d), 12.

⁹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 40.

and Khwājah Ibrāhīm bin Adham as 187 A.H.⁹⁷¹, which are in fact 87 A.H. and 165 A.H., respectively.⁹⁷²

4.3- The *Nāf‘ al-Sālikīn*

The *Nāf‘ al-Sālikīn* are the *Malfūzāt* of Muhammad Sulaimān of Tunswa (d.1850) collected by his disciple Imām al-Dīn. Muhammad Sulaimān was a popular Chishtī Ṣūfī of nineteenth century and a distinguished *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi. Imām al-Dīn maintains that he compiled that *Malfūzāt* because Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar discussed the importance of *Malfūzāt* comprehensively before his disciples. The *Nāf‘ al-Sālikīn* provides rich information about the prophets, earlier popular Ṣūfīs, socio-political history of Muslim India, and the life and teachings of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi. The *Malfūzāt* was completed in 1850.

4.3.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Nāf‘ al-Sālikīn*: A Critical Study

The author repeats the same statement of Bābā Farīd as described by Maulvī Muhammad Gholwī regarding the importance of *Malfūzāt*: if any disciple preserves single *malfūz* of his Shaykh, ALLAH Almighty bestows upon him a reward of one thousand years’ worship. Due to food shortage, the *Jamā‘t Khānah* of Bābā Farīd served their audience bitter and wild fruits and vegetables. Moreover, Bābā Farīd advised Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ that whenever any guest visited him and he faced starvation, it was a sign of blessing of ALLAH as starvation is a great blessing. However, in his old age, he became too weak to perform meditation. He himself said that it was because of his constant starvation.

⁹⁷¹Ahmad Purī, *Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 8-9.

⁹⁷²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, 35: See also Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Awliyā’*. (memorial of the Saints), trans. A.J Arberry (Ames: Omphaloskepsis, 2000), 49-65.

The Hindus also showed great respect towards Bābā Farīd and declared Ajōdhan as the Islamic center. Angels also visited the *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd to teach his disciples. The author also provides the account of the meeting of Shaykh 'Arif with Bābā Farīd which is similar to the account of Amīr Khūrd. But Imām al-Dīn does not mention Shaykh 'Arif's name. Once Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn fell seriously ill and briefly used a stick but discarded it soon and told his disciples that ALLAH Almighty asked him why he trusted a stick instead of his Lord. The Shaykh did not allow his disciples to keep anybody's goods, amount etc. with them as *amanat* as it creates a chance of misappropriation. He further advised never to misuse one's eye, tongue, feet and hand.⁹⁷³ Muhammad Sulaimān of Tunswa, in his *Malḡūzāt*, refers to Imām Ghazzālī's *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jillānī's *Ghuniat al-Tālibīn*, Muhyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Alī Ibne 'Arabī's *Fasūs al-Hikam* ('Bezels of Wisdom') and the *Fatuhāt-i-Makiyya* ('The Makkahn Revelations'), Bābā Farīd's *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*. Unlike Amīr Hassan Sijzī's *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, Imām al-Dīn does not mention the timeframe of the *majālis* of the *Nāf' al-Sālikīn*. The *Malḡūzāt* also contain some repetitions. The author wrongly claims that Bābā Farīd visited different places in the search of his preceptor, while the fact is that the Shaykh became a devotee of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at a very young age.

4.4- *Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī*

Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī was compiled by Muhammad Hassan Sābirī Chishtī Rāmpurī. It was completed in 1852 and published in 1856 by Hassani Press Rāmpur; the version used in this study is the sixth edition published in 1983. It is a detailed biography of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar and provides sufficient

⁹⁷³Imām al-Dīn, *Nāf' al-Sālikīn*, trans. Muhammad Hussain Lelli (Lahore: Shua-i-Adab Publishers, n.d), pp. (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 31, 55, 84, 101, 102, 140, 157, 220, 225, 250, 259, 262, 348, 371), 31- 376.

information about Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd and the conversion of Hindus at the hands of former saints.

4.4.1- The Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī*

Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, the founder of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in Hindūstān, arrived in India in 571 A.H./1176 A.D. He visited Sialkot first, then Qalāt, Peshawar and finally reached Ajmer in 576 A.H./1181 A.D. Shah Shaykh Farīd Mas‘ūd Shakar Ganj-i-Shakar was born in 504 A.H./ 1111 A.D.⁹⁷⁴ Bābā Farīd mentions in his book entitled *Sirr al-‘Ābūdīyat* that he had three wives. The first, Mujīb al-Nisā’ gave birth to four children; the second, Bībī Khātūn, daughter of Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn, gave birth to seven children; and the third, Umm-i-Kulthūm, gave birth to three children. He had seventy-two thousand *khulafā’* among whom thirty-two thousand were *jinns*. Bābā Farīd died on the night of 5 Muharam 664 A.H., before ‘*Ishā’*’ prayer. On that night, he offered *Maghreb* (evening) prayer thrice. Later, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ reburied him in his *hujrah* where he did his mediation. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī informed Bābā Farīd that in the future, a Door of Paradise would be opened at Bābā Farīd’s shrine. Later, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ built that Door in 681 A.H./ 1282 A.D., once again on Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī’s order.⁹⁷⁵

4.4.2- Critical Analysis of *Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī*

The book is important mystically as well as politically as the author discusses Chishtī saints of India from the twelfth to nineteenth century, and Muslim and British rule in India. However, numerous mistakes are found in *Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī*: a) the

⁹⁷⁴Muhammad Hassan Sābirī, *Haqīqat-i-Gulzār-i-Sābirī*. (compl. 1856) (Qasūr: Maktubat Sābirīyyah, 1983), 552-67.

⁹⁷⁵Ibid., 258-295.

author mentions Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī vowed *bay‘at* at the hand of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī in 569 A.H./1174 A.D. in the presence of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī (p.112), while the fact is that Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī passed away in 1165; b) Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī arrived in India in 1191 rather than 1176; c) Bābā Farīd’s date of birth is wrongly mentioned as 504 A.H. instead of 569 A.H.; d) *Sirr al-Ābūdīyat* is not a justifiable work of Bābā Farīd; e) the author wrongly mentioned Shaykh Farīd offered evening prayer thrice which is in fact night prayer; f) Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil, Bābā Farīd’s brother is mentioned as Najm al-Dīn Mutawwakil, g) matrimonial life is falsely described. Further author does not consult earlier sources regarding Bābā Farīd, his *khulafā’* and descendants.

4.5- The *Makhzan-i-Chisht*

The *Makhzan-i-Chisht* was compiled by Khwājah Imām Bakhsh Muhārīwī (d. 1882) in 1860 A.D. He was one of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārīwī’s descendants. The *Makhzan-i-Chisht* is a significant and lengthy chronological work providing a thorough biography of Chishtī Ṣūfīs from seventh to nineteenth century. The author compiled certain other important works such as *Gulshan-i-Abrār*, the *Panj Ganj*, the *Dīwān-i-I‘jāz*, and the *Maktūbāt*.

4.5.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Makhzan-i-Chisht*

The author, being a devotee of Bābā Farīd, maintains that it is impossible to cover all the miracles and characteristics of Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn. Imām Bakhsh narrates certain incidents and anecdotes which coincide with other references: a) Qādī Shu‘aīb’s migration as described by Amīr Khūrd in the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*; b) while discussing Qursam Bībī, the author shares information akin to Fakharī’s *Shajrat al-Anwār* with a little addition that the thief (‘Abdullah) who converted at Qursam Bībī’s hand did his

bay'at at Bābā Farīd's hand, and was known as Chāwalī Mashaikh; c) Bābā Farīd's encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī as mentioned in Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*; d) the travels of Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā are similar to Fakharī's *Shajrat al-Anwār*; e) details of the title Ganj-i-Shakar as described in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār* and *Gulshan-i-Awliyā'*; and f) the details of *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* are similar to the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. After his Shaykh's demise, Bābā Farīd reached Delhī and stayed for a long time. Shaykh al-Shayūkh Farīd al-Dīn spent his last sixteen or eighteen years at Ajōdhan. The author narrates from the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* that once a Negro man visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and told him about his childlessness asking him to pray for an offspring. Bābā Farīd told him that ALLAH Almighty will bestow him seven children. One of the Shaykh's students objected and argued whether he was a Shaykh or a God. Bābā Farīd did not reply. After many years, the Negro revisited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn with his seven sons. Coincidentally, the same student was also there. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn explained that for forty years, he did what ALLAH Almighty wants. Now what he wants and what ALLAH Almighty wants are one. On another occasion, upon Hassan Qawwāl's persistent requests for financial assistance for his daughters' marriage, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn allowed him to take a brick from his hospice which turned into gold. He took two more bricks which also turned into gold.

The Shaykh died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H. He was first buried where nowadays the tomb of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ganj-i-'Ilam is located. But, later, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' exhumed and reburied him at his *hujrah*. The burial chamber of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar is quite small because Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' took clean soil for the bricks, washed every brick thrice and recited *Surah al-Akhlās* thrice on each. Due to that arduous practice, it was impossible to build a massive tomb.

Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was among the four men who exhumed Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar to rebury him in another place. During that process, he became unconscious and fell. Surprisingly, the bed (on which they carried the body of his Shaykh) did not lose balance. When Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' came to consciousness, he said that Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) took the bed from his side causing him to faint. The place where the Holy Prophet (PBUH) marked his feet is known as the Door of Paradise. It is also mentioned that anyone who places his feet at the same place will go to paradise. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar had three daughters of whom two were married to Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq. First was Bībī Sharīfah and after her death, he married Bībī Fātimah.⁹⁷⁶

4.5.2- Analysis of Bābā Farīd's biography described in the *Makhzan-i-Chisht*

The *Makhzan-i-Chisht* is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author consults many important books and *Malḡūzāt* such as *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, *Gulshan-i-Awliyā'*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Shajrat al-Anwār*. In most cases, he provides genuine information. But there are some inaccuracies: a) Imām Bakhsh fails to explore the actual reason of Qādī Shu'aīb's migration and solely relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā'*; b) 'Abdullah doing *bay'at* at Bābā Farīd's hand is also debatable as the latter was a child when the former converted; c) Bābā Farīd's family buried in Kathōwāl is known as Chāwalī Mashaikh; d) Bābā Farīd did not perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* at Kathōwāl; e) Bābā Farīd spent only a few days at Delhī after his Shaykh's death and spent twenty-four years at Ajōdhan; f) Bībī Sharīfah was not Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq's wife; g) the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* is wrongly mentioned as the *Asrār al-Sālikīn*, and at one place, mistakenly mentions

⁹⁷⁶ Imām Bakhsh, *Makhzan-i-Chisht*. (compl. 1277 A.H./1860 A.D.), trans. Iftikhar Ahmed Chishtī (Faisalabad: Chishtīyyah Academy, 1989), 215-38.

Shajrat al-Anwar as Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī's book instead of Maulānā Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhrī; h) the incident of the Negro is missing in the version of the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* available today; i) Imām Bakhsh skips some important information regarding Bābā Farīd such as his date of birth, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, brothers of Bābā Farīd and ‘Abdullah Nūrī, son of the Shaykh; and j) he skips information about ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir and any other Ṣufī of the Sābirīyyah *silsilah*.

4.6- *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*

Hājī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī was a prominent disciple of Khwājah Muhammad Sulaimān of Tunswa (d.1851), a practicing Ṣufī, and a descendant of Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī. Najm al-Dīn's father, Shaykh Ahmad Bakhsh, was also a renowned saint of his town. Najm al-Dīn was born in 1819 A.D. in a town named Baldah Jonjūn, a suburb of Jai Pur, and some eighty-kilometers away from Delhī. Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī himself guided Hājī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī through his dream and ordered him to visit Shah Muhammad Sulaimān. He visited his Shaykh in 1834 A.D. and died in 1870 A.D. at Fateh Pur and was buried there.⁹⁷⁷

He compiled *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn* in 1278 A.H./1861 A.D. The book is divided into four parts. Part one contains the biographies of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī. Part two starts from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and ends with details about Khwājah Fakhar al-Dīn Delhwī. Part three discusses a detailed biography of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi. In part four he discusses the life and times of his own Shaykh, Muhammad Sulaimān of Tunswa.

⁹⁷⁷Hājī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*. (compl. 1861) (Matba Hassani, n.d), 362-63.

4.6.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*

Bābā Farīd's name was Mas'ūd and his *laqab* (title) was Farīd al-Dīn. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was his father and Qursam Bībī, daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī, was his mother. Sirāj al-Dīn was Bābā Farīd's grandfather whose title was Shu'aīb. Qādī Shu'aīb's father, Shaykh 'Abdul Rahmān, popularly known as Shaykh Ahmad, was one of Shaykh 'Uthmān Harūnī's *khulafā'*. His father, Shaykh Muhammad Sharf al-Dīn, was a *khalīfah* of Hājī Sharīf Zindanī.⁹⁷⁸

Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn or Qādī Shu'aīb had three sons; Shaykh Ya'qūb, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān and the third one is unknown. Shaykh Ya'qūb, had two sons, Rashīd al-Dīn and Sirāj al-Dīn. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar's father. He got *khalāfat* from his own father Qādī Shu'aīb. Moreover, he was also a disciple of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī. Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān had three sons: the eldest, Farīd al-Dīn; the middle one, Najīb al-Dīn; and the youngest, 'Azū al-Dīn Mahmūd. During the invasion of Changīz Khān, Qādī Shu'aīb migrated from Kābul to Lāhōre, then to Qasūr, and finally settled at Kathōwāl which is now known as Chāwalī Mashaikh, a village near Multān.⁹⁷⁹

Bābā Farīd did *bay'at* at the hand of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at the age of fifteen or eighteen. Bābā Farīd settled in Ajōdhan which became popular as Pākpatan due to his arrival. Regarding Bābā Farīd's matrimonial life, children and *khulafā'*, the author relies on *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Mirāt al-Asrār*.⁹⁸⁰

The author describes the incident of the trade caravan a bit differently than La'al Baig La'alī and Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith. Once on his journey, Bābā Farīd found a

⁹⁷⁸Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*, 27-28.

⁹⁷⁹Ibid., 28.

⁹⁸⁰Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*, 29-30.

trader loading sugar on his ox. When Bābā Farīd enquired about his goods, the trader deliberately lied that it was salt. Surprisingly, it actually turned into salt when the trader reached the market. He, therefore, returned to tell Bābā Farīd. On his forgiveness, the salt turn into sugar again. Moreover, Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār also granted him the title Ganj-i-Shakar.⁹⁸¹ Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd died on Tuesday, Muharram 5, 668/ (3rd September 1269 A.D.) or 669 A.H./1270 A.D. during Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban’s reign (r.1266-87).⁹⁸²

4.6.2- Critical Analysis of *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*

Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn is a very important hagiographical source. The author consults numerous sources regarding Bābā Farīd which are unavailable in Pākistān such as *Mukhabar al-Awliyā’*, *Silsilat al-Islam* and *Munis al-Arwāh* (not to confused with Jahān Ārā’ Begum’s book), *Bahar al-Ma‘anī*, *Khayr al-Adhkār* and *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā’*. The last book has only two copies in Pākistān. Similarly, he describes some of Shaykh’s aspects which have not been mentioned by any other hagiographers or historians. As far as the authenticity of the new information is concerned, one cannot fully contempt the author’s claims as he provides references, especially of *Mukhabar al-Awliyā’* (a book compiled by Shaykh Rashīd Mian Gujrātī, son of prominent Chishtī saint Shaykh Yahyā Madanī) and *Silsilat al-Islam* of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ma’sūm (a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī). Both books are yet to be published, unavailable in Pākistān, and rare in India. The author’s claim that Sirāj al-Dīn was Qādī Shu‘aīb’s original name, is missing in the contemporary and early-contemporary sources but cannot be rejected as Bābā Farīd’s own name was Mas‘ūd but he became popular as Bābā Farīd. The author does

⁹⁸¹Ibid., 29.

⁹⁸²Ibid.

not consult some authentic contemporary sources such as *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāya*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, and *Lataif-i-Asharāfī*.

Some ambiguous (also unchallengeable) information has also been found: a) the claim that Shaykh Ahmad, Qādī Shu'aīb's father was Shaykh 'Uthmān Harūnī's *khalīfah*, and his father Shaykh Muhammad Sharf al-Dīn was Hājī Sharīf Zindanī's *khalīfah* contradicts Amīr Khūrd's claim that they were the rulers of Afghānistān and the Chishṭī Shaykhs never granted *khalāfat nāmah* to the monarchs. Nevertheless, it is possible that the forefathers of Bābā Farīd were the disciples of the former saints just like Shams al-Dīn al-Tu Tamash who was Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's disciple or Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban who was Bābā Farīd's disciple; b) Bābā Farīd's forefathers migrated from Kābul instead of Khurāsān; c) Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān being Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan's disciple is improbable since Bābā Farīd lost his father early hence making it possible that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān died before the former Shaykh's arrival into Indo-Pāk Subcontinent; d) Bābā Farīd was not the eldest and 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd was not the youngest son of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. Instead, 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd was the eldest while Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawwakil was the youngest;⁹⁸³ e) the author proclaims that Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār Naishāpurī conferred the title Ganj-i-Shakar. Amīr Khūrd proclaims in *Siyar al-Awliyā'* that it was Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār who bestowed it to Bābā Farīd; f) the author proclaims that a single person (trader) loaded sugar on his ox. This is slightly different than earlier sources as La'al Baig La'alī and Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith proclaim that it was a trade caravan rather than a single merchant;⁹⁸⁴ g) the author gives different dates of Bābā Farīd's death without reference to *Siyar al-Awliyā'*; h) about Bābā Farīd's wives and offspring,

⁹⁸³Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, 31-32.

⁹⁸⁴Shattārī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, 48-49; See also Delhwī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, 53.

the author relies on *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Mirāt al-Asrar* rather than contemporary and early-contemporary sources; i) Bībī Sharīfah, Bābā Farīd's daughter, was not married to 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir as claimed by the author;⁹⁸⁵ j) Sayed Muhammad Mahmūd Kirmānī being Bābā Farīd's *khalīfah*⁹⁸⁶ is not mentioned in the contemporary sources.

The author also skips some important events and aspects of Bābā Farīd's life: a) Bābā Farīd's education; b) his encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī; c) his travels; d) life at Delhī and Hānsī; e) life at Ajōdhan; f) problems faced at Ajōdhan; g) function and role of his *Jamā't Khānah*; h) his policy toward state, Muslims and non-Muslims; i) the similarities and contrast in Bābā Farīd's and Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā's philosophies.

4.7- *Gulshan-i-Abrār*

Gulshan-i-Abrār is a *Malfūzāt* and a biography of Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi (d.1790), was compiled by one of his descendants named Imām Bakhsh bin Hafiz Ghulām Farīd bin Nūr Ahmad bin Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi. *Gulshan-i-Abrār*, just like *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, is a mixture of *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*. Generally, it deals with Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi, his descendants and his *khulafā'*. The book was completed in 1283 A.H./1866 A.D. about seventy-eight years after Khwājah Qibla 'Alam's death. The author heavily relies on oral information received from his forefathers, and sources including *Khulāsat al-Fawā'id*, *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nūr Muhammed Muhārwi, *Khayr al-Adhkār min Manāqib al-Abrār Malfūzāt* of Nūr Muhammad Nārōwālah, and *Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

⁹⁸⁵Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*, 30.

⁹⁸⁶Ibid.

4.7.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Gulshan-i-Abrār* and its Critical Analysis

Although Bābā Farīd's name is mentioned several times in this work but it still provides little information about his life. The notable discussion regarding Bābā Farīd in *Gulshan-i-Abrār* is Bābā Farīd's (soul) activity during his own 'urs and the title Ganj-i-Shakar. By and large, he mentions numerous travels of Khwājah Fakhar al-Dīn Delhwī and Khwājah Nūr Muhammad Muhārwi toward Bābā Farīd's shrine and their homage to him. The author maintains that Ajōdhan was Pākpattan's old name which was changed due to Bābā Farīd's arrival. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author shares similar information as described by Faḍalullah Jamālī in *Siyar al-'Arifīn*. Ajōdhan and Audhe Pur came under the *walāyat* of Bābā Farīd. The soul of Bābā Farīd (and all other saints) stayed higher from his tomb rather than in the grave. During his 'Urs, Bābā Farīd (the author does not mention Bābā Farīd's soul) was sitting on the throne and a person read the names of all the people attending his 'Urs. He did not like a *mahlōq* (a person whose head is not shaved) as an imām. The author briefly mentions three *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd named as Dīwān Ghulām Rasūl, Dīwān Muhammad Yār and Dīwān ALLAH Jawayā.⁹⁸⁷

4.7.2- Nūr Ahmad Chishtī

Nūr Ahmad Chishtī, after Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, is the most prolific Muslim intellectual of nineteenth century India. He produced numerous works such as *Nūr al-Ansha*, *Hamayat al-Sabiyan*, *Khialat-i-Danash*, *Dīwān-i-Chishtī*, *Yādgār-i-Chishtī*, *Zakirat al-Zarafat*, *Tuhfa-i-Chishtī*, *Nadīm al-Ramal*, *Fāl al-Akhtar*, *Hal Lughāt*,

⁹⁸⁷Imām Bakhsh, *Khulāsat al-Fawāid*, trans. Saleh Muhammad (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 21, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 45, 58, 59, 70, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 113, 126, 132 and 134), 5-147.

‘*Ajaibat-i-Chishtī*, *Maqām-i-Hērat* and *Tahqīqāt -i-Chishtī*. *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī* is his most popular work. Nūr Ahmad’s most works deal with geography. The author died in 1867 at Lāhōre.

4.8- *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*

Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī was published in 1867. Historically, the book has great importance as the author discusses the rulers of ancient India, Hindu Rule, Arab, Ghaznavid, Ghurīd, slave dynasty, the Mughals, Sikhs rule at Indo-Pāk Subcontinent as well as culture and heritage of Lāhōre. Furthermore, the author also describes the Ṣufīs of Lāhōre and its surroundings.

4.8.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Tahqīqāt -i-Chishtī*

Bābā Farīd was Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī’s *khalīfah* and he also learnt esoteric knowledge from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī. Bābā Farīd loved seclusion and avoid the masses. Seeking anonymity, he moved from place to place and finally settled at Ajōdhan where the people were bad tempered and contempt the Ṣufīs. Bābā Farīd habitually fasted for twelve years since his youth and took a wooden bread with him. Whenever he felt hungry, he would chew it. Besides Ganj Shakar, he is also known as Zuhd al-Anbiyah. More than one lac miracles belong to him. Like the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Bābā Farīd, in his last years, had no shadow. He died in 663 A.H./ 1264 A.D. Bābā Farīd had two eminent *khulafā’* known as Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and ‘Alā’ Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. Moreover, the author also mentions the Door of Paradise and states that he himself visited that Door.⁹⁸⁸ While discussing Bābā Farīd’s diet and the austerity of *Jamā’t Khānah*, the author shares information akin to

⁹⁸⁸Nūr Ahmed Chishtī, *Tahqīqāt -i-Chishtī*. (compl. 1867) (Lahore: al-Faisal Publishers, 2006), 187-94.

Fawā'id al-Fuād. To discuss the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author consults *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* but does not mention accurate references.

4.8.2- Critical Analysis of *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*

Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī is a short biography of Bābā Farīd. The author consults *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and skips many other important sources. In many cases, the author provides authentic information but there also some errors: a) Bābā Farīd did not fast for twelve years at his very young age; b) he did not take wooden bread with him; c) he did not keep fast for another twelve years on the objection of his mother on wooden bread; d) the title Ganj Shakar's link to the incident of trade caravan, and the fast of *tayy* are wrongly referenced with *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* respectively; and e) the death year of Bābā Farīd as 663 A.H. which is 664 A.H. Furthermore, the author skips numerous events and aspects of Bābā Farīd's life.

4.9- *Anwār al-'Ārifīn*

Muhammad Hussain Murādābādī compiled *Anwār al-'Ārifīn* in 1290 A.H./1872 A.D. The book has five chapters. The author discusses the basic principles of Sufism in the first chapter, the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in second, the four pious caliphs and twelve Shiite Imams, the companions of mound and four imāms of *fiqah* named as Imām Abū Hanīfah, Imām Malik, Imām Shāfi and Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal in the third, prominent Şufīs of Islam such as Bābā Farīd in the fourth, and the Shattārīyyah, Qalandarīyyah, Bukhārīyyah, Zaidīyyah, Safwīyyah Şufī orders, and Şufīs of Murādābād and the *samā'* in the fifth chapter.

4.9.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Anwār al- 'Ārifīn*

The author maintains that name of Bābā Farīd was Mas'ūd and Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār (d.1221 A.D) granted him the name Farīd al-Dīn. His mother was Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī 's daughter. He was the most prominent *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī while Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī also blessed him. Bābā Farīd was famous for his meditation, *riyāḍat* and miracles. He settled in Ajōdhan because its people did not believe in the saints.⁹⁸⁹ While describing the title Ganj-i-Shakar the author relies to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.⁹⁹⁰ The author also mentions the austerity of Bābā Farīd's *Jamā't Khānah*. He again relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while discussing *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. Bābā Farīd, according to the author, died during Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban's reign on 5, Muharram 668 A.H./1269 A.D. or 669 A.H. 1270 A.D. at the age of ninety-five years after offering his night prayer thrice.⁹⁹¹

4.9.2- Critical Analysis of *Anwār al- 'Ārifīn*

Anwār al- 'Ārifīn is a good contribution among the Şufī compendia particularly regarding the Chishtī Şufīs almost all of whom (heads) are discussed chronologically from seventh century A.D. to nineteenth century A.D. Regarding Bābā Farīd, the author consults some contemporary, near-contemporary and even seventeenth and eighteenth century's sources. One main point of *Anwār al- 'Ārifīn* is that the author focuses on Bābā Farīd's teachings (*Malfūzāt*) rather than his miracles unlike most hagiographers. However, there are certain drawbacks as he does not consult some prominent

⁹⁸⁹Muhammad Hussain Murādābādī, *Anwār al- 'Ārifīn*. (Bareli: Matba Sadiqi, 1290 A.H./1872 A.D.), 292-93.

⁹⁹⁰Ibid., 293.

⁹⁹¹Ibid., 293-97.

contemporary sources such as *Malfūẓāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Gharīb, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and more surprisingly Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*; other skipped information include: a) Bābā Farīd's date of birth; b) his ancestors, particularly his grandfather and migration of his family from Kābul to Multān; c) his early life at Kathōwāl (encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn of Tabrīz); d) role of Qursam Bībī, his mother, in his spiritual training and her death; e) his matrimonial life and his children; f) his relationship with the state and with Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān.

The book lacks reasonable connections and proper arrangement of the paragraphs. For example, he discusses some information about Bābā Farīd's early life in the beginning and the rest of it at the end. Similarly, the function of Bābā Farīd's *Jamā't Khānah* is discussed in different places than in a one proper paragraph. Likewise, he shares information regarding Bābā Farīd's death in different paragraphs rather than at one proper place.

The author claims that Bābā Farīd died in 668 or 669 A.H. which is contrary to Amīr Khūrd who dates the event in 664 A.H./1265 A.D. Moreover, the author wrongly claims that Bābā Farīd died in the period of Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban, when it actually happened in the reign of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r. 1246-1266).

4.10- *Anwār al-Asrār*

Anwār al-Asrār is the *Malfūẓāt* of Khwājah Ghulām Rasūl Tūgairwī (d.1867) collected by his disciple 'Abdul Halīm Tugairwī. It primarily deals with the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī and popular Chishtī Ṣufīs of South Asia. The *Malfūẓāt* was completed in 1298 A.H./1880 A.D.

4.10.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Anwār al-Asrār* and its Critical Analysis

While discussing Bābā Farīd's illness, the author provides same information which is narrated by Amīr Khūrd in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. For the incident of desecration of Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī by Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī's prediction (anybody who just saw him will go to paradise and Bābā Farīd's response after hearing that prediction) the author provides information similar to Allah Diyā's *Siyar al-Aqtāb*. Khwājah Ghulām Rasūl also presents Bābā Farīd's eulogy. He maintains that Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq compiled *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd known as *Asrār al-Awliyā'*.⁹⁹² Just like *Gulshan-i-Awliyā'*, *Anwār al-Asrār* also provides concise information about Bābā Farīd. Moreover, like *Nāf' al-Sālikīn*, the timeframe of the assemblies is also not mentioned. While making a further comparison of the later *Malfūzāt* of Chishtī Ṣūfīs, *Anwār al-Asrār* is quite brief as compare to *Khulāsat al-Fawāid*, *Nāf' al-Sālikīn* and *Maqābīs al-Majālis* as all these three *Malfūzāt* provide profuse information about the prominent Chishtī and non-Chishtī Ṣūfīs as well as socio-political history of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. Moreover, the preceptors of these *Malfūzāt* refer to different well-known works of the Ṣūfīs.

4.11- *Mirāt al-'Ashiqīn*

Mirāt al-'Ashiqīn is the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Siyālwī (d.1882) compiled by his disciple, Sayed Muhammad Saeed (d.1903). He started the compilation in Jamādī al-Thānī 16, 1287 A.H./ August 8, 1870 A.D. and completed it in 18 Safar 1300 A.H. December 29, 1882 A.D. by including a total of forty long *majālis*. The author mentions only the day of each assembly and does not describe the timeframe. It is quite an informative *Malfūzāt* regarding Islamic history, *sharī'ah*, as well as Sufism. In this

⁹⁹² Abdul Halīm Tūgairwī, *Anwār al-Asrār*. Handwritten manuscript. (37,38,39,41,78,79,82,85,90,110,116,120,125,132) 1-152.

regard, it discusses Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his family, first four pious caliphs, companions of Makkah, *Ansār-i-Madīnah*, (helpers of Madinah), companions of Mound and the ten blessed companions. Similarly, it discusses prayer, fast, zakat, hajj, the blessing of reciting Holy Qurān, *adhkār*, *dūrūd*, purification of self, *muraqabah* (introspection), patience, *tawakul* (trust), hosting, generosity and *jihād*.

4.11.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Mirāt al-‘Ashiqīn*

Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar guarantees paradise for any disciple who listens to or collects his *Malfūzāt*. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī suggested *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus* to Shaykh Farīd al-Ganj-i-Shakar and further asked to offer five mandatory prayers with congregation and finish complete Qurān on each day in *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus*. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn had two prominent *khulafā’* named Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Makhdūm ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. Sābir, who was Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar’s nephew, was put in charge of the *lungar* (public food) of *Jamā‘t Khānah* of his Shaykh but he never ate anything for a long time himself. He was hence conferred the title ‘Sābir’ by Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar. The author focuses on the poor and stringent Bābā Farīd’s life as he maintains that Bāwā Sāhib had only one penny in his home which he granted to Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’. However, when Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, before leaving for Delhī, visited the wives of his Shaykh for prayers, he came to know that his Shaykh’s children were weeping because of hunger. He brought chickpea from that penny and left for Delhī. When Bāwā Farīd came to know, he said he was trying to oust the material things from his home and Nizām al-Dīn again brought it back. Once some disciples informed Haḍrat Ganj-i-Shakar that one of his sons was going to die due to starvation and asked the Shaykh to give something to eat, Shaykh replied he had nothing at that time and told them to get a loan. They replied that no one was willing to

lend them. Shaykh asked ALLAH Almighty to do what He wants. After some time, Shaykh's son passed away. There was no cloth for his shroud, so Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ordered to cover his body with grass and buried him. Bāwā Farīd kept a wooden bowl with him and each day removed some of its part by rubbing it on stone because he was gradually decreasing his quantity of food every day. That bowl was now known as wooden bread of Bāwā Farīd. It is available as the regalia of the Shaykh at his shrine. Moreover, the Shaykh relied on dry herbal and jungle leaves as food. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar also visited the grandson of Junaid of Baghdād who repudiated the world and spent fifty years in a cave. Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Siyālwī maintains that some people objected on the sainthood of Sultān Bāhū because he claimed in one of his books that if Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was his contemporary, he would teach him esoteric knowledge. He explains that Sultān Bāhū never postulated such things and if these are to be accepted as true, they were said in ecstasy. He further told that Bāwā Farīd had the greatest spiritual level and Sultān Bāhū could not be compared with him as even the disciples of Shaykh Farīd were spiritually much more advanced than Sultān Bāhū and all other Islamic saints. Once a *qalandar* visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar in his hospice and started to grind *bhang* (herbal leaves used as narcotic) in a bowl. When Shaykh Farīd asked him to stop, *qalandar* angrily asked him where he should throw his bowl. Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar asked him to put it down on the wall. When he did, the wall collapsed. A *jōgī* visited Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar and asked him to show him some miracles. Bāwā Sahib started flying in the air, took a round of his home and landed on to his prayer mat. After that, the *jōgī* also started flying in the air but when he tried to take a round of the home of Bāwā Farīd, he failed and surrendered before Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar. Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar, during one of his journeys, took rest in a farmer's house. The farmer informed the Shaykh that his wife had contractions, Bāwā

Farīd wrote a Persian verse as an amulet, and just after receiving that amulet, she easily gave birth the child. Similarly, a religious scholar requested Bāwā Farīd to give him a *wazīfa* for livelihood. The Shaykh asked him to do a *wird* of Yā Hayyu Yā Qay. But the scholar repeated it as Yā Hayy, Yā Qayūm. When he did not find any impact, he revisited the Shaykh who informed him that he was not doing the *wird* exactly as he was told. He started the *wird* as Yā Hayy Yā Qay and was profusely benefited. Bāwā Farīd once asked Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that he had prayed for worldly progress for him. The latter was worried after listing this and told his Shaykh that all the saints had renounced the world. Ganj-i-Shakar explained that world will not harm him and advised him to fasten his trouser tight (not indulge in sex). Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' replied that he will not open his trouser even before the *hūr* (beautiful and gorgeous wives in the heaven). Due to the prayer of Bāwā Farīd, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' got enormous wealth, bounty and *futuh*. There were four thousand 'ulema', five hundred qawwāl and many *darwaish* staying at his hospice. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī maintains that he often heard the voice of ALLAH Almighty saying that all the disciples of Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar from the beginning to the end of world will go to paradise. During his death, Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī advised his disciples to give his Turkish cap (regalia) to a person who had certain qualities (the author does not mention the qualities). When Bāwā Farīd came to Baghdād, the custodian realized all such characteristics in him, but he did not handover that cap to the Shaykh. Finally, the cap itself flew in the air and came to Bāwā Farīd. Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Siyālwi further explained that this incident is not fully true because it is mentioned in *Fawā'id al-Fuād* that Khwājah Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī had received that cap.⁹⁹³

⁹⁹³Syed Muhammad Saeedi, *Pur Gohar* Urdu Translation of *Mirāt al- 'Ashiqīn* (compl.1882), trans. Ghulam Nizām al-Dīn (Lahore: Taṣawwuf Foundation, 1998), 17- 304. (Bāwā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 17, 22, 77, 129, 144,145, 155-59, 180-81, 189, 202-03, 224, 228, 254.

4.11.2- Critical Analysis of *Mirāt al-‘Ashiqīn*

The *Mirāt al-‘Ashiqīn* provides plenty of information about Bābā Farīd. Some additional information has also been narrated in this *Malfūzāt* such as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī asking Bābā Farīd to recite complete Qurān on each day during *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus*; the amulet for the wife of the farmer; the wooden bowl of Bābā Farīd; the *jōgī*’s surrender and regalia of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī (it is the first *Malfūzāt* which describes these two anecdotes), the *wird* of Yā Hayy Yā Qay, the comparison of Bābā Farīd and Sultān Bāhū, Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sābir. The author uses the word ‘Bāwā’ for ‘Bābā’ and discusses the title *Zuhd al-Anbiyah*. Some errors have also been found such as it was Bābā Farīd who requested his Shaykh for *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus*. The incident of the *qalandar* is also not fully accurate as it was Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq who tried to stop the *qalandar* from grinding *bhang* and the *qalandar* tried to throw his bowl at Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq but Bābā Farīd requested him to throw it at the wall. The author also refers to some anecdotes of Bābā Farīd from the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. Further, the author challenged some irrational stories related to Bābā Farīd such as he maintains that some people wrongly claim that Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar offered *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus* for twelve years and the Shaykh hung by a thread.

4.12- *Shajrah al-Mahmūd*

The *Shajrah al-Mahmūd* is another *tadhkirāt* of the Chishtī saints compiled by Muhammad Nasīr al-Dīn Nizāmī (d.1890) in 1885. The author was a disciple of Shaykh Mahmūd Chishtī and chose the title of his book after his name. The book starts with a brief account of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), then ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib and

Chishtīyyah saints from eight (Hassan al-Baṣrī) to nineteenth century. The book is not available in Pākistān and had to be accessed from India.

4.12.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Shajrah al-Mahmūd*

Khawājah Farīd al-Haq wa Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar Ajōdhanī Chishtī was born on twenty-ninth Sha‘bān 584 A.H./ October 23, 1188 A.D. He was popular for his arduous worship. He tried his best not to show the miracles, avoid worldly fame for which he moved from place to place. The genealogy of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn as mentioned by the author is as following: Shaykh Sulaimān bin Sirāj al-Dīn bin Kamāl al-Dīn bin Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh ‘Umar. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn once felt thirsty and came to a well but was unable to get water because the level was too low. Simultaneously, he saw two deer who appeared at the same well and water came out of its banks. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was really disturbed as he came to know that the deer got water because of their trust on ALLAH while he was deprived because he trusted in ropes and buckets. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn did his *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus* at the same well and, after forty days, he ate some pebbles which turned into sugar which is why he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar. While discussing the categories of *zakat*, the author provides information similar to Sijzī’s *Fawāid al-Fuād*, defining Ṣufīs and ‘ulema’ to Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, Door of Paradise and *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd to ‘Alī Asghar’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. The funeral prayer of Bābā Farīd was offered by his son Nizām al-Dīn.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹⁴Muhammad Nasīr al-Dīn Nizāmī, *Shajrah al-Mahmūd*. (Compl. 1885) (Publisher name, place and year of publication are not mentioned), 37-42.

4.12.2- Critical Analysis of the Account of Bābā Farīd in *Shajrah al-Mahmūd*

The author consults *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Silsilah tul-Islam*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, *Mukhbar al-Awliyā'*, *Muftah al-Karāmāt* and *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā'*. Like Hajī Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī, the author also mentions Qādī Shu'aīb as Sirāj al-Dīn. The genealogy of Bābā Farīd presented by the author is quite different to the genealogies in the *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, the *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and the *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā'*.

Some ambiguities in the book include; a) Qādī Minhāj al-Dīn, Burhān al-Dīn Halwai, Shaykh Muhammad, Tāj al-Dīn Ghaznavī, Burhān al-Dīn Ghaznavī, 'Alam Muzaffar, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn and Khwājah Abū al-Fuḍail as the *khulafā'* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.⁹⁹⁵ It is unsupported by contemporary and early-contemporary sources; b) Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H. rather than 584 A.H.; c) the incident of trade caravan of sugar is reported with reference to the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*,⁹⁹⁶ which does not contain such incident; d) the prescribed incident of *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* is a legend; e) Bābā Farīd became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar because pebbles turned into sugar during his *tayy* rather than the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*; f) funeral prayer of Bābā Farīd being offered by his son Nizām al-Dīn is also unjustified because when Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn reached at the *Jamā't Khānah*, his father's funeral prayer was already offered.

4.13- Gul Muhammad Chishtī's *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*

Maulānā Gul Muhammad Chishtī Shērī was one of descendants of Bābā Farīd. He was born in 1251 A.H./1835 A.D. in a village named Shērū in district Dērā Ghāzī Khān and died in 1315 A.H./1897 A.D. in the same village. Like Bābā Farīd's grandfather,

⁹⁹⁵Ibid., 37.

⁹⁹⁶Ibid., 39.

Qādī Shu‘aīb- who migrated from Kābul due to the *Ghuzz* invasion- Gul Muhammad Chishtī’s grandfather, Shaykh Ghulām Hussain Chishtī, a prominent landlord of Gujrāt, migrated from Gujrāt to Pākpattan because of the Sikh turmoil. Later, he shifted to a village of Dērā Ghāzī Khān which is known as Shērū. The author completed the book in almost eighteen years and its period of compilation was 1285 to 1307 A.H./1878-1893 A.D. the book has nineteen chapters and is a detailed study about Bābā Farīd’s life and teachings.

4.13.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Gulzār-i-Farīd*

To discuss Qādī Shu‘aīb’s settlement at Kathōwāl, the author relies on *Shajrat al-Anwār* which does not provide genuine information about the matter. Bābā Farīd was born in 575 A.H., his mother Maryam Bībī was a very pious lady who kept busy in meditation. His father, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, was Sultān Muhmud of Ghazna’s nephew. The author relies on *Fawāid al-Fuād* about Bābā Farīd’s diet, and on *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’* about his travels. By and large the central point of the author’s work is the spiritual power of Bābā Farīd about which describes numerous miracles. To that end, he relies on *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, *Shajrat al-Anwār* and *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’*. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, Gul Muhammad also provides some new information whereby he maintains that Bābā Farīd become popular as Ganj Shakar because of his miracle of the rain of sugar at Delhī. When Sultān Balban offered his daughter’s hand to Bābā Farīd, his nobles severely criticized him because Bābā Farīd lived an ascetic life. So, the sultān requested the Shaykh to show the miracle of the rain of sugar. It happened and made the Shaykh popular as Ganj-i-Shakar. Moreover, the author also consults *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Siyar*

al-Aqtāb, *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*’, *Tadhkirāt al-‘Ashiqīn*, *Shajrat al-Anwār*, *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā*’ regarding the same title. The author also discusses Bābā Farīd’s descendants in detail.⁹⁹⁷

4.13.2- Critical Analysis of the *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*

A key prowess of this work is that the author provides the references for all the information and anecdotes. Another point is that the author, like K.A Nizami, consults the majority of the contemporary, early-contemporary and later hagiographical sources e.g. the *Asrār al-Awliyā*’, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*’, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, *Shajrat al-Anwār*, *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn* and the *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā*’

A weakness of *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* is that the author, in some cases, provides dubious information about Bābā Farīd and relies on the sources seldom considered genuine such as *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*’. Other weaknesses include: a) as most hagiographers, the author fails to identify the actual reason of the migration of Bābā Farīd’s family from Kābul; b) the author wrongly claim that the ruler of Delhī granted Kathōwāl village to Qādī Shu‘aīb who married Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna’s daughter; c) Bābā Farīd’s mother’s name was Qursam Bībī, not Maryam Bībī; d) Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H., not 575 A.H.; e) Bābā Farīd’s itinerary in the book does not match the contemporary and early-contemporary sources; f) despite being Bābā Farīd’s detailed biography, there is no information about Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān’s brothers.

⁹⁹⁷Gul Muhammad Chishtī, *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*. (Handwritten manuscript. compl. 1307 A.H./1893), 1-277.

Some new information has been also found in *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* such as the above-mentioned anecdote about the title Ganj-i-Shakar. This story is popular among the people of Pākṣattān and the surroundings districts.

4.13.3- Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī was a son of the famous Suhrwardī saint of his time named Muftī Ghulām Muhammad. Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī was born in a village named Kotlī Muftīān in Lāhōre in 1837A.D. He got his early education from his father and later joined the company of another scholar named Ghulām Ullah Lāhōrī. Muftī Ghulām Sarwar was a distinct literary figure and according to Marcia Hermansen, “an unparalleled scholar” of the nineteenth century-India.⁹⁹⁸ He left for Hajj in 1890 and died in the same year due to cholera near Madīnah al-Munawarah.⁹⁹⁹ He was buried in the suburbs of Badr. Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī was a Suhrwardī¹⁰⁰⁰ and a Chishtī Ṣufī simultaneously.¹⁰⁰¹ He wrote almost twenty-one books on history, geography, *tadhkirāt* and Sufism.

His masterpieces are *Hadīqat al-Awliyā’* and *Khazīnat al-Aṣḥiyā’* which are the biographies of Ṣufis. Besides these books, he produced numerous other important works which are mentioned as under.

⁹⁹⁸Marcia Hermansen, *Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim Biographical Literature (Tazkiras)*. Studies in Contemporary Islam, vol.4, no.2. (Ohio: Centre for Islamic Studies, Youngstown State University Press, 2002), 11-12.

⁹⁹⁹Ibid., 12.

¹⁰⁰⁰Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁰¹Muftī Mahmūd ‘Alam Hashimī, *Introduction to Khazīnat al-Aṣḥiyā’*. Vol.1. (Lahore: Maktubat Nabwiyah, 1410 A.H./1990 A.D.), 9.

4.13.4- *Guldastah Karamat*

The book was completed in 1287 A.H./1870 AD. which deals with Muhy al-Dīn Ibn - e-‘Arabī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jillanī.

4.13.5- *Ganjenah Sarwarī*

Popularly known as *Ganj-e-Tārīkh*, this book provides the date of birth and death dates of Holy Prophet (PBUH), the pious caliphs, Umayyad and the Abbasids caliphs with brief introduction in poetic style.

4.13.6- *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjab*

This is Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī’s masterpiece on the history and geography of Punjab. The book deals with the prominent personalities, old cities, shrines, temples and rivers of Punjab. The book was completed in 1285A.H.\1868 A.D.

4.13.7- *Gulshan-e-Sarwarī*

The book was published in 1289 A.H./1872 A.D. The basic theme of this work is the morality and ethics.

4.13.8- *Dīwān-i-Sarwarī*

This is also in poetic form and was completed in 1290 A.H./1273 A.D. Like the *Guldastah-e- Karāmāt* it also discusses Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jillanī, his life and his teachings.

4.13.9- *Madīnah tul Awliyā’*

This is another biography of the Ṣūfīs saints but unfortunately unavailable now.

4.13.10- *Ahwāl al-Akhrat*

This book is in Punjābī language and the author discusses the events that will occur on the Day of Judgment.

4.13.11- *Bahāristān-e-Tārīkh*

It is also known as *Gulzār-i-Shāhī*. As a historian, this work is a significant attempt and a constructive contribution of Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī. The book has three parts which deal with the prominent Hindu rulers of South Asia, prominent Muslim rulers from the Holy Prophet to the author's own period, and the last part discusses the British rule in South Asia.

4.13.12- *Makhzan-e-Hikmat*

This work deals with the *hakims* (physicians), Şufīs and their advices.

4.13.13- *Tuhfa-e-Sarwarī, Makhzan-e-Sarwarī and Akhlāq-e-Sarwarī*

All these books discuss the ethics, spirituality and morality. In this regard, the author presents quotations and advices of different Greek and Muslim philosophers and kings along with their short biographies.

4.13.14- *Dīwān-e-Hamd and Dīwān-e-Na‘at*

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar was a prolific poet and *Dīwān-e-Hamd* and *Dīwān-e-Na‘at* are his masterpieces in poetry.

4.13.15- *Jām‘Lughāt*

It is a dictionary of Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Urdu language and one of the great contributions of the author.

4.14- *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*

Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī was a good poet, historian and theologian. He produced many works as discussed above. However, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* and *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* won high popularity and status among the South Asian Ṣufī biographical compendia. *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* deals with the Ṣufīs of Northern India or Punjab, *Akḥbār al-Akhyār* by Shaykh 'Abdul Haq is centered on Delhī, while *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* is centered on Lāhōre.¹⁰⁰²

The book was written in Persian language and has two volume, it is also translated into Urdu. It discusses more than one thousand Ṣufīs. The first volume deals with the Qādirī and Chishtī *silsilah*, while second volume elaborates the Naqshbandīyyah and Suhrawardīyyah *silsilah*. The author discusses Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar in more detail as compared to his predecessors.

4.14.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*

Contrary to *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd. Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī while discussing Bābā Farīd relies on *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akḥbār al-Akhyār* and Allah Diyā Chishtī's *Siyar al-Aqtāb*.

The author fails to rationally interpret the migration of Bābā Farīd's grandfather and maintains he moved to Hindūstān during the period of Sultān Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī (d.1206 A.D) due to Changīz Khān's invasion.¹⁰⁰³ Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī also discusses Qursam Bībī, Bābā Farīd's mother, and shares some new

¹⁰⁰²Hermansen, *Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim Biographical Literature*, 11.

¹⁰⁰³Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*. Vol. 1 (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, n.d), 287.

information e.g. the Hindu thief got his eyesight due to Bābā Farīd's prayer rather than through Qursam Bībī.¹⁰⁰⁴

For Bābā Farīd's encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the author relies on *Siyar al-Aqtāb*; for the itinerary of Shaykh, he consults *Rāhat al-Qulūb*.¹⁰⁰⁵ Moreover, the problems created by the qādī of Ajōdhan for Bābā Farīd have been addressed well by the author.¹⁰⁰⁶ The author does not give a single date of death of the Bābā Farīd, mentioning them as 664 A.H. (1265 A.D.), 666 A.H. (1267 A.D.), 670 A.H. (1271 A.D.), and 685 A.H. 1286 A.D.¹⁰⁰⁷

While discussing Door of Paradise, the author provides information similar to 'Alī Asghar Chishtī. Ghulām Sarwar further maintains that the door is opened from fifth to ten Muharram and many people from different places enter every year.¹⁰⁰⁸ There are some historians as well as some poets who proclaim that to satisfy his self (*nafs*), Bābā Farīd always kept a wooden bread. Although Muftī Ghulām Sarwar maintains that the wooden bread is kept at Bābā Farīd's shrine, he spurn the above-mentioned theory,¹⁰⁰⁹ as the Shaykh throughout his life relied only on ALLAH.

4.14.2- Critical analysis of *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*

Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā is prominent source from the nineteenth century-India. It provides some new information regarding the Chishtī Ṣufīs such as the date of death of all the prominent Ṣufīs which are not mentioned before. Muftī Ghulām Sarwar was himself a Ṣufī, and a great intellectual of his time who consulted numerous sources regarding

¹⁰⁰⁴Lāhorī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*. Vol. 1, 288

¹⁰⁰⁵Ibid., 288-89.

¹⁰⁰⁶Ibid., 289-90.

¹⁰⁰⁷Ibid., 303.

¹⁰⁰⁸Ibid., 304.

¹⁰⁰⁹Ibid.

Chishtī Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent in general and Bābā Farīd in particular. Despite *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*’ being a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd, as do all other hagiographers, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar skips some prominent contemporary sources including Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb’s *Malfūzāt*, *Afḍal al-Fawāid*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Jawām ‘ al-Kalim* and *Lataif-i-Asharaḥ*. Normally, in some cases Ghulām Sarwar, Allah Diyā Chishtī and ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī have almost similar approaches regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography.

Some mistakes are also found in Muftī Ghulām Sarwar’s *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*’ regarding Bābā Farīd: a) he mentions date of birth of Bābā Farīd as 582 A.H. which is in fact 569 A.H./1173 A.D; b) it was Qādī Shu‘aīb, who migrated with his family to Hindūstān when the Ghaznavid were the ruler in India rather than Shihāb Al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī; c) consequently, the author’s claim that Qādī Shu‘aīb died in the battlefield and Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān came to Lāhōre along with his family is also nullified; d) Bābā Farīd’s elder brother was ‘Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd, not Ayāz al-Dīn; e) Khwājah Dawūd Pailī was not the prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd,¹⁰¹⁰ he was, in fact, a *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’;¹⁰¹¹ f) the Hindu thief did not recover due to Bābā Farīd’s but Bībī Qursam Bībī’s prayer; g) Bābā Farīd spent twelve years at Hānsī, not two;¹⁰¹² h) Qādī of Ajōdhan’s name was not Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn, but Qādī ‘Abdullah; and i) the Qādī wrote to the theologians of Multān rather than the governor of Multān.¹⁰¹³

Some important information is skipped by the author such as Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān (Bābā Farīd’s father), encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, death of Qursam

¹⁰¹⁰Lāhorī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*’. Vol. 1., 313.

¹⁰¹¹Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, 296.

¹⁰¹²Ibid., 178.

¹⁰¹³Sijzī, *Fawāid al Fuād*, 99.

Bībī, Shihāb the Magician and his son, the magic spell on Bābā Farīd, meditation especially *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*, Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd and Bābā Farīd, poetry of Bābā Farīd, and comparison between the Chishtīyyah and Suhwardīyyah orders under Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Din Zakarīyyā of Multān. He also presents the genealogy of Bābā Farīd¹⁰¹⁴ which does not fully match with the earlier hagiographers.

4.15- *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*

Contrary to *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī's *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* is a concise work which briefly discusses the Ṣufīs of Punjāb. The book is divided into seven chapters. Although the author belongs to Suhwardīyyah and Chishtī *silsilah*, he had great attachment with Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jillānī. In this regard, he wrote a book on the life of the former saint and placed the Qādirīyyah order at the top of the list in both *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* and in *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*. The second chapter deals with Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, the third discusses the Naqshbandīyyah, fourth is about Suhwardīyyah, fifth chapter discusses the *majdhūb* Ṣufīs, sixth chapter deals with various Ṣufīs whose years of death are not yet confirmed and the last chapter discusses the female Ṣufīs of Punjāb. *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* is written in Urdu language and, along with *Tārīkh-e-Makhzan-e-Punjāb* and *Bahāristān-e-Tārīkh*, is considered a landmark in the Urdu biographical compendium.

¹⁰¹⁴The following is the genealogy of Bābā Farīd: Farīd al-Dīn Farīd al-Din Mas'ūd bin Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Shaykh Shu'aīb b. Shaykh Ahmad Shaykh Yūsuf b. Muhammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī b. Nasīr al-Dīn b. Mahmūd Shah b. Samān Shah b. Sulaimān Mas'ūd b. 'Abdullah Wa'az al-Asghar b. Wa'az al-Akbar b. Abu al-Fateh b. Ishāq b. Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Sulaimān b. Nasīr b. 'Abdullah (RA) b. Haḍrat 'Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA) (Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Vol. 2, trans. Faruqi, 109)

4.15.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*

In *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar discusses Bābā Farīd briefly. Like the contemporary, seventeenth and eighteenth century's hagiographers, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar, in some cases, exaggerates. Regarding the meditational nature of Bābā Farīd, the author relies on Ghauthī Shattārī Mandwī as he maintains Bābā Farīd lived an ascetic life, was regular in his prayers, fasted since childhood, and for *iftār*, relied on leaves. Moreover, Bābā Farīd is a matchless and unparalleled saint particularly in the field of meditation, renunciation of the world, prayers (*riyāḍat*) and miracles.¹⁰¹⁵ While discussing Bābā Farīd grandfather, parents, date of birth and encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the author provides information akin to *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*.¹⁰¹⁶

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar maintains that many miracles are related with Bābā Farīd, he mentions only one. Bābā Farīd once purchased some land for hospice usage and the governor created problems as he did not accept the ownership of that land. Bābā Farīd predicted that the land itself will tell the name of her owner, and that the governor will die: both predictions came true.¹⁰¹⁷ Like La'al Baig La'alī, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī and Allah Diyā Chishtī, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī also mentions Bābā Farīd's genealogy in *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* and *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* but it is different in many respects compared to the former authors.

¹⁰¹⁵Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*. (Lahore: Taṣawwuf Foundation, 2000), 74.

¹⁰¹⁶Ibid., 75-77.

¹⁰¹⁷Ibid., 76-77.

4.15.2- Critical Analysis of the *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'*

As mentioned above, the *Hadīqat al-Awliyā'* is a concise biography of Bābā Farīd. Some minor and major mistakes regarding Bābā Farīd are the same as found in *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* such as: a) Bābā Farīd's date of birth is mentioned as 582 A.H. which is 569 A.H. in *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and 571 A.H. in *Fawā'id al-Fuād*; and b) he fails to explore the exact period and the reasons of the migration of Bābā Farīd's family.

4.16- *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh*

Maulvī Maulā Bakhsh Hanafī Chishtī Nizāmī compiled the *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh* in 1304 A.H./1886 A.D. He was a Chishtī Ṣufī and his work provides information about his own *silsilah*.

4.16.1- The Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh*

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was born at Kohniwal a village near Multān in 595 A.H. and later shifted to Ajōdhan.¹⁰¹⁸ At Ajōdhan, the Shaykh and all his audience of *Jamā't Khānah* relied on *karīr* and *dēlah* (forest fruit and vegetable) and when it was not available, they would beg for food in the town. He often faced starvation and one of his children even once nearly died because of constant hunger.¹⁰¹⁹ While discussing the title *Ganj-i-Shakar*, the author tells the well-known story of merchants whose sugar was turned into salt by Bābā Farīd. Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn offered *ṣalāt-i-ma'kus* in Uchach. The author maintains that Bābā Farīd died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H./1265 A.D. and on that night,

¹⁰¹⁸Maulā Bakhsh, *Tadhkirat al-Mashaikh*. (Ferozepur: Sadiqi Publishers, 1304 A.H./1886 A.D.), 76-77.

¹⁰¹⁹Ibid., 78.

he offered night prayer thrice.¹⁰²⁰ The author briefly discusses children of Shaykh Farīd.¹⁰²¹

4.16.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh*

The *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh* provides brief information about Bābā Farīd. In many cases the *‘Ain al-Walayāt* and the *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh* provide same information regarding Bābā Farīd. However, the latter book also provides brief information about the family and children of Bābā Farīd which is not found in the former source. Moreover, while discussing the selection and access of data, the author does not consult majority of the contemporary and near-contemporary sources regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography. He relies heavily on Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and skips the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawāid*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, the *Jawām ‘al-Kalim* and the *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*.

Some mistakes, legends and fabrications found in Maulā Bakhsh’s *Tadhkirāt al-Mashaikh* include: a) wrongly mentioned Bābā Farīd’s date of birth as 595 A.H. which is in fact 569 A.H.; b) the unexplored real reason of the migration of Bābā Farīd’s family from Kābul to Northern India; c) Kathōwāl as Kohnīwāl; d) not all but two of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān’s children settled in a town nowadays known as village Tāj Sarwar, the other three remained in Ajōdhan; e) the second *sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd named ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mūj Daryā was also Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān’s son; f) Bībī Mastūrah was not married to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir as she was widowed during Bābā Farīd’s life while Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sābir died in 1291 A.D.

¹⁰²⁰Ibid., 77-78.

¹⁰²¹Ibid., 79.80.

Like many other hagiographers, the author also skips many important aspects and events of Bābā Farīd's life such as: a) Qādī Shu'aīb, Bābā Farīd's grandfather; b) Bābā Farīd's early life; c) his travels; d) encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī; e) problem faced at Ajōdhan (the son of Shihāb the Magician and Qādī 'Abdullah's jealousy); f) his miracles; and g) his attitude toward the ruling class, the common people, Hindus or non-Muslims, as well as with his contemporary Ṣufīs particularly, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān. Further, while discussing the title Ganj-i-Shaker, the author does not consult contemporary sources.

4.17- *Asrār-i- 'Atrat-i-Farīdī*

The *Asrār-i- 'Atrat-i-Farīdī* was compiled by Muhammad Hussain Badarī. It was first published in 1309 A.H./1891 A.D. The book consulted in this study is the third edition which was published in 2017 A.D. The book is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd, his descendants and *sajjādah nashīns* in general. It is divided into forty-one chapters.

4.17.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Asrār-i- 'Atrat-i-Farīdī*

The author describes the genealogy of Maryam Bībī (Qursam Bībī, Bābā Farīd's mother) and mentions her as a descendant of 'Alī Ibne Abī Tālib (d.661), son-in-law of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (d.632) and fourth righteous caliph of Islam. She was a foster daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī. Moreover, the wife of the former was the paternal aunt of Maryam Bībī. Wajīh al-Dīn's daughter was Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā's mother. Bābā Farīd was born in 504 A.H./1111 A.D. His father, Muhammad Mahmūd Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, died in 559 A.H./1164 A.D. He had three sons and two daughters. The apostle *Khedar* (Khwājah Khizr), Prophet Ilyās (A.S) and 'Alī bin Abū Tālib not only taught Bābā Farīd they also showed him the whole world

in a journey.¹⁰²² The above-mentioned long journey is not mentioned by any historian. However, in the chapter seven, the author describes the itinerary of Bābā Farīd, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar which is described before by 'Alī Asghar Chishtī in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. After the Bābā Farīd's mother's death, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan guided him for *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* at Ajmer and from where Bābā Farīd left for Delhī and joined Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. However, he received *khalāfat* from both saints. On the order of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd left for Punjab in 600 A.H./1204 A.D. and spent the rest of his time at Ajōdhan. He converted people of that area to Islam.¹⁰²³ The author also proclaims that Bābā Farīd married Sultān Balban's daughter and also mentions that Mujīb al-Nisā', Shaykh Zakarīyyā Sindhi's sister (one of the disciples and *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd) was Bābā Farīd's first wife who gave birth to three daughters and four sons all of whom died in their youth except Bībī Khadījah who was married to 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir. His third wife was Umm-i-Kulthūm, mother of Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah.¹⁰²⁴ The author also provides sufficient detail about 'Alā' al-'Ali Ahmad Sābir and his forefathers.

4.17.2- Critical Analysis of the *Asrār-i-'Atrat-i-Farīdī*

The *Asrār-i-'Atrat-i-Farīdī* is an important biography of Bābā Farīd. The author shares new information about Bābā Farīd. He provides more detail about Qādī Shu'aīb than all other hagiographers. He also claims that Qursam Bībī was the foster daughter of Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī and was a disciple of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan. He also provides her genealogy. He is the first author to provide details about Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. Furthermore, he is the first to proclaim that Bābā Farīd had two sisters (all

¹⁰²²Pīr Muhammad Hussain Badarī, *Asrār-i-'Atrat-i-Farīdī*. (comp. in 1891) 3rd Ed. (Lahore: T.B Printers, 2017), 42-107.

¹⁰²³Badarī, *Asrār-i-'Atrat-i-Farīdī*, 108-183.

¹⁰²⁴Ibid., 210-215.

other hagiographers mention one sister who was mother of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sābir). Muhammad Hussain Badarī is also perhaps the first who describes the historical background of Ajōdhan and the different tribes who were living there. He also provides new information about the matrimonial life of Bābā Farīd. Later, many modern historians like Wahid Ahmad Masud, Qādī Javid and Abū Maẓhar ‘Alī Asghar Sābirī relied on the *Asrar-i-‘Atrat-i-Farīdī* while discussing Bābā Farīd’s matrimonial life. Likewise, he was the first hagiographer to identify different graves at the shrine of Bābā Farīd.

However, like ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī, the author in some cases is not always rational in describing some strange incidents which are hardly justifiable, particularly the itinerary of Bābā Farīd along with Apostle *Khedar* and Prophet Ilyās (A.S).

Numerous printing mistakes and language mistakes are also found in the book. There is hardly a page which is free from such mistakes. Beside the printing errors, there are many chronological mistakes and wrong information such as: a) the author falsely refers to Qursam Bībī as Bībī Maryam; b) he proclaims that she was Sayed ‘Abdullah Shah’s daughter, was born in 483 A.H. and died in 585 A.H. Faḍalullah Jamālī does not mention Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Khunjadī as her stepfather;¹⁰²⁵ c) both dates are not justifiable because Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H. and Qursam Bībī lived for almost seventy more years after his birth. She did not die in 585 A.H. and was not buried in *Chāwalī Mashaikh*; d) Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H., not in 504 A.H.; e) Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān did not die in 559 A.H. since Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H.

The author hardly consults the contemporary and early-contemporary sources including the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, the *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān

¹⁰²⁵ Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, 31-32.

al-Dīn Gharīb, the *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, the *Samarāt al-Qudūs* and the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*. Similarly, he does not consult Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī's *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* but consults the *Khazinat al-Fawā'id al-Jalāliyah* also known as the *Khazana Jalāli* of the former Shaykh.

4.18- *Shajrah Tayyibah*

Khwājah Muhammad ʿUmar al-Dīn Tālib compiled *Shajrah Tayyibah*. It was first published in 1316 A.H./1898 A.D. It is another comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd. In this book, the author discusses Holy Prophet (PBUH) and all the predecessors of Chishtī Ṣūfīs from ʿAlī bin Abī Tālib to Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī. However, he discusses Bābā Farīd and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ in more detail than any other saint.

4.18.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Shajrah Tayyibah*

The author mentions two different dates as dates of birth of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn i.e. 569 A.H./1174 A.D. and 584 A.H./1189 A.D.¹⁰²⁶ After his Shaykh's permission, Bābā Farīd came to Hānsī where a *jōgī* became popular and was worshipped by the native people. The same *jōgī* converted to Islam at the hand of Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar.¹⁰²⁷

In discussing the title "Ganj-i-Shakar", the author provides some new information such as the Shaykh was busy in meditation in a mountain near the city of Rēvārī. One day, he came out of the mountain and found a caravan loaded with sugar bound for Delhī. When the Shaykh asked what was loaded, a servant wrongly replied that it was coal. When they reached the market, they found that all the sugar had turned into coal. The

¹⁰²⁶Tālib, *Shajrah Tayyibah*, 79.

¹⁰²⁷Ibid., 64.

servant told the whole story to the merchant. So, he came to the Shaykh and apologized before him. Hence, the coal once again turned into sugar. Moreover, the merchant became a devotee of the Shaykh. He also built a mosque and dug a well there. Moreover, the author describes the same information shared by Amīr Khūrd about the title “Ganj-i-Shakar”.¹⁰²⁸ Besides Ganj-i-Shakar, Bābā Farīd also became popular as Fard-i-‘Alam.¹⁰²⁹

The author maintains that Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar married Huzairah Bībī, a daughter of Sultān Balban. She gave birth to six sons and three daughters. The Shaykh’s sons were Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān, Shihāb al-Dīn Ganj-i-‘Ilam, Shaykh Ya‘qūb, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah and Shaykh ‘Abdullah who became popular as Shaykh Mūdūd Chishtī and was assassinated by a *jōgī* in his youth. The Shaykh killed the same *jōgī*, who was then buried in front of the shrine of the Shaykh. The Shaykh’s daughters were Bībī Fātimah, married to Bābā Farīd’s nephew Badr al-Dīn Ishāq; Bībī Mastūrah married to Shaykh ‘Umar Ṣufī Fārūqī; and Bībī Sharīfah who was widowed in her youth. The Shaykh died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H./1265 A.D.¹⁰³⁰

In discussing the Door of Paradise, the author relies on Muhammad Al-Hussainī’s *Jawām‘ al-Kalīm*, Allah Diyā’s *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and ‘Alī Asghar’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Some additional information shared by the author regarding the Door of Paradise is that Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā received the bounty of ALLAH Almighty due to the prayer of Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar.¹⁰³¹ He also maintains that it is popular that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ visited the shrine of his Shaykh on the third day after his death. He transferred the dead body of the Shaykh to his apartment. At that time the Holy

¹⁰²⁸Tālib, *Shajrah Tayyibah*, 62-63.

¹⁰²⁹Ibid., 62-63.

¹⁰³⁰Ibid., 79-80.

¹⁰³¹Ibid., 70-71.

Prophet (PBUH), Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī and Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī appeared there. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) mentioned the same verse of Surah *Āle-Imrān* which was revealed for the Holy Ka‘aba ‘Whosoever enters it, he attains security’¹⁰³² for the Door of Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar. Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar had seventy thousand *khulafā’*. Fourteen thousand among them were appointed in seven heavens, eighteen thousand at the rivers, ten thousand on the earth and seven thousand were appointed on the mountains.¹⁰³³

4.18.2- Critical Analysis of the *Shajrah Tayyibah*

The author shows both rational and irrational approaches while discussing Bābā Farīd. He critically analyzes the wooden bread of Bābā Farīd and *ṣalāt-i-ma‘kus*. Moreover, he also discusses the title *Zuhd al-Anbiyah* which is as popular to the title Ganj-i-Shakar, especially among the people of the Punjab. However, some misconceptions and legends are also found in ‘Umar Tālib’s *Shajrah Tayyibah*. The author skips numerous contemporary as well as near-contemporary sources such as the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Malfūzāt* of Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā’*, *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, *Akhhbār al-Aṣfiyā’* and the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*. He heavily relies on the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Siyar al-Aqtāb*.

Some legends and fabrications found regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography are: a) mentioning Bābā Farīd’s name as Haḍrat Fard-i-‘Alam and Ganj-i-Shakar Mas‘ūd Chishtī which is in fact Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd, while Fard-i-‘Alam is not mentioned in the contemporary and near-contemporary sources with even the local people of Pākpattan being unaware of that title; b) while discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the

¹⁰³² Holy Quran. 3:97

¹⁰³³ Tālib, *Shajrah Tayyibah*, 80.

author maintains that Bābā Farīd did not receive anything during his *tayy*, while the fact is that he did receive wine-vendor's food but his stomach rejected it;¹⁰³⁴ c) Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq was not Bābā Farīd's nephew, it was 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar; d) the incident of Shaykh 'Abdullah being assassinated by a *jōgī*, who was killed by Bābā Farīd in revenge, and was buried in front of the Shaykh's shrine is inaccurate; e) the place where Bābā Farīd fell due to the weakness (he actually fell due to rain) was not turned into sugar. Only the mud that got into his mouth was converted to sugar;¹⁰³⁵ f) the sugar of the merchant was not turned into coal but salt; g) that the merchant built a mosque and dug a well for Bābā Farīd is missing in any other source; h) seventy thousand *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd being appointed in the skies, rivers, and on mountains is farfetched as such strength of any Shaykh's *khulafā'* is unheard in the whole history of Islamic mysticism; i) Shaykh Dawūd Pailī was not a *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd but of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'; and j) Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī was not a *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd but was one of the prominent *khulafā'* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

The author, like 'Alī Asghar Chishtī, also seems irrational in some cases: a) Bābā Farīd remained in the unconscious world for almost twenty years and became conscious only during the time of prayer; b) the tree walked toward the Shaykh and the animals of Ajōdhan started reciting (*wird*) "Farīd! Farīd!"; c) during a heavy storm a branch of a tree was broken but levitates in the air till today due to divine power of the Shaykh;¹⁰³⁶ and d) Bābā Farīd remained on the same ablution for almost seven years.¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰³⁴Hussainī, *Jawām ' al Kalm*, trans. Dardai, 412.

¹⁰³⁵Jamālī, *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn.*, 46-47.

¹⁰³⁶Tālib, *Shajrah Tayyibah*, 63-65.

¹⁰³⁷Ibid., 79.

4.19- *Maqābīs al-Majālis*

Maqābīs al-Majālis is the conversation of Khwājah Ghulām Farīd (d.1901) collected by his *khalīfah* Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn from 1891 to 1901 A.D. It was first published in 1902 from Āgrā. That *Malfūzāt* discusses almost all the prominent Chishtī Ṣufīs from thirteenth to nineteenth century A.D. Khwājah Ghulām Farīd refers to different Ṣufīs works such as *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, ‘*Awārif al-Ma‘ārif*, *Tuhfa Mursalah*, *Fasūs al-Hikam*, *Fatuhāt-i-Makiyya*, *Lawaih*, *Mirāt al-Asrār* and *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. The *Malfūzāt* also discusses the validity of *samā‘*.

4.19.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Maqābīs al-Majālis*

The title of Shaykh Farīd al-Haq wa Din Ganj-i-Shakar is *Harīq al-Muhabat*. During his itinerary, he saw *Iblīs* (the devil) who was trying to further strengthen the belief in idol worship among the native people of Marwar. To that end, he cut off his tongue again and again and placed it before the different idols. However, his tongue recovered after a short while. Bābā Farīd recognized him and asked him not to mislead the people anymore. Khwājah Ganj-i-Shakar had a large number of *khulafā‘* but two were most important, ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir and Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā‘. The followers of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā‘ are more in number as compared to the devotees of Shaykh ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. Bābā Farīd declared that Mansūr Hallāj was not right in his views while Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā‘ declared him a non-believer. All the Chishtī Shayūkh from Bābā Farīd to Shaykh ‘Uthmān Harūnī were absent when their preceptors passed away. While discussing Bābā Farīd’s death, the author shares information akin to Amīr Khūrd. Similarly, he shares the same information about the rough manuscript of ‘*Awārif al-Ma‘ārif* consulted by Bābā Farīd as described by Amīr Hassan Sijzī in the *Fawāid al-Fuād*. He further maintains that Bābā Farīd did not

prohibit his disciples from the *ta'azīmī sajda*. Saistan and Saiustan are two different places and Bābā Farīd appointed Shaykh 'Arif as a *khalīfah* of Saiuistan, also known as Saiuwi Dahadar. The claim that 'Alī bin Abi Tālib arrived in Saiuistan is only a legend. Numerous miracles pertain to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. But only the argument that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' was his disciple and *khalīfah* is enough to understand his spiritual level.¹⁰³⁸

4.19.2- Critical Analysis of the *Maqābīs al-Majālis* Regard to Bābā Farīd's Biography

The *Maqābīs al-Majālis* shows that Khwājah Ghulām Farīd was a learned man who had great knowledge about Islamic history (the history of Holy Prophet and his companions) as well as his Chishtī predecessors-*mashaikh*. Like Amīr Hassan Sijzī, Rukn al-Dīn also mentions the dates of each assembly. Khwājah Ghulām Farīd himself read the all the *Malḡūzāt* carefully and made indispensable modifications in them.¹⁰³⁹ They provide great information about Bābā Farīd. Khwājah Ghulām Farīd also discusses the authenticity of Chishtī hagiographical sources. When one of his disciples objected on the authenticity of *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, the Shaykh replied that it is an authentic source. He further explained before his disciple (who raised an objection) that he was objecting on the book only because Amīr Khūrd did not discuss 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir in detail. Moreover, he declared the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Aḡḡal al-Fawā'id*, *Rāhat al-Mahbūbīn*, *Jawāhir-i-Jalālī* and the *Jam'al-'Ulūm* as authentic *Malḡūzāt*. The *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār* and the *Iqtibās al-Anwār* are also declared authentic works. But the *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Safar Nāmah Makhdūm Jahānīyyah Jahān Gasht* as fabricated hagiographies. Similarly, he

¹⁰³⁸Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn, *Maqābīs al-Majālis*, trans. Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl (Lahore: al-Faisal Publishers, n.d), 794-1104. (Bābā Farīd has been discussed in the following pages: 254, 262,263, 264, 292, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 370, 376, 377, 451, 722, 793, 1104).

¹⁰³⁹Ibid., 308.

critically analyzes all the books and accurately challenges the date of *bay‘at* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī mentioned by Amīr Khūrd as 522 A.H./1128 A.D. as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was even not born at that time. Khwājah Ghulām Farīd confute the claim of Allah Diyā that Amīr Khusru visited ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir. Similarly, he repudiate the claim of ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī that Bābā Farīd performed *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus* for twelve years and argues that he performed that practice for forty days. The title *Harīq al-Muhabat* is not found in earlier hagiographical sources. Similarly, Bābā Farīd’s claim about Mansūr Hallāj is missing in the earlier sources.

4.20- The Life of Shaikh Farīd 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs by Max Arthur Macauliffe

The study deals with Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar in detail and also discusses Shaykh Farīd Thānī briefly. The latter was one of *sajjādah nashīn* of the former prominent saint. Max Arthur Macauliffe published this work in 1903. Overall, it is a concocted biography of Bābā Farīd. *The Sikh Religion its Gurūs, Sacred Writings and Authors* is a worth-mentioning work of the former author which contains five volumes.

4.20.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in The Life of Shaikh Farīd- 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd- II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs

The author proclaims that poetry of *Gurū Granth* belongs to Farīd the Second. Farīd Second died in 1552 A.D. and was buried in Sirhind. The ruler of Ghazna provided support and restored the rule of the forefathers of Bābā Farīd at Kābul. Furthermore, the Ghaznavid ruler married his daughter with Qādī Shu‘aīb. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was a nephew of the ruler of Ghazna. Shaykh Shu‘aīb was a spiritual personality, so he settled at *Kathōwāl* a village near Dīpāl Pur. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān married Mariam Bībī, daughter of Sayed ‘Abdullah Shah. The author relies on *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’*,

Jawāhir-i-Farīdī and *Asrār-i-‘Atrat-i-Farīdī* while discussing Bābā Farīd especially his early life, the title Ganj-i-Shakar, meditation, life at Ajōdhan and matrimonial life. Max Arthur also relies on the former works to describe the travels of Bābā Farīd. The author also discusses some *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd, his philosophy, and the Door of Paradise. One important characteristic of Arthur’s work is the poetry of Bābā Farīd (although he argues it belongs to Farīd II) as the author presents almost all the verses of Bābā Farīd which exist in *Gurū Granth*. Bābā Farīd died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H.¹⁰⁴⁰

4.20.2- Critical Analysis of The Life of Shaikh Farīd 1 and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs

The selection of data of the author is inauthentic and leads to numerous legends and fabrications in the work: a) the ruler of Ghaznī restoring the authority of Bābā Farīd’s forefathers at Kābul is unjustified as Qādī Shu‘aib rebut the offer of military support of the Ghaznavid ruler; b) Kathōwāl is near Multān, not Dīpāl Pur; c) Bābā Farīd’s mother was Qursam Bībī, not Maryam Bībī; d) the author relies on *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and *Asrār-i-‘Atrat-i-Farīdī* to discuss Bābā Farīd’s mother which are debatable; e) there are some abrupt mistakes in different nouns such as *Nāf’* book of *sharī‘ah* as Abū al-Nafa, Qādī ‘Abdullah of Ajōdhan as Abū Musalla, and Alagh Khān (Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban) as Nawab ‘Alif Khān; f) Bābā Farīd did not visit Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī at Makkah in 585 A.H./1189 A.D. as the latter passed away in 1165 A.D. before the birth of the former; g) the information about the title Ganj-i-Shakar is mere a legend and inaccurate; h) the trek of Bābā Farīd, Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar is another legend lacking any credibility; i) Qādī of Ajōdhan marrying his sister to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān, a son of Bābā Farīd, is a mere legend; j) Bābā Farīd was not married

¹⁰⁴⁰Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Life of Shaikh Farīd I and the Compositions of Shaikh Farīd II, Contained in Granth Sahib of Sikhs*. (Lahore: Artistic Printing Works, 1903), 1-47 & Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion, its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).356-393.

to Huzairah, daughter of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r.1246-66), but to the daughter of Sultān Balban as mentioned by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī.

4.21- *Tuhfat al-Abrār*

Mirzā Āftab Baig compiled this work in 1905 A.D. The book has six chapters. Chapter one deals with the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his family, chapter two deals with the Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, chapter three deals with Qādirīyyah *silsilah*, chapter four discusses Suhrwardīyyah order, chapter five deals with Naqshbandīyyah order, and the last chapter discusses the common Ṣufīs. It is another detailed biography of Bābā Farīd.

4.21.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Tuhfat al-Abrār*

Like many other hagiographers, Mirzā Āftab Baig also mentions Bābā Farīd as descendant of Ibrāhīm bin Adham and ‘Umar bin Khattāb and among the few saints of Islam who were blessed by preceptor and preceptor of the preceptor.¹⁰⁴¹ While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author describes multiple reasons mentioned in the well-known sources such as Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, Jamālī’s *Siyar al-‘Ārifīn*, Abū al-Faḍal’s *Āin-i-Akbarī* and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhār al-Akhyār*.¹⁰⁴²

The author maintains that it was Masjid-i-Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī where Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī visited Bābā Farīd the first time. After completing his education, Bābā Farīd visited Baghdād and remained in the company of different eminent saints such as Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī, Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī, Farīd al-Dīn Naishāpurī, Shaykh Sa‘ad al-Dīn Hamwiyya, Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī and Shaykh Bahā’

¹⁰⁴¹Mirzā Āftab Baig, *Tuhfat al-Abrār*. (Delhi: Matba Rizvi, 1323 A.H./1905 A.D.), 34.

¹⁰⁴²Ibid., 34.

al-Dīn Zakarīyyā for some time. Finally, he reached Delhī at the feet of his Shaykh Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who ordered him to perform *Chillah-i- Ma ‘kus*. After his Shaykh’s death, Bābā Farīd received the regalia from Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī and left for Hānsī where he granted *khalāfat nāmāh* to Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī. Bābā Farīd declared Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ his life, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sābir his patience, Jamāl al-Dīn of Hānsī his heart, and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq his feet.¹⁰⁴³

The author provides information similar to Allah Diyā’s *Siyar al-Aqtāb* while mentioning the incident of Mian Bhora.¹⁰⁴⁴ While discussing the Door of Paradise, the author maintains that the southern door of Bābā Farīd’s shrine is known as the door of paradise. It is opened only on the fifth of Muharram, after the evening prayer and kept open till morning prayer. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) informed Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ in his dream that anyone who crosses this door will attain peace. Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ completed the entire Qurān on each brick that was placed on Bābā Farīd’s shrine.¹⁰⁴⁵

4.21.2- Critical Analysis of *Tuhfat al-Abrār*

Tuhfat al-Abrār is also another important work regarding Bābā Farīd. The author also discusses the *sajjādah nashīns* of Bābā Farīd from thirteenth century to eighteenth century. While discussing Bābā Farīd, the author consults almost nine sources in which only three belong to contemporary and early-contemporary sources including *Asrār al-Awliyā’*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Siyar al- ‘Ārifīn*. Other consulted books are *Jawāhir-i-*

¹⁰⁴³Baig, *Tuhfat al-Abrār*, 35.

¹⁰⁴⁴Ibid., 36.

¹⁰⁴⁵Ibid., 36-37.

Farīdī, Siyar al-Aqtāb, Mirāt al-Asrār, Anwār al-ʿĀrifīn, Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyāʾ and *Tadhkirāt al-ʿĀrifīn*.

He supports Faḍalullah Jamālī's claim that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was the maternal nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna. Some errors in the work include: a) Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān did not migrate from Kābul to Lāhōre during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī (d.1206), b) Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī did not order Bābā Farīd to perform *Chillah-i-Maʿkūs*, it was Bābā Farīd who sought his Shaykh's permission for that *chillah* which was not like by his Shaykh. However, he allowed it later; c) Bābā Farīd did not visit different saints after completing his education, he visited them only during his education; d) Bābā Farīd was not blessed by Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī as the latter had always accepted the former's spiritual superiority; e) the incident of the blessing of Shaykh Bah al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, as discussed by Baig, does not fully match with *Jawāmʿ al-Kalim*; and f) the door of paradise is not kept opened only for one night. It used to be opened for three nights and is now opened for five nights.

Like Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī and Rājī Muhammad Kolwī, Mirzā Āftab Baig also skips some important aspects and incidents of the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd such as his meeting with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, role of Qursam Bībī, Badr al-Dīn Ghaznavī and Bābā Farīd at Ajōdhan etc.

4.22- *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*

Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn is compiled by Maulvī Mirzā Muhammad ʿAbdul Sattār Baig Sahsaramī. It has three volumes. The first volume has two chapters: first chapter discusses Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the pious caliphs and leading Islamic theologians; and the second chapter deals with the Qādirīyyah order. Volume

two has three chapters: chapter one describes the prominent Naqshbandī Ṣūfīs; chapter two discusses the Chishtī Ṣūfīs; and chapter three deals with the Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah*. Volume three deals with the common Ṣūfīs. ‘Abdul Sattār Baig does not mention the year of compilation of his work but it was published soon after his Shaykh’s death (Hajī Muhammad Shēr) in 1324 A.H./1905 A.D.

4.22.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*

While discussing Bābā Farīd, the author applies rational approach in majority cases. Like Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī ‘Abdul Sattār Baig confute as well as challenges unreasonable views even by the contemporary and early-contemporary hagiographers regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography. Mirzā ‘Abdul Sattār was the first hagiographer to repudiate Amīr Khūrd’s claim that Bābā Farīd’s family migrated from Kābul due to the Mongol upheaval. He argues that they left Kābul many decades before the invasion of Changīz Khān. Similarly, he describes Bābā Farīd’s genealogy and confute the claim of Allah Diyā that Nasīr bin ‘Abdullah is among Bābā Farīd’s forefathers. He proclaims that Nasīr bin ‘Abdullah was not a descendent of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. He further maintains that ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar bin Khattāb had eight sons and Nasīr bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar was not one of them. Similarly, he argues that 569 A.H./1174 A.D. is the actual year of Bābā Farīd’s birth and all other claims are false as numerous hagiographers mention different years in this respect. Furthermore, he rebut Amīr Khūrd’s claim that Bābā Farīd died in 664 A.H./1265 A.D. He argues that the former Shaykh died on Muharram 5, 670 A.H./ August 13, 1271 A.D. during the reign of Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban. Furthermore, the author rejects Faḍalullah Jamālī’s claim that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was the maternal nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna. In this regard, Mirzā ‘Abdul Sattār maintains that both have a vast chronological gap as

Mahmūd passed away in 421 A.H./1030 A.D. Moreover, Sultān Mahmūd's only sister named Sater Ma'alī was Sallār Mas'ūd Ghazī's mother. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author consults both contemporary and seventeenth century's literature. Unlike K.A Nizami who declares the Door of Paradise a legend, Mirzā 'Abdul Sattār declares it a reality.¹⁰⁴⁶

4.22.2- Critical Analysis of *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*

Like Amīr Khūrd and Faḍalullah Jamālī, Mirzā 'Abdul Sattār Baig provides another organized biography of Bābā Farīd. Like K.A Nizami, the author has critically consulted majority of the contemporary, early-contemporary and seventeenth centuries' sources which deal with Bābā Farīd. He rationally argues that 664 A.H./1265 A.D. is not the actual year of Bābā Farīd's death citing that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' received *khalāfat nāmah* from Bābā Farīd on 669 A.H./1271 A.D.¹⁰⁴⁷ Likewise, he also rejects some travels of Bābā Farīd described by 'Alī Asghar Chishtī in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, particularly the journey with La'al Shahbāz Qalandar. However, the author declares the journey of Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā toward Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī as an authentic trek.

Apart from the accurate criticism and challenging the prominent sources, Mirzā 'Abdul Sattār also explores some new avenues of Bābā Farīd's life. For instance, he is the first hagiographer who mentions the name of all three sons of Qādī Shu'aīb; Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Shaykh Ahmad and Shaykh Sa'ad Hājī.

Some errors are also found in *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn* such as the author, in some cases, relies on inauthentic sources such as *Gulshan-i-Awliyā'*.

¹⁰⁴⁶Mirzā Muhammad 'Abdul Sattār Baig. *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*. (Delhi: Mufeed Aam Publisher, n.d), 312-39.

¹⁰⁴⁷Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 116.

Furthermore, the author's claim that Bībī Sharīfah, Bābā Farīd's daughter, was married to Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir is debatable. By and large, it is one of the best biographies of Bābā Farīd.

4.23- *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*

Mirzā Muhammad Akhter Delhwī compiled *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind* and it has three volumes. The first two volumes discuss the Chishtī Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent and compiled before 1906. While third volume discusses eminent Qādirī, Naqshbandī, and Suhrwardī Ṣufīs of South Asia published in 1906. *Khawājah-i-Khawjagān* is another work of the same author which is a comprehensive biography of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Din Chishtī.

4.23.1- Portrayal of Baba Farīd in *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i- Pāk-o-Hind*

Khwājah Farīd al-Din Ganj Shakar Mas'ūd was a favorite *khalīfah* of Khwājah Qutab al-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī. The author has mentioned the genealogy of Bābā Farīd till 'Umar bin Khattāb (d. 644) and argued that the family of the Shaykh was migrated when Mongol invaded Kābul. They shifted at a village named Kothī situated near Multān. Original name of Baba Farīd was Mas'ūd and he became popular as Farīd al-Dīn, the latter name bestowed him by ALLAH Almighty. The author has also mentioned one hundred and one names of the Shaykh which are used as an *aūrād*. By and large he mentioned numerous miracles of Baba Farīd.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁸ Mirzā Akhter Delhwī, *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i- Pāk-o-Hind*. (Lahore: Famous Book Publishers, 1979), 74-96.

4.23.2- Critical Analysis of *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i- Pāk-o-Hind*

Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind is another biographical account of South Asian Ṣufīs particularly the Chishtī Ṣufīs which concisely discusses Baba Farīd. The author in majority cases does not rely on the contemporary sources and fail to make differentiate among the authentic and fabricated accounts. Similarly, as did other biographers Mirzā Akhter also made some mistakes regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd; a) he mentioned Bābā Farīd as Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Ganj Shakar Mas'ūd, Kathōwāl as Kothī, Maulānā Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī as Shihāb al-Dīn, Farīd al-Dīn Naishāpurī as Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Naishāpurī, Shaykh 'Alī Bihārī as Shaykh 'Alī Bahādar and Khwājah Muntajab al-Dīn as Khwājah Muntakhab al-Dīn, b) he followed Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while describing the migration of the grandfather of Bābā Farīd from Kābul to Multān, c) wrongly mentioned that Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah was the son of Bībī Sharu, while the fact is that he was the son of Umm-i-Kulthūm, d) Moreover, Mirzā Akhter Delhwī proclaimed that Bābā Farīd took part in the construction of Shaykh Abdul Qādir Jillanī's shrine which is also far from the reality as the former Shaykh was passed away almost ten years before the birth of the later, e) great strength of *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd presented by the author is also debatable.

4.24- *Sayyādat-i-Farīdī* and its Critical Analysis

Rashīd Ahmad Āmrōhī compiled *Sayyādat-i-Farīdī*. The publishing year is not mentioned but some letters published in the same work (received by the author) show that it was published in 1910s. *Sayyadat-i-Farīdī* is a genealogical work in which the author tries to explore the genealogy of Ibrāhīm bin Adham and Bābā Farīd; the former was one the ancestors of the latter. The author proclaims that Bābā Farīd's genealogy traces back to 'Alī bin Abī Tālib, and that he was Sayyed rather than Fārūqī (descendant

of ‘Umar bin Khattāb). The author argues (as does ‘Abdul Sattār Baig) that ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar did not have a son named Nasīr as almost all the biographers who have penned down Bābā Farīd’s genealogy mention Nasīr bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar as one of Bābā Farīd’s ancestors.

The argument of the author is research-based. Later, different historians such as Khwājah Muslim Nizami in *Anwār al-Farīd* (1965) and Diyā al-Habib Sābirī in *Nasab wa Nisbat-i-Farīd* (2006) appreciated that argument. However, the genuine and earlier pedigree and genealogical literature (although I have the oldest pedigree of Bābā Farīd that was perhaps written in the life of the former Shaykh) on Bābā Farīd shows that he was a descendant of ‘Umar bin Khattāb. The *sajjādah nashīns* have also declined the argument of Rashīd Ahmad Āmrōhī.¹⁰⁴⁹

4.25- *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*

Nuzhat al-Khawātir is an encyclopedic work, compiled by Maulānā Sayed ‘Abdul Hai Lucknowī (d. 1922), which discusses four thousand and five hundred prominent personalities of Indo-Pāk subcontinent and covers a period of thirteen hundred years’ history of Muslims in South Asia. The exact date of its publication is not known but it was likely published in the 1910s. ‘Abdul Hai was an intellectual who wrote in both Arabic and Urdu languages. Moreover, he was father of popular Indian Muslim Historian named Sayed Abū al-Hassan ‘Alī Nadawī. *Nuzhat al-Khawātir* is in Arabic language. The book concisely discusses almost all the eminent Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent from 7th to 20th century. Besides *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, Sayed ‘Abdul Hai Lucknowī compiled *Gul-i-Ra‘na, Delhī aur As Ke Atarāf*, (Delhī and its Surroundings)

¹⁰⁴⁹Rashīd Ahmed Āmrōhī *Sayyadat-i-Farīdī*. (Lahore: The Magazine Sultan al-Mashaikh, n.d), 3-67.

Yād Ayyām Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt, Islamic heritage in Hindūstān, India During Muslim Rule and Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq.

4.25.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*

Al-Imām Farīd al-Dīn Chishtī Ajōdhanī was a popular saint. His name was Mas‘ūd bin Sulaimān bin Shu‘āib bin Ahmad. About the migration of the family of Bābā Farīd from Kābul to Multān and his early life, the author has shared information similar to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd also visited Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrwardī, Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī, Shaykh Sa‘ad al-Dīn Hamwiyya, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī and many other Mashaikh. Finally, he came to Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. He later left for Hānsī where he spent twelve years, and subsequently left for Ajōdhan after gaining unwanted popularity. The author also describes some of Bābā Farīd’s quotes and a letter that he wrote to Sultān Balban.¹⁰⁵⁰

4.25.2- Critical Analysis of *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*

Nuzhat al-Khawātir provides concise information about Bābā Farīd and skips many important aspects of his life such as his parents, siblings, wives, daughters, life at Ajōdhan, his *Jamā‘t Khānah* and *sajjādah nashīns*. The author consults two works while discussing Bābā Farīd which include *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and *Gulzār-i-Abrār*. He wrongly mentions the date of Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī’s death as 666 A.H., which is in fact 661 A.H.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Abdul Hai, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*. (Beirut: Dar Ibne Hazem, 1999), 128-29.

4.26- *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*

Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht was compiled by Maulānā Muhammad Zakarīyyā. The book was completed in 1335 A.H./1916 A.D. and discusses forty-four Ṣufīs. The author first discusses the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the first four pious caliphs, and then discusses the Chishtī Ṣufīs from seventh to nineteenth century. Muhammad Zakarīyyā was a prominent Hanafī Deobandī scholar who produced numerous works in Urdu and Arabic languages: *Faḍail-i-Namāz*, *Faḍail-i-Tajārat*, *Faḍail-i-Dūrūd*, *Faḍail-i-Sadaqāt*, *Faḍail-i-dhikr*, *Faḍail-i-Qurān* and *Faḍail-i-A‘māl*. *Faḍail-i-A‘māl* is his most famous book.

4.26.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*

Like Muhammad ‘Umar al-Dīn Tālib, Muhammad Zakarīyyā mentions numerous dates of Bābā Farīd’s birth as 584 A.H., 585 A.H. and 569 A.H. Moreover, he mentions that Bābā Farīd’s family migrated because of the invasion of Hallaku Khān. The author describes the devotion of Shaykh Farīd with his preceptor as once both Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī were sleeping in a same apartment, the latter asked Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn to massage the feet of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn, but Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn pressed the feet of his own Shaykh and said that he loved his Shaykh only. Surprisingly, the author mentions three different dates of Shaykh Farīd’s death as 664 A.H., 660 A.H. and 668 A.H.¹⁰⁵¹

4.26.2- Critical Analysis of *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*

Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht is a semi-scholarly work. Many faults and legends are seen in Zakarīyyā’s work: a) Qādī Shu‘aīb did not leave Kābul during the invasion of

¹⁰⁵¹Muhammad Zakariya, *Tārīkh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*. (Karachi: Majālis Nashariyat-i-Islam, 1397A.H./1977 A.D.), 176-80.

Hallaku Khān as he was not alive even during the invasion of Changīz Khān (Hallaku Khān's grandfather) on Kābul and Qandhār in 1218 A.D; b) Sultān of Delhī never offered Qādī Shu'aīb an official post and *jāgīr* when he migrated to Northern India, because on that time Delhī was not under the Muslim rule; c) the Hindu thief did recovered due to Bābā Farīd's blessing but Qursam Bībī's prayer; d) Bābā Farīd was not present when Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī died at Delhī; e) the author focuses on Sābirīyyah *silsilah* and ignores Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and all his *khulafā'*; and f) the author does not consult majority of the contemporary sources and skips many incidents of Bābā Farīd's life.

4.27- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Nawāb Farīd* and its Analysis

Nawāb Farīd is a comprehensive biography of Farīd al-Dīn Akhlas Khān, Ehtashām Khān popularly known as Nawāb Farīd who was one of the descendants of Bābā Farīd and was contemporary of Mughal emperor Akbar the Great. The author has also presented a short biography of Bābā Farīd at beginning and provides concise chronological information about forefathers of Nawāb Farīd Khān from his father Qutab al-Dīn Khān to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān the later was a son of Bābā Farīd. The book was published in 1917.

Shah Ahmad popularly known as Farrukh Shah Kābulī visited Kābul for trade purposes. In that journey he became aware about decadent socio-political condition of the region, after some days he invaded Kābul and established his rule. Later, when Changīz Khān invaded Kābul Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān migrated to Qasūr and settled in a village named Kothōwāl, where he married with the daughter of Wajīh al- Dīn Khunjadī. Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was living a life of poverty and no one knew him but after some time a child was born at his home who became popular in the whole world, that child was no

other but Farīd al-Din Ganj-i-Shakar. He led the foundation of two clans of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* known as Nizāmīyyah and Sābirīyyah. Bābā Farīd was married with Huzairah Banu daughter of Sultān Balban, he had numerous descendants and that's why he was known as Ādam the Second. Later, his descendants left Punjab and dispersed in whole India among them one was Shaykh Salīm Chishtī who settled in Fateh Pur Sīkrī. Bābā Farīd's descendants took part both in Islamic preaching and in *jihad* (battles). While discussing the children, grandsons and granddaughters of Bābā Farīd the author relied on 'Alī Asghar's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Bābā Farīd was died in 668 A.H./1269 A.D. ¹⁰⁵²

One important thing of this book is that the author has provide genealogy of Bābā Farīd from Bābā Farīd to Prophet Ādam (PBUH). Besides this the book has not shared any new information about Bābā Farīd. Moreover, it is also not without amiss such as; a) the invasion of Farrukh Shah Kābulī is not mentioned in contemporary, early-contemporary, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries available literature, b) the author falsely mentioned Jamal al-Dīn Sulaimān migrated from Kābul to Qasūr, moreover, the time period is also incorrect c) the date of death Bābā Farīd is 664 A.H., d), exact name of village in which Bābā Farīd born was Kathōwāl. By and large the author relies on *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and skipped other sources.

4.28- Tadhkira Farīdīyyah and Its Analysis

Tadhkira Farīdīyyah is another comprehensive biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by Maulānā Muhammad Mushtāq Ahmad Sābirī in 1339 A.H./1921 A.D. It is written in Urdu language. Amīr Khūrd mentioned Bābā Farīd as a descendant of Ibrāhīm bin Adham and 'Umar bin Khattāb, later, majority of the hagiographers followed him. However, Maulānā 'Abdul Rahmān Jāmī and Muhammad Akram Barāsawī postulated

¹⁰⁵²Muhammad Sultan Haider Jush, *Nawāb Farīd*. (Badaun: Nizāmi Press, 1917), 7-20.

that Ibrāhīm bin Adham was not the descendant of ‘Umar bin Khattāb. Barāsawī, however, agreed that genealogy of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn axiomatically traced back to Haḍrat ‘Umar. The fact is that Ibrāhīm bin Nasīr has been mistakenly described as Ibrāhīm bin Adham by some hagiographers. While describing the migration of Qādī Shu‘aīb and *Chillah-i-Ma‘kus*, the author relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, birth of Bābā Farīd and his mother relies on *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, for title Ganj-i-Shakar relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā’* *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Akḥbār al-Akhyār*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. Bābā Farīd was born in either 579 A.H./ 1183 or 582 A.H./ 1186 A.D. He saw his preceptor Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī initially at Multan and left for Delhi along with him. After getting *khalāfat* Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn came to Kathōwāl, after that he was blessed by another Shaykh, Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī.¹⁰⁵³

Tadhkira Farīdīyyah is a good addition regarding the biographies of Bābā Farīd. The author critically analysis the genealogy of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. He also provides valuable information about the *sajjādah nashins* of Bābā Farīd. He consulted numerous well-known sources including the *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, *Asrār al-Awliyā’*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, *Asrār al-Sālikīn*, *Siyar al-‘Arīfīn*, *Akḥbār al-Akhyār*, *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭa*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. Another noteworthy characteristic of the book is that the author has mentioned reference of every incident.

Like all other hagiographies some major and minor mistakes are extant in *Tadhkira Farīdīyyah* e.g., a) Amīr Khūrd did not claim’s Bābā Farīd as a descendant of Ibrāhīm bin Adham or ‘Umar bin Khattāb, b) The migration of grandfather of Bābā Farīd described by the author is not factual, c) Bābā Farīd was born on 569 A.H. rather than

¹⁰⁵³Muhammad Mushtāq Ahmed Sābirī, *Tadhkira Farīdīyyah*. (comp. 1921) (Delhi: Delhi Printing Works, n.d), 2-45.

579 A.H. or 582 A.H. d) Bābā Farīd did not join his preceptor at Multan, and, f) Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī visited Bābā Farīd when he was a kid.

4.29- Khwājah Hassan Nizami's *Farīd Bābā*

Khwājah Hassan Nizami was a practicing Ṣufī and *sajjādah nashīn* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's shrine. He was an intellectual and produced many books on Sufism, history and witticism. He also discovered many old manuscripts of Chishtīyya *silsilah*. He was born in 1873 and died in 1955 at Delhī. *Farīd Bābā* is a biography of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. The date of its publication is unmentioned but there is a probability that it was published in 1920s because during that decade, Nizami published numerous works.

Bābā Farīd was born in 854 A.H./1450 A.D. at Katowal. His father Kamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was a descendant of 'Umar bin Khattāb. His mother, Qursam Khātūn, played a vital role in his spiritual growth. Similarly, his long and arduous itinerary also proved to be very effective in his spiritual goal. Moreover, the Shaykh lived an ascetic life.¹⁰⁵⁴ He treated everybody impartially. When one of his disciples, Yūsuf, complained about his biasedness, Bābā Farīd taught him through a practical incident as he asked a child to bring bricks. He brought complete bricks for everyone except Yūsuf. Yūsuf finally was realized his mistake and apologized before the Shaykh. The author focused on one aspect of Bābā Farīd which was his counseling. The Shaykh removed the tensions and mental disorders of his visitors through counseling and spiritual healing. He taught his audience that they will not lose heart during the sorrows and miseries as the victims received blessing of ALLAH Almighty on the same day. Hence, he encouraged miserable people.¹⁰⁵⁵ Furthermore, the author maintains that all the traditions of the 'urs

¹⁰⁵⁴ Khwājah Hassan Nizāmī, *Farīd Bābā*. (Lahore: Islamia Steam Press, n.d), 5-9

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., 10-16.

of Bābā Farīd, which are still very much popular, were started by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.¹⁰⁵⁶

4.29.1- Critical Analysis of *Farīd Bābā*

In *Farīd Bābā*, the author relies on the contemporary and early-contemporary sources. He does not focus on Bābā Farīd's miracles, concentrates on the elements which made him a distinguished saint. Moreover, the central theme of the author's work is the philosophy of Bābā Farīd which was austere life, love and affection for everyone, meditation and keeping the worldly desires at arm's length. Some mistakes are also found in Nizami's work such as he argues that Bābā Farīd was born in 854 A.H./1450 A.D. which is in fact 569 A.H. 1173 A.D. and mentions his father's name as Kamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān which is Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān.

4.30- *Tadhkirāt al- 'Ārifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah*

Tadhkirāt al- 'Ārifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah is compiled by Khwājah Ghulām Hassan Shah in 1928. It is another hagiography of Chishtīyyah Sābirīyyah *Mashaikh* which started from the brief account of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Haḍrat 'Alī bin Abī Tālib. While talking about the Chishtīyyah *Mashaikh* it covers a long chronological period from seventh century ('Alī bin Abī Tālib) to nineteenth century, which gives special attention to Bābā Farīd and Mian Maẓhar 'Alī Shah Sābirī, however, the book skips the Ṣufīs of Nizāmīyyah *silsilah*.

¹⁰⁵⁶Nizāmī, *Farīd Bābā*, 18.

4.30.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Tadhkirāt al-ʿĀrifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah*

Bābā Farīd was a descendant of ʿUmar bin Khattāb, son of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān. Mother of Bābā Farīd was very pious lady. She put sugar under the prayer mat of young Farīd and informed him it was a reward of prayer from ALLAH Almighty, when once she forgot that practice, surprisingly Bābā Farīd got sugar and that's why he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar. While talking about the first meeting of Bābā Farīd and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, title Ganj-i-Shakar (besides the above-mentioned story of title Ganj-i-Shakar) the author shared similar information to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, departure from Hānsī, death of his Shaykh, categories of *zakat* and *darwaishī* followed Allah Diyā's *Siyar al-Aqtāb*. Bābā Farīd had numerous *khulafāʾ* but four were more distinguish including Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, Khwājah Sābir, he was also nephew and son in law of Bābā Farīd, Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī and Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq Delhwī.¹⁰⁵⁷

4.30.2- Critical Analysis of *Tadhkirāt al-ʿĀrifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah*

The author has focused on the philosophy of Bābā Farīd rather than the miracles. He has consulted *Siyar al-Awliyāʾ*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and *Siyar al-Aqtāb*. Some errors have been existed in *Tadhkirāt al-ʿĀrifīn* such as, a) the author wrongly mentioned that during his last days Bābā Farīd repeated his prayers, the fact is that he repeated only his 'Ishā' prayer on the same night in which he passed away, b) 'Alī Ahmad Sābir mentioned as Khwājah Muhammad Sābir, Shaykh Dawūd Pailī as Shaykh Dawūd Chāhī, Khwājah Muntajab al-Dīn as Khwājah Muntakhab al-Dīn, c) shrine of Khwājah Muntajab al-Dīn is at Delhī rather than in Deccan, d) Shaykh Dawūd Pailī mentioned

¹⁰⁵⁷ Khwājah Ghulām Hassan, *Tadhkirat al-ʿĀrifīn fī Hayāt-i-Maẓharīyyah*. (Delhi: Barqi Press, n.d), 15-21.

as *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd who was in fact *khalīfah* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, e) Khwājah Diyā al-Dīn Bakhshī is mentioned as one of *khulafā’* of Bābā Farīd which is not found in contemporary and early-contemporary sources, f) ‘Alā’ al Dīn Sābir’s marriage with the daughter of Bābā Farīd is also debatable.

4.31- *Punjāb Mean Urdu (Urdu in Punjāb)*

Punjāb Mean Urdu is written by Hāfiẓ Mahmūd Sheeranī. The book was published in 1928. The current study consults its third volume. Although the central theme of the book is Urdu language, it also shares a concise biography of Bābā Farīd and different popular Ṣufīs of South Asia such as Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī, Amīr Khusru Delhwī, Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Bājan (d.1507) and Shaykh ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī (d. 1537).

4.31.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Punjāb mean Urdu (Urdu in Punjāb)* and its Critical Analysis

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar was one of the distinguished personalities of seventh century A.H. He was born in a village of Multān named Kathōwāl and studied at Multān. He visited different Ṣufīs in the Islamic world and finally became a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Delhī. Later, he permanently shifted to Pākpatan and died there in 664 A.H./1265 A.D.

Bābā Farīd was a poet of Persian and Punjābī languages and used Urdu language in his conversations. Some part of his Dīwān is still available. Bābā Farīd granted *khalāfat nāmah* to Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Ṣufī at a very young age. Bābā Farīd lost one of his eyes and covered it with a cloth. On his Shaykh’s inquiry, he said that he felt pain. However, he recovered due to the prayer of his Shaykh. Bābā Farīd also visited the shrine of Khwājah ‘Abdul Shakūr situated at Sarsah frequently. While discussing Bābā

Farīd's life, the author consults *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Mahmūd Sheeranī also narrates some Persian and Urdu poems of Bābā Farīd.¹⁰⁵⁸ The author primarily focuses on the linguistic feat of Bābā Farīd. He describes different incidents of Bābā Farīd's life in which the Shaykh used Urdu sentences. However, the incident of Shaykh Farīd's lost eye is a legend. The author's claim that Bābā Farīd regularly visited the shrine of Khwājah 'Abdul Shakūr is also debatable.

4.32- The *Bahār -i-Afghānī*

'Abdul Hakīm Rastaqī compiled the *Bahār-i-Afghānī* in 1932. It deals with prominent personalities of Afghānistān. Bābā Farīd's grandfather was a native of Kābul, and Farrukh Shah, one of Bābā Farīd's forefathers, was one of the prominent rulers of Kābul which is why the author also discusses Bābā Farīd in his work.

4.32.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Bahār -i-Afghānī*

The author relies on contemporary sources while discussing Bābā Farīd's early life and his parents. However, he does not provide any new information about the Shaykh.¹⁰⁵⁹ The author discusses the title of Ganj-i-Shakar with the reference to *Siyar al-Awliyā'* that he became popular as Ganj-i-Shakar after the incident of a trade caravan when the sugar merchants lied to him and all the sugar turned into salt.¹⁰⁶⁰ The author (as do most hagiographers) fails to explore the correct reason and accurate time of the migration of Bābā Farīd's family. He maintains that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was a nephew of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna.¹⁰⁶¹ The author also describes the problems created by Qādī of

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hāfiz Mahmud Sheerani, *Punjāb Mean Urdu*. (Lahore: Kitab Numa, 1963), 310-12.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 'Abdul Hakīm Rastaqī, *Bahār-i-Afghānī*. (Delhi: Jayad Baraqi Press, 1350 A.H./1932 A.D.), 29-31.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., 32-33.

Ajōdhan for Bābā Farīd.¹⁰⁶² Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H./ 1265 A.D. at the age of ninety-five.¹⁰⁶³

4.32.2- Critical Analysis of the *Bahār -i-Afghānī*

The *Bahār-i-Afghānī* presents a short biography of Bābā Farīd. Some drawbacks of the book include the access of data regarding Bābā Farīd without consulting many important contemporary and near-contemporary sources such as Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb's *Malḡūzāt*, *Aḡḡal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Niḡāmī*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Lataif-i-Asharāfī*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, *Samarāt al-Qudūs* and the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*.

Some fabrications found in *Bahar-i-Afghani* are: a) the incident of trade caravan is mentioned with the reference to the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, but it is actually described in the *Samarāt al-Qudūs* and *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*; b) Bābā Farīd's father did not come to Lāhōre during the rule of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī but during the reign of Sultān Bahram Shah, last ruler of Ghaznavid dynasty; c) it was Qādī Shu'aīb who brought his family to Lāhōre rather than Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān d) Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān being a nephew of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna is not justified; e) Bābā Farīd's elder brother, 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd, is mentioned as Sirāj al-Dīn Mahmūd; f) Qādī 'Abdullah of Ajōdhan is mentioned as Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn Ajōdhanī.

The author skips important aspects and incidents of Bābā Farīd's life such as his mother, Qursam Bībī; his grandfather, Qādī Shu'aīb; his education and itineraries; his encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī; meditation (such as *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*); and the problem faced at Ajōdhan.

¹⁰⁶²Rastaqī, *Bahār-i-Afghānī*, 34-36.

¹⁰⁶³Ibid., 32.

4.33- Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India.

John A. Subhan compiled *Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India* in 1938. The book deals with the origin of Sufism, the earlier Ṣufīs, later development in Sufism, the gnosis, *tarīqah*, (path) and Ṣufīs practices. He also discusses Islamic intellectual Ṣufīs and poets such as Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār, Jalāl al-Dīn Rumī, Shaykh Sa‘adī of Shīrāz and ‘Abdul Rahmān Jāmī etc. He concentrates well on the South Asian Ṣufīs and Ṣufī orders. He discusses ‘Alī Hujwerī and Sallār Mas‘ūd Ghaznavī as pioneer Ṣufīs in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent.

4.33.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India

Bābā Farīd is the pioneer of Farīdīyyah *silsilah*. The author, while describing Bābā Farīd’s grandfather, shares information similar to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Furthermore, he argues that Bābā Farīd completed his religious and worldly education under the supervision of Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and afterwards came to Delhī to join the company of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār.¹⁰⁶⁴ Bābā Farīd is among very few mystics of Islam who offered *ma‘kus* prayer. While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author provides almost same information to Abū al-Faḍal’s *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Bābā Farīd had one hundred and one names which are used by his devotees to overcome their remedies and affliction.¹⁰⁶⁵ While discussing the matrimonial life, the author relies on ‘Alī Asghar’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. However, he proclaims that Bābā Farīd had six sons and four daughters which is a bit different to the former author. He also discusses the Door of Paradise as Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ saw the Holy Prophet (PBUH) at

¹⁰⁶⁴ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India*. (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing, 1938), 215-16.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India*. 217-18.

the shrine of Bābā Farīd and asked him “O Nizām al-Dīn! whosoever shall enter this door will be protected”.¹⁰⁶⁶

4.33.2- Critical Analysis of Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India

Sufism its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India is a semi-scholarly work. Many mistakes and legends are found in Subhan’s work regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography: a) Bābā Farīd did not find any *silsilah*, but it was his disciples Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir who founded Nizāmīyyah and Sābirīyyah *silsilah* respectively; b) the actual reason and time period of the migration of the Bābā Farīd’s forefathers are missing; c) Bābā Farīd did not get higher education from Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān but from his mother, and at Multān, from Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī; d) in his youth, Bābā Farīd was not impressed with Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān: actually the reverse is true; e) Bābā Farīd saw his Shaykh first time in Multān at the age of eighteen rather than seventeen; f) he spent his last years at Ajōdhan rather than at Kathōwāl; and g) he spent almost twenty-four years at Ajōdhan rather than sixteen years.

The author skips many important incidents of Bābā Farīd’s life such as Qursam Bībī, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Bābā Farīd’s brothers and sisters, his itineraries, life at Hānsī, problems faced at Ajōdhan, and his *sajjadah nashīns*. Similarly, he does not provide satisfactory information about Bābā Farīd’s family. The author also does not consult majority of the primary as well as secondary sources. Moreover, he seldom relies on the contemporary sources.

¹⁰⁶⁶Ibid., 219.

4.34- *Saints and Sages of India*

Saints and Sages of India was compiled by Prof. Pritam Singh in 1948. By and large, the book deals with most prominent mystics of Hinduism and only four Islamic mystics i.e. Bābā Farīd, Shah ‘Inayat Qādirī, Shah ‘Abdul Latīf Bhetaī and Sachal Sar Mast. Pritam Singh also produced another work entitled *Religions of the World*. The author provides brief information about Bābā Farīd.

4.34.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Saints and Sages of India*

Farīd’s grandfather migrated from Kābul to Lāhōre in 1125 A.D. Shaykh Farīd was born in Kothīwāl near Dīpāl Pur in 1173 A.D. At a very young age, Farīd enrolled in school and got early education from his native school. During his early education, he along with his tutor left for the pilgrimage of Makkah and Madinah. After that holy journey, he got his higher education from Kābul. Afterwards he came to Multān and became a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. After that, he went to Bukhara for a short period and soon rejoined the circle of his Shaykh at Delhī. His Shaykh told him to follow four rules: speak little, eat little, sleep little and associate little with the world.¹⁰⁶⁷

Farīd lived sometime in Delhī and Hānsī and finally shifted to Pākpattan (ferry of pure) where he died. The town is known as Pākpattan because there was a canal situated near the town and people washed their hands and mouths (ablution) from that canal to be clean and pure before visiting the Shaykh at his *Jamā’t Khānah*. Moreover, Farīd did not convert any Hindu as he was a humanist and showed equal respect to all other

¹⁰⁶⁷ Pritam Singh, *Saints and Sages of India*. (New Delhi: New Book Society of India Press, 1948), 69-70.

religions. Successor of Shaykh Farīd named Farīd Second visited Gurū Nānak, while *ashloke* present in *Gurū Granth* belong to Farīd First.¹⁰⁶⁸

4.34.2- Critical Analysis of *Saints and Sages of India*

It is another semi-scholarly work as it contains many legends and fabrications: a) Bābā Farīd never left for pilgrimage during his childhood; b) It is untrue that he left Makkah and Madinah for higher education. He went to Kābul for higher education after his first encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī at Multān contrary to the author's opinion; c) Qādī Shu'aīb, Bābā Farīd's grandfather, migrated during 1150s rather than 1125 A.D.; d) it was Kathōwāl rather than Kothīwāl and that village is near Multān, not Dīpāl Pur; e) the reason why Ajōdhan's name was changed to Pākpattan is wrong. It was Akbar the Great (r.1556-1605) who changed the Ajōdhan's name to Pākpattan; f) Pākpattan was located on the bank of popular river Sutlej rather than on a canal, the former river is the second largest river of Pākistān after the Indus river; and, g) the four rules were not dictated by Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Aweshī to Bābā Farīd.

The author skips many events and incidents about Bābā Farīd's life. He does not describe Bābā Farīd's early life, problems and difficulties, his matrimonial life, his family and children, his *khulafā'* and *sajjādah nashīns* etc. Moreover, the author is also silent about teachings or the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd as ascribed by Amīr Khūrd in his *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

Similarly, the accesses of data of the author is also poor as majority of contemporary and early-contemporary sources have not been consulted while compiling Bābā Farīd's

¹⁰⁶⁸Singh, *Saints and Sages of India*, 70-71.

biography. He describes the reason of the title Ganj Shakar which is missing in the contemporary sources.

4.35- *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*

Sayyed Sabah al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān is a renowned intellectual of South Asia. He compiled *Bazm -i-Şufiyah* in 1949. The book deals with the prominent Şufīs of South Asia such as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā Multānī, Shaykh Amīr Hussainī, Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn ‘Arif, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’, Shaykh Fakhar al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, Shaykh Abū al-Fateh Rukn al-Dīn, Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, Shaykh Diyā al-Dīn Bakhshī, Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī, Sharīf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahānīyyah, Khwājah Gēsū Darāz Banda Nawāz, Shaykh Bu ‘Alī Qalandar Panī Patī and Sayyed Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī, his other famous book is *Bazm-i-Taimuriyyah* which deals with the Moghul emperors of Subcontinent.

4.35.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*

The author, like Muhammad ‘Umar al-Dīn Tālib and Muhammad Zakarīyyā, mentions two dates as the dates of birth of Bābā Farīd i.e. 569 A.H. and 584 A.H. Moreover, he maintains that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān came to Lāhōre during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī. The author has discussed Qursam Bībī, Bābā Farīd’s education at Multān, stay in company of his Shaykh at Delhī, blessing of Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and his receiving the regalia of Chishtī order concisely.¹⁰⁶⁹ Furthermore, he

¹⁰⁶⁹Sayyed Sabah al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān, *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*. (Azam Garh: Al-Ma’arif, 1949), 130-31.

describes the long travels of Bābā Farīd toward Ghaznī, Baghdād, Bukhara Sīstān, Badakhshan and Jerusalem and his meeting with prominent saints such as Shaykh Ajal Shīrāzī, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwardī, Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī and Shaykh Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī.¹⁰⁷⁰ While discussing the title Ganj-i-Shakar, the author relies on Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā*, Jamālī's *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn* and Shaykh ʿAbdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*.¹⁰⁷¹ Similarly, the author consults different well-known sources exploring the death year of Bābā Farīd as he maintains there is difference of opinion among different hagiographers about the date of death of Bābā Sahib. Amīr Khūrd, Shaykh ʿAbdul Haq Muhadith and Prince Dārā Shikoh mentioned it as Muharram 5, 664 A.H., Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shah Farishta mentions 660 A.H., and Allah Diyā Chishtī mentions 690 A.H.¹⁰⁷²

He relies on the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* while describing Bābā Farīd's matrimonial life.¹⁰⁷³ The author describes the lifestyle of Bābā Farīd succinctly and in this regard narrates numerous relevant incidents. He also discusses the devotion of Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd with the Shaykh.¹⁰⁷⁴ Large number of people converted on the hand of Bābā Sahib. Two *Malḡūzāt* belong to Bābā Ganj Shakar including *Rāhat al-Qulūb* compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and *Asrār al-Awliyā* compiled by Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq.¹⁰⁷⁵

4.35.2- Critical Analysis of the *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*

The *Bazm-i-Şufiyah* is an organized biography of Bābā Farīd. In selection and accessing of data, the author has surpassed most hagiographers who produced biographies of Bābā

¹⁰⁷⁰Ibid., 122.30.

¹⁰⁷¹Ibid., 120-22.

¹⁰⁷²Ibid., 140.

¹⁰⁷³Ibid., 137.

¹⁰⁷⁴Ibid., 134-36.

¹⁰⁷⁵Ibid., 141-42.

Farīd. He consults contemporary and near-contemporary sources, and the literature produced during the latter period. Like Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, he also relies heavily on the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. Moreover, he was the first historian who challenged Muhammad Habib regarding the authenticity of the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Asrār al-Awliyā*. Furthermore, Sayed Sabah al-Dīn ‘Abdul Rahmān also discusses the main themes of both the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and the *Asrār al-Awliyā*.

Still some misconceptions have been found in his masterpiece regarding Bābā Farīd’s biography: a) Bābā Farīd getting *khalāfat* from Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan is debatable; b) Bābā Farīd rejected the gift of *jāgīr* of four villages but accepted the cash amount sent by Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd to spend it among mendicants; c) Shaykh Dawūd Pailī was not a *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd,¹⁰⁷⁶ but that of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’.

He also skips some important incidents and features of Bābā Farīd’s life. For instance, he does not mention the reason why Bābā Farīd did not stay at Delhī and why he left Hānsī. In fact, the incident of Sarhangā and the speech of Khwājah Nūr Turk became the main causes of Bābā Farīd’s migration from both places respectively.

4.36- Tadhkira

Shaykh Muhammad Saghīr Hassan compiled the *Tadhkira* in Ramḍān 1369 A.H./1950 A.D. Besides the prominent Ṣufīs, the author discusses different topics of Sufism such as *bay‘at*, *sadiq* (truthful), *shahīd* (martyr) *sālih* (pious), the esoteric knowledge, the advantages of company, the visit of graves, etc. The author also discusses the prominent Ṣufīs of Islam. The Ṣufīs of the Chishtīyya *silsilah* begins from ‘Abdul Wāhad bin Zaid

¹⁰⁷⁶ Abdul Rahmān, *Bazm-i-Ṣufīyah*, 152.

and ends on Shaykh ‘Abdul Ahad Sirhindī. Naqshbandīyyah *silsilah* from Haḍrat Abū Bakr (d.634) the first pious caliph of Islam to Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī along with his *khulafā’*. Similarly, the Ṣūfīs of Qādirīyyah *silsilah* are also described from ‘Alī bin Abi Tālib, the fourth pious caliph, to Sayed Shah Sikander of Kaithal.

4.36.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Tadhkira*

The author maintains that Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H. and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) predicted his birth in a dream. Moreover, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) granted him title Ganj-i-Shakar. Qursam Bībī was a descendant of ‘Abbas bin ‘Abdul Matlub, uncle of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).¹⁰⁷⁷

Before the birth of the Shaykh, his mother once wanted to eat jujube (Chines dates) but at the very same time she realized severe pain in her stomach, so she did not eat that fruit. Bābā Farīd later told her that it was Shaykh Farīd who created pain in her stomach because of that dubious jujube as her mother did not get permission from its owner. Father of Shaykh died at his early age, while at the age of four, her mother started his education. While discussing the encounter of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, his stay at Delhī, Hānsī and Ajōdhan, the title Ganj-i-Shakar (although as mentioned above the author argues that the Holy Prophet granted Bābā Farīd that title but later on he also describes the incident mentioned by Faḍalullah Jamālī regarding the former title), the author provides information similar to the contemporary sources. The author also discusses the Door of Paradise.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁷Shaykh Muhammad Saghīr Hassan, *Tadhkira*. (Sialkot: Amalgamated Press, 1369A.H./1950 A.D.), 31.

¹⁰⁷⁸Hassan, *Tadhkira*, 33-35.

4.36.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkira*

The *Tadhkira* is another short biography of Bābā Farīd and author skips some important information. Moreover, as many other hagiographers of twentieth century, Shaykh Muhammad Saghīr Hassan also does not consult majority of the contemporary and near-contemporary sources such as *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Niẓāmī*, all *Malḡūẓāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Gharīb, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah* and *Lataif-i-Asharaftī*. Similarly, he does not consult eminent sources of seventeenth centuries such as *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, *Akhbār al-Akhyār* and *Gulzār-i-Abrār*.

The author makes numerous mistakes and adds some legends regarding Bābā Farīd's biography: a) Shaykh 'Abdul Wāhad bin Zaid as the founder of Chishtīyya order which is in fact 'Alī bin Abī Tālib; b) Bābā Farīd did not die at the age of one hundred years and four months but at the age of ninety-five; c) the Holy Prophet (PBUH) granting him the title Ganj-i-Shakar is missing in the contemporary, near-contemporary sources and in the later works; d) there is no mention to whom the Holy Prophet (PBUH) gave the news of blessed son in a dream; e) Bābā Farīd's father did not migrate to Multān, but Qādī Shu'aīb; f) they did not migrate during Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī's reign but during Bahram Shah's reign; g) there is no mention of the name of Bābā Farīd's father; h) the incident of jujube is missing in the early sources, however, the incident is very much popular among the native people of Pākṣattan; i) Bābā Farīd did not join Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī from Multān and leave for Delhī with his preceptors; he only joined him briefly but his Shaykh ordered him to complete his education first and then join him at Delhī. Bābā Farīd visited different important centers of Islamic learning such as Kābul, Qandhār, Baghdād, Kirmān and even Jerusalem and after that he came to Delhī.

The author skips many important incidents, features and aspects of Bābā Farīd's life such as his forefathers (particularly Qādī Shu'aīb), encounter with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, problem faced at Ajōdhan, his miracles, his wives, sons and daughters, his relationship with the ruling class, and the date of his death.

4.37- '*Āab-i-Kauthar*

'*Āab-i-Kauthar* was completed in 1947 by Shaykh Muhammad Ikram but was published after five years in 1952 because of the partition of India and Pākistān. He was a well-known historian. *Raud-i-Kauthar*, *Mūj-i-Kauthar* are his other well-known works. In '*Āab-i-Kauthar*, he discusses Muslim rule in South Asia from 711 A.D. to 1526 A.D. He also discusses early Chishtī and Suhrawardī Ṣufīs such as Khwājah Mu'in al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī.

4.37.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the '*Āab-i-Kauthar*

Shaykh Kabīr Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar was appointed as Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's successor after the latter's death in 1235 A.D. At the age of eighteen, he became a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Multān. Bābā Farīd was fully aware of the incident of Najm al-Dīn Sughara who was jealous of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The former was Shaykh al-Islam and accused the latter of adultery which is why Bābā Farīd did not stay at Delhī. During the life of his Shaykh, Bābā Farīd moved toward Hānsī, and after his death he shifted to Ajōdhan as both places were backward and unfamiliar. Ajōdhan was, on one hand, an abode of culprits while, on the other hand, a dwelling of poisonous snakes, scorpions and others wild animals. The Shaykh recommended his disciples to make their enemies happy and give

due share to the deserving. Where Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī popularized the Chishtīyyah *silsilah* at Delhī, it was Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj Shakar who popularized it in the whole Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. Many famous tribes such as Siyāl, Rājput and Wattū converted to Islam at his hand. His *Malfūzāt* entitled *Asrār al-Awliyā*, and *Rāhat al-Qulūb* are superior to the *Malfūzāt* of his predecessors.¹⁰⁷⁹

4.37.2- Critical Analysis of the ‘*Āab-i-Kauthar*’

The ‘*Āab-i-Kauthar*’ is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author consults most of the contemporary sources and relies heavily on the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’ and the *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*. But still he skips all the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, the *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, and the *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*. The author not only relies on the *Asrār al-Awliyā*’, and the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* but also declares them intellectually superior to the *Malfūzāt* of Khwājah ‘Uthmān Harūnī, Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan and Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

4.38- ‘*Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*’

Muhammad ‘Azīzullah Shah was himself a practicing Chishtī Ṣufī. He compiled ‘*Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*’ in 1953. The book is divided into four chapters. The author mentions the year of death of each saint in the contents. He discusses the Chishtī saints in the first chapter.

4.38.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the ‘*Āin al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*’

About Bābā Farīd’s genealogy, forefathers, mother, name, title and encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the author provides information similar to Amīr

¹⁰⁷⁹Shaykh Muhammad Ikram, ‘*Āab-i-Kauthar*. (Lahore: department of Islamic heritage, 2015), 217-27.

Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Furthermore, he maintains that Bābā Farīd was the nephew of Mahmūd 'Alī Khān. His grandfather, Qādī Shu'aīb, left Kābul and settled in a village named Khoni at Multān.¹⁰⁸⁰ While discussing the reason why he became popular as Ganj Shakar, he once again provides information akin to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and also consults Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhār al-Akhyār*. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn performed the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* in the mosque of Achh. He died at Ajōdhan on Muharram 5, 664 A.H.¹⁰⁸¹

4.38.2- Critical Analysis of the '*Ain al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*'

The '*Ain al-Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*' is not a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. The author does not consult most of the contemporary and near-contemporary sources, for example, the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Afḍal al-Fawā'id*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Malḡūzāt* of Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb and the *Siyar al-'Arifīn*.

Many mistakes are found in that work: a) Bābā Farīd was not Mahmūd of Ghazna's nephew; b) Mahmūd of Ghazna is mentioned as Mahmūd 'Alī Khān; c) Kathōwāl is mentioned as Khonī, and Uchach as Achh; and d) the people of Uchach did not support Bābā Farīd while performing *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* as he did that practice secretly and the local had no idea. It was only Rashīd al-Dīn Mainaī, a *mu'adhan* and disciple of the great Shaykh, who knew about that *chillah*.

The author skips numerous important events and features of Bābā Farīd's life: a) the reason of Bābā Farīd's forefathers' migration to North India; b) the book is silent about Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān; c) the Shaykh's date of birth and his encounter with Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī; d) the challenges faced by Bābā Farīd at Delhī, Hānsī, and Ajōdhan; e)

¹⁰⁸⁰Muhammad 'Azizullah Shah, '*Ain al Walāyat al-Rah al-Hidāyat*'. (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1953), 92-93.

¹⁰⁸¹Ibid., 94-96.

Bābā Farīd's itineraries; and f) his relationship with the ruling elite, Ṣufīs, common people and the non-Muslims.

4.39- *Anwār al-Awliyā'*

Sayed Rais Hussain Jafari compiled the *Anwār al-Awliyā'* in 1954. It deals with eminent Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent from the Chishtīyyah, Suhrawardīyyah, Qādirīyyah and Naqshbandīyyah orders.

4.39.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Anwār al-Awliyā'*

Bābā Farīd's forefathers migrated from Bukhara to Hindūstān. According to Amir Khūrd, Bābā Farīd was a descendant of 'Umar bin Khattāb while according to Muhammad Mushtaq Āmrōhī, he descendant from 'Alī bin Abi Tālib. Qādī Shu'aīb's son, Qādī Sulaimān, was the father of Qādī Farīd al-Dīn who later became popular as Shaykh al-'Alam Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. His mother bestowed the title "Ganj-i-Shakar" on him. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī visited Bābā Farīd initially in a mosque at Multān, brought him to Delhī, and supervised his meditations. Later, Bābā Farīd went to Hānsī and then to Ajōdhan from where he would visit his Shaykh frequently. Baba Farīd postulated bread as the sixth principle of Islam. Three orders originated from Bābā Farīd; Jamālīyyah, Nizāmīyyah and Sābirīyyah. Jamālīyyah was later merged into Nizāmīyyah. The author also describes the Door of Paradise and maintains that he did not find any information in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁸²Sayed Rais Ahmed Jafari, *Anwār-i-Awliyā'*. (Lahore: Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1954), 229-237.

4.39.2- Critical Analysis of the *Anwār al-Awliyā'*

Anwār al-Awliyā' is not entirely a scholarly work and cannot be compared with Mirzā's *Masālik al-Sālikīn*, Nizami's *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Tālib Hashimi's *Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Din Masud Ganj Shakar*, Wahid Ahmad Masud's *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar* or with Muslim Nizami's *Anwār al-Farīd*. Apart from the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, the author hardly consults contemporary, near-contemporary and sixteenth, seventeenth century data. Moreover, he hardly provides references for the information. Numerous minor and major mistakes found in this biography of Bābā Farīd include: a) Bābā Farīd's grandfather migrated from Bukhara to Hindūstān rather than Kābul to Hindūstān; b) Jamāl al-Sulaimān is mentioned as Qādī Sulaimān and Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd as Qādī Mas'ūd; c) Bābā Farīd was never appointed as Qādī; d) Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn *Bakhtiyār Kākī* bestowed on Bābā Farīd the title "Ganj-i-Shakar" rather than Qursam Bībī; e) Bābā Farīd showed his desire to join Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Multān, while the latter was leaving for Delhī. But he declined and asked the former to complete his education first and then come to him at Delhī; and f) Bābā Farīd shifted to Ajōdhan after his Shaykh's death. So, he could not have visited him from Ajōdhan.

4.39.3- Khaliq Ahmad Nizami

Khaliq Ahmad Nizami is one of the famous Muslim historians of 20th century India. Usually, his works are ubiquitous to those who study Sufism in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. The author has produced a large number of scholarly works like *The Life and Time of Shaikh Farid -Ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar* (1955), *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, (1956), *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, (1961), *The Life and Times of Shaikh Nizam-Ud-Din Awliya*, (1991) *The Life and Times*

of Shaikh Nasir-Ud-Din Chirag-i-Delhi, (1991) and *Tārīkh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht* (1983) are some of his commendable contributions.

4.40- The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U’D-Din Ganj-i-Shakar

The Life and Time of Shaikh Farīd-Ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar is the first organized and systematic biography of Bābā Farīd in English language. The book begins with the classification of sources. Among contemporary sources, Nizami heavily relies on the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā’* and the *Khayr al-Majālis*. Among the near contemporary sources, he prefers Jamālī’s *Siyar al-’Ārifīn* and Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*. In addition to the contemporary and near contemporary sources, the author also discusses the literature produced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These later periods are also deemed rich regarding the *tadhkirāt* (Ṣufī biographies). Important biographies compiled in that period are the *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, *Akhhbār-al Akhiya*, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, *Mirāt-al Asrār*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Safīnat-al Awliyā’*, *Siyar-al Aqtāb*, *Ma’arij al-Walāyat*, *Matlūb al-Tālibīn*, *Roudah-i-Aqtāb*, *Iqtibās al-Anwār*, *Shajrat al-Anwār*, *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā’*, *Anwār al-’Ārifīn* and *Manāqib al-Mahbūbīn*. The author challenges the authority and authenticity of different works compiled in different periods. However, he maintains that the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* of Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith Delhwī is the best source among the above mentioned three centuries of compendia. The *Gulzār-i-Abrār* by Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī is another important work in this regard. The author argues that some fabricated literature has also been produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among which the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* of ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī has been judged as the most unreliable *tadhkira*. Nizami’s book is divided into twenty-two short chapters which attempt to discuss almost every aspect of Bābā Farīd’s life. Bābā Farīd’s forefathers migrated toward Northern India not because of the Mongol invasion but due to the

Ghuzz's, a Turk tribe's, attack on Kābul, Qandhār and Ghaznī. While discussing the early life and parents of Bābā Farīd, his meditation and stay at Delhī, the author relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*.¹⁰⁸³ Shaykh Farīd, like his predecessors, did not make any contact with the state. Although Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r.1246-66) and, more importantly, his prime minister, Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (r. 1266-87), were devotees of Shaykh Farīd, he never accepted any *jāgīr* from them. Occasionally, he would accept the gifts of cash and distribute them among the poor.¹⁰⁸⁴

The author makes an inclusive comparison between the *khānqāh* of Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān. He maintains that, as the head of Chishtī order, Bābā Farīd, in many cases, had different policies compared to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā, the head of Suhrwardīyyah order. The former frequently faced starvation and lived a simple life while the latter lived a luxurious life. The *khānqāh* of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā was like a palace with many rooms for his disciples. Furthermore, only those disciples were let in who would get permission from Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā. Common people were not allowed to visit his *khānqāh*. In addition, the Suhrwardī *khānqāh* had stocks of grains and numerous *jāgīr* or agricultural lands. Paradoxically, the Chishtī *Jamā't Khānah* of Shaykh Farīd neither had any *jāgīr*, nor any stocks of grain. Moreover, unlike the Suhrwardī *khānqāh*, it was open all the time for everyone, without any difference of cast and creed, rich or poor, ruling elite and lower class. Anybody could visit Bābā Farīd without his approval. Furthermore, all the people slept in a big hall and there was no separate room for the Shaykh in the *Jamā't Khānah*. *Jamā't Khānah* of Bābā Farīd, therefore, played a vital role in the establishment and expansion of the Chishtī *silsilah* in India and beyond. The author

¹⁰⁸³Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U'D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 10-33.

¹⁰⁸⁴Ibid., 100-05.

further maintains that the *Jamā't Khānah* of the Shaykh was also an educational and training center which produced eminent spiritual successors of Chishtīyyah order.¹⁰⁸⁵

Bābā Farīd, was careful about social admiration and popularity due to which he left Delhī and, after some time, Hānsī. Finally, he chose Ajōdhan which was a dwelling of culprits, thugs, and bitter enemies of the saints. Moreover, there was a forest surrounding the town which was full of wild animals and snakes. He settled in such a dangerous place in hopes of easily fulfilling his arduous and lengthy meditations. Even there, Bābā Farīd did not remain an unknown figure for long as his fame spread everywhere, even beyond India. Bābā Farīd married at Ajōdhan. In discussing Bābā Farīd's children, Nizami relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Bābā Farīd died in 664 A.H. 1265 A.D.¹⁰⁸⁶

Bābā Farīd was a great scholar, intellectual, as well as a renowned Ṣufī poet. In addition to being the founder of Punjābī poetry, the *Khānqāh* of Shaykh Farīd proved to be the first platform of the Urdu language.¹⁰⁸⁷ As an appendix, the author presents a detailed note on the Chishtī *Malfūzāt* including the *Fawā'id-al Sālikīn*, *Asrār-al Awliyā'* and the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. He maintains that all these *Malfūzāt* are fabricated.

4.40.1- Critical analysis of The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd Ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar

Khaliq Ahmad Nizami produced well managed and research-oriented biography of Bābā Farīd which surpasses all other biographies of Bābā Farīd compiled in the modern period. The author makes best use of authentic sources and applies secular approach. While discussing the access of data regarding Bābā Farīd, K.A Nizami is probable the

¹⁰⁸⁵Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U'D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 46-55.

¹⁰⁸⁶Ibid., 36-56.

¹⁰⁸⁷Ibid., 81-86.

first historian to consult the majority of sources. However, he also skips some important contemporary sources such as Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb's *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, and *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, the sixteenth century's *tadhkirāt* such as *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā' Samarāt al-Qudūs* and some twentieth century reliable sources such as the *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*.

In addition to these, certain major and minor mistakes are also found in his masterpiece:

a) he mentions the compilation period of *Siyar al-Awliyā'* as 1351-88¹⁰⁸⁸ but Amīr Khūrd passed away in 1368-69 and the book was compiled from 1351 to 1368; b) the author rejects Bābā Farīd's itineraries except Kābul and Qandhār, while the authentic contemporary sources reveal that Bābā Farīd had also visited Baghdād, Central Asia and Jerusalem; c) there are some contradictions within the author's statements such as he maintains that Bābā Farīd was in his nineties when Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban ascended the throne of Delhi¹⁰⁸⁹ (Sultān Balban was nominated as ruler in 1266 A.D), and he also proclaims that Bābā Farīd died in 1265 A.D; d) there is a confusion in dates as the author claims that Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' visited Bābā Farīd last time in Jamādī al-Awwal 1, 664 A.H./1265 A.D. and that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd granted him *khalāfat nāmah* on Ramḍān 13, 664 A.H./1265 A.D.¹⁰⁹⁰ Further Bābā Farīd, according to the author, died on Muharam 5, 664/October 15, 1265 A.D. Hence, Bābā Farīd's death predates the first two events, which is impossible; e) the author mentions only twenty-five of Bābā Farīd's *sajjādah nashīns* skipping the twenty-sixth *sajjādah nashīn*, Pīr Fateh Muhammad, who was appointed on December 25, 1934, almost twenty years before the compilation; f) some of the names of *sajjādah nashīns*

¹⁰⁸⁸Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U'D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, 6.

¹⁰⁸⁹Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁹⁰Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 75.

mentioned by K.A Nizami are incorrect. For instance, he mentions the names of three *sajjādah nashīns* (8, 11 and 16) as Shaykh Muhammad, when their actual names are Shaykh Muhammad Yūnas, Shaykh Muhammad Shihāb al-Dīn and Shaykh Muhammad Hāmīd respectively; g) on one hand, he declares the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* as the most fabricated *tadhkirāt*, but, on the other hand, he frequently consults the same; h) the direction of the Door of Paradise is wrongly mentioned as the eastern door, but the fact is that it is the southern door. Despite his being a widely acclaimed historian and a researcher, his lack of knowledge of the physical realities of Bābā Farīd's shrine highlight weak areas in his work. Regarding the Door of Paradise, he relies on Captain C. M. Wade who incorrectly mentions the eastern door of Bābā Farīd's shrine as *Beheshtī Darwazah* (p. 124). Actually the eastern door is the door of entrance to the tomb and remains open all the year, while the southern door is known as the *Beheshtī Darwazah* and is opened only from Muharam 5 to 10; g) K. A. Nizami mentions the date of aforementioned discourses of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' as Muharam 15, 709 A.H., which is actually Muharam 15, 710 A.H.; h) Nizami, like his teacher Prof. Muhammad Habib, proclaims that no *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd were ever produced. While debating the authenticity of the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, he quotes Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā': "I have not written any book."¹⁰⁹¹ This means that the Shaykh meant writing books, not compiling *Malḡūzāt*. It is a fact that the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* is a reliable source not only for Khaliq Ahmad Nizami but also for most of other of historians. Amīr Khūrd clearly mentions that someone (unnamed) collected five hundred *Malḡūzāt* Bābā Farīd.¹⁰⁹² It is possible that either Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' or Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq compiled these *Malḡūzāt*.

¹⁰⁹¹Nizāmī, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U'D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*, 118: See also, Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, 29.

¹⁰⁹²Amīr Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, 76.

4.41- *Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets*

The *Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets* was written by Maulā Bakhsh Kushta (d.1954) and published in 1960. Maulā Bakhsh Kushta was himself a popular modern Ṣufī poet of Punjab. His book deals with the life and teachings of three hundred and forty-seven Punjābī poets such as Bābā Farīd, Shah Hussain, Sultān Bāhū Gurū Nānak, Amr Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjin, Damudar, Gurū Goband, Bulleh Shah, Sachal Sar Masat, Waris Shah and Mian Muhammad Bakhsh etc.

4.41.1- Portrayal of Baba Farīd in the *Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets*

The author has provided similar information to Faḍalullah Jamali's *Siyar al-Ārifin* in describing the early life of Baba Farīd. In discussing title Ganj-i-Shakar he shared matching information to Shaykh Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and Abū al-Fazal's *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Similarly, while discussing the Door of Paradise he presented same information from 'Alī Asghar's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Bābā Farīd married with the daughter of Sultān Balban and had six sons and two daughters. Khwājah Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' was his chief *khalīfah* and son-in law of Baba Farīd. Bābā Farīd produced four books including the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Sirāj al-Awliyā'*, *Fawāid al-Sālikīn* and the *Shalōk Farīd*.¹⁰⁹³

4.41.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkira of Punjābī Poets*

It is a short biography of Bābā Farīd and skips some important aspects of his life. While compiling the hagiography of Baba Farīd, the author does not consult majority of primary and secondary sources. Some mistakes include: a) the author wrongly mentions

¹⁰⁹³Maulā Bakhsh Kushta, *Tadhkira of Punjabi Poets*. (Lahore: Maula Bakhsh Kushta & Sons , 1960), 33-38.

that Khwājah Nizām al-Din Awliyā' was Bābā Farīd's son in law; b) Bābā Farīd had three daughters instead of two; and c) the claim that *Sirāj al-Awliyā'* is the *Malḡūzāt* of Baba Farīd collected by his son is not justified.

4.42- *Āftāb-i-Shawālīk* and Bābā Farīd

Sayed Mushtāq Ahmad Hūshīarpurī (d.1969) compiled *Āftāb-i-Shawālīk* which is an all-inclusive biography of Khwājah Jalāl al-Dīn popularly known as Nūr Jamāl. It shared a concise biography of Bābā Farīd. The book was written in Persian language but remained unpublished and that Persian manuscript is no longer extant. However, its Urdu translation is available. The time of its Persian compilation is not mentioned in the book. However, possibly it was completed in 1950s. It has total thirty-two chapters, chapter eight entitled *Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Shakar Ganj* discusses Bābā Farīd. Nūr Jamāl is one of the prominent *khulāfā* of Bābā Farīd who led the foundation of Jamālīyyah *silsilah* another sub-order of Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. Nūr Jamāl had also very close blood relation with his Shaykh (Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn) as he was son of Shaykh Amīr al-Dīn, who was the son of Shaykh Ya'qūb, the same Shaykh Ya'qūb who was a brother of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān and the son of Qādī Shu'aīb. In discussing title Ganj-i-Shakar the author relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and for the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* he relies on the *Akhhār al-Akhyār*. Bābā Farīd had five eminent *khulāfā'* including Khwājah Nizam al-Din Awliyā', Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī, Khwājah 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir, Khwājah Nūr Jamāl and Khwājah Jalāl al-Dīn. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn was died in 668 or 670 A.H.¹⁰⁹⁴ He also became popular as Zuhd al-Anbiyah (The Ascetism of the

¹⁰⁹⁴Mushtāq Ahmed Hōshīarpurī, *Āftāb-i-Shawālīk*. (Lahore: Jamalia Publishers, n.d), 37-42.

Prophets'). He did *riyāḍat* in every corner of India. In this regards he also visited Hōshīarpur and Jallandhar, his three places of *chillah* are still present there.¹⁰⁹⁵

The *Āftāb-i-Shawālīk* is a Sami-scholarly work and have many errors; a) that Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī wrote a letter to qādī of Qasūr ordered him to grant a prestigious job to Qādī Shu'aīb¹⁰⁹⁶ is a legend; b) Nūr Jamāl is not mentioned as prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd by any contemporary sources, c) Nūr Jamāl laid the foundation of Jamālīyyah *silsilah* is debatable, d) Bābā Farīd died in 664 A.H.; e) Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn is one of the eminent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd is also not found in any contemporary and early-contemporary source; f) Nūr Jamāl as great-grandson of Qādī Shu'aīb is also not found in any well-known contemporary source; g) Bībī Baṣra, daughter of Nizām al-Dīn (who was Sultān Balban's *wazīr*) was the disciple of Bābā Farīd, married Shaykh Amīr al-Dīn bin Shaykh Ya'qūb (cousin of Bābā Farīd) on Shaykh Farīd's order¹⁰⁹⁷ is not justified by any well-known primary source, h) the author mentioned one of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān son's as Ayāz al-Mahmūd,¹⁰⁹⁸ who is, in fact, 'Azu al-Dīn Mahmūd; and, i) Shaykh Dawūd as a son of Qādī Shu'aīb is also not justifiable.

4.43- The *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*

The *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind* was compiled by Dr. Zāhoor al-Hassan Sharab and published in 1961. Dr. Sharab is another well-known Indian historian who, like K. A. Nizami, frequently produced biographies of the Chishtī saints. In the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*, the author discusses prominent Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. The book has nine chapters and covers the period of thirteen to nineteen centuries. In addition to the former book, he has produced another biography of Bābā Farīd entitled

¹⁰⁹⁵Ibid., 122-23.

¹⁰⁹⁶Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁹⁷Ibid., 55.

¹⁰⁹⁸Ibid., 59.

Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar. Delhī Ke Bai's Khwājah (Twenty-two Saints of Delhī), *Mu'īn al-Hind* and the *Tārīkh-i-Ṣufiyah-i-Gujrāt* are his other famous works. He is the founder of 'The Society of the Mystics' and a *sajjādah nashīn* of Makhdūm Samā' al-Dīn Suhrwardī.

4.43.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*

The author adduces from Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* while discussing Qādī Shu'aib's migration, Bābā Farīd's genealogy, his education and stay at Delhī, Hānsī and Ajōdhan. Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd also visited him at Ajōdhan. Bābā Farīd had four wives: first was the daughter of Sultān Balban named Nahrīza; second, Umm-i-Kulthūm; third, Sharu; and the fourth was Bībī Shkaru. He compiled *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī entitled *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn*. Bābā Farīd died in either Muharram 5, 670 A.H. or 664 A.H.¹⁰⁹⁹

4.43.2- Critical Analysis of *Tadhkira the Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*

The *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind* is another detailed biography of Bābā Farīd. However, it cannot be compared to Nizami's *The Life and Time of Shaykh Farīd ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar* because the author does not provide any new information. Moreover, he lacks rationality, particularly while consulting the seventeenth century literature. He maintains that Bābā Farīd constantly stood in meditation without eating for twenty years did not sit for a single moment.¹¹⁰⁰

The author while discussing Bābā Farīd consults both contemporary, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sources. However, in many cases, he relies on seventeenth and

¹⁰⁹⁹Zahoor al-Hassan Sharab, *Jadeed Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*. (Delhi: Taj Publishers, 1979), 52-60.

¹¹⁰⁰Sharab, *Jadeed Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Pāk-o-Hind*, 56.

eighteenth-centuries literature. His consulted sources include the *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Tārīkh-i-Farishta*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Roudah-i-Aqtāb*, *Sālik al-Sālikīn* and the *Anwār al-ʿĀrifīn*.

Some minor and major mistakes in that work include: a) Bābā Farīd's family left Kābul because of the Mongol invasion; b) Bībī Huzairah, Bābā Farīd's wife, is mentioned as Nahrīza; and c) Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī is mentioned as Saif al-Dīn Khazirī and Shaykh Saʿad al-Dīn Hamwiyya as Saʿīd al-Dīn Jamwī.

4.44- Haḍrat ʿAbdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa Taʿlīmāt

It is a biography of prominent Chishtī saint Shaykh ʿAbdul Qudūs Gangōhī compiled by Ijaz al-Haq Qudūsī in 1961. It also discusses Khwājah Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd Ganj-i-Shakar. Qudūsī was a prolific writer. The *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb* is his other important work on Sufism. He also produced magnificent Urdu translation of Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*.

4.44.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Haḍrat ʿAbdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa Taʿlīmāt

Bābā Farīd was born in 584 A.H. at Kathōwāl near Multān. At the age of eighteen, he became Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's disciple and started a long itinerary. After visiting different centers of Islamic learning, Bābā Farīd joined his Shaykh at Delhī. He spent some time at Delhī, did specific meditation under the supervision of his Shaykh, and left for Hānsī. He received the Chishtīyyah regalia from Khwājah Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī after his Shaykh's death and permanently shifted to Ajōdhan. Bābā Farīd was loved by all types of people whether rich or poor, Muslims or non-Muslims,

ruling elite or the commoners. Some prominent tribes such as Siyāl, Wattū and Rājput converted at his hand. He died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H. at the age of ninety-five years. Two *Malfūzāt* belong to Bābā Farīd: the *Rāhat al-Qulūb* compiled by Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'; and the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* compiled by Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq.¹¹⁰¹

4.44.2- Critical Analysis of the Haḍrat ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangohi Hayāt Wa Ta‘līmāt

The author consults some contemporary, near contemporary, and seventeenth century sources such as the *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Siyar al-‘Arifīn* and the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and skips other important sources. In many cases the author provides information akin to Shaykh Muhammad Ikram's *Āab-i-Kauthar*.

Like many other biographies of Bābā Farīd, Qudūsī's work also has faults: a) Bābā Farīd was not born in 584 A.H. but 569 A.H.; b) the book is silent about Qādī Shu‘aib, his migration from Kābul to Lāhore, Bābā Farīd's parents, wives and children; and c) it also ignores the problems faced by the Shaykh at Ajōdhan. For the most part, Qudūsī focuses on ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir, his *khulafā'* in general, and Shaykh ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī in particular. He also skips Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and all his prominent successors.

4.45- Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar

The *Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar* is another detailed biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by Tālib Hashimī in 1962. The book has twenty chapters. Besides Bābā Farīd, the author also provides sufficient information about the descendants and *khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd.

¹¹⁰¹ Ijaz al-Haq Qudūsī, *Haḍrat ‘Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa Ta‘līmāt*. (Karachi: Educational Press, 1961), 87-102.

4.45.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar

Bābā Farīd’s forefathers were Kābul’s rulers. But after Farrukh Shah’s (one of the Bābā Farīd’s forefathers) death the Ghaznavid occupied their state. However, they appointed Bābā Farīd’s forefathers as their deputies at Kābul. Concerning Qādī Shu‘aīb’s migration, the author rejects Amīr Khūrd’s claim that they migrated because of Mongol invasion. He maintains that Changīz Khān invaded Kābul many decades after Qādī Shu‘aīb’s migration. However, he does not mention why Qādī Shu‘aīb migrated toward North India. Qādī Shu‘aīb had three sons: Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, Khwājah Ahmad and Sa‘ad Hājī. Moreover, in discussing Bābā Farīd’s early life and the title Ganj-i-Shakar, Tālib Hashimī consults Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, Qalandar’s *Khayr al-Majālis*, Jamālī’s *Siyar al-‘Arifīn*, Abū al-Faḍal Āin-i-Akbarī, Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith’s *Akhhār al-Akhyār* and ‘Alī Asghar’s *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Bābā Farīd had three wives: Huzairah Bībī, Umm-i-Kulthūm and Mujīb al-Nisā’. The author also describes Bābā Farīd’s meditation, his stay at Ajōdhan, family, children, *sajjādah nashīns*, *khulafā’*, the Door of Paradise and the Shaykh’s philosophy in detail.¹¹⁰²

4.45.2- Critical Analysis of the Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar

It is another research-oriented work. The author, like K.A Nizami, critically consults majority of contemporary, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature. He also compares Bābā Farīd’s genealogies presented by different hagiographers. He rejects Jamālī’s claim that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was Mahmūd of Ghazna’s nephew because both had a considerable chronological gap.

¹¹⁰²Tālib Hashimī, *Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar*. (Lahore: Shua Adab Publishers, n.d), 18- 355.

Like all other hagiographical sources, the *Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar* is also not free from errors: a) the author claims that no hagiographer mentioned the exact reason of Qādī Shu‘aīb’s migration. However, Mirzā Muhammad ‘Abdul Sattār in the *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāsilīn* and K.A Nizami in *The life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U’D Din Ganj-i-Shakar* explicitly mentioned it; b) he wrongly proclaims that Bābā Farīd visited Makkah and Madīnah, visited Abū Yūsuf Chishtī and received the regalia from the Shaykh ‘Abdul Wahāb bin Shaykh ‘Abdul Qadar Jilānī on the instruction of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH);¹¹⁰³ c) some cases are without reference such as the incident of *Kakhu* barber, and Bābā Farīd’s encounter with Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī etc.; d) Bābā Farīd’s travels mentioned by the author are also debatable; e) Bābā Farīd’s date of death as 669 A.H. 1270 A.D. is also debatable; and, f) he does not mention why Bābā Farīd left Delhī and Hānsī.

4.46- *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*

The *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb* is another important work of Ijaz al-Haq Qudūsī published in 1962. Like the *Khazinat al-Aşfiyā’*, the *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb* is Punjāb-centric *tadhkira* which deals with the Şufīs of Punjāb.

4.46.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd the *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*

While discussing Bābā Farīd’s name the author relies on Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. During the Mongol invasion, his father, Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, migrated from Kābul to Lāhōre and settled in Multān where Bābā Farīd was born in 584 A.H. Again, while describing Bābā Farīd’s education, and his stay at Delhī and Hānsī, Qudūsī relies

¹¹⁰³Ibid., 41-55.

on the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Bābā Farīd visited different Islamic centers and eminent saints. He left Hānsī as he became too popular and settled in Ajōdhan. The Shaykh had great love and affection for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and performed *hajj* many times. He also paid special attention to his disciples' training. He composed poetry in Persian and Punjābī and also used Urdu words in his conversations. The Shaykh was married to Sultān Balban's daughter Huzairah Bībī who gave birth to six sons and three daughters. Bābā Farīd died on Muharram 5, 664 A.H.¹¹⁰⁴

4.46.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*

The *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb* is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd as compared to the above-mentioned *Haḍrat 'Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī Hayāt wa Ta'līmāt*. In *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*, the author heavily relies on the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, *Khazinat al-Aşfiyā'* and the *Bazm-i-Şufiyah*. In discussing Bābā Farīd, however, he also consults the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*.

Some mistakes in this biography include: a) Bābā Farīd's date of birth is wrongly mentioned as 584 A.H.; b) It was not Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān but Qādī Shu'aīb who migrated from Kābul to Lāhōre, and it was in the reign of Bahram Shah rather than Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghurī; c) Bābā Farīd performing *hajj* many times is debatable; and d) Ibrāhīm bin Adham (d.280 A.H.) could not have received the robe of *khalāfat* from Awais of Qarn (d. 657) since there is a huge chronologically gap between the two.¹¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁰⁴Ijaz al-Haq Qudūsī, *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*. (Karachi: Salman Academy, 1962), 222-86.

¹¹⁰⁵Qudūsī, *Tadhkira Şufiyah Punjāb*, 222- 27.

4.47- The *Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat*

The *Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat* is the masterpiece of Sayed Abū al- Hassan ‘Alī Nadawī published in five volumes in 1963. Volume three deals with the early Chishtī Ṣufīs of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent including Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar in general, and Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ and Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Yahyā Munerī in particular.

4.47.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat*

The Chishtīyya *silsilah* was ushered in South Asia by Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī. But it was Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar who popularized it in Indo-Pāk subcontinent and beyond. While discussing Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd’s early life, the author relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Bābā Farīd loved to live in seclusion. After Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī’s death, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn left Delhī because Khwājah Nūr Turk, one of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī’s disciples informed the natives about Bābā Farīd’s high mystic level. Sultān Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (r.1246-66) and his minister, Balban (r.1266-87), were his great devotees. The latter got the throne of Delhī because of Bābā Farīd’s prayer. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn had cordial relations with the saints of other Ṣufī orders. The main prowess which distinguishes Bābā Farīd from the other Ṣufīs was his great love and strong relation with ALLAH Almighty, his seclusion and asceticism. The last days of the Shaykh were strenuous as he faced constant starvation. He died in 664 A.H./1265 A.D.¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰⁶Sayed Abu al-Hassan Ali Nadawi, *Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat*. Vol.3, 6th Edition (Karachi: Majālis Nashariyat-i- Islam, 1983), 36-46.

4.47.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tārīkh-i-Da‘wat-o-‘Azīmat*

In discussing Bābā Farīd the author majorly relies on the *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, but also frequently consults the *Tārīkh-i-Farishta* and the *Akhhbār al-Akhyār*. Some minor mistakes found in that work include Khwājah Nūr Turk, who did not even belong to Chishtīyyah *silsilah*, being mentioned as a disciple of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Generally, the author focuses on Bābā Farīd’s philosophy, skipping his miracles and problems.

4.48- *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar* is another detailed biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by Wahid Ahmad Masud in 1965. Like K.A Nizami, Wahid Ahmad Masud was another descendant of Bābā Farīd and produced some important biographies of the Chishtī Ṣūfīs of South Asia like the *Sawanih Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī: Tārīkh awr Taṣawwuf Kī Rawshanī Mean (Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī: In the Light of History and Sufism)*, *Haḍrat Makhdūm ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir Kalyarī* and the *Sābirī silsilah*.

4.48.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The first chapter of the book discusses Bābā Farīd’s *bay‘at*. The second chapter deals with his education. Third chapter discusses his itineraries, while the fourth discusses his genealogy. The book also describes the importance of *bay‘at*. While narrating Bābā Farīd’s genealogy, the author relies on Mirzā ‘Abdul Sattār’s *Masālik al-Sālikīn*. He argues that ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar did not have a son named Nasīr or Nasr. According to him, Bābā Farīd’s itinerary starts from 594 A.H. 1198 A.D. and ends in 635 A.H./1237 A.D. Moreover, the author also highlights numerous places where Bābā Farīd

performed his *chillah*. He argues that Bābā Farīd did not marry Sultān Balban's daughter¹¹⁰⁷ Some hagiographers wrongly declare Bābā Farīd as a poet. The poetry preserved in the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* belongs to Ibrāhīm Farīd the Second. However, it is a fact that Bābā Farīd was one of the pioneers of Urdu language.¹¹⁰⁸

4.48.2- Critical Analysis of the *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The author consults both contemporary, seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries literature. He also tries to rationally interpret different aspects of Bābā Farīd's life e.g. he rejects the claim that Bābā Farīd visited Abū Yūsuf Chishtī who had passed away almost a century before the former's birth.¹¹⁰⁹ Shaykh Ahmad, Qādī Shu'aīb's father, died many years before the Mongol invasions, and Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār did not give the name "Farīd" to Bābā Farīd.¹¹¹⁰ However, in some cases, he relies on Muhammad Hussain Badarī's '*Atrat-i-Farīdī*' which is not a fully reliable source: a) he mentions that Bābā Farīd was taught by a well-known teacher of Kathōwāl named Sayed Nazīr Ahmad; b) at the age of twelve, he left for performing the hajj along with his mother and his former teacher; c) at Multān, Bābā Farīd was enrolled in the *madrasah* of Sayed Ahmad, while the fact is that he enrolled in the *Madrasah* Mosque of Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī;¹¹¹¹ d) during a military campaign, Sultān Naṣr al-Dīn Mahmūd wanted to seek Bābā Farīd's blessing in 1245 A.D. along with his army. But his minister Alagh Khān, informed him about the shortage of water and corn. So, the Sultān sent costly gifts through Alagh

¹¹⁰⁷Wahīd Ahmed Masud, *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Karachi: Pāk Academy, 1965), 23-100.

¹¹⁰⁸Ibid., 206-21.

¹¹⁰⁹Ibid., 47.

¹¹¹⁰Ibid., 60-62.

¹¹¹¹Masud, *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*, 34-36.

Khān.¹¹¹² The information is correct. But the date is wrong as the former was appointed as Sultān in 1246 A.D.; e) Bābā Farīd did not die in 1262 A.D. but in 1265 A.D.

4.49- *Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar*

The *Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar* is another dedicated biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by Shabir Hussain Chishti Nizami. The author divides the book in two categories. In the first part focuses on Bābā Farīd’s biography, while the second part consists of the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, the *Malḡūzāt* of Bābā Farīd. The author does not mention the date of compilation of his work and the publisher (Farīd Book Depo of Delhī) also does not mention the year of publication. However, there is a good possibility that it was published in 1960s. Further, the book is also published by another publisher of Lāhōre named as Akbar Book Sellers Lāhōre in 2006. The *Makhdūm* Sābir Kalyarī is another worth mentioning work of Shabir Hussain. It is a detailed biography of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar. The author once again does not mention the date of publication of that work.

4.49.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar*

The author hardly explores any new aspect about Bābā Farīd. He blindly follows *Siyar la-Aqtāb* and *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’*. The latter creates too many legends regarding Bābā Farīd. He proclaims that Bābā Farīd was born in 595 A.H. and that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān had three sons and one daughter. At the age of four years, Bābā Farīd started his early education. Later, for higher education, he left for Multān. Bābā Farīd visited different popular saints of the Islamic world and also participated in the construction of the tomb of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jilānī at Baghdād. Finally, in 584 A.H., he came to

¹¹¹²Ibid., 149-50.

Delhī at the hospice of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The author mentions the same incident of deer for whom ALLAH Almighty raised the water level as described by ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī. At Ajōdhan, a local magician and *jōgī* tried to create problems but soon surrendered.¹¹¹³ In discussing Bābā Farīd’s matrimonial life, the author once again relies on the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. While discussing the blessing of Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakarīyyā (who maintains anyone who just looks at him will be protected from hell), he provides information similar to Sayed Muhammad al-Hussaini’s *Jawām ‘ al-Kalim*.¹¹¹⁴

4.49.2- Critical Analysis of the *Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar*

Shabir Hassan Nizami’s work has many weak points especially when compared to other modern biographies of Bābā Farīd particularly Mirzā Muhammad ‘Abdul Sattār Baig Sahsaramī’s *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn*, K.A Nizami’s *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd U’D Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Khwājah Muslim Nizami’s *Anwār al-Farīd* and Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl’s *Maqām-i-Ganj Shakar*. Unlike above-mentioned hagiographers, Shabir Hussain fails to differentiate between the authentic and fabricated sources. Also, like Pīr Muhammad Hussain Badarī, the author hardly consults contemporary sources. He heavily relies on the *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and the *Gulshan-i-Awliyā’*, the latter is hardly a reliable source.

The mistakes in this work include: a) Bābā Farīd was not born in 595 A.H. but 569 A.H.; b) on one hand, the author argues that Bābā Farīd was born in 595 A.H., while, on the other hand, he proclaims that he came to Delhī in 584 A.H.; c) Bābā Farīd could not have participated in the construction of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qādir Jillanī’s tomb as he

¹¹¹³Shabir Hussain Chishti Nizāmī, *Shān Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj Shakar*. (Lahore: Akbar Book Sellers, 2006), 7-26.

¹¹¹⁴Ibid., 27-55.

died in 1165 A.H. about nine years before Bābā Farīd's birth; d) the incident of the well from which the deer drank water is also dubious as no contemporary or early contemporary hagiographers discusses it; e) the incident of Shambhu Nāth *Jōgī* is hardly justifiable; f) Bābā Farīd was married at Ajōdhan, not Delhī; g) the author wrongly mentions the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* as *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā'*; h) the incident of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā's blessing is described by Sayed Muhammad al-Hussaini Bandah Nawāz Gēsū Darāz in the *Jawām' al-Kalīm* rather than Amīr Khūrd; and i) the author neither mentions Bābā Farīd's last days nor the year of his death.

4.50- *Anwār al-Farīd*

Khwājah Muslim Nizami compiled the *Anwār al-Farīd* in 1965. It is a detailed study of Bābā Farīd's life and teachings. The author was a native of Pākpattan. Hence, he also discusses some other prominent personalities of Pākpattan like Khwājah 'Azīz Makkī 'Alambardār. Khwājah Muslim Nizami was a descendant of Khwājah Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, an eminent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd.

4.50.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Anwār al-Farīd*

Qādī Shu'aīb left Kābul during Bahram Shah's reign. Due to the high esteem of that family, the former ruler appointed him Qādī of Kathōwāl. The rank of qādī at that time is similar to that of a civil Judge or sub-divisional officer nowadays. Bābā Farīd was born in 569 A.H. in a very critical period as Ghaznavids and the Ghurīd were fighting each other, until, finally, the latter ended the rule of the former dynasty. The author corroborates Bābā Farīd's travels to different Islamic cities. He describes the historical background of Ajōdhan, the wives, sons, daughters, grandsons and the *Khulafā'* of Bābā Farīd in detail. Moreover, he also provides a brief biography of Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Regarding the title *Ganj-i-Shakar*, the author consults almost all

the prominent sources. He also describes the role and function of Bābā Farīd's *Jamā'at Khānah*, his relationship with the state and the commoners. Moreover, the author also pens the specific *aurād* of Bābā Farīd.¹¹¹⁵

4.50.2- Critical Analysis of the *Anwār al-Farīd*

The *Anwār al-Farīd* is not only a detailed study of Bābā Farīd but also of his *khulafā'*, descendants, *sajjādah nashīns*, the traditions of his annual 'urs, and the historical evolution of his shrine. Like Muhammad Hussain Badarī, the author also identifies different important places at Bābā Farīd's shrine such as the *hujrah* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir and Nizāmī Masjid. Moreover, like K. A. Nizami, Muslim Nizami also consults the majority of the contemporary, early contemporary, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hagiographical sources. The author heavily relies on contemporary sources such as the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* and the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. However, he also frequently consults seventeenth- and eighteenth-century eminent sources, including the *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, *Iqtibās al-Anwār* and the *Ma'arīj al-Walāyat*.

The author also makes some mistakes: a) he mentions Khwājah Dawūd of Pail as Bābā Farīd's *khalīfah*;¹¹¹⁶ b) Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī is mentioned as Jamāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī; c) in some cases, the author does not provide references. For instance, notwithstanding the popularity of this belief in Pākpatan, he describes without reference that Bābā Farīd declared 'bread' as the sixth pillar of Islam;¹¹¹⁷ d) the event of a poor man telling Bābā Farīd that he had no money to arrange his daughter's marriage, and some pebbles

¹¹¹⁵Khawaja Muslim Nizāmī, *Anwār al-Farīd*. (Pākpatan: Idarah Taṣawwuf, 1965), 35-422.

¹¹¹⁶Nizāmī, *Anwār al-Farīd*, 143.

¹¹¹⁷Ibid., 288-91.

changing into gold through Bābā Farīd's *karāmat*,¹¹¹⁸ is mentioned without reference; and e) like Wahid Ahmad Masud, Muslim Nizami also argues that poetry of *Gurū Granth Sāhib* belongs to Ibrāhīm Farīd the Second rather than Bābā Farīd, which is debatable.

4.51- Short Biography of Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar popularly Known as Haḍrat Bābā Sahib

This is another biography of Bābā Farīd produced by Khwājah Muslim Nizami. It is a brief account of Bābā Farīd compared to *Anwār al-Farīd*. In addition to Bābā Farīd, the book provides a brief account of Bābā Farīd's *khulafā'* including Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir and Khwājah Jamāl al-Dīn Hānswī. He also describes the ritual of the 'urs of Bābā Farīd. The author maintains that after compilation of the detailed biography of Bābā Farīd entitled *Anwār al-Farīd*, he wrote a short biography of the Shaykh for less educated and busy people so that they can easily read it.¹¹¹⁹

4.51.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the Short Biography of Shaykh al-Shayūkh al-‘Alam Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar Popularly Known as Haḍrat Bābā Sahib and its Critical Analysis

The author consults both hagiographical and historical sources such as the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Siyar al-'Arifīn*, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* and the *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭa*. While narrating Bābā Farīd's early life, the title Ganj-i-Shakar and the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*, his miracles such as incident of oil-dealer, recovery of Muhammad Shah Ghurī's brother, meeting with Shaykh 'Arif, the incident of *amīr-i-shikar* and his life at Ajōdhan, Muslim Nizami relies on the *Fawā'id al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-*

¹¹¹⁸Ibid., 300.

¹¹¹⁹Khwājah Muslim Nizāmī, *Short Biography of Shaykh al-Shayukh al- 'Alam Haḍrat Khwājah Farīd Mas 'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar popularly Known as Haḍrat Bābā Sahib*. (Pākpattan: Idarah-i-Taṣawwuf, n.d), 4.

Majālis, Siyar al-Awliyā' and the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. Additionally, Bābā Farīd performing *Namaz-i-Ma'kus* for twelve years, not eating for a long time and depending on wooden bread is not real. At the end, the author shares his brief introduction and some of the twentieth prominent personalities of Pākṣattan.¹¹²⁰ Muslim Nizami is rational in most cases. A weak point of the book is that the author does not consult some eminent contemporary and sixteenth century sources such as the *Malḡūzāt* of Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, *Durr-i-Niḡāmī*, *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣḡiyā'* and the *Samarāt al-Qudūs*. Moreover, he mentions Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah as the real son of Bābā Farīd, who was, in fact, his stepson.

4.52- *Anwār al-Aṣḡiyā'*

Muhammad Khaslat Hussain Sābirī compiled the *Anwār al-Aṣḡiyā'* in 1966. The book has total five chapters and deals with some leading companions of Holy Prophet (PBUH), some popular followers of the companions (*tab'aīn*), followers of the followers (*taba-tab'aīn*) and some prominent Ṣufīs of Islam, particularly, South Asian Ṣufīs .

4.52.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Anwār al-Aṣḡiyā'*

Bābā Farīd's original name was Mas'ūd, and his title was Farīd al-Dīn. Qadī Shu'aīb migrated to India with his son Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān due to the Mongol attack on Kābul when Muhammad Ghurī was the ruler of India. Bābā Farīd was born in a village named Kohniwal. Regarding his encounter with his Shaykh and Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan the author provides information similar to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ordered Bābā Farīd to leave for Hānsī. But when

¹¹²⁰Niḡāmī, *Short Biography of Shaykh al-Shayukh al-'Alam Haḡrat Khwājah Farīd Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar* popularly Known as *Haḡrat Bābā Sahib*, 7-103.

he became popular there, he left for Ajōdhan, nowadays known as Pākpattan. He died there in 664 A.H. His two popular *khulafā* are Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', founder of Nizāmīyyah *silsilah*, and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir founder of Sābirīyyah *silsilah*. Bābā Farīd once said that he granted all esoteric knowledge to Nizām al-Dīn and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir. Bābā Farīd compiled the *Malfūzāt* of his Shaykh known as the *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn*. The author also mentions some *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd found in the *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and the *Rāhat al-Qulūb*. Bābā Farīd advised his disciples not to create problems for anybody, completely trust ALLAH and keep busy in meditation. He further said that the best deed is to keep others happy.¹¹²¹

4.52.2- Critical Analysis of the *Anwār al-Aṣfiyā'*

The *Anwār al-Aṣfiyā'* is another concise biography of Bābā Farīd. The author consults the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and the *Saba Sanabil*. Many important aspects of Bābā Farīd's life are skipped such as his birth, his parents, brothers, early education, *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*, the problems faced at Ajōdhan, the relationship with the state, common Muslims and non-Muslim, *Jamā't Khānah*, miracles, matrimonial life, children and *sajjādah nashins*. Some minor and major mistakes found in the *Anwār al-Aṣfiyā'* include: a) Qadī Shu'aīb and his family migrated to Hindūstān during the Ghaznavid period; b) Kathōwāl has been mentioned as Kohnīwāl; c) Bābā Farīd himself requested Khwājah Qutab al-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī that he wanted to go Hānsī. He wasn't ordered to go by the former; and d) the *Asrār al-Awliyā'* is mentioned as the *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. The book does not share new information about Bābā Farīd.

¹¹²¹Muhammad Khaslat Hussain Sābirī, *Anwār al-Aṣfiyā'* (Karachi: Maktabah Muawiya, 1966), 195-203.

4.53- *Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*

Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar is another biography of Bābā Farīd compiled by ‘Abdullah Chagatai. The author shares valuable information about the town Pākpattan, identifies tombs existing within the *khānqāh* of Bābā Farīd, and produces a concise biography of Bābā Farīd. The book was published in 1968.

4.53.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in *Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The author provides valuable information about the historical background of Sāhīwāl. Sāhīwāl was an ancient name which was later replaced by the name of Sir Robert Montgomery who was appointed governor of Punjab from 1859 to 1865. Ajōdhan, currently known as Pākpattan, is situated on the bank of river Sutlej. After capturing Multān, Muhammad bin Qāsim settled at Ajōdhan. While discussing the migration of the Shaykh’s family, his birth, early education, meeting with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, *Chillah-i-Ma’kus* and the title *Ganj-i-Shakar*, the author relies on Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, Jamālī’s *Siyar al-’Arifīn* and Nizami’s *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-U’D-Din Ganj-I-Shakar*. While discussing Bābā Farīd’s travels, the author relies on the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd. The Shaykh had five sons and three daughters. Bābā Farīd died in October 1265 A.D. Muharram 5, 664 A.H.¹¹²²

4.53.2- Critical Analysis of *Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The author has made a good attempt to critically examine the historical background and political importance of Ajōdhan in the medieval times. Another point worth mentioning in that work is that like Muhammad Hussain Badarī and Khwājah Muslim Nizami, the

¹¹²²M. Abdullah Chagatai, *Pākpattan and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*. (Lahore: Kitāb Khana Nauras, 1968), 4-28.

author also identifies important places in Bābā Farīd's shrine and presents their pictures. However, while discussing Bābā Farīd's biography, the author does not explore any new aspect, nor does he share any new information.

Some mistakes include: a) Bābā Farīd spent thirty years at Ajōdhan which was, in fact, twenty-four years; b) Bābā Farīd spent nineteen or twenty years at Hānsī which was, in fact, twelve years; c) the author argues that almost all the natives of Ajōdhan were Hindus by faith, while the fact is that, though Hindus were in the majority, there was also a large number of Muslims as well as corroborated by contemporary sources indicating that there was a Friday Mosque in the town; d) like Wahid Bakhsh Siyāl, 'Abdullah Chagatai describes Nasīr al-Dīn Nasrullah as Bābā Farīd's son who was, in fact, his stepson; and e) there are some printing mistakes in the work such as Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī is printed as Jalau d-Din Tabrīzī, and Ahwad al-Dīn Kirmānī as Auhdi Kirmānī.

4.54- *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-o-Pāk*

Muftī Wali Hassan of Tonk compiled the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-o-Pāk*. Its date of publication is not mentioned but the condition of the book and the price (price is mentioned as six rupees similar to Wahid Ahmad Masud's *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*; the latter work is more popular and double in size) shows that it was published in late 1950s or early 1960s. The author has described the biographies of nineteen Ṣufīs among them fifteen are the well-known Chishtī Ṣufīs such as Khwājah 'Uthmān Harūnī, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Hassan, Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Sābir, Amīr Khusru, Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd, Khwājah Gēsū Darāz, and Shah Sulaimān Tunswī etc.

4.54.1- Portrayal of Bābā Farīd in the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-o-Pāk*

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, son of Kamāl al-Dīn, was born in 569 A.H. in Kat Dal. Kat Dal was a popular district then. Bābā Farīd got his early education from the same city. One of his forefathers, Farrukh Shah, was a popular king who ruled a large part of the world. Later, Qādī Shu‘aīb migrated to India due to Changīz Khān’s invasion. In discussing the first meeting of Bābā Farīd with Khwājah Qutab al-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī, the title Ganj-i-Shakar, problems at Ajōdhan, the *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd and his death, the author shares information akin to Amīr Khūrd’s *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. Khwājah Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī was greatly impressed with Bābā Farīd’s arduous meditation and granted him robe (*khirqā*) of *khalāfat*. The People of Punjab and Sindh were converted to Islam by Bābā Farīd. Bābā Farīd had more devotees than any other saint of Islam.¹¹²³

4.54.2- Critical Analysis of the *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-i-Pāk*

The *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-i-Pāk* is a detailed biography of Bābā Farīd which discusses numerous aspects of his life. In majority cases, the author relies on *Siyar al-Awliyā’*. A major drawback of the book is that the author does not consult majority of the contemporary, early-contemporary and later hagiographical data.

Some major and minor mistakes in the book include: a) Bābā Farīd was born in Kathōwāl rather than Kat Dal; b) Kathōwāl was not a popular district but a village then; c) Bābā Farīd’s father’s name is Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān; d) Farrukh Shah hardly ruled the region which is nowadays Afghānistān; e) Qādī Shu‘aīb migrated before the Mongol invasion; f) earlier sources do not support the argument that Khwājah Mu‘īn

¹¹²³ Mufti Wali Hassan Tonk. *Tadhkira Awliyā'-i-Hind-i-Pāk*. (Delhi: Kothok Kitab Khana, n.d), 53-62.

al-Dīn Chishtī granted his robe to Bābā Farīd. However, it is quite clear that the former praised and prayed for the latter.

4.55- Fīrūz Sons' *Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*

The Muslim rulers in India had no intention to spread the message of Islam. But it was the Ṣufīs who took that responsibility. The *Bhagattī* movement also emerged due to the humanistic policies of the Ṣufīs, the *Bhagats* including Nānak and Kabīr, just as the Ṣufīs, were monotheists. The Mongols invaded Kābul forcing Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān to migrate to Hindūstān which was then ruled by Sultān Shihāb al-Dīn Ghurī. Bābā Farīd was born in 574 A.H. His mother named him Mas'ūd. While discussing Qursam Bībī, encounter with Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn and Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn, his life at Delhī and Hānsī, the Qādī of Ajōdhan's jealousy and magic attack, the author provides information similar to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. While discussing the title *Ganj-i-Shakar*, he provides matching information to Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and 'Alī Asghar's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*.¹¹²⁴ When Bābā Farīd became popular at Hānsī, he left for Kathōwāl. But the engulfing masses forced him to leave for Ajōdhan where he lived for sixteen or twenty years. Bābā Farīd's declaration of bread as the sixth principle of Islam was objected by one of the theologians. However, he later agreed with the Shaykh after facing a very crucial situation on his way back from pilgrimage.¹¹²⁵

4.55.1- Critical Analysis of Fīrūz Sons' *Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*

Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar is another modern biography of the Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. Most of its information matches Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Fīrūz

¹¹²⁴ Fīrūz Sons, *Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* (Lahore: Firuz sons, 1967), 6-29.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., 32-80.

Sons's *Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* cannot be compared with Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Tālib Hashimī's *Tadhkira Bābā Farīd al-Din Mas'ūd Ganj Shakar*, Wahid Ahmad Masud's *Sawanih Haḍrat Bābā Farīd al-Din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar*, nor with Khwājah Muslim Nizami's *Anwār al-Farīd*. One major weakness of Fīrūz Sons's *Baba Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar* is the lack of references. Similarly, the text of the biography shows that the author hardly consulted more than four major sources, including Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and 'Alī Asghar's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*. Likewise, some mistakes found in the book include: a) the date of birth of Baba Farīd is mentioned as 574 A.H. instead of 569 A.H.; b) Bābā Farīd's family migrated to Hindūstān during the Ghaznavid reign; c) it was Qādī Shu'aīb rather than Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān who brought his family to India; d) Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmizī is mentioned as Shihāb al-Dīn; d) it is wrongly mentioned that Khwājah Qutab al-Dīn ordered Bābā Farīd to perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. Further, it skips Bābā Farīd's matrimonial life, descendants, *sajjādah nashins*, *khulafā'*, the role of the *Jamā't Khānah*, the Shaykh's approach toward the state, the common people and non-Muslims. By and large, the biography does not explore new aspects, nor does it share any new information about Bābā Farīd.

CONCLUSION

This study focused on the life and teachings of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, popularly known as Bābā Farīd in general and the hagiographical literature on him in particular. Islamic hagiographical compendia began evolving just after the demise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (d.632) (PBUH). Muhammad ibn Hussain al-Sulaimī (d.1021) is considered the pioneer of Ṣūfī hagiographical literature, his *Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyah* is the first biographical work on Sufism. In South Asia the Chishtī Ṣūfīs are pioneers of the *ishārāt*, *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt* genres in Persian language. Moreover, South Asian intellectuals have produced more Persian hagiographical literature compared to both Persian and Central Asian intellectuals. The Chishtī *Malfūzāt* have great importance in South Asian history as they shed light on the socio-religio-economic and political life of the people. Researchers working on Muslim India in medieval times realized that the Chishtī *Malfūzāt* have great importance for understanding South Asian history.

Bābā Farīd was truly one of the most distinguished Ṣūfīs of the Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. He played paramount role in the development of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in South Asia. He ushered in the philosophy of humanism, love and equality among the people of India regardless of religion, cast and creed and that’s why the Muslims and Hindu are equally revere him. He spent very disciplined life. From very beginning he loved seclusion, kept himself busy in arduous worships and meditation and he remained consistent till death. He traveled long journeys to visit popular Islamic centers of learning such as Kābul, Qandhār, Kirmān, Baghdād and Jerusalem. As a head of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in Subcontinent Bābā Farīd finally settled at Ajōdhan where he established his *Jamā‘t Khānah* which played magnificent role in the apogee of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. His *Jamā‘t Khānah* had multiple departments. He appointed eminent

disciples as in charge of these departments. It was a learning center which provided not only food but residences to *khulafā'*, disciples, students, mendicants and travelers. This *Jamā't Khānah* played significant role in training of *khulafā'* who were later sent to various places in India and beyond.

Bābā Farīd had also good knowledge of Hinduism and different Hindu *Jōgīs* visited him for meditational discussions and guidance. He was liberal toward other religions and he performed different meditations of other religions which were not against Islamic *sharī'ah*, especially *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* to purify his self. He was contemporary of the Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyyā of Multān the later was founder of Suhrwardīyyah *silsilah* in South Asia. Both had cordial relations but had different lifestyles and approaches toward state, rich and poor people, disciples, Muslims and non-Muslims.

Bābā Farīd was also a poet and his poetry in Persian, Punjābī and Arabic can be found in different sources. His Arabic and Persian verses have been narrated by Amīr Khūrd in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, while Allah Diyā Chishtī's *Siyar al-Aqtāb*, Muhammad Qāsim Farishta's *Tārīkh i-Farishta*, Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī' *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* Muhammad Hussain Badri's *Gulzār i-Farīdī* and Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Siyālwi's *Mirāt al-'Ashiqīn*, Waleh Daghistani's *Riyadh-ush-Shu'ara*, Rahm 'Alī Khān Imām's *Tadhkira-i-Muntakhab al-Lataif*, Mir Hussain Dost Shambhālī's *Tadhkira-i-Hussainī*, Ahmad 'Alī Hashimi Sandilavī's *Makhzan al-Ghara'ib*, Saddiq Hassan Khān's *Shām-i-Anjuman*, Sarang Khwājah 'Abdul Rashid's *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i-Punjab* and Dr. Zāhoor Ahmad Azhar's *Ma'ārif-i-Farīdī* narrated his Persian verses. Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd have been reported by Rukn al-Dīn Dabīr Kāshānī in *Shamāil al-Atqiyā o-Dalail al-Atqiyā*. Later, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Bājan narrated Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd in his masterpiece entitled *Khazain-i-Rahmatullah*, and Mīr 'Abdul Wāhid

Bilgrāmī described Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd in his master piece entitled *Sab‘ Sanābil*. All three sources were compiled before compilation of *Gurū Granth* which indicates that Bābā Farīd was a Punjābī poet. This information can be corroborated to the argument that Punjābī poetry of *Gurū Granth* belongs to Bābā Farīd rather than Farīd II. Gurū Nānak visited Farīd II who granted him a manuscript of the *Dīwān* of Bābā Farīd which later the successor Gurūs transformed into Gurmukhī language. This transformation might have led to some fabrications in the original poetry. However, it is remained to validate by finding the original manuscript of Punjābī poetry of Bābā Farīd.

The earlier Chishtī *Malfūzāt* such as *Anīs al-Arwāh*, *Dalīl al-‘Ārifīn*, *Fawāid al-Sālikīn* are unjustifiably declared as fabricated *Malfūzāt* by some modern historians. Nevertheless, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā’* are not only the genuine *Malfūzāt* but also superior sources of knowledge and wisdom as compared to above-mentioned Chishtī *Malfūzāt*. Moreover, the later prominent *Malfūzāt* such as *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā* and the first South Asian Chishtīyyah *tadhkira* entitled *Siyar al-Awliyā’* get plenty of information from both *Malfūzāt*. However, few misconceptions arose due to, a) the foot notes penned down by various scholars which later became part of original text, b) printing or proof-reading mistakes, and c) both were published very late.

It is important to explore handwritten oldest manuscripts of these *Malfūzāt* to evaluate the information provided in published *Malfūzāt*. In *Asrār al-Awliyā’* the main objection is the incorrect chronology, while the major reservation on *Rāhat al-Qulūb* is presence of numerous supernatural anecdotes. It is also a fact that many chronological mistakes have also been found in other prominent medieval hagiographical as well as historiographical sources like Minhāj as-Sirāj’s *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Diyā al-Dīn Barnī’s

Tuzk-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shah Farishta's *Tārīkh-i-Farishta* and Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*. Amīr Khūrd, for instance, described the date of death of Bābā Farīd as Muharam 5th 664 A.H./ October 16, 1265 A.D. while on the other hand he mentioned that Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' visited his Shaykh at Ajōdhan in Jamādī al Awwal 664 A.H./ 1265 A.D. Additionally, another discrepancy also exists in his book as he mentioned that Shaykh Farīd granted *khalāfat nāmah* to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn on 13, 669 A.H./ April 24, 1271 A.D.

Regarding the presence of supernatural stories in these *Malfūzāt* it is critical to analyze the presence of such stories in other Chishtīyyah *Malfūzāt* such as *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Ahsan al-Aqwāl*, *Jawām' al-Kalim*, *Ahsan al-Shamāil*, *Khulāsat al-Fawāid*, *Nāf' al-Sālikīn*, *Mirāt al-'Ashiqīn* and *Maqābīs al-Majālis*. The analysis reveals the existence of supernatural anecdotes in these *Malfūzāt* as well. Correspondingly, *Lataif-i-Asharāfī* surpassed other early Chishtī *Malfūzāt* to report paranormal incidents. Surprisingly, Muhammad Habib's followers declared (*Lataif-i-Asharāfī*) as a genuine and original *Malfūzāt* but paradoxically challenged the validity of *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Asrār al-Awliyā'* due to such mystical stories.

The biographical literature on Bābā Farīd can be divided into three periods in ascending order, i) the contemporary and early-contemporary literature, ii) sixteenth to eighteenth centuries literature and iii) nineteenth to twentieth centuries literature. Each period's literature has its own importance. The contemporary literature can be divided into two categories: the *Malfūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*. The *Malfūzātic* literature does not provide comprehensive information about the Shaykh, these are, rather, scattered stories and dispersed information about Bābā Farīd which makes difficult to deduce complete biography of the Shaykh. Among the *malfūzātic* literature, the most popular are *Asrār al-Awliyā'*, *Rāhat al-Qulūb* and *Fawāid al-Fuād*, however, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*,

Ahsan al-Aqwāl, *Durr-i-Nizāmī*, *Afḍal al-Fuād*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Khayr al-Majālis*, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, *Lataif-i-Asharafī* and *Jawām' al-Kalim* also provide adequate information about Bābā Farīd.

The *tadhkirāt* of first period provide a chronologically comprehensive information about life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'* is the first biography of Bābā Farīd which attained prime attention of later historians to conduct a systematic research on Bābā Farīd and other medieval Chishtī saints of Indo-Pāk Subcontinent. However, contemporary *tadhkirāt* have also skipped some important points of the life of the Shaykh such as the brothers of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, matrimonial life of Bābā Farīd, his Punjābī poetry, the Door of Paradise and 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar.

Among the near-contemporary sources the most distinguished compilation is that of Faḍalullah Jamālī's *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. It is perhaps the first pure *tadhkirāt* work produced by any Ṣufī of South Asia. Although 'Alī bin 'Uthmān's *Kashf al-Mahjūb* was compiled in the eleventh century but it is not an entirely biographical work rather it focused on Islamic theology and different Ṣufī doctrines. Similarly, the second work after *Kashf al-Mahjūb* is Amīr Khūrd's *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, which is a blend of *Malḡūzāt* and *tadhkirāt*. *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* is very systematic and organized biography. Although Professor Habib criticized it because the author produced some information which is not found in *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Khayr al-Majālis*, for instance the shrine of 'Abdullah, a thief, who converted on the hand of Qursam Bībī. Nevertheless, this is not a fair criticism because Jamālī visited many Islamic countries, Ṣufī shrines and the prominent Ṣufīs, so he gained great knowledge about well-known Ṣufīs of Islam, particularly South Asian Ṣufīs.

Similarly, Jamālī did not rely solely on *Siyar al-Awliyā*, *Fawā'id al-Fuād* and *Khayr al-Majālis* but he also consulted other prominent intellectuals and even the *Sajjādah Nashīn* of Bābā Farīd of his time to obtain in-depth information as well as verification of certain events regarding Bābā Farīd. This could be the reason that he provides some additional information which is not found in the sources mentioned by Professor Muhammad Habib. The fact that shrine of 'Abdullah still exists in Kathōwāl points to the reliability of information provided by Jamālī. However, like other hagiographical literatures some errors have also become part of Jamālī's *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn*, he, for example, mentioned Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān (father of Bābā Farīd) as nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna, while the chronological gap between both does not support his argument. Like Amīr Khūrd, Jamālī too did not mention brothers of Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān, matrimonial life of Bābā Farīd, his Punjābī poetry, the Door of Paradise and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar who was the second most prominent *khalīfah* of Bābā Farīd after Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. The contemporary and early-contemporary literature is more reliable, and the authenticity of literature produced later principally depends on it.

The second phase is the sixteenth to eighteenth century hagiographical literature. Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf's *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā*, La'al Baig La'alī Badakhshī's *Samārat al-Qudūs*, Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Muhadith's *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī's *Gulzār Abrār* are the prominent biographies of this era. However, Jamālī's *Siyar al- 'Ārifīn* and Badakhshī *Samārat al-Qudūs* are more detailed studies of Bābā Farīd as compare to *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā*, *Akhhbār al-Akhyār* and *Gulzār-i-Abrār*. Similarly, 'Alī Asghar Chishtī's *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, Allah Diyā Chishtī's *Siyar al-Aqtāb* and 'Abdul Rahmān Chishtī's *Mirāt al-Asrār* in many respects are very significant hagiographical additions. In these sources, the authors tried to explore new aspects of

the life of Bābā Farīd which are not described in the contemporary and early-contemporary sources. These are: a) genealogy of Bābā Farīd; b) his matrimonial life; c) his wives; d) his itinerary, specifically the *chillah gahen* (places where Bābā Farīd performed Chillah); e) sister of Bābā Farīd; f) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar; g) the *sajjādah nashīns* of the Shaykh; h) conversion of different Hindu tribes at the hands of Bābā Farīd and; i) the Door of Paradise (Beheshtī Darwazah). ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* mentioned many of these aspects and gathered mammoth of data about Bābā Farīd which distinguishes him from his contemporary and the early hagiographers.

Moreover, Allah Diyā, Shaykh ‘Abdul Rahmān and Muhammad Akram Barāshawī are in general and ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī in particular filled many gaps of the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd. The critics especially K.A Nizami who declared *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* a fabricated source himself frequently consulted it while compiling the biography of Bābā Farīd. Nonetheless, there are some drawbacks in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* such as a) irrationality towards some events; b) some incidents are against the nature and philosophy of Bābā Farīd. For example, he maintains that due to constant meditation birds had built nest on the body of Bābā Farīd. Such illogical and unsound approaches might have created doubts about his work; c) he described some incidents which are not found in any well-known sources; d) some contradictory events are present in *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*; e) the author also relies on the oral history, as he mentioned many incidents on behalf of his parents. It can be deduced that most of the above-mentioned lapses of *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* are due to reliance on dubious and irrational biography entitled *Gulshan-i-Awliyā*.

Similarly, erroneous information is also present in Allah Diyā Chishtī’s *Siyar al-Aqtāb*. However, *Siyar al-Aqtāb* can be considered an important compilation of chronological

biographies of nearly all South Asian Ṣufīs of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* from seventh to seventeenth centuries. He is among the very first biographers who described ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kalyar in detail. Another work compiled during this era is *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qudsīyyah* of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Barnāwī. The author has comprehensively reported Bābā Farīd as compared to Shaykh ‘Abdul Haq Muhadith and Muhammad Ghauthī Shattārī. *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qudsīyyah* can be attributed as an encyclopedia of Chishtīyyah *silsilah* along with ‘Abdul Rahmān Chishtī’s *Mirāt al-Asrār* and Muhammad Ikram Barāsawī’s *Iqtibās al-Anwār*. However, like many other hagiographers Barnāwī does not share new information about Bābā Farīd. Muhammad Akram Barāsawī’s *Iqtibās al-Anwār* is also very important source of eighteenth century. He is presumably first Chishtī hagiographer who has applied rational approach in many cases and rejected numerous claims of different earlier hagiographers such as Jamālī and ‘Alī Asghar Chishtī. Similarly, he rejected the claim that Jamāl al-Dīn Sulaimān was the nephew of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, moreover, he also mentioned that Bābā Farīd did not marry with Huzairah Bībī.

A mammoth literature has been compiled on the life and teachings of Bābā Farīd in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this literature is not as significant as the earlier centuries’ literature. Some of these sources do not provide new information about Bābā Farīd and are mere an imitation or replica works. However, one key prowess of this era’s literature is that a few historians opted rational and research-oriented approach to compile the biographies. Moreover, some of these sources have rendered help to fill some gapes which were present in contemporary, near contemporary and seventeenth centuries sources. These are a) two paternal uncles of Bābā Farīd (‘Alī Asghar Chishtī discusses one uncle of Bābā Farīd), their descendants

and spiritual position (as Khwājah Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Chirāg-i-Delhī and Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī popularly known as Mujadid ‘Alif-i-Thānī were the descendants of Shaykh Ya‘qūb and Shaykh ‘Abdullah, respectively; b) authenticity of the genealogy of Bābā Farīd; c) Bābā Farīd as a poet; d) Bābā Farīd as a scholar; e) identification of different graves and shrines situated inside and outside of the shrine of Bābā Farīd.

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, Mirzā Muhammad ‘Abdul Sattār Baig, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Khwājah Muslim Nizami, Wahid Ahmad Masud, Gurbachan Singh Tālib, Balwant Singh Anand and Wahad Bakhsh Siyāl are distinguished biographers of this era. It is pertinent to mention that ‘Abdul Sattār Baig, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami and Wahad Bakhsh Siyāl tried their best to point out the legends and fabrications added by different hagiographers. Although Shaykh Muhammad Akram Barāsawī has also rejected some irrational claims of earlier hagiographers but the real rational and scientific study about Bābā Farīd was started in twentieth century. Mirzā Muhammad ‘Abdul Sattār Baig’s *Masālik al-Sālikīn fī Tadhkirāt al-Wāṣilīn* is a research-oriented work of twentieth century. He has logically challenged the contemporary and early-contemporary sources in some cases. The second worth-mentioning attempt to explore the factual portrayal of Bābā Farīd has been made by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. His *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar* is a coherent and analytical biography of Bābā Farīd which surpassed all other modern historians. He was the celebrated historian of twentieth century-India regarding the Chishtīyyah *silsilah*. He has also discussed the authenticity of different well-known hagiographical sources regarding Bābā Farīd. However, there are some shortcomings in his masterpiece. Muhammad Mushtaq Āmrōhī and Khwājah Muslim Nizami challenged the genealogy of Bābā Farīd presented by earlier hagiographers. Similarly, another unique feature of

this era's hagiographical literature is that it highlights the socio-political and economic condition of India.

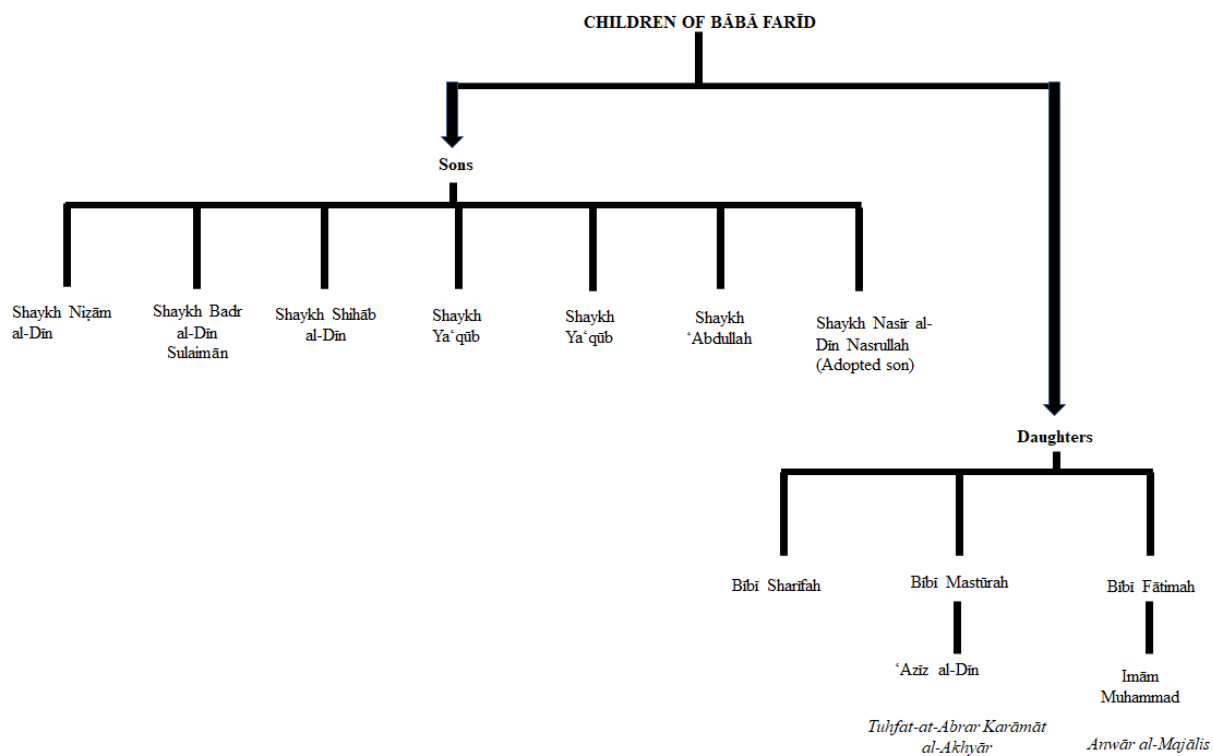
Lastly, I have made my utmost effort to explore the important primary and secondary data by visiting different public and private libraries. Large number of sources have not been evaluated before regarding the biography of Bābā Farīd some of these are like *Risālah-i-Wujūdiyyah*, *Ganj al-Asrār*, *Ruqatt-i-Mashaikh*, *Surūr as-Sadūr*, *Baqiyat al-Ghara'ib*, *Shamāil al-Atqiyā*, *Nafa'is al-Anfās*, *Ghara'ib al-Karāmāt*, *Ma'dan al-Ma'anī*, *Khazinat i-Rahmatullah*, *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, *Samarāt al-Qudūs*, *Chishtīyyah Behashtīyyah Firdūsīyyah Qudsīyyah*, *Akhbār al-Jamāl*, *Jam' al-Salāsāl*, *Mirāt al-Awliyā'*, *Jawāhir Shakar Ganj wa Salāsil-i-Anwār fī Siyar al-Abrār*, *Ma'yar-i-Salikān-i-Tarīqat*, *Takmilah Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Sharjah al-Mahmūd* and seventeenth to twentieth centuries *Malḡūẓāt* (particularly the Chishtī Ṣufīs' *Malḡūẓāt*). However, some important literature like *Mukhbar al-Awliyā'* written by Shaykh Rashīd Mian Gujrātī bin Shaykh Yahyā Madanī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ma'sūm's *Silsilah tul-Islam* are available only in India, but I was not able to convince the *Sajjādah Nashīns* to provide me these manuscripts.

At the end the hypothesis that 'factual portrayal of Bābā Farīd is presented by the contemporary and near-contemporary hagiographical literature and legends and fabrications were added by the seventeenth century' is not justifiable, because the later centuries' literature explored many novel aspects of Bābā Farīd's life. These facts corroborate that biography of Bābā Farīd cannot be completed without the help of 17th-20th centuries' literature.

It has been identified during this study that numerous important sources such as *Asrār al-Mutahayarīn Malḡūẓāt* of Bābā Farīd, *Rahadī* compiled by Shaykh 'Alī Bihārī who was one of the eminent disciple of Bābā Farīd, *Anwār al-Majālis Malḡūẓāt* of Khwājah

Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Imām Muhammad, a grandson of Bābā Farīd, *Tuhfat-al-Abrār Karāmāt al Akhyār Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn Şufī another grandson of Bābā Farīd, *Khulāsat al-Lataif Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' compiled by Shaykh 'Alī Jāndār, *Sirāj al- 'Ārifīn Malfūzāt* of Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', (compiler name is not yet confirm), *Tadhkirāt al-Awliyā'* of Shaykh Āin al-Dīn Baidarī, *Tarīqat al-Islam* and *Darjāt al- 'Ala* of Muhammad Sālam, Diyā al-Dīn Baranī's *Şalāt-i-Kabīr* and *'Inayat Nāmah* are extinct now. While some other popular Şufī literature of Medieval Muslim India including *Fawāid al-Fuād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, *Sirāj al-Hidāyah*, *Lataif-i-Asharāfī* and *Bahar al-Ma 'anī* have lost some parts of their text.

APPENDIX- I



APPENDIX- II

LIST OF THE NAMES OF *SAJJĀDAH NASHINS* OF BĀBĀ FARĪD

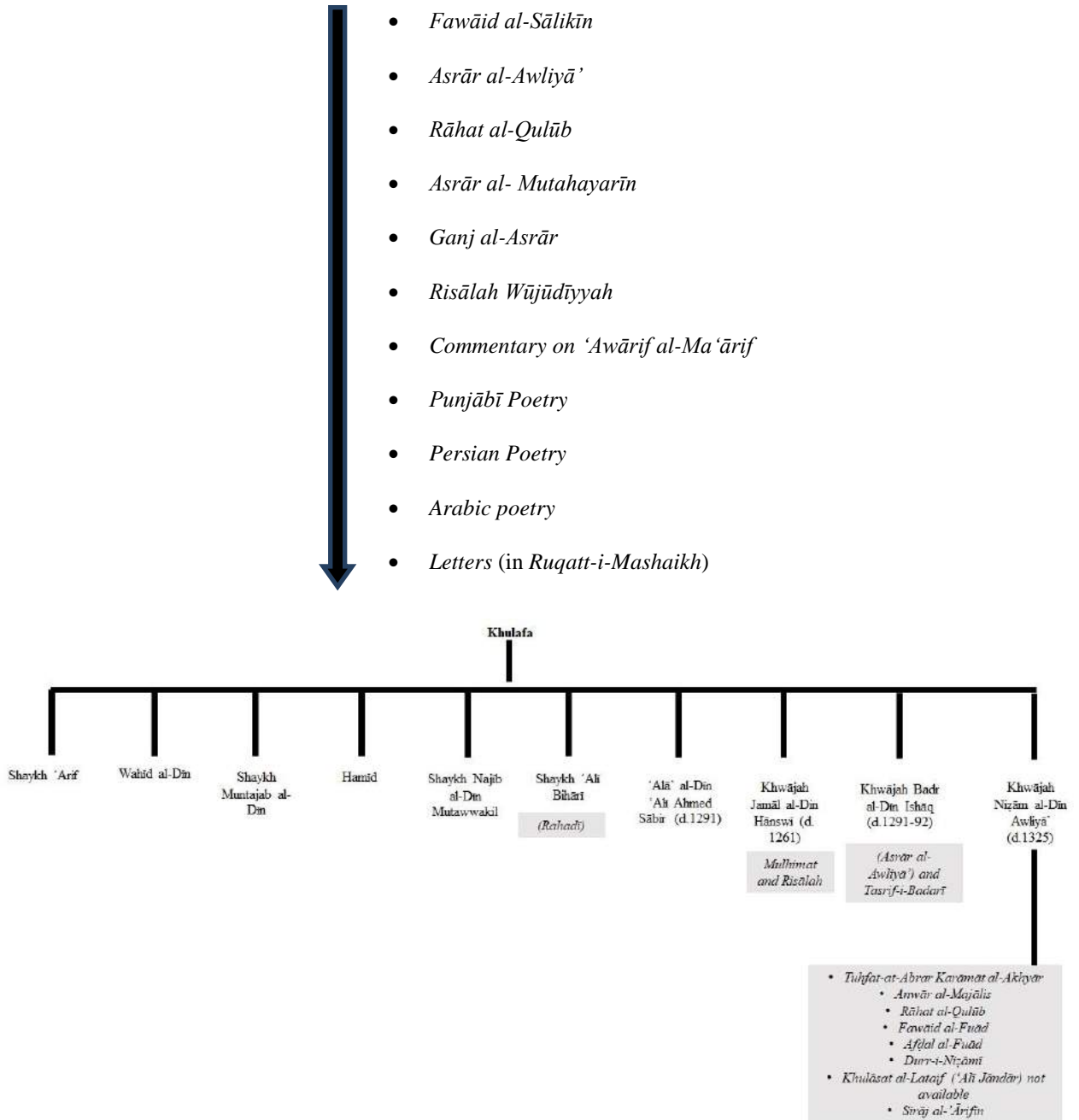
1. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān
2. Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn bin Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sulaimān popularly known as
Mūj Daryā
3. Shaykh Muhammad Ma‘adh al-Dīn
4. Shaykh Faḍal al-Dīn
5. Shaykh Munawwar
6. Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn
7. Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn (father of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī)
8. Shaykh Muhammad Yūnas
9. Shaykh Ahmad
10. Shaykh ‘Attaullah
11. Shaykh Muhammad Shihāb al-Dīn
12. Shaykh Ibrāhīm
13. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Mahmūd
14. Shaykh Faiḍullah
15. Shaykh Ibrāhīm
16. Shaykh Muhammad Hāmid
17. Shaykh Muhammad Ashraf
18. Shaykh Muhammad Sa‘īd
19. Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf
20. Shaykh ‘Abdul Subhān
21. Shaykh Ghulām Rasūl

22. Shaykh Muhammad Yār
23. Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn
24. Shaykh ALLAH Jawayā
25. Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn
26. Pīr Fateh Muhammad
27. Dīwān Sayed Muhammad Chishtī
28. Dīwān Ghulām Qutab al-Dīn
29. Dīwān Mūdūd Mas‘ūd
30. Dīwān Ahmad Mas‘ūd (although Dīwān Mūdūd Mas‘ūd Chishtī is alive but he appointed his son Ahmad Mas‘ūd as his successor)

APPENDIX- III

BĀBĀ FARĪD, HIS *KHULAFĀ'* AND THEIR LITERARY ACHIEVEMENT

Bābā Farīd (d.1265)



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