

SUFIS, DARGAHS AND POLITY: EXPLORING TUGHLAQ PATRONAGE TO PAKPATTAN

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Abstract

The Chishti silsila was one of the most renowned Sufi orders in the medieval setup of India, thus the tombs of leading Chishti saints- Moin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer, Nizam-ud-din Auliya at Delhi and Baba Farid at Pakpattan, became the first Muslim holy places within India. But recent studies show that the Shaikhs and after their death, their shrines not only played a religious role infact an equally important political and economic one, which in turn defined the harmonious relationship between the shrine and the royal court. The shrine benefitted from the royal patronage and the revenue free grants, while serving the bigger purpose of incorporating local systems of culture into a larger cultural system and connecting the pastoral clans politically with Delhi. This paper will present with the example of Baba Farid's Dargah in Pakpattan during the Tughlaq rule, as to how the Sufi shrines were a medium used by the State to reach out to the masses politically and simultaneously the evolution of a distinctive hierarchic code of conduct in the shrines, just like in the Medieval royal court.

Keywords: Sufis, Dargahs, Mohammad Bin Tughlaq, Hinduism, Amir Khusrao, Alauddin Khalji.

The beginning of thirteenth century introduced strong elements of Islamic polity in Indian subcontinent. Emergence of Delhi Sultanate, though accepted as the weakest entity around 1210 AD by Sunil Kumar in his book Emergence of Delhi Sultanate, succeeded to dominate its power by the end of the century. The might of the Sultanate and its reach under the Khalji resulted in dissemination of Islamic polity upto the southern India. According to Simon Digby, "the supply of war-horses and elephants to the Turkish invaders (and later on Sultans) greatly contributed to their success and strength, and the efforts of the Sultans to procure war-horses and deprive their opponents of them were matched by equally strenuous efforts with regard to elephants." The strength of the Sultanate rested on the supremacy of Islamic cavalry and even Barani records that 5000 cavalry of Delhi Sultanate could easily overrun 100,000 payaks of indigenous rais and rajas. However unlike early wave of invaders, Sultans were not interested in mere plunders. They had stakes in subcontinent and never looked towards their

foreign origins for finding lineage of their rule. Khalji and Tughlaqs were in fact not accepted by Amir Khusrau as very refined people. In such a situation the sultans were forced to find legitimacy for their idea of sovereignty. J.F Richards in his book 'Kingship and Authority in South Asia' explains how every action, gesture and speech of the ruler had a symbolic significance which played its role in reassuring the people of the kingdom's stability. J.C Hesterman postulates how a king must belong to the community, the same time he must be foreign to it as to guarantee its authority. In Hinduism this was achieved with the familiarity of the Indian masses with the divine right of rulers. In post-Vedic, Aryan age in North India, the Vedas supplied the need for an external, unchanging and impeccable source of authority. The Brahmins were the custodian and monopolist of the Vedas so it was only through them that the king could affirm his authority.

The Brahmanical domination over the kshatriya king offered some protection from the self-glorifying sovereign. It was the former who defined and limited the action of the King through the prescribed rights of Raj Dharma which in turn set temporal, social and even spatial limits on his political behaviour. Eg the Visnudharottarra, an 8th century AD Puranic text details the proper mode of transforming an ordinary Kshatriya householder/warrior into a king. They also acted as interpreters and mediators between the monarchy and the society. Such equation did have its own benefits for the priestly class in the forms of patronage and political security. On the other hand, moral character was the prerequisite of Sovereignty in Jainism, which helped in sustaining the identity of the Jain community by preventing its absorption into Hinduism.

The Muslim kingship within the Indo-Persian tradition was not in tune with the Indian subcontinent. The source of ultimate authority in the classic Arab and Persian civilization was formed with the codification of the Sharia, the relationship of the Ulema to the ruler and the definition of specific duties for the ruler, which differed in many ways from those of the Hindu Rajas and the Jain Kings. So, the expansion of Islam into the subcontinent led to a change within the Islamic societies as it absorbed new populations as slaves, clients or converts. The problem of establishing one's sovereignty in a country foreign in its ways of cultural and political life was then resolved by various means like by forming vassal relationships with various Hindu kings and exacting tribute from them, absorbing rajas and rais as quasi-state officials, marriage alliances with and gifts of lands to the Rajputs,

restructuring the nobility etc. As Sunil Kumar suggested, political formation does not only entail political and administrative control, instead the need on the Sultan's behalf to create the idea of a unitary domain where social equilibrium is maintained. The inefficacy of the classic Islamic insignia of sovereignty to function in the Indian realm was solved with the proclivity towards an alternative source which were the Sufi pirs and their dargahs. This paper attempts to explain the vital role played by them in authenticating the Sultan's supremacy by exploring the Tughlaqs idea of sovereignty and how they fused it with their patronage to the dargah of Pakpattan. It aims to explore the polity and necessities of the rulers behind such sanctions and how dargah could never be perceived existing only in spiritual realm ignoring the polity of the contemporary times.

I

Britannica Encyclopedia defines sovereignty in political theory, the ultimate authority, in the decision making process of the state and in the maintenance of order. In Islam, it is interesting to know that the idea of sovereignty belonged to Allah and Allah alone. Quran says,

“To Allah belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth.” (42:48)

“It is He who gives life and death and He has power over all thing.” (42:48)

“He is the first and the last the evident and the immanent.” (47:3)

The conflict of this idea is expressed by Barani in political space. *Faqr-i-Mudabbirin* his (Glory Of The State) echoed the uncompromising stand of the Arab conquerors that they should not let their identities get diluted in infidel land during Sindh conquest of 8th century. *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* 'pleads for a compromise between religious normativeness (*dindari*) and worldly pragmatics (*Jahandari*). This juxtaposition is further portrayed by Barani when he narrates the conversation between Alauddin Khalji and the qazi in which the Sultan through a number of questions asks the latter in conclusion if he was in fact a true Muslim. The qazi was afraid that if he answered the question with all honesty, he would be slain by the sultan to which Alauddin responds that for him the polity and government were separate from the rules and decrees of law.

The codification of fiqh, further consolidated the groundwork of Islamic civilization. Dr Nazeer Ahmed defines fiqh as the historical dimension of the Sharia which represents the continuous and unceasing Muslim struggle to live up to divine commandments in time and space. The first hundred years after Prophet Mohammad saw dissensions in the political

thought, with differences arising on the various issues of succession and civil wars, but not on the basis of fiqh or the sharia. The deliquescence of fiqh started by the time of Imam Ja'afir-as-Saadiq, who held halqas (circles) where eminent scholars debated which led to the spread of diverse ideas and opinions leading to the emergence of the different schools of fiqh who propounded their own ideas of sovereignty. There are five major schools of fiqh followed by the majority of Muslims- Hanafi, Maliki, Shaifi, Hanbali and Ja'afariya. A relatively smaller number of Muslims follow Zaidi and Ismaili. The Ashari School named after its founding thinker, al-Ash'ari, emerged out of the reaction against the excessive rationalism of the Mu'tazila. They propagated the idea of unbound divine will and refused to acknowledge any rational element in the law that the human mind is capable of comprehending on its own without the help of revelation. For them reason is time bound and revelation is transcendent. It is revelation, not reason, that tells us what is right and wrong, helps us differentiate between moral and immoral, enlightens us of the attributes of God and gives us certainty about heaven and hell. Reason is a tool bestowed by God upon humans so that they may sort out the relationships in the created world and reinforce their belief. In contrast existed the Hanafi school of thought, who identified themselves with the Maturidi School of jurisprudence. Imam Abu Haneefa saw a more positive view of the role of reason.

The human reason could discern on its own what the law required and forbade and the good that the law served. This more liberal stance of Haneefa school in comparison to others was in tune with the Muslim rulers, as the latter's idea of sovereignty got a threshold within them. From the 10th century onwards, the Hanafi School received patronage from the Abbasids in Baghdad and later the Seljuk Turkish dynasties, Ottomans, Timurids, Turkomans as well as the Great Mughals of India.

So to trace the idea of sovereignty under the precepts of Islam Hodgson explains the three faces of Islam- Ulema, concerned with the outward social muslim conduct, mystical Sufism which was concerned with the inner emotions of the being and the Alid Loyalism which emphasized on the prominence of blood ties. As explained by Hodgson, Alid Loyalism is used for the varied complex of special religious attitudes associated with loyalty to the 'Alids- not only reverence for the 'Alids themselves, but certain exalted ideas about Muhammad's person and the supposition of a secret teaching he transmitted specially to 'Ali. Its continuity

must be ensured, as in Muhammad's time, through the presence of an authoritative spokesman for the divine will- a true

II

Contemporary writers like Afif and Amir Khusrao confirm that 'Tughlaq' was the personal name of Ghiyasuddin and not the tribal epithet, as suggested by Sir Wolseley Haig. Sultan Muhammad called himself the 'son of Tughlaq Shah', but Firuz Shah and his successors never this cognomen. Moreover Tughlaqs were not considered as refined beings 'Qarauna' is a term of which the origin of the meaning is as obscure as that of 'Tughlaq', Ibn Battuta while tracing Mohammad Bin's origin refers to him as a Qarauna Turk on the authority of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath, a Suhrawardi saint who said that these Qarauna Turks resided in the hilly tracts between Turkistan and Sind. Other scholars have attempted to explain the relevance of this identity, Marco Polo describes the Qaraunas as people of mixed breed whose fathers were tatars and mothers were Indians. Mzik says that Qarauna is synonymous to the sanskrit word 'karana' meaning a person whose father is a Kshatriya and mother is a Sudra. While Ferishta opined that Ghiyasuddin's father, Malik Tughlaq was one of the slaves in Balban's army and his mother was a local Jat woman. The Rauzatus Safa refers to the Qaraunas as a tribe forming a special division in the Mongol army. Yule assumes these Qarunas were of Mongolian descent, born of Mongol fathers and black mothers, Whereas the translators of Tarikh-i-Rashidi tell us that 'Qaraunah' was a term of reproach. Habib and Nizami have concluded that in India, Central Asia and Persia, the term Qarauna was used for a mixed race-the descendants of Mongol or Turkish fathers and non Turkish mothers.

This raises a question on the very origin of the Tughlaqs and the absence of a strong lineage which made them vulnerable.

Amir Khusrao in Tughlaq Nama remarks that Ghiyasuddin searched for employment in Delhi for a considerable time, before being taken into the imperial service by Jalaluddin Khalji, under whom he rose in power and prestige and he has also mentioned that Ghiyasuddin in his speech refers to himself an 'awaramard', a man of no importance in his earlier career, thus reinstating the fact that he was a common man belonging to the plebeian class. When Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne, he had to get to grips with a plethora of quandaries which went hand in hand with the vastness of the empire which made it difficult to establish a uniform control over the distant outlying areas. Moreover the loyalty of Bengal was sporadic

in character. The imperial authority in the regions of Telingana and Malabar were also overthrown.

The administration was further emaciated by corruption, disloyalty among the officers, depletion of the treasury and the disarray of the revenue system put in place by Alauddin Khalji.

So, in Islam for a ruler to exercise his sovereign right he needed some sort of legitimacy coming from an equally influential source i.e. through the darghas and in our case particularly the Pakpattan dargah of Baba Farid.

According to Mohammad Habib, critical history of Chistis is to be based on three principal works- *Fuwaid-ul-Fuad*, *Khair-ul-Majalis* and *Siyar-ul-Auliyab* but while referring to these one needs to keep in mind as observed by Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur, that the hagiographers also aimed at justifying the beliefs and practices of their discipline in order to meet the objections of the rival sufi ideologues. Thus the sufi manuals offer an ideal picture and not the ideal situation. The Chishti order emerged in the North Western India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Chishtis were politically influential but the conspicuous cause of their acclimation was through the popular perception. It was this according to Sunil Kumar that the Delhi Sultans made use of, to maintain liaison with their subjects. This popularity was imputed to their cognizance of the Indian conditions and the religious attitudes, besides the acquiescence to integrate indigenous customs.

Mohammad Bin Tughlaq who faced a lot of rebellions during his reign, particularly in the areas of South West Panjabeg. Sunam and Samana where the jat and bhatti Rajput cultivators withheld the state taxes and organised a sedition. One way of reaching out to people was through the dargah which played the role of pacifying the masses with the mystical influence and even conversions. By Firoz Shah's reign, we see secession of territories like Bengal and Gujarat plus the rise of Vijaynagar Empire. To strengthen his hold over the region of South Western Panjab he too used the Pakapattan Dargah. In 1398 AD, the dargah was visited by Timur, who spared much of its inhabitants, out of respect for the shrine of the saint which shows the extent to which the latter's popularity had spread. Therefore its perceptible as to how the immense popularity of the dargah affected the political position of the rulers, as

evidenced by the patronage given to it by the Tughlaq Sultans. Thus one can say that the city of Pakpattan served as the spiritual capital for the Tughlaqs.

In South western Punjab region where Pakpattan was located, there lay a vast tract of scattered populated land, inhabited by the nomadic pastoralists who were primarily Jat groups. According to Richard Eaton they had been moving up from Sindh into the Multan region between the seventh and eleventh centuries. Chinese traveller Huan Tsang wrote of these groups who 'gave themselves exclusively to tending cattle and from this derived their livelihood,' 'have no masters,' and possess 'an unfeeling temper' and a 'hasty disposition'. Eighth century Chachnama gives us references of these Jat groups fighting against Muhammadan armies and the absence of social hierarchy amongst the former.

When Arabs replaced Brahmins as rulers of Sindh, the new rulers merely continued to affirm the Jats of their lowly status, as it points out these Jat pastoralists had not yet been integrated into the Hindu society. By the end of the sixteenth century throughout the Punjab, as reflected in the Ain-i-Akbari statistics they became the dominant agrarian caste in nearly half of the Punjab. Why is this essential data for historians? Because many of these groups converted to Islam. This is when the Jats fit into the bigger picture. How did they manage to achieve this assimilation? It was most definitely through the Pakpattan Dargah which by that time had gathered a lot of devotees from these groups. The majority of these Jat groups that became Muslim claimed to have been converted by Baba Farid himself. It is cardinal for one to note that the word conversion cannot be contrived in reference to the modern day context. Richard Eaton reinstates the fact by endorsing that the more satisfactory term to be used to here is 'Islamization'. He also argues that Baba Farid may not have been involved in the conversion process, instead the Dargah sustaining the powerful barakat of the saint would have been the channel.

Sheikh Farid-ad-din Ganj-i-shakar, known to his devotees as Baba Farid was born in 1175 AD. In Multan Baba Farid first met Khwaja Qutubuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki and became his disciple and later his Khalifa. He settled in Pakpattan, the ancient city of Ajodhan in the South West Panjab and is the founder of the khanqah as the 'microcosm of transcendental culture' as said by Shuja Alhaq. It refers to the space of communal life without being circumscribed by any boundary or worldly social relations based on caste, class or sect. Pakapattan held a very strategic position as it was situated on the merchant caravan route

linking Multan with Delhi and other parts of the Delhi Sultanate, the merchants, nobles and soldiers travelling from and to Delhi paid visits to the dargah and beseeched the saint's help and benediction for opulence as well as safety from dacoits, illness and wild animals. Here met the two great Western roads from Dera Gazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. At this point the great conquerors Mahmud and Timur and the great traveller Ibn Batutta crossed the Satluj.

Allama Akhlaq Hasan Dhalvi in *Ainah-i-Malfuzat*, says that, 'Baba Farid possessed a power to know the innermost thoughts in the minds of his visitors and, on the other hand he possessed the ability to reform the people who were found to be misguided', which evinces the prodigious popularity of the Shaikh. In the eyes of the shrine's common disciples, the Court of God surpassed the Court of Man.

Baba Farid is known to have disassociated himself from the royal courtiers in a way that he advised his disciples to stay away from the princes as that would deter them from taking the saintly path. But Aquil mentions how Alagh Khan the wazir, who was a great devout, approached Baba Farid lamenting the fact that his sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad had no natural heir which posed a threat to the kingdom. To which the saint replied that it could be Alagh Khan himself who could carry out the same justice as the sultan and earn public love. Eventually Alagh Khan became the next Sultan assuming the title of Ghiyasuddin Balban. Thus, we see the Shaikh contributed in legitimising the Sultan's rise to the throne.

Baba Farid died in 1265 and one of his sons, Nizamuddin dissuaded his brothers from burying their father in the graveyard outside Ajodhan, instead he argued that such an action would lead to people departing after praying at the tomb, then the question arose about the sustenance of Baba Farid's family hence it was decided he be buried at the place where his tomb stands now and it was after this that we see the beginning of the institutionalisation of the Dargah. His descendants had established 'daughter' shrines in different parts of Panjab, dedicated to him. The shrines not only represented his spiritual domain (wilayat) but was also acknowledged as a habitude which was in semblance with the Muslim law.

III

In Sufism, dargahs played a very important role as it is believed that after ashaikh's demise his barakat is channelled to his dargah. So it evolved into a great centre of pilgrimage which continued to sustain and mediate Islam across centuries and was flocked by devotees from the

countryside as well as the cities. The devotees offered to the shrine some kind of gift, called Futuh i.e unasked charity, which amounted to a great bulk which was then redistributed amongst the people.

To continue and further this lucrative economic interest, the sons of Baba Farid buried him in Pakpattan itself, against his wishes and therein emerged the inception of a hereditary leadership in Baba Farid's shrine with his son Badr-ad-din succeeding as the Diwan. Shaikh Ala-ad-din Mauj darya the grandson of the former, attained immense popularity and patronage during the reign of the Tughlaqs. Ghiyassudin even before he became a Sultan was attracted to Baba Farid's dargah, As Afif narrates how the governor brought along his son and nephew, the future Sultans; Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and Firuz Tughlaq. Diwan Al-ad-din gave each one of them a turban of varying lengths symbolising the number of years each sultan would reign. This is yet another incident which tells us that the dargahs played a huge role in legitimizing the sultans.

Barani in Tarikh-i-firozshahi tells us how Sheikh Muizzuddin, son of Alauddin was appointed the Naib of Gujarat by Muhammad Bin Tuglaq and given three lacs of tankas to raise an army within a short span of time. This shows the participation of the shaikhs in army campaigns. There's also evidence of the shaikhs being appointed to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam. Mohammad Bin Tughalq was against the stratagem of isolation from the state as adepted by the mystics because he wanted to subsume the maximal number of them in his political structure as corroborated by the high offices granted to them as well as establishing matrimonial alliances with these religious families. In yet another venture of his, Mohammad Bin Tughlaq attempted to strengthen the political hold through the sufis by sending them to the newly found capital, Daulatabad for further Islamization. But this had a reciprocal ill effect as such an order was found as a hinder in the khanqah life of the pirs for they believed in the concept of wilayat, being the keystone of their organization. But nevertheless these mystics were forced to migrate to the distant South which led to the fall in popularity of the Sultan with the common masses. Habib and Nizami believe that perhaps no other measure brought so much unpopularity to the Sultan as this forced migration. Amir Khurd gives an incidence where Mohammad Bin Tughlaq approaches the mystics in order to mobilise the masses to raise jihad against the kuffars (Mongols), in his campaign to occupy and overthrow the descendants of Chengiz Khan from Turkistan and Khurasan. So it gives an idea as to how

the Sultan tried to galvanise the public opinion in favour of his project. He furthermore constructed the tomb of Shaikh Alauddin which was rich in its grandeur and splendour which was later repaired by Sultan Firoz Tughlaq.

Sultan Firoz was also a fervent pursuivant of Shaikh Alauddin and faithfully visited the tomb of Ganj-i-shakar on entering the city of Multan. Shaikh-ul-Islam was seated in the central court and always came to see the Sultan after the day had passed and exchanged views on various topics. In Tarikh-I-Firoz-Shahi, Firoz Shah was informed about a wicked Brahmin who was openly carrying on worship of idols and said to have built a temple in his house and apostate a Muslim woman. He summoned the ulema and shaikhs to look into the matter and pronounce their verdict, to which they opined that according to the sharia the Brahmin must either embrace islam or be burnt Islam. Thus it becomes evident that the shaikhs were as predominant as the ulema in advancing judicial adjudication.

IV

In Clifford Geertz's words the shrine displayed throughout the ceremonies and celebrations, the splendour of both the court of God and the court of Delhi, though on a microcosmic scale. This gave the tribes an opportunity of being a part of the Delhi Sultanate without directly being subdued under the authorities in Delhi. The assimilation of the indigenous groups was not just beneficial to the state in terms of increased revenue as more and more lands were being cultivated, the dargahs were equal beneficiaries to this process, as Ajodhan was part of revenue free grant given to this dargah by Mohammad bin Tughlaq, thus the jama of the land went to the Diwan.

What further strengthened the bond of the shrine and clans were the economic or political ties of kinship and intermarriage entrenched between the two parties, the latter married off their daughters to the Diwans. This system of creating ties between two heterogeneous identities was similarly adopted by the Sultans and even the Mughals of the later times, except in the case of the former, religious patronage as well as political patronage was involved. This tells us how the shrine started imitating the culture of the court with time.

Every silsila had its own Wilayat or spiritual kingdom which for the layman amounted to specific geographical boundaries which bordered the Wilayats of other saints or silsilas. This spiritual sovereignty equalled the political sovereignty of the ruler. Eg in a certain incident Baba Farid's spiritual power protected a man named Abd-Allah-Rumi as he

travelled from Ajodhan till Multan, since the former came under the wilayat of the Dargah while the latter was the Wilayat of the Suhrawardis. In Richard Eaton's words this was one of the several ways in which the shrine of Baba Farid fused religious and political categories.

The Dastarbandi ceremony was yet another way of doing the same. The succession of the Diwan/SijdaNasheen got entwined with the succession of the royal throne in Delhi. The tying of the turban possessed a great power as it was a symbol of conferring legitimacy on the rulers of Delhi as well as spiritual discipleship on the shrine itself. There also emerged a hierarchy among the functionaries of the Dargah imitating the royal court. In descending rank came the Diwan, Diwans family, the Khalifas and the shrine functionaries, the clan leaders and the common Jat agriculturists. Even though we see, they were assimilating these diverse groups in their own ways, the already sorted hierarchy was not done away with, similar to the state. The gradual adaptation of all these practices lead to the politico socio-religious assimilation between the two varied cultures.

But the state at the same time had to ensure not to overdo it which could backfire, in case the sufi saint commanded such a large following which could threaten the Sultan's position. The chroniclers of those times mentioned an incident where there was a heated argument between Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and Sheikh Shiyabuddin on the topic of reason (aql). The Sheikh was enraged at the Sultan's response and he's said to have struck the emperor's face with his own shoe. The Sheikh was inevitably tortured to death. The point being made here is that the paper is in no way painting a rosy picture of the relationship that existed between the state and the saints as there were instances of conflict between the two parties but that in no way diminished the importance of the institution of Dargah.

The Sultans had to be wary in their relationship with the shaikhs as they could challenge the formers authority through their stellar spiritual charisma. The shaikhs were so powerful not because of the political authority but due to the mass appeal that they garnered among the common people.

There's an example where regardless of political affiliation with the Sultan, the shaikh was held accountable for the latter's death according to popular belief. Nizamudin Ahmad in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* placed the reason for the death of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq due to the jalal (curse) of Nizamuddin Auliya. He threatened the Saint with dire consequences if he didn't leave Delhi before the former arrived to which Auliya is said to

have replied, "Delhi is yet distant." Ibn Batutta built up a chain of circumstances to sustain his theory of evil motives on the part of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, in which he refers to the grant of sovereignty to Ulugh Khan by Nizamuddin Auliya. This again emphasises the point that the Shaikhs were indeed considered powerful enough by the masses to sound the death knell on a ruler and bring up a new one.

V

Thus the paper proposes a submission that the established notion of the dargah operating just on the religious front can be challenged, by bringing to your attention how the Chishtis did not taboo the relations with the state. It's really interesting to note as Sunil Kumar mentions, Nizamuddin Auliya criticised Ulema-i-duniya for taking up high offices but he himself remarks that these posts should be reserved for individuals of unquestioned piety, as they served as guides and teachers of the Muslim community. Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur remark that in the ultimate analysis, Sufism promoted ethical conduct in the form of humanism, compassion, generosity, forgiveness, service and sacrifice. At the same time, it exercised a baneful influence in the society owing to credulousness regarding the power of mystics, slavish mentality among the disciples, belief in miracles, devaluation of human effort, erosion of scientific attitude and corruption in the management of hospices and shrines.

Thus, it is important to note that they were not against the serving the Delhi Sultan. Therefore the notions attached to the exclusivity of the Chishtis can be questioned at these very instances as they remain closely aligned to state consolidated in medieval India. The dargah of Pakpattan played important role in strengthening the ideal of sovereignty and divine blessing from Tughlaqs onwards

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