**Interaction Between Hindu Religion and Sufism in Medieval India**

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One of the main features of medieval India was the emergence and growth of Bhakti movement. At the same time, Islam as new religious system emerged on Indian soil. With its various forms especially Sufism, it resulted in its partial Islamization and the indigenization of Islam in India. The bhakti movement and sufism emerged in north India were parallel movement which succeeded in bringing about interaction between Hindu religion and sufism. Thus, the bhaktiand sufism (*tasawuff*) came so close that the philosophers were compelled to unequivocally declare the unfailing influence of sufism on the bhakti. Exactly like this, the sufism was also greatly influenced by the bhakti movement. With interacting with the Hindu religion and Hindu sants, many sufis inclined towards Hindu religion. They adopted many practices of Hindu religion and culture. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to discuss the interaction and impact of Hindu religion on Islam especially on sufism.

**I**

The bhakti sants believed in one god. They preached that ultimate aim of human (soul) is full devotion and realization of God within oneself, and it was the only means of salvation. This realization or ultimate union of the individual with god is based on loving devotion on the part of the devotee and God’s grace (*prasad*) had been at work in India long before the growth of sufism[[1]](#endnote-2) and its arrival in India. Sufis came to India with a similar philosophy. For sufis, God is present in the hearts of men and women. The basic relationship between God and man was that of love. Devotion and inner feeling was far more preferable to mere observance of external forms. The supreme aim was to attain union of God. Thus, in sufism, supreme love is the utmost importance, but at the same time, it is very difficult to practice. The sufishas to implement many a percept to become eligible for obtaining union with his beloved. In the ninth century mystics like Bistami, al-Hallaj and al-Junaid laid more emphasize on love of god rather than fear of god. And in order to attain communion with god, the early mystics began to follow some sort of discipline or spiritual *sadhana* (intense devotion).[[2]](#endnote-3) As a result, the traditional notions of ‘infidelity’ (*kufr*) and ‘struggle’ (*jihad*) were given a different orientation by these sufiswith their insistence on single minded devotion to the one and on the single minded pursuit of spirituality.[[3]](#endnote-4)

During medieval India, Some of the Vaishnava and Nirguna bhakti sants and Tantrik teachers influenced many Muslims towards Hindu religion. They welcomed the aboriginals and hills tribes into the Hindu fold, and also accommodated those Muslims who were prepared to accept Hindu ways of life and thoughts.[[4]](#endnote-5) Sant Namdeva (1269-1344) emphasised on intense love and devotion to God. He is said to have travelled far and wide for philosophical discussions with the sufis of Delhi.[[5]](#endnote-6) Ramananda was a chief inspirer of the worship of Rama in north India towards the close of the thirteenth century and beginning of fourteenth century. He saw the spread of Islam through sufi hospices, and he seems to have in contact with learned Muslims at Banaras.[[6]](#endnote-7)

Chaitnaya (1486-1533), a prominent Krishna bhakt is said to have travelled all over India (mainly in Bengal and Orissa) including Brindavan where he revived the Krishna cult. Chaitanya popularized musical gathering or *kirtan* as a special form of mystic experience in which the outside world disappeared by dwelling on God’s name. He extorted an extraordinary influence, particularly in the eastern parts of India, and attracted a large following, including some Muslims and people from the low castes.[[7]](#endnote-8) Rup and Sanatan, two of his disciples, were so tolerant to Muslims that the orthodox Vaishnavas and Hindus refused to have any social intercourse with them.[[8]](#endnote-9) In medieval Assam, Sant Sankardeva (1449-1568), popularised Viashnava bhakti which is known as the *Ekasarana nama-dharma* (faith based to a single god, in this case, Krishna) or the *Bhagavata Dharma* (drawing upon the teachings of the *Bhagavata Purana*). This religious movement was more liberal than the Vaishnavas. Though Sankardeva was a Kayastha by caste, he enrolled a large number of Muslims as his disciples.[[9]](#endnote-10)

A special reference may be given of Sant Dadu (1544-1603), a close contemporary of Akbar, who laid great emphasis on the unity of religion between the Hindus and Muslims. He founded the *Parabrahama Sampardaya* with a view of uniting different faiths in one bond of love and comradeship. He admitted both Hindus and Muslims as his disciples. Dadu is considered to be a Muslim cotton-carder, but there is no point in talking of Muslim ‘influence’ on him. But two points must be made in relation to Dadu’s attitude towards Islam: one, simply that he does not identify himself with Muslims; two that his own position is close to that of the sufis. He emphasized the equality of men and women and advocated that the path of liberation was open to all.[[10]](#endnote-11)Rajjab Ali Khan, known as Rajjab Das or Rajjabji (1538-98) in the later Dadu-Panthi tradition, was a great disciple of the Sant Dadu and was a follower of the Rama cult.[[11]](#endnote-12) He founded an important centre at Sanganer and remained celibate, composed his own *bani* and admitted disciples. They have the distinction of being called Rajjab-panthis, constituting as it were a *panth* within the *panth*.[[12]](#endnote-13)

During the eighteenth century, Sant Prannath put the texts of the Quran and the Vedas side by side to preach Hindu and Muslim disciples to follow the rituals and laws of their own religion. Interestingly, both dined together at the time of initiation.[[13]](#endnote-14) During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both devotional and Tantric disciplines were attributed to Ramananda; both twice born Hindus as well as members of the servant and untouchable castes, women, and perhaps even Muslims were recruited into the sect.[[14]](#endnote-15) Similarly, Bairagis led the life of ascetic and some of them worshipped Rama and Krishna, the two incarnation of Lord Vishnu. They visited pilgrim centres and wore rosaries of Tulsi. But there were other Bairagis who believed that Vishnu was a non-incarnate Supreme Being. Both Hindus and Muslims were admitted into their religion and their community was open to all.[[15]](#endnote-16) Thus, during medieval India, many bhakti sants influenced Muslim by their philosophy and enrolled them as their disciples.

**II**

Many sufis were interested in mystical literature produced in India, like Sanskrit, Hindawi, Braj, Awadhi, Bengali, Sindhi, Dakhini and Punjabi. They started taking more interested in Sanskrit and Hindi. Some of the sufis learnt Sanskrit and the language of the people of India to express their feelings. Few of them, such as Shaikh Farid, Sayyid Mohammad Gesudaraj, Abdul Wahid Bilgrami, Shah Hussain and Bulleh Shah composed their works in Hindawi and Punjabi. Thus, sufism was indignation far more through sufi literature in the regional language than through Persian.

If one goes through the writings and language of Shaikh Farid (1173-1265), he/she would find it treasures the words of Sanskrit, Farsi, Arabi, Turki, Sindhi, Gujarati and of vernacular (including Lehndi) origins, and also the amalgamation of Farsi and Sanskrit.[[16]](#endnote-17) Sayyid Mohammad Gesudaraj (1217-1320) well known as Khawaja Banda Nawaz of Gulberga, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chirag of Delhi, had knowledge of Sanskrit works. For him, ‘no other language was effective as Hindawi in which mystical ideas could be clearly expressed; Hindawi music too was deeply moving and aroused gentleness and humility, a reason for its increasing popularity’. He wrote *Meraj ul-Ashaqui*, an early book of Hindi language. Some of the sufis themselves converses in Hindawi.[[17]](#endnote-18) Shaikh Hamiduddun Naguari’s family carried on conversation in Hindawi; mother was addressed as *mai* and brother as *bhai*.[[18]](#endnote-19)

It is believed that sufis were influenced first by the Buddhists or Shamanists in Central Asia and subsequently they drew inspiration from the Hindu *yogis* in India during the Sultanate period. They evinced interest in the translation of Sanskrit treatise on spiritual exercise and philosophy. The first work in this regard is the thirteen century Persian adaptation of Sanskrit classics on Hindu *yoga* philosophy entitled *Amritkund*. It was translated and entitled as *Hauz-ul-Hayat* in Arabic and Persian languages. Though both the original Sanskrit manuscript of *Amritkund* and its Arabic translation seem to have been lost, its Persian version, also entitled *Hauz-ul-Hayat* is available. It deals with *yogic* practice such as breath control etc.[[19]](#endnote-20)

It was perhaps due to the increasing popularity of the *yogic* philosophy among the sufis in India that the sixteenth century, Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliori of Shattari Silsila (order) prepared in Persian the literary translation of *Amritkund* and published it under the title *Bahr-ul-Hayat*. The exercise of *yoga* had nothing to do with the Prophet but the *sufis* called it *salat* or *namaz* in order to legitimize its adoption.[[20]](#endnote-21) He recommends in his *Bahr-al-Hayat*, the use of some Hindu ‘incantations’ and observe many similarities between the sufi ideology and the Hindu *yoga* system. He also reveals his familiarity with *siddha yogis* and Gorakhnath and believes that the truths of gnosis expanded by the Hindu *yogis* and those by the sufis were very much similar except that the language they used was different.[[21]](#endnote-22) Later, Shaikh Zahid, also composed *Adya Parichaya* in Bengali, which was based on the *Bahr-ul-Hayat*. Similarly, Saiyid Murtaza (1590-1648) wrote *Yoga Qalandar*, a work on *yoga*.[[22]](#endnote-23)

Ism’ailis was a sub-sect of the Shias religion of Islam and under it Satpanthi sect developed in Gujarat with decidedly Hindu influences and impact on it. Satpanthi literature traces back the origin of the sect to Nur Satgur or Nuruddin. But it appears that Pir Adruddin of Ism’ailis sect in the fourteenth century was the first saint to use the term *satpanth* for his faith. He is credit with large scale conversion of the Lohana tribe of Gujarat who he tried to assimilate into the new faith by making free use of Hindu terms and names. He addressed himself as Sahdev and Harichand. The sect crystallized further in the fifteenth century under Imam Shah, son of Pir Hasan Kabiruddin of Ism’ailis sect. Imam Shah frequently adapted his teachings and ideas to Hindu doctrines. He gave definite shape to a syncretise cult and designated Nur Satgur as Brahma, himself as incarnation of Indra and Nur Muhammad as Vishnu and disowned allegiance to the Imams. His teachings are contained in the *Dashtari Gayatari*.[[23]](#endnote-24)

During medieval India Mahadavis sect was prevalent. Mahadavis represented as an orthodox and puritanical stream within Sunnis, imbued with strong messianic tendencies. They believed in the appearance of a Mahdi (literally, the rightly-guided one) from time to time, among the Muslims to re-interpret the teaching of Islam and to reform Muslim society. One of the important centres of the Mahadavis was Kalpi. It rose to prominence because of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ansari of sixteenth century. He was widely respected for his erudition and piety. He also composed excellent works, both in prose and poetry, in the Hindi language.[[24]](#endnote-25)

The use of Hindawi became popular among the sufis that an eminent sufi, Abdul Wahid Bilgrami (1509-1608), wrote a treatise *Haqaiq-i-Hindi* in 1566 in which he tried to explain such words as ‘Krishna’, ‘Murli’, Gokul, Braj, Yamuna, etc. in *sufi* mystic terms.[[25]](#endnote-26) This work is divided into three sections. The first section gives a mystic explanation of Hindawi words used in *Dhrupad* songs. The second section allegorically explains the words used in Vaishnvaite songs in Braj Bhasa, the dialect of Mathura region. The third section gives the sufi explanation of the words used in the sufi poetry. The explanations gives by Abdul Wahid Bilgrami about Sri Krishna theme and symbols are as follows: sometimes Krishna and his other names in Hindawi indicate Prophet Muhammad and sometimes the perfect man. Gopi and Gujari (milkmaid) words represents angles of Allah. Uddhava (a companion and relation of Sri Krishna) is represented as follower of Prophet who was intermediary between him and god. Braj and Gokul (regions of Mathura associated with Krishna’s life) stands for the three ontological dominations of the *Jabarut*, representing the highest point in the spiritual world, the *Nasut* or physical world and the *Malakut* or intermediary psychic world. Mathura indicates the temporary station in the *Ma’rifat* which is related to *Nasut*. The permanent stations are *Malakut* or *Jabarut*. Starting from the temporary station, the *sufi* journey leads to permanent station.[[26]](#endnote-27)

During this period, many top rank stories of love were written by the sufis. Mulla Daud was a sufi mystic who came from Dalmau in the Rai Bareli District near Lucknow. He wrote the first Hindawi verse romance, the *Chandayan* or *Laur Chanda* into a distinctive sufi story in 1379.[[27]](#endnote-28)Similarly, Malik Muhammad Jaisi is the most popular of all the sufis. His *Padmavat* is considered to be the most love-epic of Hindi sufi poetry. This is the first *maha-kavya* (epic) of the Awadhi language.

Not only *sufis* but many rulers also attracted towards Hindu religion and literature. During the reign of Akbar, the books of the Hindus religion and literature were translated viz., *Yoga-Vashishta* by Nizam Panipati, *Lilavati* by Shaikh Faizi, *Batrish Singhasama* as *Khirad Afza* by Khwaja Hasahn Marwi and later Baduani; Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi and Shaikh Faizi translated the *Atharveda*; Mulla Shiri took up *Hari-Vansha*; the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (as *Razmnamah*) by Naqib Khan, Baduani, Haji Thanesari and *Rajatarangani* by Shah Muhammad Shahbadi, *Panchatantra* as *Anwar-i Suhaili* by Abul Fazl and Iyar Danish.[[28]](#endnote-29)

Dara Shukoh (the eldest son of Shahjahan) was a mystic (sufi of the Qadiri Silsila) in his own right, and a serious researcher of comparative religion and profile writer. He was seriously interested in Hindu religious thoughts was well as sufism. It is not surprising that he took lessons in spirituality from a great spiritual master of his times, Baba Lal, the famous Vaishnavite Bairagi who lived at Dhianpur near Batala (Punjab). He had seven meetings with Baba Lal in different parts of Lahore, while returning from the expeditions to Qandhar in 1653. A few paintings of the Mughal School depict the two sitting face to face in a mode of conversation. Though the question answer format mainly revolves round religious subjects, yet they also include mysticism and pantheism. Some of the major topics are creator and the creation, human soul and divine soul, episodes of *Ramayana* and life of Lord Krishna, five elements comprising human body, five senses and physical pleasures, recitation of sacred formulae leading to heaven and rationale of idol worship, and problems associated with asceticism and liberation. Dara Shukoh, in his compilation of aphorisms of prominent saints named *Hasnat ul-Arifin*, has included the view of Baba Lal on various categories of spiritual leaders. His *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, completed in 1640, contained biographical accounts of a number of *sufis*.[[29]](#endnote-30)

He believed that the *Upanishads* were the ‘Hidden Books’ which contain the essence of unity and ‘they are secrets which have to be kept hidden’. He got the *Upnishads* translated into Persian and felt that he had discovered the fountain head of *tauhid* (divine unification). His translations contain a sufi view of the *Upanishads* and, far from being an attempt to synchronize a serious effort to create a bridge between Hindu and Muslim metaphysics. His translation of *Vedanta* into Persian is titled *Sirr-e-Akbar*, while his *Majama-al-Bahryan* (mingling of oceans) is an attempt to show the identity of the Muslim and Hindu doctrine of unity. In the preface to his *Majma al-Baharain*, he stated that he embarked on a quest for mystic truths of the Hindu *muwahids* (Unitarians) after discovering the subtle secrets of sufism.[[30]](#endnote-31) It is enough to read Dara Shukuh’s translation of any of the *Upanishads* to realize that he was not only translating words into Persian but also ideas into the framework of sufism.[[31]](#endnote-32)

Damodar Gulati, a Punjabi Hindu and contemporary of Shah Husain, composed *Qissa* of Hir, a Punjabi Muslim girl. Damodar compared Hir’s love for Ranjha with that of Radha’s for Krishna, and thus enkindled an aura of bhakti and the Krishna Radha cult. Krishna, *gawala* (cowherd), and Ranjha, *chak* (cowherd) as archetypes of spiritual eroticism had been emerging in the Punjabi poetry of the sixteenth century. During this time, Krishna and Ranjha had been also been merging together in the Punjabi cultural matrix.[[32]](#endnote-33)

**III**

Many of the medieval Indian sufis are known to have been fond of Indian poetry and Indian music. The songs of the Vaishnavas and sants, written in Hindi and other regional language, touched the hearts of the *sufis* more than Persian poetry did. Mystical songs in Hindawi were often recited at *sama*’ gatherings and many of the most talented musicians were newly-converted Muslims. The sufis regarded them as welcome addition to their devotional property to induce ecstasy.[[33]](#endnote-34) Lord Krishna became a prominent symbol in the *sufi* poetry. One of the disciplines of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325) used to compose Hindi verses in praise of Lord Krishna, which soon came to be sung in the streets of Delhi.[[34]](#endnote-35)

Shaikh Abdul Qudus Gangohi of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1456-1537), was moved by Hindawi verses which, among other things, referred sometimes to Krishna as the lord. In a long letter to another sufi he explained the subtleties of *tuhid* with reference to the verse: *gir parbat bich hamaro mit* (our friend dwells in the Giri hills). He used ‘Alakh’ as his Hindi *nom de plume*. Some of his own verses are quoted in the *Rushdnama*. He makes one of his *murshid* (disciple) the author of the idea that the letter *mim* links to One (*ahad*) with the Prophet (*Ahmad*) who is also called Muhammad. Some of the verses quoted by him may remind the readers of the *dohas* of Kabir: ‘There is one Lord in all who cannot be seen, he who does not bend his head to Him, his forehead will be broken’.[[35]](#endnote-36)

Shah Husain (1539-1599), was a popular sufi poet of Lahore. Shah Husain, uses nearly all those epithets for God which are used by Shaikh Farid, and some more: Har, Ram, Sawal, Prabhu, Thakur and Ranjha. These epithets come from Vaishnava bhakti and folklore.[[36]](#endnote-37) Shah Husain mentions Lord Krishna many times in his *kafis*. In one of his *kafis*, he mention that ‘*shalu mera unn da, koi sham brindavan sunidha, jana vikhde raah*’, means, my *shawl* is of wool, I have heard of the *sham* of Brindavan (Lord Krishna), the way to whom is herd. In another *kafi*, he feels to be blessed by and wedded with the Lord Krishna of Brindavan whom he calls, Sham, the Black One: ‘*sanwal di mein bandi bardi, sanwal mehda sai, kahe husain faqir nimana, sai sikhdi nu darsh dikhayi*’, means, ‘I am a slave of Krishna the dark, Krishna the dark is my master, says Husain, the humble *faqir*, reveal thyself to me, thirsting for thee, O, Lord’. Interestingly, *shayam* or *sham* in Sanskrit means ‘black’ (Krishna’s name being the generic designation of dark-skinned pre-Aryan), and in Persian it denotes ‘evening or dusk’.[[37]](#endnote-38)

Similarly, another Punjabi sufi poet of the eighteenth century Punjab (1680-1758), Bulleh Shah longs for his beloved in the image of Lord Krishna: ‘*Bulla shah ghar mere aiwe, haar singar mere man bhave, muh mukut mathe tilak lagawe, je wakhe taan bhaliya*’. Means ‘come beloved, with a *mukut* over your head, *tilak* on your forehead. If you were to look at me, only than I feel ecstatic’. Bulleh Shah invokes this motif in many of his *kafis*: ‘*eh jo murli kon bajai, mere dil nu chatek layi, aah nale bhardi aayi*’, means ‘the flute which the Lord (Krishna) has played, has inflicted a grievous wound on my heart’. Further he says: ‘*birndavan vich gauvan charave, macca da hazi ban jaawe, hun kis to aap lukanunda*’, means ‘now, from whom do you hide yourself?, in Brindavan you graze the cows, in Mecca you put on the garb of a pilgrim’. And ‘*bansi kahan achraj bajai*’ means ‘wondrous music does the Lord (Krishna) play on the flute’. Further, he writes that, ‘Mecca shall not end thy tale of woe, if thy mind be not purged of filth, going to Gaya shall not save thy soul, even by thou offering sacrificed feast’.[[38]](#endnote-39) Thus, Sham/Krishna and Brindavan became a recurring motif in Punjabi sufipoetry. Shaikh Abdul Razzaq, a Qadiri *sufi* of Uttar Pradesh, appreciated the performance of *ras* (dance-drama related to the events of Krishna’s life) in the early eighteenth century. He was thrown into ecstasy by the verses of Kabir.[[39]](#endnote-40) Mirza Hasan Ali composed hymns in honour of the goddess Kali besides *Kulliyat-i-Nazir* is a treatise on the greatness of Krishna.[[40]](#endnote-41)

**IV**

In retrospect, one can observe that in medieval India, the Bhakti movement drew both the Hindus and Muslims in its fold and sought to reconstruct the Indian society by synthesising Hinduism and Islam to ensure the communal goodwill and to create an environment of tolerance and co-operation. Many Vaishnvas and the bhakti sants through their philosophy and liberal, egalitarian and humanistic approach influenced many Muslims especially sufis towards them. Sufis and Muslim rulers translated many books of Hindu religion, *yoga* and literature into Arabic and Persian. Hindawi and Braj (Bhasa) language was adopted by the sufis. Lord Krishna and Brindavan became a symbol of love in the sufi tradition and poetry. Thus, Hindu religion in one way or the other influenced Muslims especially sufis in the medieval society. The Interaction between Hinduism and Islam led to a powerful spiritual atmosphere all over the country.

**Notes and References**

1. Sufism is a common term given to Islamic mysticism. These mystics accepted the prophet hood of Muhammad and the authority of Quran, but in course of time they observed a variety of ideas and practices. Sufi mysticism sprang from the doctrine of ‘Wahadat-ul-wajud’ or ‘the unity of being’. This doctrine means that God is unity behind all plurality and the reality behind all phenomenal appearances. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. Fatima Hussain, ‘Emergence of Sufi Silsilas in India’, Anup Taneja (ed.), *Sufi Cults and the Evolution of Medieval Indian Culture*, New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 2003, p. 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, PHISPIC, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 27. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. There was vehement opposition to these trends by the large body of the Brahmans, and by the writers on the Hindu *Dharmashahstras* who laid the greatest possible emphasize on maintenance of ceremonial purity against contamination by people considered unclean. This implied drawing into a shell in order to keep away from contact with the powerful Muslim community. Hence, they tried to regulate the lives of the Hindus by insisting on the fulfillment of the minute details of the caste system: Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Mughal Empire* (*1526-1748*), (Part II), New Delhi: Har Anand Publishers, 1999, p. 426. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Delhi Sultanat*:(*1206-1526*), (Part I), p. 253. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. Malka Muhammad, *The Foundations of the Composite Culture in India*, p. 246. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. Born and educated in Nadia, which was the centre of Vedantic rationalism, Chaitanya’s tenor of life life was changed when he visited Gaya at the age of 22 and as initiative into the Krishna cult by a recluse. Chaitnaya who under the influence of a *sanyasi* called Madhavendra Puri, broke away from his life as a householder and became a renouncer. He became a god-intoxicated devotes who incessantly uttered the name of Krishna: Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Delhi Sultanat*:(*1206-1526*), (Part I), p. 256. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury, *The Din-i-Ilahi or The Religion of Akbar*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997, p. 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. Radha Das, ‘Vaisnavism in Assam’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, p. 189. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. Dadu continued to work as a cotton-carder but began to accept food and other gifts for his disciples: J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, ‘Dadu and the Dadu-Panthis’, J.S. Grewal (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 444-46. Dadu is a Turkish word, which means brother or servant. According to tradition, he was adopted son of Lodi Brahman of Ahmadabad. Dadu was a disciple of Kabir, whose chief monastery, named Dadudwara, is in village Naraina in Jaipur state (Rajasthan). His followers are known as Dadu-panthis: Shahabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti Movement in Medieval India: Social and Political Perspectives*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2009, p. 189; *Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahankosh* (*Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature*), (Punjabi), ed. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Patiala: Punjab Languages Department, 2011 (first pub. 1930), p. 1590. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury, *The Din-i-Ilahi or The Religion of Akbar*, p. 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, ‘Dadu and the Dadu-Panthis’, J.S. Grewal (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 33 & 446. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Mughal Empire*,p. 428. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. The Ramananadi sect is said to have been founded by Swami Ramananda, a follower of Raghuwanand (the follower of Ramanuja) in the fourteenth century: Richard Burghart, ‘The Founding of the Ramanandi Sect’, David N. Lorenzen (ed.), *Religious Movements in South Asia 600-1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 227 & 231. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. Rameshwar Prasad Bahuguna, *Beyond Theological Diffeences: Sant-Vaishnava Interaction in Medieval India*, New Delhi: Indian Historical Review, 2009, p. 72. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Forgotten Makers of Panjab: Discovering Indigenous Paradigm of History*, Sardar Mahan Singh Dhesi Annual Lecture, Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, (21 March 2016), p. 10. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. He is claims to have entered into religious debates with Brahmans in the condition that the defeated person would embrace the faith of the victor, he asserts that his knowledge of Hindi works enabled him to beat the Brahmans but they did not honour the conditions: J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 343 & 347-48. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanat (AD 1206-1526)*, Vol. V (Part I),Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1996 (first pub. 1970), pp. 141-42 & 440-41. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, ‘Sufi Cults and the Making of a Pluralist Society’, Anup Taneja (ed.), *Sufi Cults and the Evolution of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 37. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. Ibid., p. 38. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. Anup Taneja (ed.), *Sufi Cults and the Evolution of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp. 7-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, p. 348. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. The Sunnis were generally tolerant of non-Sunnis in medieval India but not always. The Ismailis revolt in Delhi under the leadership of Nur Turk in the reign of Sultan Razia had to be suppressed through armed action. The sect remained strong and Barani denounces them as *mulahida* (non-believer) and *ibahati* (innovators). Many of them were executed in the reign of Firuz Tughluq and their books were burnt: The other Ism’ailis stream in Gujarat represented by the Nizari Khojas traces its origin to Nur Satgur or Nuruddin: Imtiaz Ahmad, ‘Ism’ailis, Mahadawis, and Raushanyas’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 20 & 301-02. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. Ibid., p. 307 [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 257. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. Malka Muhammad, *The Foundations of the Composite Culture in India*, Delhi: Aakar Books, 2007, pp. 273-75. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
27. Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 257. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
28. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury, *The Din-i-Ilahi or The Religion of* Akbar, p. 84. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
29. He served as the governor of Punjab during 1648-1658. He also took spiritual lessons from Sufi Miyan Mir: Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Forgotten Makers of Panjab: Discovering Indigenous Paradigm of History*, pp. 26-27. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, p. 346. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. Anup Taneja (ed.), *Sufi Cults and the Evolution of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp. 7-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
32. Qadiryar (1809-90), is said to have court poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh wrote *Qissa Puran Bhagat*: Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Forgotten Makers of Panjab: Discovering Indigenous Paradigm of History*, pp. 22-23 & 42. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
33. J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 347-48. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
34. Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanat (AD 1206-1526)*, Vol. V (Part I), pp. 440-41. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
35. J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, pp. 346-48. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
36. J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, p. 28. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
37. Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Forgotten Makers of Panjab: Discovering Indigenous Paradigm of History*, pp. 13-17. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
38. Ibid., pp. 4, 17-18, & 29. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
39. J.S. Grewal, ‘Sufism in medieval India’, J.S. Grewal, (ed.), *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, p. 346. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
40. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury, *The Din-i-Ilahi or The Religion of Akbar*, p. 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)