



## **Influence of West Asian Sufi Saints on the Muslims in Medieval Bengal**

Muhammad Ismail

### **Introduction**

The West Asian Sufi Saints and various Sufi Movements of Bengal exerted a great influence in the people's minds and in the society. Even if one is hesitant to accept the statement of Mir Ashraf Jahangir Simnani that "there is no town and no village where holy Sufis did not come and settle down"<sup>1</sup>, the names of Sufis and their account that have come down to us, either through traditions or literary and epigraphic sources establish the fact that their number was not too small to be by-passed. Sufis added another factor in the Muslim society with those of the ruling class and the Ulama. Because they established Khanqahs, gather disciples around them and imparted instructions on the life here and hereafter. Sufis of Bengal with their pious intention scattered throughout the country, extending from Chittagong and Sylhet (Bangladesh) in the east to Mangalkot (Burdwan district, West Bengal) in the west and from Bagerhat and Chhoto Panduah in the south (Malda district, West Bengal), to Kantaduar (Rangpur Bangladesh) in the north. Sufi movements, thus made a dreadful impact on Bengal.

**Influence of West Asian Sufis on Bengal may be grouped under the following heads:**

- 1. Influence of West Asian Sufis on the expansion of Muslim power.**
- 2. Influence of West Asian Sufis on the Muslim rulers of Bengal.**
- 3. Influence of West Asian Sufis on the growth of Muslim society of Bengal.**

**4. Influence of West Asian Sufi Saints on the Every-Day life of the Muslims in Medieval Bengal.**

**5. Influence of the West Asian Sufi Saints towards instructing theological education to the people of Bengal.**

**(i) Influence of West Asian Sufis on the expansion of the Muslim power:**

Local traditions and later writings record that some of the Sufis fought against the local non-Muslim Kings either on their own account or in collaboration with the Muslim rulers. The tomb is found in front of a mosque, at Rampal, in Munshiganj Subdivision, Dacca district, Bangladesh.<sup>2</sup> *Shah Sultan Mahiswar* came from Balkh and arrived at Hariram Nagar, and then he went to Mahasthan where he fought against king Parsurama and sister Sila Devi. The king was killed, while his sister drowned herself in the river Karatoya<sup>3</sup>. *Shah Sultan Balkhi* is lying buried at Mahasthan in Bogra district, Bangladesh. *Makhdum Shah Dawlah Shahid*, Who came from Yeman with the permission of his father Muaz bin Jabal accompanied by a large number of his followers, some of whom were his near relatives. On the way he met Jalalu'ddin Bukhari, who gave him two pigeons. Their ship continued eastward sail till at last it struck near Shahzadpur. The then the King, gave resistance to the settlement of these foreigners. *Makhdum Shah Dawlah*, including some of his followers lost their lives in the battle that followed. He is lying buried in Shahzadpur in the district of Pabna,<sup>4</sup> Bangladesh.

The clash between the incoming Muslims, be he a sufi or a layman and the local people who lived in this country from generation to generation can not be altogether ruled out. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Sufis required time to pacify or influence the local people by their peaceful pursuits, simplicity of life and devotion to Allah. The collaboration of some of the Sufis with the Sultans in the expansion of the Muslim power cannot be ruled out altogether,

because they thought that fighting for the cause of Islam was a Jihad (religious war), provided by the Islamic law. Hence, it is from this stand point that we should judge the collaboraton of Shaikh Jalal with the Shamsuddin Firoz Shah in the conquest of Sylhet or of Shah Ismail Ghazi with Sultan Ruknu'ddin Barbak Shah (1459-1474 C.E.) son of Nasiruddin Mahmud I (1473-1459 C.E.) in his wars against Kamrup and Orissa. These are very fine examples in which some Sufis themselves took to fighting for the cause of Islam, on the otherhand there are examples from Bengal which supply information of a reverse type; that is we have got real soldiers and conquerors treated as Sufis probably after their death and their tombs attaining the rank of Shrines or Dargas. Two important examples of this nature are the Shrine of Zafar Khan Ghazi<sup>5</sup> who conquered Triveni area in the time of Ruknu'ddin Kaykaus (C.E. 1291-1301) and the other is Khan Jahan of Bagerhat<sup>6</sup> in Khulna district who was an official and conqueror of this region in the time of Nasiru'ddin Mahmud Shah (C.E.1440-1459).

**(ii) Influence of West Asian Sufi Saints on the Muslim rulers of Bengal:-**

Sufis of Bengal also interfered in the internal politics of the country. It is true to say that in general the Sultans were respectful towards the Sufis, helped them in their preaching of Islam, built mosques, madrasahs and Khanqahs in their honour and even granted lands for their maintenance.

*Sufi Shaikh Alaul Haq* was looked upon with regard and esteem by Ilyas Shah who built a mosque in his honour.<sup>7</sup> In spite of generally respectful attitude of the Sultans to the Sufis, Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah turned Shaikh Alaul Haq out of Panduah and banished him to Sunargawn. Though Sikandar Shah's attitude to the Sufi was all along one of respect and veneration, he built a mosque in honour of Mawlana Ata,<sup>8</sup> he was in correspondence<sup>9</sup> with the celebrated sufi saint of Bihar Shaikh Sharfu'd Din Yahya Manerri. In view of

these facts we are of the opinion that there must have been strong reasons that led him to take such a step.

The Muslim Sultanate of Bengal passed through a critical period towards the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>10</sup> Taking advantage of the liberal policy of the Ilyas Shahi Sultans, Ganesa (Khans) gained ascendancy<sup>11</sup> and perpetrated oppression on the Muslims including the divines. This oppression led Shaikh Nur Qutb-i-Alam to invite Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur to invade Bengal and to save the Muslim kingdom there. He also wrote a letter to Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani requesting to utilize his good offices to urge upon Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi to come to the aid of the Muslims of Bengal. When Sultan Ibrahim reached Bengal and encamped in Firuzabad, Ganesa was terrified and submitted before the Sufi. As regards the conversion of Jalalu'd Din, the *Riyad and Mirat al Asrar* differ; according to the former<sup>12</sup> Ganesa took his twelve year old son Jadu to Shaikh, got him converted to Islam and renounced his sovereignty in favour of his son, but according to the later Jadu, finding it difficult to rule over the Muslims and embraced Islam. "Because of his lust for kingdom"<sup>13</sup> whatever might have been the case, there is no denying the fact that the conversion of Jalalu'ddin and the restoration of Muslim Sultanate in his person was due to Shaikh Nur-Qutb-i-Alam (R).

Shah Ismail Ghazi and Shah Jalal Dakini also have taken part in politics. Shah Ismail Ghazi was executed at the order of Sultan Ruknu'ddin Barbak Shah. According to *Risalat-al-Shuhada* the reason of his execution was as follows:- One Raja Bhandari Rai, as Hindu commander of Ghoraghat sent a false information to the Sultan that Ismail Ghazi had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Raja of Kamrup and intended to set up an independent Kingdom. The Sultan got alarmed and at once ordered for beheading the Sufi.<sup>14</sup>

Shah Jalal Dakini exerted great influence upon the people. The Sultan of Gaur became suspicious of his power and beheaded him.

The above discussion leads us to believe that whenever the Sufis thought the Sultan's action was going against the spirit and interest of Islam they played a crucial role to check their activities.

### **(iii) Influence of West Asian Sufi Saints on the growth of the Muslim Society:**

It is true to say that Khanqahs of the Sufis were open to all poor, destitute, mendicants and wanderers, who received food and shelter therein. A number of contemporary inscriptions substantiate this view. The dargahs of the Sufis were considered to be. "rest-giving building on earth", " where people attain their wishes,"<sup>15</sup> The way in which the inscription refer to some of the Sufis is noteworthy, Shaikh Alaul Haq has been referred to as, " the benevolent and revered Sufi, whose actions of virtue are attractive and sublime inspired by Allah, may be illuminate his heart with light of divine perception and faith, he is the guide to the religion of the glorious.<sup>16</sup> Shaikh Nur-Qutb-i-Alam has been referred to as (a) " Hazrat Shaikh al Islam, crown of nation, full Moon among the Sufis, who have been united with Allah. (b) "Hazrat Sultan al Arefin (Sultan of Sufis), (c) "Qqutb al Aqtab" (Pole of Poles). (iv) "Our revered master, the teacher of Imams the proof of the congregation, the sun of the faith, the testimony of Islam and the Muslims who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent the guide of Sufis and such as wish to be guided." According to another inscription, "Jalalu'ddin Shah (Tabrizi) was the accepted of Allah, angelic in disposition and king of religion and of the world".<sup>17</sup>

The biographical sketch of the Sufis reveals that, people thought that Sufis endowed with superhuman powers like giving relief to the poor, sick and destitutes, being present in several places at a time, they were inspired by Allah,

their hearts were illuminated by the divine perception and they were the mine of truth. And all these were inspite of the fact that they led the life of simplicity and austerity. They did not hesitate to perform humble works even to work as sweeper at the bidding of their teacher. Makhdum Shaikh Jalalu'ddin Tabrizi used to follow his teacher with a heated stove on his head and a cooking pot thereon, so that he could provide his master with hot food on demand.<sup>18</sup> Shaikh Alaul Haq used to accompany his teacher Shaikh Akhi Siraju'ddin Uthman with a hot stove on his head, the cooking pot there on, so that he became bald. <sup>19</sup>

We may now conclude that, a large number of Sufis made Bengal the cradle-home of their life. They were renowned for their simplicity of life, strength of character, devotion to faith and peaceful pursuits. Their Khanqahs were rest-giving refuge, their alms-houses were open to all, poor, destitutes, wanders and mendicants. They were regarded as having been endowed with super-human powers. Naturally, the people were attracted and enhanced towards them and it is in this way that they won over the mass of the Bengali people to Islam. We know from Sekh Subhodaya (edited by sukumar Sen, Calcutta, 1927, Chapter III) that many people attached themselves to Shaikh Jalalu'ddin Tabrizi. The Shaikh restored to life a dying man whose wife was named Madhavi. Both wife and husband became his slaves.<sup>20</sup> It is also said that four servants of a certain minister of King Lakhshman Sena were Jealous of the growing popularity of the Shaikh. They one day conspired together to test the superhuman power of the Shaikh. They feigned to be blind went to Shaikh and asked him to cure them. The Shaikh listened to them carefully and asked them to see him other day. While coming out, the servants found to their horror that they became actually blind. They immediately surrendered to the Shaikh and implored for pardon. The Shaikh became pleased and cured them. Since then, they with their wives became servants of the Sufi.<sup>21</sup> The said Sufi influenced the people so much that, "all the people think only of the Shaikh. They consider him

kind. According to Ibn Battutah. The king (Lakshman Sena) also does not remember anybody else except the king. Hindus and Muslims of the area used to bring gifts.<sup>22</sup> The conversion to Islam actually began during the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji. Who converted certain Mech chief and gave him the name of Ali.<sup>23</sup> Beside the general references by traditions, we have some undoubted evidences to show that the Sufis converted non-Muslims to Islam. In the reign of Sultan Ali Mardan Khalji , Qadi Rukhn al din Smarqandi converted one Bhojar. Brahmin the Yogi.<sup>24</sup> Shaikh Nur-Qutb-i-Alam converted the young king Jadu to Islam and named (Sultan Jalalu'ddin Muhammad Shah).<sup>25</sup>

Another important factor of influence of the Sufis on the growth of the Muslim society in Bengal is the fact that most of their dargahs in Bengal are found on the top of the older sacred buildings. Shah Sultan Mahiswar's Dargah at Mahastan in Bogra district stands on the top of a saiva temple.<sup>26</sup> At the famous Buddhist monastery at Paharpur in Rajshahi district stands Satyapir Bhita and on actual excavation Muslim relics were found there.<sup>27</sup> The Khanqah of Shaikh Shah Jalal at Sylhet is placed prominently on an ancient mound.

If we bear in our mind the attachment of the local people (Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists all alike) to the sacred places of old, it is not difficult to realize that after the defeat of the Sadhus and their conversion to Islam their habitat was occupied by the Sufis and turned into Dargahs. The people had blind faith on Sadhus. Naturally when these Sadhus were converted by the Muslim Sufis, who occupied the old places, the devotion of the masses to these places did not diminish. On the other hand the miracles and the piety of the new Sufis worked more in their imagination leading ultimately to mass conversion of the local populace. They became Muslim in name retaining all their local beliefs and customs. They learnt the rudiments of Islam by attaching themselves to the new Sufis, but did not discard their own language and their particular ways of

life. As a result local elements have mixed up with Islam in Bengal. In this Islam the Dargahs quite naturally have played, and are playing today the most important part. So, they are the nerve centres of the Bengali Muslim society. They have all the three, religious, educational and sociological significance. Hence they (Sufis) and their Dargahs or Khanqahs deeply affected the growth of the Muslim society in Bengal. An important factor in Bengali's history is the preponderance of Muslim population. North India, the place under imperial domination for centuries, Islam was confined into urban centres, in the deltaic Bengal, it captured the rural society. One reason for this position may be the missionary activities of the Sufis.

### **Influence of West Asian Sufi Saints on the Every Day Life of Muslims in Medieval Bengal**

Sufi Saints of West Asia were also bound to influence the Muslim and non-Muslim Society of Bengal in many ways. They brought about a great transformation in the lives of the people of Bengal, both the Muslims and non-Muslims. The immigrants spoke their own mother tongue-Arabic, Persian or Turkish as the case might be, while the language of the local Muslims (converts) was, Bangla. No official document of the time except inscriptions and coins have come to light. The coins were issued in Arabic<sup>28</sup> while the inscriptions were written both in Arabic and Persian, the majority being in Arabic. Only one inscription so far has been discovered in Sanskrit.<sup>29</sup> The official titles used in inscriptions such as *Mir-i-Bahr Shiqdar*, *Sar-i-Lashkar*, *Jamadar-i-Ghayr-i-Mahali*, *Sharabdar-i-Ghayr* are all Persian. The official language was Persian, while they adopted Arabic in all religious matters. This is evidenced in the fact that Sultan Rukn-al-Din Barbak Shah appointed one Zaynu'ddin Harwi as his poet laureate.

The Chinese account, compiled by Ma-Huan between C.E. 1425-1432 says that "the language in universal use in Pang-kie-li (Bengali: there are also those who speak in Pa-enl-si (Farsi – Persian)". The Chinese mission came to

visit the royal court and the account shows that it deals with the description of the court that with the general condition of the country. In spite of this when the Chinese account says that the language in universal use was Bangla it may logically be assumed that not only the local people spoke Bangla but also some of the immigrants settled in the country for a long time and had long association with the local people. The first Muslim immigration must have begun with the foundation of the Lakhnawi (Gaur) Kingdom by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji and the Muslim settlement also began from his time. Apart from the ruling dynasties, the most important example of such settlement of the family in Bengal is of his son, Shaykh 'Ala'ul-Haqq, who received the epithet Bengali with his name.<sup>30</sup> They had established social contact with the 'local people. They also established some sort of a relationship with the village people which they considered to be rather genuine than only matrimonial. Thirdly, in contact with the people in general and with their colleagues, many of whom were recruited from the children of the soil.

While the immigrants learnt the local language, the local Muslims and non-Muslims, at least some of them, must have learnt the official languages, Arabic and Persian as well.

The Persianisation of the administration gradually ushered in an era of cultural conquest.<sup>31</sup> The Muslims were engaged in various kinds of professions, like state service, trade and commerce, artisanship, agriculture and medical profession.

Mukunda Rama refers to the categories of people/castes among them considering their occupation like those of Tirakar, Kagcha, Qaladar, Hajjam, Darzi.<sup>32</sup> Ibrahim Qawwam Faruqi says that one Amir Shahabu'ddin Kirmani was the *Iftakhar al Hukama* (the pride of the physicians).

The Sufi (Islamic) influence on dwelling houses, food, dress, position of women may be obtained from the following sources. The Vaishnava literature refers to the garden in front of the house of the Qadi of Nadiya, destroyed by Chaitanya's followers.<sup>33</sup> According to Durate Barbosa, 'they bath often in great tanks which they have in their houses.'<sup>34</sup>

According to Abu'l Fadl 'their houses are made of bamboos, some of which are so constructed that the cost of a single one will be five thousand rupees or more and they last a long time.'<sup>35</sup> The Chinese account is found in the praise of the royal palace, built of bricks, ornamented with flower representation and animal figures, having flat roofs, supported by pillars and having flight of steps. The halls were white-washed inside. The doors were made of triple thickness and of nine panels. There were verandahs on each side of the audience halls.<sup>36</sup> Poet Krittivasa reached the King's court after crossing nine halls.<sup>37</sup> Sultan Ghiyath al-Din A'zam Shah could not have access to the kind. He began to recite the *adhan* (call to prayer) and thus drew the attention of the Sultan.<sup>38</sup> The dwelling houses built of bamboos at the present time are not flat-roofed; they are slopping from a central ridge so that the rain water can immediately flow down and not spoil the roof. Such domical roofs are found in the mosques<sup>39</sup> of the time like Khan Jahan's mosque at Bagerhat and Chhota Sona Masjid at Gaur. The testimony of Barbosa that the Muslims had tanks of their own is significant. At present, in some districts<sup>40</sup> at least there is hardly a family which does not have its own tank.

The immigrants and converted Muslims mixed together in social system where both the foreign and the local elements were accommodated. The immigrants, who came from the deserted lands, had to adopt themselves to the peculiar geography and the climatic condition of Bengal. Thus in dwelling

houses, food and dress, they had to consider the questions of suitability and availability. These features were, therefore, common to both immigrants and converts, varying however, according to the means of subsistence. Their diet included beef<sup>41</sup> mutton<sup>42</sup>, fowl<sup>43</sup> and duck<sup>44</sup> prepared with spices.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the local people who were converted to Islam must have retained the practice of taking fish and vegetables. Besides diet, the following account of the dress of the immigrants and converted Muslims available from the sources:

- (a) According to Sekh Subhoday<sup>46</sup> (Shaikh Subhodaya), the Shaikh (Jalal Tabrizi) came to Bengal in Black attire, with turban on head and a bowl and 'asa' (stick) in hand.
- (b) Krishna Dasa Kaviraja refers to a certain Turk called a Pir in black attire.<sup>47</sup>
- (c) Vijaya Gupta<sup>48</sup>, refers to a certain Maulana who kept beard and put on turban on head and ljar (trouser) tied down the waist.
- (d) The Chinese Account of Sing Cha Sheng lan, compiled by Fei-Sin in C.E. 1436<sup>49</sup> has it in these words.

The men wear a white cotton turban and long white cotton shirt. On their feet they wear low sheep-skin shoes with gold thread. The smarter ones think it a correct thing to have designs on them... The women wear a shirt, wrap round them a piece of cotton, silk or brocade. They do not use cosmetics, for they have naturally a white complexion; in their ears they wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. Around their necks they hang pendants and they do up their hair in knot behind. On their wrists and ankles are gold bracelets and on their fingers and toes rings.

The passage quoted above shows that the dress for the Muslim men included turban on head, long shirt or gown with collar, *ijar* (trouser) or sash on the lower part of their body. They cut off their hair and kept beard. The dress of the females included a short shirt on the upper part of the body, a piece of cloth like the Sari of the present day to wrap the body. They used various kinds of ornaments like ear-rings of precious stones, hung pendants found their neck, used gold bracelets on their wrists and ankles and used rings on fingers and toes. They tied their hairs in knot and did not use cosmetics. The Muslim divines of Bengal used black attire but it seems to have been a picture of the Muslim nobles and aristocratic class. For example the *ijar* or the trouser and the shoes and slippers could not have been used by all the people.

Muslim Women observed *purdah* and did not come out of their houses at day time, in the words of Barbosa 'they kept them carefully shut up'. But they were treated well by their husbands who gave them great store of gold, silver and apparel of fine silk. Unlike Hindu women, the Muslim women observed *purdah* and could not have gone out for having their bath in the rivers. The widow-remarriage was prevalent. According to Barbosa, 'every one has three or four wives, according to the general Islamic law. According to the Chinese account their marriages and burials were both guided by the Islamic Shariah.

As for the economic life, the immigrants looked more to the state service, rather than to commerce and agriculture, though the examples of their adoption of these latter professions are not altogether absent. The local converts, no doubt, preferred the state services but they were engaged primarily in their old profession. Be that as it may, as no stigma was attached to the converts, there was no bar on their coming to the same level with the immigrants. All these and specially a change from Hindu Bengali way of life to Islamic system and culture were mostly due to the influence of West Asian Sufis who were the torch bearers of Islam and Islamic life in Bengal especially in its early process.

**(V) Influence of West Asian Sufis towards imparting theological education on the Muslims of Bengal:**

West Asian Sufi Saints of Bengal played a vital role towards imparting theological education to the converted Muslims in Bengal. Early West Asian Sufi Saints and sometimes from North India had established Khanqahs in Bengal. Along with the Khanqahs sometime they also founded Madrasahs along with the adjacent mosques. Bhojar Brahmin the Yogi, who mastered himself in Islamic sciences<sup>50</sup> under the guidance of Qadi Ruknu'ddin Samarqandi.

Maulana Taqiu'ddin and Maulana Sharfu'ddin also maintained academics and instructed religious and general education there. Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam constructed a Madrasah for educating the people of Bengal. In praise of Sultan Alau'uddin Husain Shah, Stewart writes as follows:- Among the numerous instances of his piety, settled a grant of lands for the support of the tomb, college, and hospital of the celebrated Sufi Saint Qutb i Alam, which are continued to this day: and every year made a pilgrimage on foot, from Ikadala to Punduah, to visit the holy shrine of that saint.<sup>51</sup>

Bengali Sufis attracted Muslim divines from other parts of the country. Shaikh Yahya, father of Makhdum of Mulk Shaikh Sharfu'ddin Yahya Maneri studied under his teacher Maulana Taqiu'ddin in Mahisun (Mahi-Santosh) now in the Rajshahi district of Banglaesh.<sup>52</sup> Makhdum al Mulk him himself studied under Maulana Sharfu'ddin Abu-Tawwamah in Sunargawn.<sup>53</sup> Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and Shaikh Husayn Dhukharpush studied under Shaikh Alaul Haq<sup>54</sup> in Panduah, Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri, Shaikh Kaka under Shaikh Nur Qutb-i- Alam in Panduah.

From the above it appeared that Sufis of Bengal tried their best to educate the people of Bengal and also other parts of the country.

Muslim Sufis and scholars of West Asia also wrote books on various aspects of Islam. Very few of the original writings have come down to us. The following have been traced, 1) translation of a Yogic work from Sanskrit into Persian and Arabic, 2) a book on Tasawwuf, 3) a book on fiqh 4) a book of romance of religious nature in Bengal, 5) a Persian lexicon, 6) a book on Hadith 7) and a book on archery, Qadi Ruknu'ddin al Samarqandi translated a Sanskrit work named '*Amrit Kund*' and Yogic system, first into Persian and then into Arabic.

Shaikh Sharfu'ddin Abu Tawwamah wrote a book named *Maqamat*, a book on Tasawwuf. Shah Muhammad Shaghir composed *Yusuf Zulaykha* in Bengali in the reign of Sultan Ghiyasu'ddin Azam Shah; Ibrahim Qawwam Faruqi wrote a Persian lexicon named *Franagi Ibrhahimi* or Sharfu'ddin, because it was dedicated to Sharfu'ddin Yahya Maneri. The book was written during the reign of Sultan Ruknu'ddin Barbak Shah. Muhammad Yazdan Bakhsh as Khwajagi Shirwani was a Muhaddith (Scholar on the tradition of the Prophet (PBUH)) and transcribed in Ikdala, the capital of Alau'ddin Husain Shah, three volumes of *Sahih al Bukhari*<sup>55</sup> Muhammad Budasi Urf Sayyid Mir Alwi, wrote a book '*Hidayat al Rumi*'<sup>56</sup> is a book on archery containing twenty seven chapters. The book is dedicated to Sultan Alau'ddin Husain Shah.

It appears that West Asian Sufi Saints of Bengal made a tremendous impact on the Muslims in Medieval Bengal. Islam which completely changed the Socio-religious pattern of Bengal came in the wake of Turkish conquest towards the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This was the formative period of the spread of Islam and Muslim Society in Bengal.

### Notes and References

1. Quoted in Bengal: Past and present, 1948, p.36.
2. For the traditioin of Baba Adam Shahid, See, J.A.S.B. 1989, PP.12 ff.
3. Enamul Haq: *Bange Sufi Prabhava*, Calcutta C.E. 1935, PP. 140-41. It is said that Shah Sultan Balkhi was the son of a certain King of Balkh. He occupied the throne after the death of his father, but he left home being disgusted of luxurious life. He became a disciple of Shaikh Taufiq of Damascus, who ordered him to preach Islam in Bengal. Also see for tradition on this saint, J.A.S.B. 1875. Part.1 No.2, PP. 183-186.
4. For tradition on this saint, see, J.A.S.B. 1904, Part, 1, No.3, PP.262-271: Bengal District Gazeteers:Pabna,1923,PP.121-126.
5. History of Bengal, Vol.11, PP. 75 ff.
6. J.A.S.B. 1867, P. 135.
7. For inscription see, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1939-40 PP.7-9, Plate (a), Muslim Inscription of Bengal, P.10.
8. J.A.S.B. 1872, PP. 104-5.
9. Abdur Rahman Chishti: *Mirat al Asrar*, "Aliyah Madrasah Ms. Calcutta, Folio No.184; *Riyad al Salatin* by Ghulam Husayn Salim, 1898, PP. 110-116: Bayaz of Mulla Taqqa, quoted in Bengal: Past and Present, 1948, P.36, Note 31, Maktubat-i-Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, quoted in Bengal: past and present, 1948.
10. Dr. A.H. Dani has tried to prove that Ganesa or Kans did not crown himself King (See, J.A.S.B.) Vol. XXIII, No.2, 1952. 121-170).
11. *Riyad al Salatin* by Ghulam Husayn Salim (Bibliotheca Indica, C.F. 1898) P. 113.
12. Abdur Rahman Chishti, *Mirat al Asrar*, Aliya Madrasah Ms. Folio No.184.

13. J.A.S.B. 1874, PP. 215 ff.
14. Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, by 'Abid Ali Khan, Stapleton, Calcutta, C.E. 1931, P. 104.
15. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, p.9.
16. *Memoirs, op.cit.*, P.104.
17. *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, P.44.
18. Ibid. P.143.
19. Ibid. Chapter - IV.
20. Ibid. Chapter – IV, P.24.
21. Ibid.
22. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. 1, Part, I, P.47.
23. Abdur Rahman Chishti: *Mirat al Asrar*, "Aliyah Madrasah Ms. Folio No.148.
24. Prabhas Chandra Sen: Varendra Research Society Monograph, No.2 (Mahasthan and its environs) Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, August 1921, P. 4.
25. K.N. Dikshit: *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, Delhi, C.E. 1938, P.80.
26. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol.I, Part, 1, January, 1953, P.47.
27. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1903, P.129.
28. *Vishva Bharti Anals*, 1945, Vol.1, p.117
29. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Dehlawi, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, Delhi, A.H. 1332/1914), p. 143.

30. *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Adi, 17<sup>th</sup>: Krishna Dasa Kaviraja records the following dialogue between the Qadi of Nadiya and Chaitanya Deva: “ The Lord Chaitanya says, ‘ I am a guest to you; how is that you kept yourself concealed at my approach.’ The Qadi says; ‘ You came indignant, so I kept myself concealed to make you cool. Now that your anger has subsided I have come to meet you. It is my good fortune that I have got a guest like you. According to the village relationship, Chakravarty (Nilambar, Chakravarty, maternal-grand father, so you are my nephew. The maternal uncle tolerates the anger of the nephew, while the nephew does not take into account the faults of the uncle.
31. For appointment of Hindu Officers under Husain Shah, See History of Bengal. Article by Qanungo, K.R. Ch., Vol. II, pp.151.
32. *Kavikakan Chandi*, (Bangabasi Karyalaya, Calcutta), p.86.
33. Krishna Dasa Kaviraja: *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Adi, 17<sup>th</sup>.
34. Duarate Barbosa, Vol. II translated into English by Mansel Longworth Dames, p. 147.
35. Abu'l Fadl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p.134.
36. *Visva-Bharti Annals*, Vol. I, 1945, pp. 96-134.
37. Quoted by Sukumar Sen in *Bangla Sahityer Itihasa* (Calcutta, 1940), p.84.
38. Ghulam Husain Salim, *Riyad al-Salatin*, Trans. Abdus Salam, pp.106-7.
39. As in the case of Baba Adam Shahid’s Mosque at Rampal in the District of Dacca, It was built by one Malik Kafur in the reign of Sultan Jalal al-Din Fath Shah. For inscription see. J.A.S.B. 1873, pp. 282-83.
40. As in eastern districts of Bengal.
41. *Visva-Bharti Annals*, Vol. 1945, p.127.

42. Ibid, Kavikankan Chandi, op.cit., P.86
43. Vijay Gupta: *Padma Purana*, edited by B.K. Bhattacharjee, (Bani Niketan, Barisal), p.54.
44. *Dhampuja Vidhana*, edited by Nani Gopal Bandopadhyaya (*Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, Calcutta), B.S. 1323, p. 221.
45. Ibid.
46. Sekh Subhodaya, ed. *Sukumar Sen* (Calcutta, 1927), p.8.
47. *Chaitanya Charitmarita* (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta), pp.227-29.
48. Vijaya Gupta: *Padma Purana*, ed. *Basanta Kumar Bhattacharjee*, (Baniniketan Barisal), PP. 54-55, 61-62.
49. *Visva-Bharti Annals*, Vol. 1945, p. 122.
50. Shah Shuyab: *Manaqib al Asfiya*, at the end of Maktubat-i- Sadi, P.339.
51. Shah Shuyab: *Manaqib al Asfiya*, at the end of Maktubat Sadi, P.339-40.
52. Ibid.
53. *Akbar al Akhyar*, p.56.
54. *Sharfinamah*, Aliyah Madrasah Ms. Folio No.2-3.
  
55. Catalogue of the Arabic Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore, Vol. V, Part I Nos. 130-32.
56. Charles Riew : Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, C.E. 1881, Vol.II, P. 489,No. Add. 26.306.