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Disparate Sufism: The Making of Distinct Mystic Spaces in Coastal South India

Introduction

This paper tries to locate the nature of Sufi hospices in the context of Kayalpattanam, a pre-modern coastal town of South India. Unlike in the North and Deccan regions of India, the coastal Muslim town of Kayalpattnam housed Sufis and their institutions under the political patronage of native rulers with regional sway. Inscriptions identified from Kayalpattnam region and spatial analysis of monuments like *Jami*, *Palli*, *Dargah* and *Thayka* form the basis of this paper. Sufi settlements in the North and Deccan regions of India took form through the establishment of hospices (*Khanqah*, *Jama'tKhana*, *Ribat* and *Zawiya*) by a Sufi or a group of Sufis who travelled from the Persianateⁱ regions from the beginning of the twelfth century AD. By the fourteenth century this Persianate territory extended to southern parts of India through the expansion of the Sultanates of Delhi and this political movement paved the way for the formation of Sufi spaces in the Deccan region. From the period of Tughlaqs, Sufi migration into Deccan intensified and new Sufi landscapes emerged under the Mughals which continued during the period of independent Sultanates of Deccan. However, on the Coromandel Coast the pattern of Sufi settlement is distinctive as compared to those in the Persianate territories even while some likeness can be ascribed.

It had been a general assumption for long that coastal regions of South India had not experienced a strong Sufi presence similar to North and Deccan regionsⁱⁱ. Current research and emerging ethnographic data, however, reveal the presence of numerous Sufi shrines throughout

Malabar and Coromandel regionsⁱⁱⁱ. This paper tries to put forward three important arguments regarding Sufi institutions in South India. Firstly, Sufi hospices and institutions in the coastal regions of South India are dissimilar from those of the Persianate region. Secondly, architecture, planning and ritual practices that obtained here project numerous regional specificities. Thirdly, the direct absence of the political patronage of the Persianate court impacted upon the organization of these institutions and their daily practices.

Muslim Settlements in Kayalpattanam

The present town of Kayalpattanam located eleven kilometers north of Tiruchendur in modern Tamil Nadu has ninety four percentage of Muslim population, the rest being Christian and Hindu as per the recent reports. The travel account of Marco Polo

describes *Qail* (assumed to signify the present town)^{iv} as a noble city, prosperous with trade in horses and pearls. He mentions the cosmopolitan nature of merchant communities who resided in this port town^v. Inscriptions from late thirteenth century onwards refer to the Muslim heritage in this city^{vi}. Scholars differ in confirming the exact location of the old Kayal port which has been mentioned by early travelers and geographers including Ptolemy^{vii}, Abdullah Wassaf (1293 CE)^{viii}, Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Ludovico di Varthema and Duarte Barbosa. Mehrdad Shokoohy, architect and specialist in Urban Studies rightly argued that “in the light of the historical remains of Kayalpattanam, together with other evidence such as the site of Qail in the old maps, as well as the survival of the name, also recorded in a local inscription, and various reports of the historians and travelers regarding the port since the 13th century with no mention of a change in the site, little doubt remains that Kayalpattanam must be the old Muslim town of Qail”^{ix}. It could be inferred that the early Muslim settlements in this region were established by the period of eleventh or twelfth centuries. Muslim population identifiable to Persians¹, Arabs as well as an indigenous mixed strain could be located here as is evident from the inscriptions identified from the Muslim cemetery of Kayalpattanam^x. Trade contacts with West Asian regions, migration from northern parts of India and intermarriages with local women must have enabled a rapidly rising Muslim population in this city. This cosmopolitan Muslim merchant networks brought Sufis into this coastal region through sea routes. By the period of twelfth century onwards Sufis were migrated to different regions of Indian Ocean especially due to the political tensions faced in West Asia. As a result of this merchants accompanied the Sufis into their new homelands.

Sufi Movements to South India

Two major factors that led to the migration of Sufis into South India were trade pursuits and the movement of soldiers in battle^{xi}. Coastal regions including Coromandel and Malabar witnessed the movement of Sufis from major trans-Oceanic regions including Khurassan, Western Iran, Turkey, Egypt, East Africa, Oman, Yemen, Gujarat and South East Asian regions through the established trade networks^{xii}. An inscription from eleventh century identified from Valapattanam of Kannur region in Malabar indicates the early presence of Sufis in the port town^{xiii}. At the same time the movement of Sufis from Central Asia and Northern parts of India towards the south was made possible through political subjugation of

¹This Persian Muslims are merchants who were come through Sea routes and they are part of these cosmopolitan trading communities. They were not represented and influence these regions through Persianate court culture.

the region. This process began from the period of the Delhi Sultans under the Khalji rulers (1296-1311CE) and extended under the Tughlaks especially Muhammad IbnTughluq (1325-1351 CE)^{xiv}. Ali Jiwar (d.1334 CE), Siraj al-Din Junaidi (d.1369 CE) and Ain al-Din (d.1393CE) were the early migrant Sufis from Northern Indian regions who settled in Deccan region^{xv}. On the Coromandel Coast the influence and penetration of Sufis were already noticeable by this time and it is believed that Sufis played a vital role in the process of Islamization in different parts of Tamil Nadu including Madurai, Nagore, Kilakarai, Erwadi and Kayalpattanam^{xvi}.

Establishment of Sufi Hospices

A Sufi hospice is primarily a space for spiritual training of Sufis under a single^{xvii} Sheikh / spiritual mentor which also used for temporary residence. Establishment of a Sufi hospice in a particular location signified the spiritual, political and economic interests that worked in its favoring the region. Unlike the orthodox space of a *Jami*, where the office of the Qadi exist, religious law maintained, Khutba (Friday prayer) recited over the name of Sultan and reserved only for men for prayer. A Sufi hospice was loosely organized and attracted various classes from society irrespective of religion and gender. There were diverse kinds of Sufi hospices reported from different parts of the world. Generally the terms, *Ribat*, *Khanqah* and *Zawiyawere* employed to denote Sufi hospices but each of these vary in accordance with its features.

By the period of twelfth century onwards Sufi *Tariqas* were organized under one master with a set of rules laid out for mystical life. The difference between these institutions mentioned seems to be that the *Ribat* was an Arab type of hostel or training centre, the *Khanqah* was the Persian / Turkish hostel type introduced into the cities of the Arab world; *Zawiya* was the term applied to smaller establishments where one Sheikh dwelt with his pupils. The *Khalwa* represented the 'retreat' of a single *dervish*^{xviii}, frequently a cell situated around a mosque square. A more isolated hermitage was sometimes called *Rabita*^{xix}. There were seven convents for women Sufis in Aleppo alone; all founded between 1150 CE and 1250 CE. Baghdad also had many, of which the *Ribat* of Fatima Raziya (d. 1127 CE) was the best known. The fifteenth century Mamulk Sultanate funded *Khanqahs* in Syria and Egypt^{xx}. A *Khanqah* literally means house for prayer^{xxi} which was familiar in the Sufi discourse as training centres for Sufis under a spiritual mentor. In the medieval North Indian context, *Khanqahs* were large buildings with the facility to accommodate Sufi aspirants,

travelers and guests. In some Sufi settlements a *Jama'tKhana* which is a large hall where disciples live a community life has been identified. The hospice of Nizamuddin Awliya in Delhi comprises a *Jama'tKhana* and similar structures are found in other Chishti hospices in Delhi^{xxii}. Political patronage of Sufi *Tariqas* brought huge wealth into their hospices. The Suhrawardi *Khanqah* in Delhi had a separate treasury filled with gold coins^{xxiii}. The fourteenth century traveler Shihab al-Din al-Umari reported that, "in Delhi and its surroundings are *Khanqahs* and hospices numbering two thousand"^{xxiv}. At the same time some Sufis established mud houses as their *Khanqahs*; for example Sheikh Hamid al-Din al-Sufi, one of the disciples of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, founded his hospice in a rural area of Rajputana. His hospice was a mud house where he accommodated his disciples from among the local people^{xxv}.

The period between eighth century and twelfth century A D saw the transition of Sufism from 'wool wearers' to people who propound a systematic body of knowledge with accompanying literature as well as institutional traditions. This was a passage from wandering ascetics to leaders of established institutions. The widespread establishment of Sufi hospices is noticed especially after the political disintegration of Baghdad (13th c). It was also from the same period that Sufi philosophers paid increased attention to advancing concepts like spiritual territory / *wilayat* and spiritual jurisdiction. The establishment of new Sufi hospices in a particular geographical location was connected to the idea of *wilayat*, according to which each Sufi was assigned a distinct locale where he exercised his spiritual authority. This dominion was assigned by the council of Sufis who were responsible for the spiritual protection of their landscapes. These imagined spiritual territories and their instituted authority were established through the foundation of Sufi hospices by the Sufi *Tariqas*. This practice was largely noticed from the pre-modern times under the Sultanates of Delhi.

The fundamental purpose of a *Khanqah* (any hospice) was to ensure spiritual training for the disciples and to give necessary instructions for spiritual journey. Each Sufi *Tariqa* organized its hospice to fulfill this basic purpose as per the command of its Sheikh / spiritual mentor. Along with this, Sufi hospices provided shelter for the Sufi aspirants, created a space for intermingling with different personalities and an opportunity for self-reflection to engage with their ego-centric minds^{xxvi}. In pre-modern times Sufi hospices accommodated Sufi aspirants, travelers and the general public. They provided better hospitality and served food for their guests and for this purpose most of the

Khanqahs maintained a separate kitchen in the building. These hospices followed a certain code of conduct and rules in their manners and customs^{xxvii}.

In North India from the period of the Delhi Sultanate onwards the Sufi hospices followed the instructions of a Persian text *Misbah al-Hidaya*, a translation of the Arabic text *Awarif al-Ma'arif* of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi^{xxviii}. This text gives a systematic classification of the residents in *Khanqahs* and specified the rules and customs they needed to follow. Every single action of the residents including their way of talk, dress code, walking style, conversation with Sheikhs and eating habits, etc were regulated according to this guide book. This method was popular in Northern Indian *Khanqahs* during the medieval period which was adapted to the Deccan region too.

Nature of Sufi Hospices in Kayalpattnam

The Sufi settlements in Kayalpattnam region trace back to the early twelfth or thirteenth century^{xxix}. It is evident from the inscriptions and locations of the shrines that the Sufi settlements were established through *Pallis*, *Thaykas* and *Darghas*. Most of the Sufis were settled in separate locations rather than along the typical Islamic institutions such as *Jamis*. They founded private hospices and engaged in spiritual activities and eventually their shrines (*Tarkha* in Tamil)^{xxx} were transformed into centers of *ziyara* / pilgrimage and veneration. These forms of venerated shrines can be identified from regions which are considered as the primary centres for Sufi settlements. From present Kayalpattnam city around thirty two pre-modern historical monuments including *Pallis* and Sufi shrines have been identified^{xxxi}. These monuments reveal the pattern of Sufi settlement on the Coromandel Coast.

Jami

The mosques in this region are recorded in inscriptions, texts and oral tradition as *Jami* and *Palli*. These two terms in use in the Kayalpattanam region denote the place of Muslim worship. At the same time both these words have different meanings in their practical dimension. The *Jamis* representing a typical Islamic structure embody an official version of orthodox Islam where in the *Khutba* / Friday prayer was conducted and the office of the *Qadi*/ religious judge was accommodated. In pre-modern times the *Qadis* had the authority to judge and punish crimes committed by the Muslim population in many of the

Indian Ocean regions including the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts. The Friday prayer was read in the name of any of the Muslim rulers who provided political patronage to the trading communities of the particular location. This characteristic is largely observed among the Coastal Muslim communities across the Indian Ocean regions including Malabar, Gujarat, Java and Ceylon in the pre-modern period^{xxxii}. In this sense the *Jami* institution and a Sufi shrine function differently which was also reflected in the spatial features of the Sufi settlements on the Coromandel Coast. The *Jami* settlement and Sufi settlement in this region are identified from separate spaces rather than congregating at the same location.

Around fourteen *Pallis* were identified from the Kayalpattnam town including two *Jamis* (See Table 01) and out of this the *Khutba* prayer was conducted only in *Jamis*. This Friday prayer is significant in pre-modern Muslim society as a gathering that fosters feeling of community /*Jama't*. Two *Jamis*, such as Jami al-Kabir (1336-7 CE) and Jami al-Sagir (mid 14th c), were identified from the town bearing inscriptions dated to the fourteenth century^{xxxiii} (See Table 01). These two monuments were also known as *Khutba Palli* which means the house of Friday prayer. Along with the *mihrab* / prayer niche, a *minbar* / prayer podium was present in the *Jami* for *Khutba* prayer. The Imam^{xxxiv} carried a sword which was traditionally kept in the *Jami*. A separate cemetery near the *Jami* had tombstone inscriptions from the period of fifteenth century onwards^{xxxv}.

The architectural features of these monuments reflect syncretic elements of the Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic monuments^{xxxvi}. Unlike the Muslim monuments in Kerala the Kayalpattnam *Jamis* are constructed in stone rather than wood. The typical double storied *Jamis* are absent here whereas in Malabar the *Dars* institutions are housed in these types of buildings. In Jami al-Sagir seven tombs of *Shaheeds* / martyrs were identified in the entrance which has been dated between 1408 to 1479 CE.

JAMI / PALLI	PALLI WITH DARGHA	DARGHA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jami al-Kabir (1336-7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makhdum Palli (12th C?) Ahmed Makhdum Wali Dargha Three unknown tombs venerated near to this Palli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Koshmurai Shrine (14th -17th C)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jami al-Saghir (14th C) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qadiriya Palli / Sirunainar Palli (16th C) Dargha of Sheikh Abdullah (d.1579) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Munna Ahmed Ali Dargha
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karpudaiyar Palli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dargha of Sheikh Aadil (d.1580) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Unknown Shrines near the Haji Appa road
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rettaikulam Palli (15th C) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shams al-Din Wali (17th C) • Abd al-Rahman (17th C) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Unknown Shrine opposite to the Koman Palli road
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kuttiya Palli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ahmed Nainar Palli (14th or 15th C) Dargha of Qadi Alauddin 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mella Palli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haji Appa Palli Haji Appa Dargha • Kadayya Palli Two unknown Darghas venerated • Appa Palli (17th C) Sheikh Sam Sahib al-Din Dargha (1634-1709 CE) • Marakkayar Palli (16th C) Sheikh Sulaiman Dargha (1591-1668 CE) • Sheikh Hussain Palli Dargha of Hussain 	<p>THAYKA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Khalifa Appa Thayka • Kazi Alauddin Appa Thayka • Thayka located in Erattikulam Palli • Haji Appa Thayka Palli • Sadakkathulla Appa women Thayka

Table 01: Muslim Monuments Located from Kayalpattnam

Muslim community life and settlements were commonly located around the *Jami* institutions. Besides leading five time prayers, the office of the *Qadi*, who was appointed by the native rulers, supervised the adherence to Islamic law. This common feature is visible among Muslim communities that resided in the port towns across the Indian Ocean rim. Two major Islamic schools of jurisprudence, viz., *Shafi* and *Hanafi* were in strong influence in Kayalpattnam. Since these Islamic legal schools strictly instructed community burial system, every Jami maintained a cemetery on its location. The graves of ordinary Muslims were found in the Muslim cemetery as per the instruction of the Sharia^{xxxvii}. At the same time this law was not applicable for the Sufi shrines at least in practice. The burial place of Sufis had additional significance as compared to the graves of ordinary Muslims on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts at least up to the period of eighteenth century^{xxxviii}. The abode of the Sufis and their hospices were transformed as their death space^{xxxix} and gradually founded as a centre of *ziyara* / pilgrimage.

Palli

This word is familiar in most of the South Indian languages and in Tamil the primary meaning is hamlet. This word is seen employed to denote a temple, sleeping place, palace and hermitage. *Pallis* were worship places of Buddhist monks in the Dravidian context and the same word was later used for the devotional spaces of Muslims and Christians^{xl}. In the South

Indian context the word *Palli* was used to denote a caste name during the period of Cholas. In the eleventh century they were a martial group employed in the army and later transformed into peasant caste or landholders. An inscription of 1318 AD from Aduturai issued by the Pandyan rulers describe people of a *Pallias* hereditary land holders, their collective association being termed as *PalliNattar*^{xli}. In fourteenth century the *Pallis* settlements were noticed from a vast area around 10,000 square kilometers in the South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli districts of modern Tamil Nadu^{xlii}. An early inscription dated 21 September 1090 from Vishakapattanam gives the first reference to a *Palli* in the Muslim context. This is a collection of three inscriptions, two in Telugu and one similar copy in Tamil from the old town (*Nagaram*) of Vishakapattanam coast. This inscription mentioned the name and title of an Arab Muslim merchant who held position of authority in the *bazaar* (market) and refer to land grants with tax exception to *AinuttuvaPerumballi*^{xliii}. The name and title of the Muslim merchant is mentioned as *PattanādityanānārajavidhyādharaSamaṅgattu –ghaṅṭiAsāvu*. The epigraphist Subbarayalu suggests that *AinuttuvaPerumballi* is a Muslim mosque and the merchant name *Asāvu* is derived from the Arabic word *Asaf*^{xliv}. He was an influential merchant who had trade links with Malabar and Southeast Asia. The inscription suggests that he belonged to north- western coast of Sri Lanka (*Mantai / Matotlam*)^{xlv} and provides information that the term *Palli* was in use for the Muslims since the early eleventh century onwards on the Coromandel Coast.

As mentioned above out of fourteen *Pallis* identified from Kayalpattanam town, two were *Jamis* and the remaining twelve were used for different purposes. Each of these *Pallis* had different local names which provide hints for their links with Sufi institutions. The *QadiriyaPalli* or *SirunainarPalli*^{xlvi} trace their origin to the arrival of the Sufi Sheikh Abd al-Rasheed who established this *Palli* with the help of local people. The exact date of the construction is not mentioned in any documents but four *Darghas* are identified from the surroundings of this *Palli*. The tombstone inscriptions of the Sufis buried in *QadiriyaPalli* mention the date sixteenth century. The Sufi Sheikh Abdulla Ibn Sheikh Uthman died on 1579-80 CE^{xlvii} and his son Sheikh Aadil died in the next year. Along with this two other Sufis Sahms al-Din Wali and Abd al-Rahman (See Table 01) were buried in the courtyard of *QadiriyaPalli* which was approximately dated to the seventeenth century^{xlviii}.

The *QadiriyaPalli* is an important structure on several counts. At first the name itself is devoted to the *Qadiriya* sect of Sufism. It is important to ask why a *Pallion* the Coromandel Coast was named after a Sufi *Tariqa*. This feature is noticeable on Malabar Coast as well

where a large number of *Pallis* are devoted to Sufis and *Tariqas*^{xlix}. In Kayalpattnam region there are several other *Pallis* dedicated to individual Sufis such as Haji Appa *Palli* with the site of the Dargha of Haji Appa, Appa *Palli* with Dargha of Sheikh Sam Sahib al-Din, Hussain *Palli* with Dargha of Hussain and Marakkayar *Palli* with Dargha of Sheikh Sulaiman (See Table 01). It is important to note that each of these *Pallis* were devoted to individual Sufis or Sufi *Tariqas*. After the demise of the Sufi a Dargha would be erected in the surroundings of the *Palli* which would become a site of veneration. This also indicates that during the life time of the Sufis their spiritual expressions were articulated around those *Pallis*. Unlike the Jami institution these *Pallis* did not hold authority over community affairs. These institutions did not maintain a public cemetery and were not centers of congregational prayers. At present the purpose of these *Pallis* were limited to the observance of five time prayers by the local people. On special occasions these spaces were sites for conducting Sufi rituals including *Ratheeb*s and *Urus*¹. In this sense the *Pallis* in Kayalpattnam bore a different meaning and purpose as compared to a typical mosque. It can be assumed that these spaces were a South Indian form of Sufi hospices which is totally different from the so called *Khanqahs* and *Jama't Khanas*.

The Pandyan king Jada Varma Kulasekara Pandyan (r.1190-1124 CE) issued a land grant and subsidy to Kadal Karai *Palli*^{li} during his reign. The Tamil inscription identified from here is not fully legible but it can be inferred that it praises the name and titles of the rulers and mentions the grant with reference to the *Palli*^{lii}. This inscription indicates that the *Palli* was most probably established in the twelfth century. At present the Kadal Karai *Palli* is in ruins but the foundation is visible. The pattern of this *Palli* and the *Darghas* attached to it implies that this space may have been in use as a hospice by those Sufis who were buried within the *Dargha*. Around seven graves of Sufis are venerated in the shrine complex near the ruined structure of Kadal Karai *Palli*. The shrine complex is presently known as Koshumari *Dargha*. Inscriptions from the tombstones speak of the saints who lived here between the period of thirteenth to seventeenth centuries .

Out of the thirty two Muslim monuments documented in Kayalpattnam eight separate settlements are categorized as *Palli* with *Dargha* (see Table 01). All these spaces enclose one or more Sufi tombs (*Dargha*) alongside the *Palli* structure and are identical with the pattern of Koshumari shrine as mentioned above. The Karup Udaiar *Palli* in Keela Nainar street was most probably founded in the Pandyan period with their support. A Tamil inscription identified from this *Palli* mentions the name of the Pandyan ruler Veera Pandyan and the provision of

tax free land. The name *KarupUdaiar* is connected with the Sufi tradition in Kayalpattnam. This *Palli* was a hospice of a Sufi group who wore long black garment (*Karuppu* means black and *Udai* means clothing) (Abdul Latiff 2006: 69). The habit of wearing wool dress by Sufis is evident from the period of ninth century onwards. In Kayalpattnam the name of the 'mosque' was itself derived out of the dress habits of the Sufis who resided there. These black dress wearers used this *Pallias* their residence and for spiritual pursuits. In *KarupUdaiarPalli* the Sufi shrine of Abu BakrWali (d.1443 CE) was venerated and was an important centre of everyday pilgrimage among the locals. This also suggests that this space was a Sufi hospice once rather than a typical mosque for prayers.

Thaykas

A number of *Thaykas* were located from the Kayalpattnam town along with the Sufi tombs^{liii}. In popular usage the word *Tekkeis* also employed to denote Sufi shrines. These two words are most probably derived from the Turkish term *Tekke* which is popularly used for denoting a Sufi hospice in the Ottoman lands and later in Egypt and Persia^{liv}. Different derivatives of this term made their way to Arabic, Persian, and Greek languages to denote Sufi establishments^{lv}. This Sufi institution was sponsored by the Ottoman Empire by the period of sixteenth century onwards for Sufi gatherings and spiritual training. Both the Qadiriya and Rifai Sufi *Tariqas* established such hospices in Turkey and Istanbul. In Tamil the word *Thayka* and *Tekke* are also popularly in use for Sufi hospice and sometimes the tombs of Sufis are called by this name. This shift may occur in the later period while earlier the Sufi hospices in Kayalpattnam were popular by the same word. The word *Tekke* and *Thakiya* are also familiar on the Malabar Coast to denote the Sufi hospices during the pre-modern times^{lvi}.

KhalifaAppaThaika in the KeelaNainar Street near *KarupUdaiarPalli* in Kayalpattnam was a Sufi hospice under *KhalifaAppa*. The word *Khalifa* placed in front of his name suggests that he was a deputy of the Sufi *Tariqa* in this region^{lvii}. Near the *Ahmed NainarPalli* in Saduckai street a *Thayka* was identified which was popularly known as *KaziAlauddinAppaThayka* where five Sufi tombs are venerated. In this a female Sufi named *MariyamWali* (d.1543 CE) was also buried and the remaining four belonged to Sayyid families who migrated to Kayalpattnam during the fifteenth century^{lviii}. Another *Thayka* was located from *ErattikulamPalli* (also known as *MeekayeelPalli*) where *SadakathullaAppa*, an eighteenth century Qadiri Sufi, frequently visited and spent time for meditation^{lix}. This *Palli* dates back to fifteenth century and on the eastern side the shrine of *SalarMaraikarWali* was identified.

Another Sufi shrine in Kayalpattnam dedicated to Muhammad Haji Appa which was presently branded as Haji AppaThaykaPalli is an important example of how a Thayka (hospice) later transformed as shrine. In Kayalpattnam many Sufis were later popular by the name of the hospices they resided in. Sometimes the words *Thayka* and *Zawiya* (literally, a Sufi lodge) was placed before their own names. For example, *Thayka* Sahib Wali and *ThaykaZawiyaAlim* are two sites where popular Sufis lived in the town during the eighteenth century. Here the words *Thayka* and *Zawiya* are used to denote that these Sufis were resided in such places. In another context the word *SheikhintePalli* (Sheikh's *Palli*) is in use on the Malabar Coast to denote that the Sheikh or Sufi once resided in a *Palli*^{lx}.

In the eighteenth century two important Sufis *Thayka* Sahib I (1777-1855) and *Thayka* Sahib II (1778-1850) resided in another *Thayka* which was a site of the Qadiri path of Sufism in the town. The laity was initiated to this path by Sayyid Muhammad al-Bukhari (1732-1793 CE) who resided in Kannur of modern Kerala^{lxi}. *Thayka* Sahib I was established around this Qadiriya hospice and later the influence of this *Tariqa* expanded in Kayalpattnam. At present these *Thaykas* were used by the Qadiri devotees to perform Haddad and Bukhari *Ratheeb*s^{lxii} as part of the everyday devotional practices of the Muslim community of Kayalpattnam. The annual Sufi festival called *Kanthuri*^{lxiii} is still conducted in these *Thaykas* with the participation of a wide population. Separate *Thaykas* were identified for women in Kayalpattnam and it was an everyday practice for women to visit these *Thaykas*. They spent their time for *Dhikr*, prayer and spiritual activities. The shrine of a female Sufi named Sayyidat Bint Abdul Qadir Wali is situated in a *Thayka* which is presently well-known as *SadakkathullaAppaThayka*. Another female saint Sayyidat Meera Umm al-Wali (d.1825 CE) was buried in the *Thayka* of Sahib Wali I. *Thayka* is generally unfamiliar in Northern parts of India under the Sultanate and Mughal period. At the same time in the coastal belts of Indian Ocean the *Thaykas* are largely noticed during the pre-modern times.

Political Patronage in Sufi Hospices

The Persian word *Dargha* has been generally used to denote the holy shrine of Sufis throughout the Indo-Muslim territories. The literal meaning of this term is royal court or palace in the Persian language^{lxiv}. The tomb complex of Sufis and surrounding buildings are considered to come under this category and within the compound of *Dargha* the hospices (*Khanqah*, *Jama'tKhana*, *Zawiya* and *Ribat*) are located^{lxv}. Most importantly, *Dargha* is a centre of veneration associated with various rituals and cultic practices. The significance of

this space appeared only after the demise of the Sufis. The locations of Darghas have been typically identified from the surroundings of the *Khanqah* complex of the Sufis^{lxvi}. Similar to North India the Sufi settlements in Deccan point towards *Khanqahs* and *Darghas*. The *Urs* celebration in Indian *Darghas* is conducted in commemoration of the date of death of the Sufis.

The Tamil version of the word *Dargha* is *Tarkha* which is popularly in use in Kayalpattnam and no inscriptional references have been identified from the town regarding this word. More importantly, the Muslim monuments of this town carried only Arabic and Tamil inscriptions not the Persian^{lxvii}. This is a clear indication about the dominance of Arabic rather than Persian traditions.

In Kayalpattnam around twelve *Dargha* complexes are identified in which most of the shrines are located along with Pallis (See Table 01) except for four shrines. In each of these shrine complexes more than one tomb of Sufis are located. In the *Dargha* complex of Koshumari shrines near the sea shore at Kayalpattnam town around seven Sufis were buried. The present shrine structure is a later elevation and ruins of an old Palli identified from near to the *Dargha* compound which is locally known as *KadalKaraiPalli*^{lxviii}. The present structure of the *Dargha* was probably constructed in the seventeenth century but the tombs were older than the period. At present this space is a centre of veneration and pilgrimage. The ruins of the old Palli indicate that the space was a Sufi hospice once and must have later lost its significance. The *Darghas* in Kayalpattnam are not identical with the *Darghas* of North and Deccan regions. These buildings are simple monuments rather than complex architectural structures of Persianate territories. The primary reason for this is the political patronage of rulers and the volume of donations they offered to the shrines. In Persianate lands Sultans were directly loyal to the Sufi shrines and they advanced huge grants of wealth. This scarcity of finance is also reflected in the Sufi hospices of Kayalpattnam town where native rulers provided land grants and tax free lands but which were comparatively in lesser measure. Another source of income to these Sufi hospices was from the wealthy merchants who resided in the ports. As a medieval trade hub the cosmopolitan traders definitely contributed to these Sufi institutions. The architectural styles of these *Darghas* are similar to the Dravidian religious monuments which drew inspiration from Buddhist and Hindu traditions^{lxix}.

Sheikh Farid al-Din Ganj-I Shakar (d.1265 CE), who popularly known as Baba Farid was settled in Pakpattan on the banks of Sutlej River, an ancient city of Ajodhan and the medieval trade hub between Delhi and Multan. When Baba Farid establishing his hospice in Pakpattan it was already a *Jami* settlement active here under the authority of the Qadi who practiced Islamic law. Baba established a Jama'tKhana and gathered spiritual aspirants provided training in the Chishti path of Sufism. At the same time, mass audiences ranging from local villagers to merchant communities approached him for spiritual blessings^{lxx}. For them Baba Farid issued amulets or *Tawidh* to overcome their everyday difficulties and to offer protection^{lxxi}. Every devotee and *Murid* (disciple) of Baba Farid during their visit offered gifts to the *Khanqah*, in most of the cases as a repay for the amulets of Baba Farid devotee offer various gifts. Every gift to the hospice was considered as *Futuh* (meaning?) which were distributed among the visitors. This kind of huge wealth was always associated with the medieval *Khanqahs* located in the Persianate territories^{lxxii}. Along with this, the Indo-Muslim rulers from the period of Tughlaqs and later the Mughals paid high respect and patronage to the successors of Baba Farid and their shrines. They were even entrusted to collected revenue of the nearby *parganas* for the royal court. It is a strong belief that existed during this time that patronage to Baba Farid's shrine was same as the patronage to the Mughal royal court. While constituting new rituals and adopting royal lexicons the Baba Farid shrine expressed several resemblance to and mimicking of medieval Indo-Muslim courts. This royal patronage helped them emerge as wealthy Sufi institutions which sometimes even maintained an army with cavalry and soldiers.

After the death of Baba Farid (1265 CE) his shrine and *Khanqahs* came under the authority of his son Badr al-Din Sulaiman (1265-81) and he adopted the title *diwan*. It is also believed that the spiritual power of Baba Farid extended through his family lineage this concept boosted such hereditary authority over the institution. After the death of Baba Farid the shrine buildings itself expanded, new mosque and public kitchen (*langarkhana*) and other buildings. The grand celebration of *Urs* festival after Baba Farid also attracted larger devotees into the shrine. New rituals were constituted to the shrine such as pilgrimage of Sufis during the *Urs* days, recitation of miracles and stories of the Sheikh, distribution of food through *LangarKhana*, tying on of the turban / *dastarbandi*, *qawwali* performance at the shrine and *bihishtidarwaza*^{lxxiii} / opening the southern door of Baba Farid's *Dargha*, etc are newly constituted^{lxxiv}.

In Central Asia, North India and Deccan the patronage of Muslim rulers to Sufi institutions have been identified. The Persianate court titles and lexicons were directly adapted to the Sufi discourses such as the adaptation of the words *Dargha* (royal court), *Diwan* (administrative title), *SajjadNashin* (prostration to the Sufi teacher) and *Khanqah*, etc. This alteration is not only visible in terminologies but also in the ritual and practical realm. The patronage of Muslim rulers and the mimicking of the practices of the royal court largely shaped the Sufi tradition in the northIndian and Deccan contexts. At the same time in the Coastal Muslim communities such as Coromandel and Malabar Coast the absence of direct Persian rule is noticed. The Sufi institutions and ritual practices in Kayalpattnam differed from Northern and Deccan regions. Instead of adopting the typical Persianate Sufi hospice term *dargah* the Dravidian term *Palli* and Turkish term *Thakiya* are popular here. In the organizational structure, the typical *Dargha* buildings are rarely found here except in the case of Nagore^{lxxv}. The absence of an Indo-Muslim court culture largely influenced the Sufi institutions of Kayalpattnam. The limited flow of wealth as compared to North India also influenced the styles of the hospice structures in the coastal regions.

Conclusion

Unlike the Sufi settlements in Northern India and Deccan regions the *Khanqahs*, and *Jama'tkhanas* are not identified from Kayalpattnam region. It is evident from inscriptions and textual sources that Sufi activities in North India and later in Deccan concentrated on these hospices and eventually the *Dargha* oriented veneration was popular. In most of the cases the living place of a Sufi was transformed into the pilgrimage place after his/her death. This process of shrine making is largely visible in West Asia and Central Asian regions. It is a common tradition that the living space of the Sufis was transformed into a pilgrimage / *ziyara* space.

The presence of Indo-Muslim court and its political patronage largely shaped the Sufi institutions in Central Asia, North India and Deccan. From lexicon to ritual practices and architecture this influence is visible and well attested. The direct absence of such a Muslim political patronage was reflected in the nature of Sufi institutions in the coastal landscapes, especially, on the Coromandel Coast. Here political patronage is not absent but, unlike their Indo-Muslim counterparts, the native rulers and merchant groups supported these shrines through lesser amounts of grants. There are some indirect connections with independent Muslim Sultans across the Indian Ocean which is not so much influential to shape the structural and ritual activities of the shrine. The adaptation of Dravidian architecture and

lexicon are the peculiar features of these South Indian Sufi hospices especially in the coastal belts.

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- ⁱ Richard M. Eaton (2019), *India in the Persianate Age: 1000-1765*, University of California, California
- ⁱⁱ Rolland Miller (1992), *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study of Islamic Trends*, Orient Longman, Madras and Kunhali (2004), *Sufism in Kerala*, University of Calicut, Calicut
- ⁱⁱⁱ Aboobakkar Siddiq (2015), *Mapping Sufi Presence in Late Medieval Malabar: Trade, Religion and Faith*, Unpublished Mphil thesis, SSUS, Kalady and Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), *Muslim Architecture in South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the traditions of the maritime settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts*, Routledge, London
- ^{iv} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.67
- ^v Henri Cordier (1903), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi
- ^{vi} ARIE, 1947-8 B 102-5, 1949-50 B374-91, 1965-6 D158, 1971-2 D135 and 1976-7 B250-1 For a recent study on these inscriptions also See Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), 275-90
- ^{vii} Henri Cordier (1903) p.118
- ^{viii} Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, III, LP Publication, p.24
- ^{ix} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.68
- ^x Z.A. Desai (1989), *A Topographical List of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Inscriptions of South India*, ICHR, New Delhi, no.977-98
- ^{xi} Nile Green (2006), *Indian Sufism Since Seventeenth Century*, Routledge, USA.
- ^{xii} Aboobakkar Siddiq T.S (2015), *Mapping Sufi Presence in Late Medieval Malabar: Trade, Religion and Faith*, Unpublished Mphil thesis, SSUS, Kalady
- ^{xiii} ASI Catalogue No
- ^{xiv} Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 14 and 19-40
- ^{xv} Carl W. Ernst (1992), p.98
- ^{xvi} Susan Bayly (1989), *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society*, C.U.P, Cambridge, p.74-77 and Susan Elizebeth Schomburg (2003), "Reviving Religion": *The Qadiri Sufi Order, Popular Devotion to Sufi Saint Muhiyaddin Abdul Qadir al-Gilani, and Process of "Islamization"* in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, pp.464-490
- ^{xvii} In rare cases more than one Sufi master resided in a hospice.
- ^{xviii} Wandering Sufis
- ^{xix} J. Spencer Trimmingham (1973), 17- 18
- ^{xx} Al-Qalaqashandi, *Subh*, iv, p. 193 quoted J. Spencer Trimmingham (1973), p. 19.
- ^{xxi} *Khanah* (house) + *qah* (prayer)
- ^{xxii} K.A. Nizami (1957) 'Some Aspects of Khanqah Life in Medieval India', *Studia Islamica*, No. 8, p. 53
- ^{xxiii} K.A. Nizami (1961), *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, AMU, Aligarh, pp. 205, 226.
- ^{xxiv} K.A. Nizami (1957), p. 53.
- ^{xxv} *Idem*
- ^{xxvi} *Ibid.*, p.54
- ^{xxvii} *Ibid.*, p.53
- ^{xxviii} *Ibid.*, p.55
- ^{xxix} The Sufi activities in Kayalpattnam region attributed to Ahmed Makhdum Wali (1054-1144 CE) who founded the Makhdum Palli or Kattu Makhdum Palli. It is believed that he was the first known Sufi in this region and a popular venerated holy man. See Abdul Latiff (2004) and Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.104
- ^{xxx} The term *Tarkha* is used in Tamil to denote a Sufi shrine which is a Tamil form of the Persian term *Dargha* or court of the Sufi.
- ^{xxxi} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.75. Around hundred Muslim monuments are identified and noticed from the Kayalpattnam town which including the tomb of rulers, Sufi shrines (*Tarkha*), graves of Martyrs (*shaheeds*), *Thaikas* and mosques (*palli* and *Jami*) (Abdul Latiff (2004), *The Concise History of Kayalpatnam*, S.A.P, Kayalpatnam, pp.166-224). These monuments need further historical verification and therefore here considered around twenty six monuments based on the historical data. These monuments were also noticed and interpreted in the writings of Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.75
- ^{xxxii} Elizabeth Lambourn (2008), *India from Aden: Khutba and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth Century India*, in Keneth R. Hall (ed), *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400-1800*, Lexington, UK

- ^{xxxiii} An early inscription from the grave of Nawkhuda Sayyid Ahmed Ibn Sa'dullah dated from 1368-9 CE who buried in front of the Jami, See ARIE, 1949-50 B378 and Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.88, This Jami also known as *Khutba Sirupalli*.
- ^{xxxiv} Those who lead *Khutba* prayer
- ^{xxxv} Z.A Desai (1989), no.990
- ^{xxxvi} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.80
- ^{xxxvii} Abu Bakar, A.P. (2012) (ed.), *Fathul Mueen* (Mal.), Pookavanam Books, Calicut
- ^{xxxviii} Aboobakkar Siddiq (2020), *Inlays and Overlays of the Spiritual: Everyday Sufism in Malabar*, Working Phd thesis, SSUS, Kalady, Chapter 2. This feature also understood while analyzing the Sufi shrines in Northern India and Deccan that majority of the Sufi shrines are located in or surrounding to the Sufi hospices. For example the shrine of Nizamuddin Awliya in Delhi, Dargha of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti in Ajmer
- ^{xxxix} In some cases the burial place of the Sufis depended upon the *wasiyat* of the Sufis.
- ^{xl} K.M George (1986), *Place-Names of Southern India: A Generic Approach to Toponymy*, Dravidian Linguistic Association, Trivandrum, pp. 203-05. In Tamil the place names such as Sivapalli (in Tanjore) indicates Siva= God Shiva and Sūrappalli (in Salem) indicates Sūra = a king of Asura are familiar. Along with this a large number of place names identified with the suffix Palli. This tradition also noticed from Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh regions. See K.M George (1986), p.204.
- ^{xli} Y. Subbarayalu (2012), *South India Under the Cholas*, Oxford, Delhi, pp.168-70
- ^{xlii} *Ibid.*, p.171
- ^{xliiii} *Ibid.*, pp. 180-3
- ^{xliv} *Ibid.*, p.183
- ^{xlv} The word *Pallichchanda* used to denote a special category
- ^{xlvi} This Palli also known as Muhiyaddin Palli, a popular name of Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani in Coromandel, Sri Lanka and Malabar regions and he was the founder of Qadiriya Sufi path.
- ^{xlvii} ARIE, 1949-50, B376-8 and Z.A Desai (1989), no.991
- ^{xlviii} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.104
- ^{xlix} Aboobakkar Siddiq TS (2020), pp.110-12.
- ^l Susan Elizebeth Schomburg (2003), pp.25-80
- ^{li} Kadal Karai means near the Sea shore.
- ^{lii} Abdul Latiff (2004), pp.60-65
- ^{liii} Abdul Latiff (2004)
- ^{liv} Nathalie Clayer (2000), *TEKKE*, in P.J Bearman (ed.al), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V.X, Brill, Leiden
- ^{lv} Turkish form: *Tekke, Tekiyye* and *Takaya*, Arabic: *Takiyya* and *Tekkiye*, Persian: *Takiya*
- ^{lvi} Aboobakkar Siddiq (2020), Chapter 2
- ^{lvii} Abdul Latiff: 69
- ^{lviii} *Ibid.*, p.89
- ^{lix} *Ibid.*, p.84
- ^{lx} Parappil Mammad Koya (2012), *Kozhikotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Vachanam, Calicut
- ^{lxi} Rahmathulla Saqafi (2006), *Keralathile Sayyid Kudumbangal*, Indo-Arab Cultural Foundation
- ^{lxii} Sufi Ritual
- ^{lxiii} Similar to Nercha and Urus
- ^{lxiv} B. Lewis (ed.al), *Encyclopedia of Islam V.II*, Brill, Leiden, p.141
- ^{lxv} Richard M. Eaton (2003), *The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Farid*, pp.264-7, in Richard M. Eaton (ed.), *India's Islamic Traditions: 711-1750*, Oxford, New Delhi.
- ^{lxvi} Richard M. Eaton (1989), pp. 165-6 and 207
- ^{lxvii} Z.A Desai (1989), pp.94-5
- ^{lxviii} Literally Palli located in the sea shore.
- ^{lxix} Mehrdad Shokoohy (2003), p.73
- ^{lxx} K.A Nizami (1973), *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-ud Din Ganj-I Shakar*, Delhi, 53-4
- ^{lxxi} K.A Nizami (1973), p.54
- ^{lxxii} *Ibid.*, pp.53-6
- ^{lxxiii} Similar to the Jarrokha Darshan- the Mughal rulers greeted to their Brahmin subjects in every morning at a particular window in the palace. Similarly the southern door of the Sufi shrine opened to the devotees at a particular time.
- ^{lxxiv} Eaton (2003), p.266
- ^{lxxv} This site is located in Nagore near Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu #first draft of the paper need further correction