PROLOGUE

As has been pointed out by scholars of history, the 14th century is an important period in religious history. There was an affluence of mystical activities from Multan in the West, to Bengal in the east and the whole of the Deccan plateau in the south where sufi, savants and learned mystics and shaikhs were busy spreading the message of love and universal peace and brotherhood. The first half of the 15th century saw the extension of the sphere of intense sufistic activities to Gujarat and the Deccan. The Sufi establishment, the Khanqahs and Jamaat-Khanahs served as hospices for travellers and wayfarers and also as training centres for the novices, resounding with lessons and discussions on theology, mysticism, scholastic philosophy, ethics, morality, etc., at which the saint was the principal speaker and expounder of thoughts and ideas.

The utterances of the saint (malfuz) were most covetously taken down by disciples generally with the express and tacit approval of the saint. In this way, a considerable number of saintly sayings came to be compiled in different parts of the country, truthfully recording their discourses and proceedings at these meetings or assemblies which were open to all sections of the society. Thus malfuz literature by its very nature constitutes an important non-political history source on one hand and supplies valuable material for the study of contribution to Persian literature on the other. In no Islamic country perhaps to our knowledge, this branch of theological compilation has been so extensively cultivated as in our country, especially during the pre-Mughal period, particularly in Bihar, Gujarat and Deccan. It was primarily intended to serve as a book of guidance for laymen and as a manual of spiritual instructions or code of behaviour for the disciples in particular. Obviously, the subject-matter of these works centered around the saint concerned who occupied a highly respected position in the society. As a result, they covered all aspects of life of the society at different levels and in all temporal or spiritual matters. It will not be an exaggeration to say that no branch of medieval literature presents such detailed picture of contemporary society as in the malfuz literature. While they furnish an intimate peep into the social life and behaviour of different sections of the society, they underline varied intensley human qualities of the spiritual guide.
The mulfuz works in short enable us to have a picture of society and its different aspects, In them are reflected the moods, aspirations and varied problems of its members, their ways of life and living and likes and dislikes. A striking feature of the study of these works is the revealing information that in certain respects social life and behaviour of medieval society have undergone but little change in essential parts until our times.

It is a known fact that while the mulfuz works from Bihar and the Deccan have been published in original as well as some in translation and utilized by scholars and historians for the reconstruction of important aspects of the political, social and cultural history, similar works from Gujarat have remained unnoticed. Here the Chishti, the Suhravardi, the Maghrabi, the Qadiri and the Shattari orders have flourished almost from the beginning of the fifteenth century if not earlier and have played an important role in the life of its people. These saintly families, whose members were learned have left treatises on sufistic subjects, as well as collections of sayings and utterances; accounts of their assemblies are also compiled. Most prominent among these are the Suhravardi saintly family of Ahmadabad, descendants of the celebrated fourteenth century saint Sayyid Jalaluddin Husain popularly called Makhdum Jahanian-i-Jahangasht, whose grandson Sayyid Burhanuddin popularly called Qutb-i-Alam was the first to come to Gujarat, The Chishti family of Ahmadabad claiming descent from the sister's son of Hazrat Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Dihli, namely Khwaja Kamaluddin Allama and the Shattari saints, the most prominent of whom is Shah Wajihuddin, Alavi a great scholar and teacher as well. The first two mentioned families have the unique distinction of having had successive six-seven generations of authors and poets whose contribution to learning and literature has remained almost unknown so far. One of the reasons for this is unavailability of these works, which are usually found in the saintly families to which scholars have no access. As a result, only in the case of a couple of such works found in libraries, some study has been made and published in the recent past. For example, an article on one of the two mulfuz works of Shah Wajihuddin, to wit Bahrul-Haqaq was published by Prof. M. Aslam of Punjab University, Lahore. Another mulfuz work which has been the chief basis of the article entitled “Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a great historical personality of medieval Gujarat” by Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami is the Tuhfatul Majalis, a collection of assembly discourses of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej, compiled by Shaikh Mahmud Iraj. Late Maulavi Sayyid Abu Zafar Nadvi
had published the Urdu translation of the *Tuḥfatul-Majalis* as early as in 1939. He also discovered a copy of another malfuz of the same saint, called *Miqratul-Wusul Ittālah-i-war-Rasul* "The ladder facilitating nearness to Allah and the Prophet", the subject of this Thesis, compiled in A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.) or some twelve years after the saint's demise, by Maulana Muhammad, son of Abul-Qasim (or Qasim) who was in constant attendance upon him for full three decades. Its Urdu translation also was published by the late Maulavi Abu Zafar Nadvi Sahib under the title *Sirat-i-Ahmadiya*, "Biography of Ahmad" in or immediately after 1945.

It is this malfuz work which I propose to edit, with introduction highlighting its manifold importance for the political, cultural and social history of western India.

I may humbly say that this has become possible only because, in the words of the celebrated Persian poet Sadi,

\[ \text{"I received assistance from every nook and corner,} \\
\text{I got an ear of corn out of every harvest"} \]

and have been under obligation of my teachers and friends, to quote, again, the words of the poet Chandra Bhan Barahman,

\[ \text{"I thankful in earnest due to the unbounded grace of friends."} \]

**Notes**

1. This section is based on Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's Introduction to the *Khairul-Majalis* of Hamid Qalandar (Aligarh 1959), pp.1-2, Doctor Ziyauddin Abdul-Hayy Desai’s *Malfuz Literature* et al (Patna, 1991), and personal information.
ADVENT OF MUSLIMS IN THE PROVINCE OF GUJARAT

It is generally believed that Sind was the first province of Indian sub-continent to come into contact with Islam. This is open to question. Evidence shows that it was Gujarat which first attracted the attention of Muslim forces in the time of the second pious caliph Hazrat Umar (634-44 A.D.). In A.H. 15 (634 A.D.), a naval expedition was despatched by the governor of Bahrain, under his brother Hakam against Thana on the west coast, Next year, Hakam attacked Barus (Broach). These expeditions met with some success, but they were strongly resented by Hazrat Umar who was not in favour of sea expeditions to distant lands. About three quarters of a century was to elapse, before Muhammad bin Qasim conquered Sind in A.H. 93 (712 A.D.). His successor Junaid despatched one of his officers against some parts of Gujarat, like Marmad or Barbad, Mandal, Dhanuj and Barus, Later on, in A.H. 157 (773-74 A.D.), governor Hisham bin Amr invaded the maritime port Gandhar situated at a small distance from Broach. Apart from these sporadic attacks, the Arabs might have made some other raids into parts of Gujarat but they do not appear to have any lasting effect. Similarly, two three centuries later, Mahmud of Ghazna, Muhammad bin Sam better known in Indian history as Shihabuddin Ghori and his freed slave and successor in India, Qutbuddin Aibak carried out expeditions against the rulers of Gujarat, but being more or less like lightning in nature, they failed to establish Muslim rule or authority here. It was only towards the close of the thirteenth century that Ulugh Khan brother and general of Delhi ruler Alauddin Khalji, conquered Gujarat and made it a part of his empire.

But Gujarat had been a visiting place and even home of the Arabs and Muslims before and after the advent of Islam, as is vouchsafed by early Arab geographers and travellers, some of whom had visited western India centuries before the political association of Muslims with Gujarat. The non-Muslim Arabs and later Arab Muslims had been visiting western India, where in Gujarat important sea-ports lay and were carrying on trade and commerce, through these ports which served as the import and export inlets and outlets for the entire country. The vocation of Arabs and Persians, as sea-faring people carrying on trade brought them into close contact with their Indian counterpart, and since the
foreigners also contributed a great share to the coffers of Indian princes, they were treated with respect and consideration and were allowed to enjoy certain privileges which guaranteed to these foreigners partial autonomy. The accounts of the Arab travellers who visited India in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, furnish ample information concerning the Muslims who had chosen to settle in different parts of Gujarat. The glowing tribute paid by these travellers amply bear out the friendly nature of the commercial and cultural relations that brought the local people who were exclusively Hindus and Muslims into close association with one another. Long before the founders of Muslims rule in north India had trampled upon its rich and fertile plains and later on annexed the province of Gujarat to their empire, the Arabs and Persians had established their settlements in Gujarat not only on the sea coast at places like Ghogha, Bhadreshwar, Cambay, Broach and Sopara, but also in the interior places like Nahrwala-Patan and Junagadh, where these merchants and their families had settled down. The celebrated Arab traveller Masudi, who visited western India speaks of some cities which had Muslim population ten thousand strong, comprising, besides the Muslim settlers from Siraf, Oman, Basra, Baghdad and other places, Muslims born of Indian mothers, known as Bayasira. At that time, the Hunarman of that place was one Abu Said Maruf Ibn Zakariya. A few years before Masudi's visit, another traveller Buzurg ibn Shahryar also found a Muslim, Abbas bin Mahan, performing the duties of Hunarman. In those days of the numerous sea ports of Gujarat the flourishing town of Cambay (Kambhat) occupied an important position as a centre of commercial activities. In the absence of historical data, it would be hazardous to make a surmise with regard to the earliest settlement of the Muslims in this town, but it may be said with certainty that when Masudi visited Cambay in 303 A.H./915 A.D. he found a large number of Muslims who had settled there. Like his predecessor Sulaiman, Masudi was also impressed by the benevolence and just rule of the local ruler who provided ample opportunities for the Muslims to live in peace and carry on their professions without any hindrance. According to Istakhri, who after Masudi visited this part in 950 A.D., in the cities of the territory from Cambay to Saymur which was under the sway of Balhara, one of the Indian kings, lived a good number of Muslims who were governed by none except a Muslim on behalf of Balhara; in these cities there were Jami mosques where Friday prayers were offered and Islamic rites and customs were performed and observed publicly. Ibn Hauqal whom Istakhri had met in India, gives some additional details and mentions the
towns of Khiwaja al-Sarir al-an, Gandhar and Ghogha, where the Muslims, few though
they were, would not tolerate the exercise of authority nor the imposition of punishment,
nor the testimony of witness except by Muslims. In the cities of Gujarat, the Muslim settlers
lived in perfect peace and in case they suffered any injustice at the hands of the local
population or others, the just rulers looked into their grievance and got it redressed. For
example, the famous Persian author Muhammad Aifi who had visited Cambay in about
1223 A.D. has vividly described at length the justice dispensed by the Chaulukya ruler
Siddhraj Jaysinh (1094-1143 A.D.) by ordering the reconstruction of the Jami mosque of
Cambay — which was demolished and some eighty Muslims were killed by a section of
the Hindu population— in response to the complaint by the Imam of the mosque.
Incidentally, it was in the town of Cambay that according to the traditional accounts, the
first missionary of Ismaili Bohras, Abdullah, is stated to have arrived from Yemen in southern
Arabia in 1067 A.D. Another notable Bohra missionary also, namely Muhammad Ali, was
in Cambay and died there in 1137 A.D.; his tomb in the town is held in great respect and
veneration by the Bohras.

Long before the Muslims established themselves as the masters of erstwhile capital
of Gujarat, Patan, it had been frequently visited by the Arab merchants who were treated
with respect and consideration by the ruler and his ministers. Apart from the mercantile
class, a number of eminent Sufis also found their way to Patan. Of these sufis who had
settled in city and whose tombs still exist today and are visited by Muslim pilgrims from far,
and wide, one is Haji Hud the illustrious ancestor of the renowned Qadri families of
Ahmadabad and Patan, the first to come to Patan; the phrase Yaluhush- Shams (The sun
shines) gives the date of his arrival, i.e. 454 A.H. (1062-63 A.D.) and the numerical value
of the word "Ishqullah" (Love of God) gives the date of his death, viz. 536 A.H. (1141-42
A.D.). Other saints Shaikh Ahmad, generally known as Baba Dehiya and Sayyid
Muhammad Barahman are stated to have visited Patan during the reign of Siddhraj Jaysinh.
Another saint Shaikh Ahmad Arafat (d.645 A.H./1245-46 A.D.) had selected Patan for
popularising the Sufi cult. It was the existence of a considerable elements of the spiritual
fraternity in Patan, which led Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi to remark that "The
region diffuses the fragrance of love and its desolate places emit light of blessings and
saintliness."
Broach also seems to have attracted the attention of the early Muslims, as it was a sea-port for vessels coming from China and Sind. A saint named Baba Raihan inspired with missionary zeal is said to have visited Broach in the tenth century A.D., accompanied by his younger brother and forty followers. All of them are reported to have courted martyrdom. Broach is also mentioned by Masudi, Abu Raihan Biruni, Idrisi, Yaqut and the like. In Rander, now part of Surat city, there is an Arabic inscription on a tomb which shows that a certain sailor of Cambay had died there in 633 A.H. (1236 A.D.). Petlad in Kheda district claims the tomb of a Muslim saint Baba Arjan Shah who died in 633 A.H. (1236 A.D.). According to a modern authority, "The existence of this tomb shows clearly that Islam's influence had permeated the province of Gujarat early in the thirteenth century at a period when it was still ruled by its own Rajput princes."

That even near and around the old (Kohna) Asawal close to which the city of Ahmadabad was founded and which finds mention by Biruni, Idrisi and others, as a commercial rich city producing useful articles, Muslims used to live in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, is testified by epigraphs, which record the construction of mosques, furnishing evidence of a good sized Muslim population in the area. One of these inscriptions states that a mosque was built in 445 A.H. (1035 A.D.) while according to another inscription which was set up at a late date in the fifteenth century, the mosque on which the inscription was set up was reconstructed on the site of an old mosque in 636 A.H. (1238 A.D.), by Malik Haji. The contents of these inscriptions make it abundantly clear that long before the conquest of Gujarat by Alauddin's general, there were Muslims settlements in almost all the parts of Gujarat and they enjoyed perfect peace on account of the benevolent and tolerant attitude of the Hindu Rajas.

Notes

1. This section is mainly based on Prof. M. I. Dar's article "Cultural and Literary activities under the Sultans of Gujarat". Published in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay, Volume 10 (1948), pp.240-57; Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. I (London, 1867); Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Supplement, English Tr. Syed Nawab Ali and C.N. Seddon (Baroda) 1928, pp. 91 ff.
GUJARAT UNDER DELHI AND INDEPENDENT SULTANS

As stated above, the first Delhi Sultan to annex the fertile region of Gujarat to his vast empire was Alauddin Khalji, who in the very third year of his reign (697 A.H. 1298 A.D.) under his brother Ulugh Khan and the latter's deputy, Nusrat Khan, despatched a well-equipped army to subjugate it. Though the last Chaulukya king Raja Karna offered stubborn resistance to the imperial army, he lost the kingdom and took refuge with Raja Ramdas of Deogir (later Daulatabad) in Deccan. After regaining the lost kingdom for a short while in the wake of the rebellion by the Mongol chiefs in the Delhi Sultan's army, Karna Dev ultimately lost it for ever and the Muslim rule was firmly established in 1304 A.D.

After the final conquest of Gujarat, Alauddin appointed his brother-in-law Alp Khan as the first governor to rule the newly conquered rich province. During his benevolent and efficient rule which lasted for about sixteen years, Alp Khan maintained absolute peace and ushered in an era of prosperity in the province. During his term of governorship, he built the Adina (Friday) mosque, in Nahrwala-Patan, which was in existence till the middle of the 18th century as mentioned in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. After Alp Khan's recall and his being put to death by the orders of ailing Alauddin for no apparent reason in A.H. 716 (1315 A.D.), Alp Khan's followers rose in revolt in Gujarat and they slew Kamaluddin Gurg who had been sent by Alauddin to chastise the rebels. Under the short-lived Khalji dynasty, Gujarat in the span of hardly a decade after Alauddin's death fell victim to disorder and saw successive governors like Malik Kamaluddin Gurg, Malik Ainul-Mulk Multani, Malik Dinar entitled Zafar Khan, Malik Husamuddin brother of the Usurper Khusraw Khan, Malik Vahiduddin Qureshi, Tajul-Mulk and Khusraw Khan himself.

Under the Tughluqs, Malik Tajuddin Turk appears to have been appointed the governor of Gujarat by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah (1320-25 A.D.). Then Sharaful-Mulk Alp Khan, the son of the king's tutor Qutlugh Khan was appointed the governor of Gujarat by Sultan Muhammad bin Thughluq (1325-1351 A.D.) in the first year of resuming the
reigns of authority. The next governors under the king were Malik Muqbil Telangi entitled Khan Jahan and Shaikh Muizzul-Mulk Muizzuddin bin Alauddin a descendant of Hazrat Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar Ajhodhani. After him, the governorship was held by Nizamul-Mulk Husain bin Amir Miran who held the post till 762 A.H. (1362 A.D.) and continued to govern during the reign of Firuz Tughluq also (1351-1380 A.D.) It was during Malik Muqbil’s tenure of office that disturbances broke out on a wide scale in Gujarat which became the scene of Muhammad bin Tughluq’s activities in the province to suppress the rebellion of Malik Taghi.

Some ten years after his succession to the throne, when in 762 AH (1328 A.D.) Firuz Tughluq led an expedition against the ruler of Sind but had to retreat to Gujarat on account of pestilence and scarcity of provisions, he removed Nizamul-Mulk, otherwise described as a capable officer, from governorship of Gujarat for his inability to send supplies to the famished imperial army in Sind and appointed Zafar Khan Farsi, son-in-law of king Fakhruddin of Sonargaon in Bengal, and a distinguished noble at the court. He was succeeded on his death by his son Darya Khan, who received the title of his father. In 778 A.H. when the junior Zafar Khan was still in office, Firuz Tughluq, strangely enough, perhaps with a view to replenish the treasury accepted the offer of Shamsuddin Damghani to hold the province of Gujarat with the stipulation that in addition to the usual revenue he would pay forty lakhs of tankas, one hundred elephants, four hundred Abyssinian slaves and one hundred Arabian horses. But as he found it difficult to fulfill the terms of the contract, he adopted harsh measures for the collection of revenue and had to pay with his life for forcible exactions. He was succeeded by Malik Mufrih Sultani, who received the title of Rasti Khan. His long stay in Gujarat from 778 to 794 A.H. (1376 to 1392 A.D.) was partly due to his personal qualities and partly to the chaotic conditions which prevailed in the north, after Firuz Shah’s abdication in favour of his son Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. The new king conferred the title of Sikandar Khan upon Malik Yaqub, the Akhurbeg and made him the governor of Gujarat to which place he repaired with a large body of retainers. Rasti Khan treacherously put him to death and on account of certain compelling reasons, the then king Tughluq Shah, grandson of Sultan Firuz, in 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) confirmed him in the governorship of Gujarat. Three years later Sultan Muhammad Tughluq II receiving complaints of the highhandedness and oppression of Malik Mufrih Rasti Khan and for
other reasons, dispatched Zafar Khan, later on Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat in 793 A.H. (1391 A.D.) to supersede Rastl Khan. The latter defying the royal order opposed Zafar Khan and was killed in a battle near Patan on 4th January 1392 A.D.

With the removal of Rastl Khan, who had headed the province for a long period, Zafar Khan devoted his attention to restore order and take measures to bring about the welfare of the province. In the following years he subjugated the insurgents in Khambat, the Raja of Idar, the Khandesh ruler Malik Raja Faruqi etc. and led an expedition to the temple of Somnath.

After the death of Nasiruddin Muhammed Tughluq, in 1395 A.D., the capital city of Delhi was plunged into anarchy and Zafar Khan's son Muhammad who had received the title of Tatar Khan from the late King, finding things going against him, came to his father in Gujarat in 1398 A.D. Zafar Khan refused to be persuaded by his ambitious and intrepid son to proceed to Delhi and carve out for himself an independent sultanate there. About this time, Timur's catastrophic invasion in 1398 shook the very foundation of the tottering Tughluq empire, compelling Nasiruddin Muhammed to seek refuge with Zafar Khan. But the latter showed his reluctance to lead an army to Delhi as desired by the unlucky king Muhammed. In the aftermath of Timur's invasion, provincial governors started asserting their independence. Tatar Khan who enjoyed wide powers under his father and helped him in his campaigns against Idar and other neighbouring areas stressed upon his unwilling father to declare independence and the latter not accepting this suggestion, he imprisoned his father and assumed kingship in 1403 A.D. by having his coronation held in Asawal. However his reign was short termed and he died in the next year, having been allegedly poisoned by his uncle Shams Khan.

Whatever the cause of death of the young and energetic king Muhammad Shah I, officially designated in state records as "Khudaigan-i-Shahid" (Martyred lord), Zafar Khan is reported to have ascended the throne with a heavy heart.

On the death of Zafar Khan, the exact cause of which is also shrouded in mystery, Muhammad Shah I's son Ahmad Shah ascended the throne and very soon earned place amongst the foremost rulers not only of Gujarat but also of India. It was he who laid the foundation of a new capital at a strategic place in the vicinity of Asawal, in central Gujarat
at a site which had no habitation whatsoever, and named it Ahmadabad after himself. This town also called "Zainul-Bilad." (Ornament of cities) finds frequent mention in this thesis of doctoral dissertation.

Ahmad Shah I placed the newly established but shaky kingdom of Gujarat, by subjugating turbulent and rebellious elements not only in his own army and family, but in the entire province, on a firm footing and also put the neighboring sultanates of Deccan and Malwa and Rajput princes of southern Rajasthan on the defensive.

The just mighty and able Ahmad Shah I, was succeeded on his death in 846 A.H. (1442 A.D.) by his son Muhammad Shah II (1442-1451 A.D.) who also frequently finds mention in the Mirqatul-Wusul as the saint's admirer and disciple. It was during his reign that Shaikh Ahmad Khattu joined the mercy of God in A.H. 849 (1445 A.D.). Muhammed Shah II had visited the saint during his illness. He was asked by Maulana Muhammad bin Qasim, the author of the Mirqat who had been the leader of prayer (Imam) of the saint, to lead the funeral prayer.

The saint, as he himself had often remarked in the presence of the author of the Mirqat and others, had witnessed the reigns of seven rulers of Delhi (three) and Gujarat (four) who were the admirers or disciples of Baba Ishaq the Shaikh's mentor and adopted father, and the Saint himself. The pages of the Mirqatul Wusul are replete with the instances and events depicting high regard and respect in which these kings Muhammad bin Tughluq onwards held the two saints. Likewise, their nobleman and high and low officials also by and large were ever ready to carry out the slightest wish of the Saint and would consider it a high favour if the Saint accepted their Futuh-offering which he was normally reluctant to accept.

It may also be mentioned that even after his death, the Saint's tomb complex comprising the mosque, the tomb, the lake, etc. was held in veneration by successive Gujarat sultans. Sultan Mahmud I, famous by his cognomen Begda "with big mustacheos" had not only selected the place for his summer palace, of which the majestic ruins are still a matter of awe and wonder of the visitors, but he also chose the ground on the bank of the lake at the feet of the Saint, that is to say the south of the Saint's tomb, for his eternal resting place, and that of his consort. At least two more sultans, Muzaffar Shah II son and
successor of Mahmud I, and Mahmud Shah III son of Latif Khan and grandson of Muzaffar Shah II, and their consorts one of them, wife of Muzaffar Shah II named Rani Raj Bai are found buried in the same complex. The entire area around the complex was dotted until recently and is, to some extent, still, with graves and fairly large tombs of the noblemen and poets who chose to be buried in the precincts of the Saint's mausoleum, even at a later date under the later sultans of Gujarat and the Mughal emperor Akbar who put an end to the sultanate by his victory over Sultan Muzaffar III (1561-73 A.D., 1583-84 A.D.) and finally in 1584 A.D. by his general Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan Khan-i-Khanan.

Notes

1. This section is mainly based on Maulavi Sayyid Abu Zafar Nadv's Tarikh-i-Gujarat in Urdu (Delhi, 1971); Dr. S.C. Misra. Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat (Delhi, 1982); Prof. M.S. Commissariat. History of Gujarat, Vol. 1 (Bombay 1938); and Rasiklal Parikh and H.G. Shastri ed. Gujarat no Rajakiya Ane Sanskritic Itihas Vol V, Sultanat Kal, Ahmadabad 1970.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wajih-ul Mulk Tank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Muhammad I</td>
<td>(Tattar Khan)</td>
<td>1403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Muazzafar I</td>
<td>(Zaffar Khan)</td>
<td>1407-1410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ahmad I</td>
<td></td>
<td>1411-1442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Muhammad II</td>
<td></td>
<td>1442-1458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Qutbuddin Ahmad II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Daud</td>
<td></td>
<td>1458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mahmud I</td>
<td>(Fath Khan)</td>
<td>1453-1511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Muzaffar II</td>
<td>(Khalil Khan)</td>
<td>151-1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sikandar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mahmud II</td>
<td>(Nasir Khan)</td>
<td>1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bahadur</td>
<td></td>
<td>1526-1537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Muhammad III</td>
<td></td>
<td>1538-1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mahmud III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ahmad III</td>
<td></td>
<td>1554-1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Muzaffar III</td>
<td>(Nathu or Habib)</td>
<td>1561-1573 and 1583-1584</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION
OF
AHMADABAD CITY

Even if his wars and conquest or his most successful reign and administrative system were to be consigned to the niche of oblivion, the title of Ahmad Shah to immortal fame in the pages of Indian history would rest on the foundation of the great city of Ahmadabad on the bank of the river Sabarmati, which he made his new capital and which has maintained through the vicissitudes of almost six hundred years, its position as the metropolis of the province of Gujarat. It was early in 1411 A.D. that the sultan with the advice of his spiritual guide Shaikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej laid the foundation of Ahmadabad in an open and spacious area in the immediate vicinity of the old (as against the later habitation of new) Asawal (Asawal-i-Kuhnna) and to the east of the river Sabarmati. The well-known eighteenth century historical work Mirat-i-Ahmadī gives the date of the foundation as 3rd day of Zil-Qada 813 A.H. (27th February 1411)\(^1\). A modern historian Ratnmanirao Bhimrao, Jote, the author of a voluminous corpus on the city named Amdavad Gujarat-nu-Patnagar, (Gujarati), consulting an eminent astrologer about the horoscope given by the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadī (who was the last Mughal Diwan of the province and had the entire state archives at his disposal) has come to the conclusion that the horoscope is correct and that the day should be 3rd or 5th of Zil-Qada (27th February or 1st March 1411 AD).\(^2\)

The imposing river-bastion, called the Manek Burj, which stands at the head of the Ellisbridge now named Swami Vivekanand Bridge and measures fifty-three feet in height is said to have been selected for the site of the foundation of the city.\(^3\) However, the transfer of the capital of Gujarat from Anhilvad-Patan, for well about six centuries the seat of government, to a new locality was not to be undertaken without spiritual guidance. Hence, as the tradition goes the Sultan with the aid of the saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, invoked the blessings of venerable and mysterious personage the Prophet Khizir, who is identified by some Muslim divines with the Prophet Elijah. His consent was given to build a new city provided that its boundaries were lined by four persons with the name Ahmad who were reputed for their piety and righteousness and who had not missed even a single day’s Sunnat prayers of Asr. The Sultan and the saint who fulfilled these conditions made
half of the number required and the other two found were Malik Ahmad, who is buried at Pathanwada near the Kalupur Gate of the city, and Qazi Ahmad Jodh of Patan, a spiritual successor of the saint.

The tomb of Qazi Ahmad Jodh is still to be seen in the ancient town of Patan where he died in 1437 A.D. It's original building appears to have been rebuilt by a descendent of Qazi Ahmad early in the seventeenth century according to an inscription occurring on the present tomb. The famous Suhravardi saint Hazrat Sayyid Burhanuddin Qutb-i Alam of Vatwa was also invited from Patan, to attend and bless the occasion; he gave his blessing saying Ṣはありません “Ahmadabad, prosperous for ever.”

These four Ahmads are said to have been helped in the foundation ceremony by twelve Babas or Faqirs. All of them are said to have been disciples directly or indirectly of the famous saint Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi. (d. 1325 A.H.) and their names with details of the place where they lie burried are given by the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Of these Babas, Baba Ali Sher was a majzub, having renounced all worldly effects and concerns and would not put on any clothes. But whenever Shaikh Ahmad Khattu would visit him or pass by his lodgings, he would say (in Gujarati) Lugdun lavo shara no kot ave chhe (لاجدو، لا قلو، شارا نو كوت او جه) "Give me clothes, the bastion of Sharâ (religious Code) is coming". These twelve Babas are: Baba Khoju, Baba Laddhu, Baba Karamat (all buried at Dholka), Baba Muhammad and Baba Ali Sher (buried at Sarkhej), Baba Tavakkul Nasirabadi (buried at Hajipur on Shahibaug Road, Ahmadabad), Baba Muhammad aliâs Baba Lului (buried near Saptarshi's ara, at the eastern end of Sardar Bridge, Ahmadabad), Baba Ahmad Hankuri Nalband (buried at Khas Bazar to the north of Alif Masjid, Ahmadabad), and Baba Laddha, Baba Dhokal, Baba Kamal Kirmani and Baba Sayyah (buried respectively at Halim's Khadki, in between Delhi gate and Shahpur gate, Ek Minarwali Masjid, Behrampur in Ahmadabad and Viramgam).

Notes


5. Ibid., 3, 100.


8. Ibid., 78-79.
SUFI STIC ATTAINMENTS AND CONTRIBUTION OF SHAIKH AHM AD KHATU TO SUFI STIC PHILOSO PHY

In a letter to Maulana Fakhruddin Zaradi, the esteemed saint Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya says; "The highest purpose and the supreme aim of creating mankind is the love of God. Hence it is incumbent upon every one to free his heart of everything besides God and devote himself exclusively to Him." In other words, a true saint is he who lives for Lord alone. Union with Him is the sole aim of his life. As an early sufi saint Shibli says:

"The poor (Sufi) is independent of everything other than God".

Shaikh Ahmad Hujwiri, better known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, of Lahore, who was the first to explain fully the sufistic terminology in Persian in his magnum opus Kashful-Mahjub, and at whose tomb, the celebrated Ajmer saint Khwaja Muinuddin Siizi Chishti performed Chilla for 40 days, says, "He is above because He has no other object or desire." Likewise, Amir Hasan Siizi says in the Fawaidul-Fuad:

"Life (of the Darvish) is only that he is engrossed in meditation of God".

In short, a true Sufi should devote every moment of his life and dedicate every fibre of his being to Him alone. He removes the distinction between "I" and "Not I" and merges his soul in the Absolute.

Gnosis-kitab (Union) with God through it being the cherished ideal of a Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu strove to achieve it. It was generally believed that prayers and penitence, vigils and fasts, could best help a seeker of union with God in the pursuit of his ideal. But there is one essential requisite without which all efforts of the mystic are bound to prove futile. It is "Concentration". Therefore, the Sufi masters have laid great emphasis upon the training of heart. They insist upon it, acting according to the Tradition.
the Holy Prophet, namely "Concentration is of utmost importance in sufistic exercise." The Sarkhej Saint tried to follow this saying in letter and spirit and took up as his goal the attainments and traversing of the supreme stages prescribed by his eminent sufi predecessors, under the instruction of Babu Ishaq, his foster-father and spiritual guide Shaikh Ahmad Khattu had cultivated the spirit of self reliance, independence, courage and magnanimity of heart. The same spirit he infused in his disciples too. After settling down at Sarkhej where actually his spiritual career may be said to start, he rarely left his Khanqah or visited any body; on the contrary, kings and nobles used to come to his Khanqah to see him and seek his advise and blessings.

According to what Shaikh Mahmud Irají has recorded in his Tuhfatul-Majalis at various places, the Saint, like Ibnul-Arabi (d. 1241 A.D.), one of the greatest exponents of Sufi philosophy, regarded both nature and man as the mirror reflecting the Supreme Being. "Allah manifests himself in every atom of creation; He is revealed in every intelligible object and is concealed from every intelligence except the intelligence of those who say that the universe is His form and phenomenon (سمت وظیفه), in as much as it stands in the same relation to phenomenal object as the spirit of the body." Regarding the relation of Allah and man, Shaikh Ahmad is reported to have asserted, "Man is the form of Allah and Allah is the spirit of man:

\[
\text{"Allah created man after His own image".}
\]

Through man, Allah beholds the objects which he has created.

\[
\text{"I wished to display Myself and that is why I created the universe".}
\]

Furthermore, he says, man is the substance of every attribute wherewith he endows Allah; whoever contemplates Allah, contemplates himself. Attainment of union with God through the knowledge of Allah was the only end of man. And complete union of human soul with the supreme soul was not possible as long as the body lasted.

\[
\text{"Death is the bridge between the friend to the friend".}
\]
The Saint also says, Knowledge is acquired by Faith and Contemplation, in which human reason divests itself of its discursive or reflective faculty. The end of knowledge, according to him, is transcendental consciousness where the phenomenal vanishes in the presence of the actual, which is the stage called in Sufi parlance (دفناشته) Only gnosis (مرزح) is not enough. It must lead to the next and highest stage. Ultimate Truth, that is complete Union (زنگ) with Divinity, transportation of the whole of man from his baser being to the Unitive state. In this state, the Saint says, the mystic through self-annihilation (دفن) resides in eternal Reality with Allah (نبا). The illusion of subject and object having vanished. The sense of individuality dies, law and tend lose their meaning, and the seeker of God, Man joins the friend, God.

The Saint also believed in the fundamental Sufi belief that the mystic who sets out upon the path of Union (دنگ) through self-annihilation (دفن) needs a spiritual mentor to guide him on the right path. The Pir or Murshid, the guide, is the pivot round which the entire life machinery of a Sufi moves. His guides authority is absolute, as the poet Hafiz says;

 Shaikh Ahmad Khattu did not merely preach but put into practice what he taught. That is his genuine sufistic achievement; Unlike others who do not practice what they preach, are called pseudo Sufis. Shaikh Ahamd says.

"I have renounced this world. What wonderful thing I did."

The imperfect ones do not know of this point, what ball I have carried away from this field."

He also wrote in chaste Arabic, Risala-i-Ahmadiyya fi Manaqibil-Mashaikhil-Maghrabiya, a Treatise pertaining to the account of the Shaikhs of the Maghrabi order. In this treatise, which as its title suggests, the saint has given a brief account of the Maghribi saints by the Maghrabi order founded by Shaikh Abu Madyan Maghribi; It is more like a genealogical tree tracing the spiritual not lineal descent from the Holy Prophet to the author Shaikh Ahmad Khattu himself. This Risala is mentioned twice by the author of the Mirqat in his account of the discourses of the Saint. One mention is about the dream narrated by the Saint in which he saw Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Qadir
Jilani, holding a turban and offering one end to him and asking him to hold it. The other mention of the Risala is when Maulana Muhammad Qasim refers to the benefits of repetition of the Kalima (First Creed). He says, "In the Risala-i-Maghribiya the virtues of reciting the Kalima, which is written by Bandagi Makhddum Pole-star of the time and Shaikh of the world (i.e. Shaikh Ahmad) are mentioned with great emphasis, supported by proofs from the Book of God (Quran and the Traditions (Hadis).

The Risala, a small treatise of 47 pages, with 15 lines a page in the modern copy, is in chaste Arabic and shows the Saint's command over prose and simple but literary style. In this treatise, the Saint has mostly confirmed himself to give briefly notices of the Maghribi saints in the contact of the hierarchy of the Maghribi order or the spiritual genealogical table - shajara - as stated above. In the commentary written by one Ismail son of Ibrahim, called Sharh-i-Risala-i-Ahmadiya, notes on all the saints mentioned in this genealogical table will be found in their respective places. The said shajara — genealogical table is quoted below:

**GENEALOGICAL TREEE OF THE SAINT OF THE MAGHRIBI ORDER**

1. Hazrat Makhdum Ganj-i-Ahmad Maghribi
2. Babu Ishaq Maghribi
3. Shaikh Muhammad Hajaj Kimi
4. Shaikh Abul-Abbas Qarashi
5. Shaikh Ali Muhammad Salih
6. Shaikh Abu Madyan Shuaib (the founder of Maghribi order)
7. Shaikh Abu Masud Undlusi
8. Shaikh Abul-Barakat Yamani
9. Shaikh Abul-Fazl Baghdadi
10. Shaikh Imam Ahmad Ghazali
11. Shaikh Abu Bakr Nassaj
12. Shaikh Abul-Qasim Jurjani
13. Shaikh Abu Usman Tarabalasi
14. Shaikh Ali Khatib
15. Shaikh Abi Ali Rudbari
16. Khwaja Junaid Baghdadi
17. Khwaja Abul Hasan Sirri Saqati
18. Khawaja Maruf Karkhi
19. Khwaja Daud Tal
20. Khwaja Habib Ajami
22. Hazarat Rasul-i-Pak Ahmad Mujtaba Muhammad Mustafa
(May God's peace be on all of them).

In olden times, as also today, the term Maghrib Literally (west) was applied to the land situated to the west of Egypt comprising Tarablis, Al Jazair, Tunis, Morocco, etc. Hence the Sufi order which was founded by Shaikh Abu "Madyan who belonged to Maghrib is known as Maghrabi order.

On the other hand, the Mirgat, by quoting the discourses with the Saint and his experiences and discussions with disciples, admirers, visitors learned men Shaikhs and the like helps its readers to have an idea of the Saint's teaching and guidance in spiritual matters as well as theological problems. These topics including to same to which reference has been made earlier are Khaliq-i-afal (human action, who is responsible ?), man's existence (wujud) being the greatest hindrances in the Realisation of God (la hijaba illa wujuduk - none but your own existence is the curtain (between you and God), meaning of Khaliq "Creator" Faqr (Voluntary poverty), the hemistich

"I love the holy, but I am not one of them" in a couplet attributed to Imam Abu Hanifa; saying Qirat in Namaz prayers loudly or silently - قراءة مردي دهره: use of palanquin ruyat (seeing of God), Renewal of analogies - عفجة دماش: Knowledge of self - معرفة النفس: correct meaning of - He who knows his self, in his eyes everything becomes too small, etc. ^

The Saint had acquired such mastery over commonly used works on Jurisprudence like Aqida-i-Hafiziyya, Bazdavi, etc. that he could not only correct reading of corrupt or incomplete copies, but also solve some such difficult problems as could not be solved by eminent teachers.
Notes

3. Fawaidul-Fuad (Urdu Academy, Delhi, 1990),
4. A modern copy of this Risala exists in the Dargah Hazarat Pir Muhammad Shah Library. Some years back, a copy was got made from it for the library of the Dargah of Hazarat Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkerj, by that Dargah Committee Chairman the Late Ahmadi Esupji Patel, Advocate. Since then, the copy is untraceable, but the xerox of the copy made is to be found in the library of the Dargah Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah. Needless to say the copy has quite a few scribal errors.
5. Text, 95, 113.
6. A copy of this commentary also was in the Dargah Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah Library. A copy was got made for the Sarkerj Dargah Library by Mr. Patel of this manuscript also, which is now not traceable, but a modern copy made by the same scribe in fine Nastaliq writing is there.
8. Quite a few of these topics pertain to interpretations of Quranic verses and hadis or jurisprudence, scholasticism, etc. The Saint's views on certain ritual aspects of practical sufism are to be found in the previously mentioned Risala-i-Irshad-i-Ahmadiya fi bayan-i-iradat-i-itqadiya "Treatise on. The Direction of Ahmad in the exposition of the (problem of) discipleship by belief". A worm eaten somewhat damaged copy unique perhaps, of this important work written in Arabic by an anonymous author who was a disciple of Miyan Allauddin son of the Saint Ahmad's successor Shaikh Salahuddin, is preserved in the library of the Dargah Hazarat Pir Muhammad Shah Ahmadabad. Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic Persian and Urdu Manuscripts in the Dargah Hazarat Pir Muhammad Shah Library, Vol. IV (Ahmadabad, 1994) No. 1236, awaiting the attention of competent scholar.