CHAPTER IX

SHATTARI SAINTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

The attitude of the Muslim mystics towards the state has differed from time to time and has been determined by particular circumstances and situations but an established tradition of the early mystics has always been to give a wide berth to the government of the day. This attitude was based on the following considerations:

I. Government service distracted a mystic from the single minded pursuit of his ideal—living for the Lord alone.

II. Gnosis (ma’rifat) was beyond the reach of one who spent his time in shughl. The days when government service was a service of religion were dead and gone. Now it was the service of class interests and hence acceptance of government service amounted to signing one's own spiritual death—warrant.

1. The attitude of the early Indo Muslim Mystics towards the state has been discussed by Mr. K.A. Nizami in a series of articles in Islamic Culture, October, 1948- January 1950.

2. Shaikh Al-Hujwairi cites this sentence of Shibli (The poor man does not rest content with anything except God—Kashfu’l-Mahjub, Eng. Tr. p.25) for a very pathetic story of a mystic trying to live for the Lord alone, see Khair-u'l-Majalis p.178.

3. Siyar-u’l-Auliya, p.363. In medieval Persian literature the word Shughl is almost invariable used for government service. Amir Khurd quotes the following couplet of Baba Farid:

كرمال عنام مي داري طل ، از عالم خيشتن مهجور بلغي
III. The income of the rulers was through sources which had no legal sanction. Imam Ghazzali puts it: "In our times, the whole or almost the whole of the income of the Sultans is from prohibited sources. The permitted income is only sadqat, fey, and ghanimah and these have no existence in these days. Only the jiziyah remains but it is realized through such cruel means that it does not continue to be permitted." Consequently all services paid from these sources of income were illegal.

IV. All Muslim political organizations, from the fall of the Khilafat-i-Rashida to the rise of the Sultanate, were essentially secular organizations and had nothing to do with religion or religious ideals. The entire court-life and the governmental organization breathed an atmosphere so alien to the true spirit of Islam that it was impossible to serve the state without detriment to one's spiritual personality. Under the circumstances, as Imam Ghazzali argues, "the other alternative is that a man should keep aloof from kings so that he may not come face to face with them and this alone is feasible for there is safety in it. It is obligatory (on a mystic) to have the conviction that their cruelty deserves to be condemned. One should neither desire their continuance nor praise them nor enquire about their affairs, nor keep contact with their associates."¹

¹. Ihya-ul-Ulum, Chapter IV
V. If a mystic associated himself with the governing class, he isolated himself from the main sphere of his activity—the masses. He ceased to be one of them and became part of a bureaucratic machinery.

In view of all these facts the early Muslim mystics firmly advised their disciples: "If you desire to attain the position of great saints do not pay attention to the princes."¹

While discussing the ten cardinal principles of the Shattāri silsilah, Shaikh Bahā' ud-din, the author of Risalah-i-Shattāriyah lays great emphasis upon "resignation," "contentment" and "seclusion", implying thereby that any contact with centres of political power and authority was not justifiable according to the mystic principles.

The history of the Shattārī, however, shows that these basic ideals were rarely respected by their saints. They freely associated with kings and princes, led comfortable life and managed big jagirs. Their craze for political power was indeed irreconcilable with the highest traditions of the silsilah-i-Bustamīyah, their parent silsilah. Life of ecstasy, which was the only means of "Divine Realization" according to the Shattāris, could not possibly be led in the suffocating atmosphere of the court. Their life contradicted their philosophy and their philosophy contradicted their life. They tried to resolve this contradiction by the plea so common yet so unconvincing in

¹ Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 75.
spiritual history: "welfare of the people", they said, "obliged them to adopt such a course."¹ Sheikh Sadr ud-Din Dhikiri told Ghauthi, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, that if welfare of the people be the leitmotif of a saint in associating with the rich, he is above blame.²

Shaikh 'Abdullah and his relations with the rulers.

When Shaikh 'Abdullah, the founder of the Shaṭṭāri silsila, reached India, the country was divided into a number of independent kingdoms. He was received differently in the different kingdoms he visited during his Indian itinerary. The Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur did not receive him with an open heart.³ Probably, it was the military outfit of his disciples that created suspicion in his mind. Under such circumstances Shaikh 'Abdullah

1. Long before Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, Hadrat Sufyan Thauri had written to Hadrat 'Ibad bin 'Ibad

(You abstain from mixing with nobles, and abstain also from being deceived by saying that you go to the rich just to recommend some one, or to defend some innocent man, or to establish some one's right. All these are deceptions of the devil)—vide Islamic Culture, October 1948.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) r.290

could hardly stay in Jaunpur. He then turned towards Malwa.

Sultan Ghiyath-u'd-din Khalji was, at that time, besieging the fortress of Chittor and so far all his efforts to occupy it had proved abortive. He sought the Shaikh's blessings and when, quite unexpectedly, the fortress fell he attributed his success to the blessings of the Shaikh. He requested the Shaikh to settle in Mandu. Shaikh 'Abdullah complied with his request and not only made Mandu his permanent abode but maintained amicable relations with the sultan also. The fact that he dedicated his famous book Lata'if-i-Qhaibihah to sultan Ghiyath-u'd-din shows the extent to which he had identified himself with the rulers of Malwa.

Shaikh Muhammad Shauth, one of the most popular saints of the Shattari silsilah, played a more significant role in contemporary politics. He extended his hand of cooperation to Babur and helped him in consolidating Mughal power in India. After the battle of Panipat, Babur found himself confronted with the difficult problem of dealing with a number of Afghan nobles who exercised almost independent power in their jagirs and principalities. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani, the Chief of Gwalior joined hands with the Chief of Mewat, Rabiri, Binaisa, Etawah, Dholpur and Kalpi and adopted a hostile attitude towards Babur.¹ But soon afterwards

¹. P. de Courteille, II p. 233; Ilminski p. 381 as cited by Rughbrook Williams in his "An Empire Builder of the 16th Century" p. 140.
he realized that a policy of resistance against the Mughals could not yield fruitful results. He offered to submit to Babur. But before the actual surrender could take place he again changed his mind and decided to deceive Babur. At this stage Shaikh Muhammad Ghaouth played a very important role and facilitated the Mughal occupation of Gwalior. Babur sent Khwajah Rahimdad, Mulla Afaq and Shaikh Guran to take charge of the fort, but Tātār Khān now went back from his promise and shut himself up in the fort. At this stage the Shaikh sent a message to Rahimdad apprising him of the intention of Tātār Khān to play a foul game with Rahimdad and advised him to enter the fort through some subterfuge. Rahimdad acted accordingly and sent a diplomatic message to Tātār Khān in which he expressed his fear at the preparations of the hostile neighbouring chiefs and sought protection for himself also. Tātār Khān did not understand the trick and was inveigled into extending the necessary permission to pass the night in the fort. While Rahimdad had arranged all this, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaouth supported him in a different way. He ordered his disciples, who were gate keepers of the fort, to open the gates for the Mughal army. Thus the Mughal soldiers entered the fort. Tātār Khān was taken by surprise when he found the Mughal army inside the fort. There was no alternative but to surrender to the Mughal generals. Thus the conquest of Gwalior by the generals of Babur

was made possible by the intercession and help of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. The circumstances which forced the Shaikh to resort to such an extreme action are not known, but probably personal bitterness against Tātār Khān was one of the factors responsible for this. It is said that Tātār Khān had patronised Sayyid Muhammad Sarani, another Saint of Gwalior, with whom the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth were not cordial at that time.

Shāfītāri Saints as teachers of occult sciences at the court of Humayun.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and his brother Shaikh Bahlul were known for their interest in occult and thaumaturgical sciences in which they had acquired great proficiency. Humayun's interest in astronomy drew him to a study of these sciences also and he established contact with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Bahlul. Bada'uni informs us:

همایون با ادبیات ریسمه‌های این میرزاوت نسبت قندت و اخلاص بکمال به جناده یکم کسی گرایشه داشته بایدند و طریق دوست اسما آئین انت یاد مکنند ۱

("Humayun had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism.")

All later Mughal historians, including Jahangir, confirm this and speak in detail about Humayun's cordial and respectful relations with these two brothers. According to Muntamid Khan they were not merely associates but were companions with strong spiritual affinities (متعلقان رحبان).

It is, however, surprising that Abul Faqil strikes an altogether different note. He speaks about their influence on Humayun in most disparaging terms and remarks: "Though these two brothers were void of excellences or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages and practised incantation with the Divine Names. They made these the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining, by the help of simpletons, the society of princes and nobility by fraud. His elder and amirs, they put saintliness to sale and acquired lands and/

brother (Shaikh Bahlul) was in the service of Jannat Ahsani (Humayun), and as the later was inclined towards magic he held the Shaikh in reverence. The Shaikh (Bahlul) also privately and when in the company of simple ones used to boast of his having relations with H.M. Jahanbani of devotion and teachership.¹

There is no doubt about it that some nobles and even theologians had joined the order of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth because of his intimate relationship with Humayun but Abul Fadl's remarks are, to say the least about them, most uncharitable.²

2. Sādīq Khān the author of Tabāqat-i-Shāhjahānī, [MS.] f.250

"From amirs to wazir all became murids and believers in them. Humayun used to behave towards Shaikh Bahlul like a disciple. His Majesty joined his order and, willy nilly, the scholars and courtiers of the king like Maulānā Jalāl-ud-din Taṭṭāwī and Maulana Muhammad Pir 'Ali also emulated the king and joined his discipline."

Ghauthi refers to courtiers, like Maulānā Jalāl-ud-din Taṭṭāwī and Maulana Muhammad Pir 'Ali who had joined his order more in view of the influence that he commanded at the court than his spiritual excellence, Gulzār-i-Abrar (RG.) f. 149.
These brothers stood by Humayun not only in the days of his ascendency but supported him even in his adversity. Shaikh Bahlul gave his life for his support of Humayun against Mirza Hindal and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaut incurred the displeasure of Sher Shah for his support to Humayun.

During his stay at Chunar Humayun received information about the rebellious intentions of Mirza Hindal. It was a critical moment and he could not afford to leave Chunar without accomplishing his objective. He sent Shaikh Bahlul to persuade Hindal to abandon his seditious activities and cooperate with Humayun. When the Shaikh reached the outskirts of the city, Hindal came out and received him warmly. Due to the immense moral influence which the Shaikh had over the people, Hindal hesitated for some time to proceed with his plans. But, later on when Haji Muhammad Khan Koki, Dindar Baig, Khusrau Kokaltash, Mirza Nur-u'd-din Muhammad and some other selfish nobles arrived in Agra and began to persuade Hindal to declare his independence, the presence of Shaikh Bahlul was considered to be the only hurdle in the way. Hindal permitted Nur-u'd-din to deal with the Shaikh as he thought fit. Nur-u'd-din concocted a false charge against the Shaikh that he had secret correspondence with Sher Shah and was supplying horses to the Afghans. The purpose behind these calumnious charges was to provoke the Mughal nobles

2. Tarikh-i-Humayun Shahi, (RG.) ff. 18, 19.
3. Tadhkirat-u'l-Waqi'at, (RG.) ff. 18, 19; Tarikh-i-Humayun Shahi, (RG.) f. 23.
against the Shaikh and to provide a moral justification for his execution. After thus discrediting the Shaikh, Nur-u'd-din got him executed in 945 A.H./1538 A.D. at Shahibagh in Agra. As the Shaikh was held in high esteem by the ladies of the harem, there was considerable resentment among the Mughal ladies on this execution. When Hindal visited his mother to congratulate her on his assumption of royal power, he found her in mourning dress. She rebuked Hindal for the heinous murder he had committed.

The execution of Shaikh Bahlul at the hands of Hindal further cemented the relations of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Humayun. When Humayun went on exile, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth found northern India too hot for him. He migrated to Gujarat to hide his head under safer clime. Abul Fadl suggests, probably in order to belittle his services to the Mughal rulers, that it was nothing but mere fear that drove the Shaikh to Gujarat. Badauni, on the contrary, definitely says:

جَوَّنَ عِنْصُرَهُ ، دُرْرَةَ الْبَدْرِ ، مَسْحُ مَعْلُوْدٍ ـ مُّفِكِّرٍ بَاتِبِعٍ مَهْدَهُ.

("As Sher Shah began to give Shaikh Muhammad trouble he left for Gujarat.")

Even when in exile, Humayun did not forget Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi and frequently exchanged letters with him. Once he wrote to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauthi:

"..."
"After respects and kissing of hands I beg to represent that the favour of the Almighty together with the guidance of your Reverence and of all the dervishes have brought me out from the defiles of difficulty into ease. What has occurred from intriguing fate has not grieved me further than it has excluded me from serving your Reverence. At every breath and at every step my thought was how will those demon-natured men (Sher Shah and the other Afghans) behave to that angelic personage. When I heard that your Reverence had at about the same time departed to Gujrat, my heart was somewhat relieved from this anxiety. My hope in God is that as He has brought you out from the trouble of that worthless one, He will also free me from the pain of seeming separation. Good God! How shall I render thanks for His goodness in guiding me? In spite of many calamities which to outward appearance have involved me, in the core of my heart, the abode of worship of Oneness, there has not been a title of rift or failure. May the path of coming and going always be trodden and be wide enough for the transit of the caravan of my good wishes!"

To this letter Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth replied:

The arrival of the distinguished letter of the sovereign, and the perusal of the honoured writing of Humāyūn have brought the blessing of life to the faithful in this country. It conveyed also the intelligence of the health and wealth of the servants of the stirrup. What has been written is in accordance with the essence of things. There is no grief for what has occurred.

Verse

The word which comes from the heart assuredly settles in the heart (of the recipient).

My prayer is, May my Lord’s crowned head be not disturbed by the sad events!

Verse

To the traveller in the right path whatever happens is for his good.

Whenever God designs to lead His servant to perfection He cherishes him both by His beautiful and His terrible attributes. The beautiful attributes have had their cycle; now, for some days, is the time of the terrible ones. As has been said, "with pleasures come pains, with pains come pleasures." The time of the beautiful attributes will soon come again, for according to the 'Arabian canon, one pain comes between two pleasures. And because the extent of the enclosed is less than the extent of the enclosing, the bride


2. The reference is to Sura 94, vv. 5 and 6. "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease". The repetition is taken to mean that for every difficulty there are two pleasures.
of success will soon take her seat on the marriage-dais. May God grant this, and praise be to God both now and hereafter.\(^1\)

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Akbar

During Humayun's absence from India Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth built a Khanqah and a mosque at Ahmadabad and settled there permanently.\(^2\) When Humayun came back to India he also decided to return to Delhi. But he was not destined to meet Humayun. Humayun's accidental death delayed his departure for some time. When he reached Delhi, Akbar was on the throne. It was but natural that Akbar developed faith in Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth whose attachment with Humayun was now a known fact. Badauni who was jealous of every one held in respect by the Emperor, remarks in a pungent manner:

While at Gujarat he (Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth) had by means of inducements and incitements, brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher.\(^3\)

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The Shaikh visited Agra in Rajab 966 A.H./1558 A.D. Akbar went out to receive him. This was too much for those theologians and scholars who were desperately and jealously trying to maintain their exclusive hold over the mind of the Emperor. Shaikh Gādai, the Sadr-us-Sudur, was the first to take up cudgels against him. Badauni informs us:

(But his arrival was displeasing to Shaikh Gādai who on account of jealousy hypocrisy and envy — which to the saints of Hindustan, in their feelings towards one another, are the very necessaries of life — looked on his arrival as a case of opening a shop in the story above his own shops—

'The Truth of this proverb wisdom will see, that, Two of a trade can never agree'.)

He organized a campaign of vilification against the Shaikh. The Shaikh had, while describing his spiritual experiences, remarked in his book Mairāj Nāmāh that in his waking moments he

had an interview and conversation with the Lord — an experience which, according to him, gave him superiority over the Prophet. 1

Shaikh Gādai brought this to the notice of Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khanān and poisoned his mind against the Shaikh. When the Shaikh met Khān-i-Khanān, the later received him coldly and began to criticise the M'airāj Nāmaḥ. Shaikh Gādai had made him so bitter against the Shaikh that he began to think of inflicting severe punishments on the Shaikh. Abul Faḍl informs us that it was through the intercession of some people that the Shaikh got rid of the terror ( of Khān-i-Khanān. 2

The Shaikh then returned to Gwālior. But the circumstances under which he had to leave Agra added to Akbar’s bitterness against the Khān-i-Khanān. Ferishtah writes: "Due to the retirement of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth to his native town Gwālior Akbar was further annoyed with Bairam Khān. 3 When Bairam Khān realised the gravity of the situation, he sought to make amends for his past conduct by granting a maintenance allowance of one crore tankas 4 to the Shaikh. The author of Zakhirat-ul-Khawānin says

1. Vide M'airāj Nāmaḥ, (MS.).
2. 3. Tarikh-i-Ferishtāh, Vol. II p. 323.
5. Zakhirat-ul-Khawānin, (MS.) f. 45; See also p. 54 Supra.
that a jagir of nine Lac of rupees was conferred on him. He adds further that the saint lived in such affluent circumstances that he had forty elephants in his possession. But the grant of this allowance does not seem to have brought about conciliation between the Saint and the regent. Contemporary authorities are silent about the relations of the Shaikh with Bairam Khan. But Khwāfi Khan makes a very significant statement when he says that Maham Anka, Adham Khan Kokā and Ahmad Khan (son in law of Maham Ankā), had sought the Shaikh's cooperation and moral support against Bairam Khan. If we read the following remark of Badauni with the above statement of Khwāfi Khan the position becomes fairly clear. He says:

"Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth used to attribute the subsequent confusion (in the affairs of Bairam Khan) to his own attention."

Sometime after the fall of Bairam Khan Akbar paid a respect visit to the Shaikh at Gwalior. The purpose of the visit was given out to be to obtain bulls and some ointments of Gujarāt from the Shaikh. It has already been noted that the Shaikh was particularly interested in keeping bulls. During his conversation with Akbar the Shaikh asked: "Have you chosen your spiritual guide?" The Emperor replied in the negative. Thereupon

the Shaikh politely took his hand in his own and said: "Now I am your spiritual teacher." 1 Akbar smiled but did not utter a word. According to Abul Fadl it was merely due to 'courtesy' and 'shyness' that Akbar did not speak on this occasion. 2 Probably his silence was deliberate and diplomatic. He was not inclined to have the relationship of pir and murid with any one. Any adverse comment on Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's gesture would have been both impolitic and impolite because it would have injured the feelings and susceptibilities of an elder saint who had suffered for his father and had helped his grandfather during very critical periods.

Abul Fadl says that later on Akbar related to his courtiers the details of his interview with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and "laughed over the trick of getting the bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm". 3 Abul Fadl further speaks about the Shaikh in most derogatory terms. 4 He calls him "boast-


(under their variegated robes they have nooses.
See the long arms of these short-sleeved ones.)
ful simpleton, and makes every possible effort to convince the reader that the Emperor had no genuine or sincere attachment with the Shaikh. We are not, due to the silence of the Shattari writers and the brief accounts of the court chroniclers, in a position to analyse the reasons for Akbar's indifference and Abul Faḍl's bitterness towards the Shaikh. The Shaikh had supported the Mughal rulers from the earliest times and had so completely identified himself with them that he had to suffer great hardships during the Sur interregnum. Besides, the Shaikh was a man who could be of great help to Akbar in implementing his policy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace with all). The Shaikh was respected by the Hindus and the Musalmans alike and was a keen student of Hindu religious thought and was of superbly tolerant and catholic views.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's attitude towards Akbar, however, remained uniformly sympathetic. A few months before his death he rendered valuable service to Akbar in connection with the occupation of the fortress of Chunar. One of the Shaikh's disciples, Fattu, was incharge of the fort. Akbar sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Asaf Khan to him. Fattu surrendered the fort to the Mughals.

Shaikh Abdullah in the service of Akbar.

Akbar maintained his relations with the house of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth even after the death of the saint. It was at the instance of Akbar that the Shaikh's son, 'Abdullah, joined the imperial service.

Shaikh 'Abdullah served the Emperor in different capacities. In the beginning he moved with the army probably in some religious capacity. Later on he was given a very important diplomatic assignment and was sent to Badakhshan.¹

When Akbar sent A'zam Khan to the Deccan, Shaikh 'Abdullah was sent to assist him.² In 999 A.H./1590 A.D. he was sent with Murad to the government of Mālwā.³ In the beginning he was given the rank of nine hundred sawar, but ultimately, according to the author of Zakhirat-u'l-Khawanin, he got the mansab of three thousand sawar.⁴

After serving the army for forty years, Shaikh 'Abdullah retired in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.

1. Gulsār-i-Abrār, (RG.) f.313; Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, (MS.)
Shaikh Diaullah in the Ibadat Khānah of Akbar

While Shaikh 'Abdullah had joined the service of the state, his younger brother, Shaikh Diaullah, lived on funeh, unasked for charity. When Jalāl Khān Qurehi visited him at Agra, he found him in extremely indigent circumstances. He reported this fact to Akbar who was deeply touched when he heard that starvation conditions prevailed in the house of the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. On the completion of the building of Ibadat Khānah in 983 A.H./1575 A.D., Akbar invited Shaikh Diaullah to Agra and entertained him there. He allotted to him a house also in the neighbourhood of the Ibadat Khānah.

Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi's attitude towards the rulers and the bureaucracy was consistently this: He never took the initiative in establishing contact with them but when they came to him he never refused an interview and did not decline to accept their gifts. He did not, however, allow the atmosphere

3. Details are given on pp. 70 - 77 Supra.
of the court to permeate the portals of his Khāngāh. Honest and truthful in his dealings, kind and considerate in his attitude towards all, he never refused help to any body, high or low. Eminent nobles of Gujārāt, like 'Imād-u'll-Mulk Arsālān, Sher Kān and others, kept their valuables in his custody and he never betrayed the trust of anybody. When Akbar reached Gujārāt in 1573 A.D. in order to take the recalcitrant nobility to task, some nobles placed their jewellery in his custody. The imperial officers came to know of this fact. They searched his house, confiscated the jewellery and reported the matter to Akbar who showed his usual caution in punishing the Shaikh. He summoned him to his presence and interrogated him as to how he got involved in such matters. The Shaikh's candid reply was that due to his acquaintance with the nobles he had permitted them to occupy one of his houses where they stored all their valuable belongings. Akbar appreciated the Shaikh's truthful reply and pardoned him.

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Another important saint associated with the Shattārī silsila who was rather unwillingly drawn to the court was Gādī Jalāl-u'd-din Multānī, a disciple of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Ālāvi. He led a life of resignation and contentment at Agra and earned his livelihood by some business on a small scale. This business

also was subsequently given up by him and he took to teaching profession.\(^1\) Akbar was impressed by his learning and integrity. In 983 A.H./1575 A.D. he appointed him as the chief Gādi (Qādi-ul-Qūdāt) in place of Gādi Ya'qūb. The Emperor asked him also to write a commentary on the Qurān and placed at his disposal the services of some theologians.\(^2\) When the Ulama issued the famous Mahrāz which gave to Akbar (the imām-i-'adil) a higher place than a mujtahid, and gave him the authority to accept any interpretation 'provided it was in conformity with some verse of the Qurān (nas) and was of benefit to the people', Gādi Jalāl was also asked to put his seal on this document.\(^3\) He was reluctant to endorse this document and put his seal on it after considerable hesitation.\(^4\) As was quite natural, Gādi Jalāl's prestige at the court suffered a serious set-back on this account. Later on some charges of malversation against his son further damaged his position.\(^5\) Akbar banished him to the Deccan. Badauni says that the Emperor was under the impression that the Gādi's anti Shiah views would lead to his humiliation and execution at the hands of the Shiah rulers of the Deccan.\(^6\) Contrary to Akbar's

5. Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III p. 228. The author of Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, (Vol. II p. 313) says that the Gādi himself had embezzled half million takaas. But Badauni cannot be given any credence in face of Abūl Fadl's statement to the contrary.
expectations Qādi Jalāl was cordially received in the south, probably because he was not liked by Akbar, and the ruler of Bijapur offered a Jagir to him.¹

Shaikh Isa and Akbar

Shaikh Isa, another important Shattari saint, maintained amicable relations with Sultan Bahadur Shāh Faruqi of Khāndesh (1005 - 1008 A.H./1596 - 1599 A.D.). When Akbar invaded Asirgarh in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D., the Sultan sought the moral support of Shaikh Isa. Akbar was bitterly annoyed at this. When he occupied the fort he threw Shaikh Isa into prison. It was after sometime that Akbar released him at the intercession of Shaikh Abdullah.²

The Shattāri saints of Ahmadabad and their relations with Jahangir

The family of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Alavi could not maintain dignified aloofness from the rulers or the bureaucracy. Probably Jahangir himself took the initiative in this matter. He remarks in his memoirs:

"A firman was written to Murtuda Khan, governor of Gujarat, that as the good conduct and excellence and abstemiousness of the son of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din had been reported to me, he should handover to him from me a sum of money, and that he should write and send me some of the names of God which had been tested."  

When Jahangir reached the suburbs of Ahmadabad, the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din came out of the city and accorded a hearty welcome to him. 

Jahangir thus describes his visit to the Khānqāh of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din: "On Sunday the 27th, I went to the monastery of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din which was near the palace, and the fatihah was read at the head of his shrine which is in the court of the monastery. Sadiq Khan, who was one of the chief Amirs of my father, built this monastery. Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din was adorned with visible
excellences and spiritual perfection. He died thirty years ago in this city (Ahmadabad), and after him Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah, according to his father's will, took his place. He was a very ascetic dervish. When he died his son Shaikh Asad-u'llah sat in his place, and also quickly went to the eternal world. After him his brother Shaikh Haidar became lord of the prayer carpet, and is now alive, and is employed at the grave of his father and grandfather in the service of dervishes and is looking after their welfare. The traces of piety are evident on the forehead of his life. As it was the anniversary festival of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, 1500 rupees were given to Shaikh Haidar for the expenses of the anniversary, and I bestowed with my own hand Rs.1500 more in charity, on the hand of fakirs who were present in the monastery, and made a present of 500 rupees to a brother of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din. In the same way I gave something for expenses and land to each of his relatives and adherents according to his merit. I ordered Shaikh Haidar to bring before me the body of dervishes and deserving people who were associated with him, in order that they might ask for money for expenses and for land.¹

Besides these grants, Jahangir gave a robe of honour together with a sum of five hundred rupees to Shaikh Ismail son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth,² and bestowed on the mystics of Gujarāt robes of honour, maintenance allowances and books from his

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 211.
Later on he ordered Shaikh Ahmad Sadr and other officers to present before him mystics and needy people for the distribution of alms and charities. He appointed some ladies also in the Harām to distribute money and land among the poor women.

It appears from some Mughal documents which are preserved in the Khānqāh that Jahangir had given five villages, Risodra, Babar Tankah (manglore) Barījār, Dastral, Pantali and Hirna — to Shaikh Haider for the maintenance of the Khānqāh, the Madrasah and the tomb of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din.

Indeed the visit of Jahangir to Ahmadabad symbolised the departure of the descendants of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din from the traditions of their distinguished ancestor. The royal visitor scattered gifts right and left and created inordinate love for jagirs and lands in their hearts.

Another important Shāttārī saint with whom Jahangir was on the best of terms was Shāh Pir. The Miftah-ut-Tavārikh quotes the following verses about his council with Jahangir:

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In my days without any doubt.

Shaikh Pir knows the divine secrets.

Jahangir is one of his disciples

Who is king of India and Kashmir.

Jahangir also constructed a mausoleum over his grave.

After Jahangir the Shaṭṭārī saints seem to have severed completely their relations with the state and adopted the earlier traditions of the Chishti mystics. This attitude was, to some extent, dictated by the changed religious atmosphere at the Mughal court. After Jahangir, the policy of the Mughal state deviated from the lines laid down by Akbar. The growing Naqshbandi influence at the court, which reached its highest water mark during the reign of Aurangzeb, made it impossible for the Shaṭṭāris to have any contact with the court. Shaikh Bashid refused to meet Shah Jahan and Shaikh Burhan showed no consideration to Aurangzeb when he visited his Khanqah at Burhanpur.