CHAPTER III

SHĀṬṬĀRĪ SILSILA UNDER SHAIKH BAHLUL

AND

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GAUTH OF GWALIOR

It was under two distinguished disciples of Shaikh Zahir Hamid - Shaikh Bahlul and Shaikh Muhammad Gauth of Gwalior - that the Shattārī silsila reached its highest watermark. They perfected its ideology, gave it a manual, organized its branches at important centres and attracted all sorts of people, high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims to their hospices. But for Shaikh Muhammad Gauth the Shattārī silsila would have remained limited in its sphere of activity and extent of influence on the general currents of Indian society.

Shaikh Bahlul: 1

Shaikh Bahlul's 2 full name was Farid-u'd-din Ahmad

1. Biographical references are found in the following books:

Jahangir. It was during his childhood that he joined the discipline of Shaikh Hamid and began to live with him. Shaikh Hamid subsequently granted the patent of spiritual authority (Khilafat Namah) to him. He belonged to a family known for its association with the great mystic poet Shaikh Farid-u'd-din 'Attar.\(^1\) His genealogy is thus recorded in early works: Shaikh Bahlul, Khatir u'd-din, 'Abdul Latif, Mu'in-u'd-din Qaṭṭāl, Khatir-u'd-din, Bayazid, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din 'Attār.\(^2\) His father, Khatir-u'd-din, had great faith in mystics and so he got his two sons - Shaikh Bahlul and Muhammad Ghauth - initiated into the discipline of Shaikh Zâhur Hamid, and placed them under his supervision. The Shaikh looked after the boys with great care and took keen interest in the development of their moral and spiritual personalities.

Shaikh Bahlul was keenly interested in occult practices and exorcism and it was on that account that Humayun admitted him into the circle of his companions and advisers.\(^3\) According

\(^1\) For his life see, The Literary History of Persia, Vol.II pp.50-6-514; Mirza Muhammad Qazwini's Introduction to Nicholson's edition of Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya.

\(^2\) Jawahir-i-Khamsah, (MS.) on f. 2 says:

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\text{فَقَالَ ظَفِيرُ الْرَّاجِيَ إِلَى اللَّهِ بِلَكَ الْقَدْرِ السَّلاَمُ عِبَادِي الَّذِينَ لَا يَتَّبِعُونَ \}
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\text{الجِبَلِ مُحَدَّرًا بِخُطِيرَالْدِينِ بَنْ عَادٍ الطَّيِّفِ بِحُسَنِ الْدِّينِ قَتَالُ بِنْ} \]

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\text{خُطِيرَالْدِينِ بَنْ بَابِـيَـذَ بَنِ خَواَجَةِ فِرْدَالْدِينِ عُنْـارَ} \]

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\text{Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) f. 93.} \]

to Jahangir, Humayun had great affection for him. The Emperor's regard for him enhanced his prestige among the people. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani* gives the following information: "The austerities and penitences which these two brothers practised are such that probably no later saint has practiced them. And they achieved so great success in the science of incantation, exorcism and in captivating the people that no body could have achieved such success. It was on that account that all people including nobles and ministers developed deep faith in him. Humayun conducted himself before Shaikh Bahlul (cis) like a disciple. When he (actually) became his disciple, 'ulama and scholars and companions of the king, like Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Tatwi who was one of the great scholars of the time and was very close to the Emperor, and Maulana Muhammad Pir Ali who was a person unique in many respects, followed the Emperor (in joining the discipline of Shaikh Bahlul)."

Shaikh Bahlul lived at the court of Humayun and accompanied him on his expeditions. When Humayun was engaged in a conflict with Sher Shah in Bengal, Shaikh Bahlul was also with him. On receiving the news of the revolt of Mirza Hindal, Humayun sent Shaikh Bahlul to dissuade the Mirza from his contumacious activities. When Shaikh Bahlul reached the outskirts

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of the city, Hindal came out to receive him. It was due to his persuasion that the Mirza gave up the idea of revolt. But Haji Muhammad Khan Toki, Dindar Baig, Husrau Kokaltash, Mirza Nur-u'd-din Muhammad and some other seditious nobles reached Agra and began to incite Hindal to declare his independence. Since the presence of Shaikh Bahlul was considered undesirable, some people began to suggest ways and means to get rid of him.

Hindal entrusted the matter to Nur-u'd-din and asked him to deal with Shaikh Bahlul as he thought fit. Nur-u'd-din charged Shaikh Bahlul of being in league with Sher Shah. Gulbadan positively states that Shaikh Bahlul concealed armour and military stores in an underground place and would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Sher Khan and the Mirzas. This charge was sufficient to provoke the Mughal nobles and create hatred against the Shaikh. They killed Shaikh Bahlul on the sand of the Shahibagh at Agra in 945 A.H./1538 A.D.

Abul Fadl speaks of a conspiracy among the officers to put the Shaikh to death publicly. He further says that it was at the suggestion of Mirza Nur-u'd-din Muhammad that this plan

2. Tazkirat-u'l-Waqi'at, (RG.) ff. 18, 19;
4. i.e. "Char Bagh" on the bank of the Ganges, built by Babur. Tuzuk, p. 258.
was prepared and that it was Hindal who had issued the necessary orders. The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* clearly states the circumstances and motives of the Shaikh's death. He says that the Shaikh was executed on the pretext of being in league with the Afghans, but in reality his death was brought about by the amirs who wanted to widen the breach between Mirza Hindal and Humayun. All the authorities agree in saying that the suspicion to which Gulbadan alludes was ill-founded. The death of the Shaikh was due to the instigation of nobles who egged on the young prince to commit treason against his elder brother and Emperor.

Shaikh Bahlul had a large number of followers in Agra. They recovered his body and a disciple of the Shaikh, Muhammad Bakhshi, took it to Biyanah and buried it there.

Shaikh Bahlul commanded great respect and influence among the ladies of the haram. His assassination was deeply resented by them. When Hindal went to see his mother, he found her in mourning dress. She was so deeply distressed at the execution of Shaikh Bahlul that she rebuked Hindal severely on that account. "You have killed the Shaikh; why do you delay about me," she is reported to have remarked.

Shaikh Bahlul's fame rests mainly on his knowledge of
magic, exorcism and conjuration. Mirza Nazir refers to him in
that context¹ and all the other Mughal historians have referred
to this aspect of the Shaikh's interests.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth²

The most outstanding figure of the Shatari silsilah
was Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior. It was under his su-
ervision that, in the words of the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar,
the Shatari babe grew into manhood. His erudition, penitences
and prestige added to the popularity of the silsilah and people
who were indifferent towards it in the beginning were drawn by
him towards the Shatari mystic principles.

¹ Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 398.
² Biographical references are found in the following books:
Jawahir-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267; Awdad-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.)
ff. 18, 52, 95, 98; Mairaj Namah, (MS.); Bahr-i-Mayat,
(MS.); Babur Namah, Vol. II pp. 539, 540, 608, 690;
Tahqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II pp. 22, 23, 140, 142, 482;
293; Akbar-u'l-Akhgar, p. 241; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh,
Vol. II pp. 34, 63, 118, 119; Vol. III pp. 4,5,6;
Gulzar-i-Abrar, (RG.) ff. 187,188,189,190,191,192,193,194;
Tahqat-i-Shahjahan, (MS.) pp. 300,301; Ma'arij-u'l-
Welayat, (MS.) Vol. II pp. 582,583,584; Maathir-u'l-
Umara, Vol. II pp. 577,578,579; Mirat-u'l-Asrar, (MS.)
f. 355; Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya, (MS.) ff. 93,94; Gwalior Namah,
(RG.) f. 148; Bahr-i-Zakhkar, (MS.) pp. 953,954;
Risalah-i-Ibrahimi, (MS.) f. 179; A'in-i-Akbari, (MS.)
ff. 295,297; Mifkah-u't-
Tawarikh, pp. 173,177; Mahfil-i-Asfiya Majma-u'l-Auliya,
(MS.) Fakhri Khazal-iyah Shatariyyah, (MS.) p. 14;
It was in his early youth that Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth joined the discipline of Shaikh Zahur Hamid who took keen personal interest in his affairs. After initial training in mystic discipline he asked him to proceed to Chunar and devote his time to spiritual practices. Muhammad Ghauth carried out the instructions of his mystic-master faithfully and subjected himself to the most severe austerities for more than thirteen years. Bada'uni informs us that during his stay at Chunar he subsisted on the leaves of trees. It was here in the sequestered corners of Vindhya Chal that he came into contact with the Hindu Yogis - a contact which played a very vital part in shaping his religious thought and outlook. Though the early Indo-Muslim records refer to the contact of the Muslim mystics with the Hindu Yogis at Ajodhan, but that contact was casual. Probably no other Indo-Muslim saint came so close to the Yogis as Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.

1. Chunar is a tahsil in the Mirzapur district. It is about three miles from the river Ganges. District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, of Agra and Oudh (Mirzapur) Vol. XXVII pp. 8, 316.

2. Jawahār-i-Khamsah, (MS.) f. 267; Awrād-i-Ghauthiyah, (MS.) f. 18; Gulzar-i-Abrār, (RG.) f. 188.

3. In his Jawahār-i-Khamsah, (f.267), he says:

این دویش سیسته سال و هفت ماه درگوستان جنابه عمان
مستور راست کنید
(This dervish applied himself in seclusion to penitences for 13 years and seven months in the hills of Chunar.)


5. Bahr-u'l-Hayāt, (MS.)

6. Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, pp. 84-85; 245.
During his stay at Chunar, Shaikh Ghauth prepared a record of the teachings of his spiritual master, Shaikh Zahir Hamid, under the title Jawahir-i-Khamsah. When Haji Hamid returned from his travels in Bengal, Shaikh Ghauth presented this book to him. The Shaikh liked it immensely but he did not want his disciple to develop the tendencies of a recluse. He, therefore, asked him to return to Gwalior and live in human company. Shaikh Ghauth had, by now, so developed his personality that as soon as he settled in Gwalior he became the cynosure of public eyes. All sorts of people began to throng his dwelling. It was probably due to his influence over the people that Tātār Khān Sarang Khāni, the Afghan Chief of Gwalior, grew suspicious of him and, as was inevitable, relations between them became strained. When Babur turned his attention towards Gwalior, the Shaikh extended a helping hand to him.

1. See Jawahir-i-Khamsah (f. 3) where he remarks:


When Babur dealt a death blow to the central Afghan power in India, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani and the chiefs of Biyanah, Jhelum, Jholpur, Sabiri, Etawah and Kalpi adopted a policy of resistance towards him. "Those miserable heretics," remarks Babur "were the promoters of all the agitations and disturbances which surrounded us." But, when reports of Rajput activities reached Tatar Khan, he realised the impending danger and revised his policy towards Babur and offered voluntary submission to him. But he was not sincere in his submission. When Babur dispatched Khwajah Rahim-Dad, Ulla Afaq and Shaikh Suran to receive his surrender, Tatar Khan shut himself in the fort and adopted an attitude of defiance and resistance. At this juncture Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth threw his weight about in favour of Babur and sent a message to Rahim Dad: "Get yourselves into the fort somehow, for the views of this person (Tatar Khan) have changed, and he has evil in his mind." Probably acting upon this advice of the Shaikh, Rahim Dad sent a message to Tatar Khan and earnestly requested him to permit him to stay in the fort as he was surrounded by enemies on all sides. Tatar Khan permitted him.


2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II on pp. 22-23 says that the Mughal army besieged the fortress but did not succeed until Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth directed it to enter in the fort with some trick. This information seems to be incorrect in view of Babur's statement that while the army was approaching Jwalior Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had sent the necessary information to it. Vide Babur Namah, Vol. II p. 540.
to come in with a limited number of soldiers. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth secretly instructed the gate-keepers, who were his disciples\(^1\) to open the gate at night and admit the entire Mughal force. Tātar Khan was taken by surprise when he found the Mughal army in his fort. Surrender to the Mughal generals was unavoidable now.\(^2\)

It was on account of his important role in the conquest of Gwalior that Babur began to show great regard to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Sometime later when Babur was displeased with Rahim Dad on account of his 'misconduct',\(^3\) the intercession of the Shaikh was invoked. Babur showed great consideration for the Shaikh's recommendation and granted pardon to Rahim Dad.\(^4\)

3. Babur does not give details of this misconduct. Only this much information is given in the Babur Namah:

   "Sayyid Nashhadi who had come from Gwalior in these days, represented that Rahim Dad was stirring up sedition." *Babur Namah*, Vol. II p. 698.

   Mrs. Beveridge gives the following note:

   "The Tarikh-i-Gwaliori (B.M. Add. 16,709, p. 18) supplements the fragmentary accounts which are given above and states that the Babur Namah now preserves concerning Khwajah Rahim Dad's misconduct. It has several mistakes but the gist of its information is useful. It mentions that the Khwajah and his paternal uncle Mahdi Khwajah Dad displeased Babur; that Rahim Dad resolved to take refuge with the ruler of Malwa (Muhammad Khalji) and to take over Gwalior to a Rajput land holder of that country, that upon this Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth went to Agra and interceded with Babur and obtained his forgiveness for Rahim Dad. Gwalior was given back to Rahim Dad but a time he was superseded by Abul-fath (Shaikh Gurun)." *Babur Namah* (Vol. II p. 688).

Later on Humayun also maintained amicable relations with Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. One of the factors responsible for these cordial relations was the interest of Humayun in the science of exorcism. Badauni says: “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.”

When Humayun was driven out of India, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had to face great harassment at the hands of the Afghans. Sher Shah began to harass him, and so the Shaikh decided to migrate to Gujarat. While in Gujarat he carried on correspondence with Humayun.

During his stay in Gujarat Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth attained great fame and popularity and large number of nobles and princes began to visit his retreat. This popularity excited the jealousy of the contemporary saints and scholars. They were looking for an opportunity to harass him when his small brochure *Mairaj Nama* appeared. Many theologians of Gujarat protested against this book and condemned it as here-

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4. See infra, Chapter VIII for the text of these letters.
Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, one of the most influential religious scholars of Gujarat, issued a fatwa (religious decree) against Shaikh Muhammad Shauth and declared him to be a renegade who deserved execution on that account. When the matter was referred to Sultan 'ahmad of Gujarat (944 A.H./1537 A.D.), he consulted Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din 'Alavi, another very eminent scholar of Gujarat. When Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din looked at Shaikh Muhammad Shauth, he found an irresistible spiritual attraction in him and tore the fatwa of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi to pieces. This came as a shock and a surprise to Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi who tore his clothes and rushed to the house of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din in great rage and said: "How is it that you assent to the spread of heresy and schism in the faith?" Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din calmly replied: "We follow the letter and the Shaikh the spirit (of religion). Our understanding cannot reach his perfections and (even), as far as the letter of the law goes, no exception, by which he could be pronounced blame-worthy, can be taken to him."

1. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi (835-975 A.H./1480-1567 A.D.) was one of the most outstanding saints and scholars of the 16th century. Born and educated at Burhanpur, he eventually settled at Mecca and established a madrasah where students came from distant parts of the Muslim world. According to Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq his works in Arabic and Persian exceed the number of one hundred. For an account of the Shaikh and his works, see Hayat-i-Abdul Haqq 'ubaddith Shavlvi, pp. 309-311. See also Gulzar-i-Abrar, (R.G.) ff. 259, 260; Akhbar-u'll-Akhyar, pp. 245-257.

2. See infra, Chapter VI for his detailed biographical account.


5. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 44.
Badauni says that this incident considerably increased the popularity of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in Gujarat. He constructed a big house and a khanqah in Ahmadabad which became known as Daulat Khañah. His khanqah contained a mosque also which was called Ektoda i.e. one turrent mosque. The Archaeological Survey Report of 1824 calls it the Daulat Khanqah Mosque. It is situated at a distance of about 330 yards from the mosque of Malik Sarang. To the north of the mosque there is an open space with a tomb in it in which one wife and two sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth are buried.

Though Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had attained great fame and popularity in Gujarat, he did not like to stay there after the restoration of Mughal power. When Humayun re-established himself in India, he began to make plans to come to Delhi. But before he could reach Delhi, Humayun died of an accident.

It was probably due to his contacts with Humayun that Akbar also showed great regard to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Badauni remarks in his characteristic satirical manner.

"While at Gujarat he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher."

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1. Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 44.
2. Gulzar-i-Abraar, (R.G.) f. 188.
Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth visited Agra in Rajab 966 A.H./1558 A.D. Akbar went out to receive him. This was enough to excite the jealousy of Shaikh Gadai, the Sadr-u's-Sudur of the Empire. Badauni says that jealousy, hypocrisy and envy all the three determined Shaikh Gadai's attitude towards Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. In order to discredit him in the eyes of Akbar, Shaikh Gadai carried on a vociferous propaganda against his book M'aira. Namah. Bairam Khan Khāwi-Khānān became a victim to this propaganda and did not receive the Shaikh properly. He discussed with him some of the views expressed in his Risalah in which he had said that in his waking moments he had an interview with Allah and had thus attained superiority over Prophet Muhammad. Apparently Bairam Khan was not satisfied with the Shaikh's explanation and when Gadai was there to create suspicion there could be little hope of any rapprochement. Shaikh Gadai prejudiced Bairam Khan so much against the Shaikh that he became his inveterate enemy and even thought of punishing him. It was with great difficulty that the Shaikh got out of a very precarious situation. Abul Fadl says:

3. Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh, Vol. II p. 34.
(Through the intercession of some people he got rid of the terror of Khan-i-Khanan).

Finding the atmosphere at Agra uncongenial, Shaikh Muhammad Qa'at retired to Gwalior. Ferishtah says: "Due to the retirement of Shaikh Qa'at to his native town Gwalior Akbar was annoyed with Bairam Khan." It was probably in order to make amends for his treatment of the Shaikh and conciliate him that Bairam Khan gave a maintenance allowance (I. L. L. ) of one crore tankas to the saint.

The Zakhirat-u'l-Khawanin, an early biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles, informs us that a jagir of nine lac of rupees was conferred on him. The saint built a khānqāh for himself in Gwalior and spent most of his time in audition parties (sam'a). Akbar visited him on the plea of getting

2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II p. 142; Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 5. See also Maathir-u'l-Umara, Vol. II p. 578. The following note of the translator on this statement of Badauni deserves to be quoted in full:

"The tanka was worth about 4d. Badauni's statement means that Shaikh Muhammad Qa'at had a yearly allowance of £ 166,666, 13s. 4d, or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant either in land or money. Badauni probably uses the word indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the tanka referred to was the tanka-i-siyah, a copper coin worth only 6/64 of the silver tanka. This would bring Shaikh Muhammad's annual allowance to £ 15, 625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum." Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. III p. 9 (Translation).
some oxes which he had brought from Gujarat. \(^1\) The saint presented him fine bulls and some other valuable things together with halwa and ointments. \(^2\) During his conversation the saint asked Akbar whether he had selected his spiritual teacher. On getting his reply in the negative, he stretched out his hand in order to initiate him into his own discipline and remarked: "From this moment I am your spiritual teacher." \(^3\) Akbar pretended as if he did not understand the Shaikh's intention. He did not like to displease the Shaikh though he had no special attraction towards him. Abul Fadl very significantly observes:

\[\text{(Akbar due to courtesy and shame did not speak and smilingly departed).}\]

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth's relations with Bairam Khān could not improve and reached such a state of bitterness that the Shaikh himself began to think of wreaking vengeance upon him. \(^5\) It is strange that contemporary chroniclers have completely ignored or suppressed this fact. A later historian, Khāfi Khan, however, supplies interesting details in this connection and shows that the group opposed to Bairam Khān had tried to enlist at least the moral support of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth in their

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proceedings against the Khan-i-Khanan. He writes: "Maham Anka, Adham Khan Koka and Ahmad Khan, son-in-law of Maham Anka, conspired and went to Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, explained to him their seditious plan and sought his co-operation."\(^1\)

Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni says only this much in this context:

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

Later on, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth came into silent but serious conflict with a saint who was held in high esteem by Akbar, i.e. Shaikh Salim Chishti. It was nothing but jealousy which led to bitterness between the two. The conflict reached even the disciples of both the saints and disturbed the whole atmosphere. Badauni writes: "On the whole there was less of snobbery among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth than among those of Shaikh Salim, though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other."\(^3\)

All these conflicts and controversies apart, Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth did not refuse help or co-operation to Akbar

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in his various undertakings. He played vital role in the occupation of the Chunar fort. Fattu, who was incharge of the fort, was his disciple. Akbar sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth with Asaf Khan in order to use his influence and facilitate peaceful occupation of the fort. Fattu obeyed the orders of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth and surrendered the fort. Fattu was sent to Akbar who bestowed favour upon him.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth died at Agra on Ramadan 17, 970 A.H./1562 A.D. at the age of eighty. His body was taken to Gwalior where he was buried. Two important contemporary works Akbar Namah and Tabaqat-i-Akbari say that he died at Gwalior. But Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni says that he died at Agra and was buried at Gwalior. The Mulla's account deserves greater credence on account of his relations with the son of the Shaikh, Dia-ullah. Later authorities corroborate the account of Badauni.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was a man with broad, tolerant and cosmopolitan views. He was singularly free from all religious bigotry and fanaticism. He treated Hindus and Muslims alike and tried to understand the religious life and thought of the Hindus. When he visited Agra in 966 A.H./1558 A.D., 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, who was studying in Agra at that time, wished to pay his respects to him but when he found that the Shaikh stood up to honour every Hindu who came to see him, the fanatic Mulla of Badaun abandoned the idea of meeting such a liberal saint. One day, however, he saw him riding through a bazaar of Agra. He was surrounded by a huge crowd. Though he was an old man of eighty at that time but wonderful freshness radiated from his face. He was so enthusiastically busy in returning the salutes that he did not get a moment's leisure to sit upright in his saddle.


2. اما جین شعیب کہ بہ عظیم مصونی قلائم مید کد دل ازان

Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II p. 64.

3. اما روزی در بازارگو، دید کے سواہ میں گاہ و خلق ایل او، هے

Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, Vol. II p. 64.

Due to his sympathetic approach towards all people irrespective of religious differences - he became widely popular among the Hindus also. Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court is said to have joined his discipline. In view of his devotion to the Shaikh he was buried near his tomb.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was extremely humane, mild and generous in his relations with all visitors. He was free from all desire of pedantic display and spiritual arrogance. He did not refer to himself as "I," but preferred to call himself "this humble self". Probably this was also due to his excessive faith in pantheism. He considered any affirmation of One's individuality as a negation of faith in Divine Unity. The almost ridiculous extent to which he carried it may be gauged from the fact that while distributing corn, he refrained from using the word man (من).

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth was well-versed in mystic ideology but was not a very great scholar of external sciences. The author of Iqbal Nāmah calls him an (illiterate), probably on account of his ignorance of the religious sciences. His books, Jawāhir-i-Khamsah, Bahr-u'l-Hayāt, Kalid-i-Makhzan,


بین المان و هن بیلا نی بهم نام نامی گفت
Give this much mim and nun to such and such a person (He used to say this in order to elude the necessity of saying "I").
M'airāj Nāmāh, AWRād-i-Ghauthiyāh and Kinz-u'l-Wahdat, reveal his mystic aptitude, no doubt, but do not show any profound scholarship. The Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah (the five jewels) contains an account of the teachings of his spiritual teacher Shaikh Zahur Hamid. It is so called because it contains five chapters (1) on the worship of God; (2) on the ascetic life; (3) on exorcism; (4) on the recital of God's praises; (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge. The Jawāhīr-i-Khamsah is a book of practical significance. It does not deal so much with the mystic ideology as the mystic practices. It has been treated as a dastur by the Shattaris all through the 16th and the 17th centuries. The Kalid-i-Makhzan, M'aira.1 Namah and Awrad-i-Ghauthiyah deal with supernatural experiences. These books have been compiled on the pattern of the tales and practices of the Yogis.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, it appears, had working knowledge of Sanskrit also. Probably he learnt it from the Hindu Yogis during his stay at Chunar. He was so deeply impressed by the life and thought of the Yogis that later he translated

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2. Gulzār-i-Abrār, (RG.) p. 193. Muhammad Ghauth remarks:

کم هم سانی را اعزالت سنسکرک ک نهان کب راهیہ کاراست
مجرد ساختم لباس ناس خاپن پریام
Amrit Kund, into Persian under the title of Bahr-u'l-Hayat.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaouth left two sons, Shaikh 'Abdullah and Shaikh Diaullah.¹


¹. See next chapter.