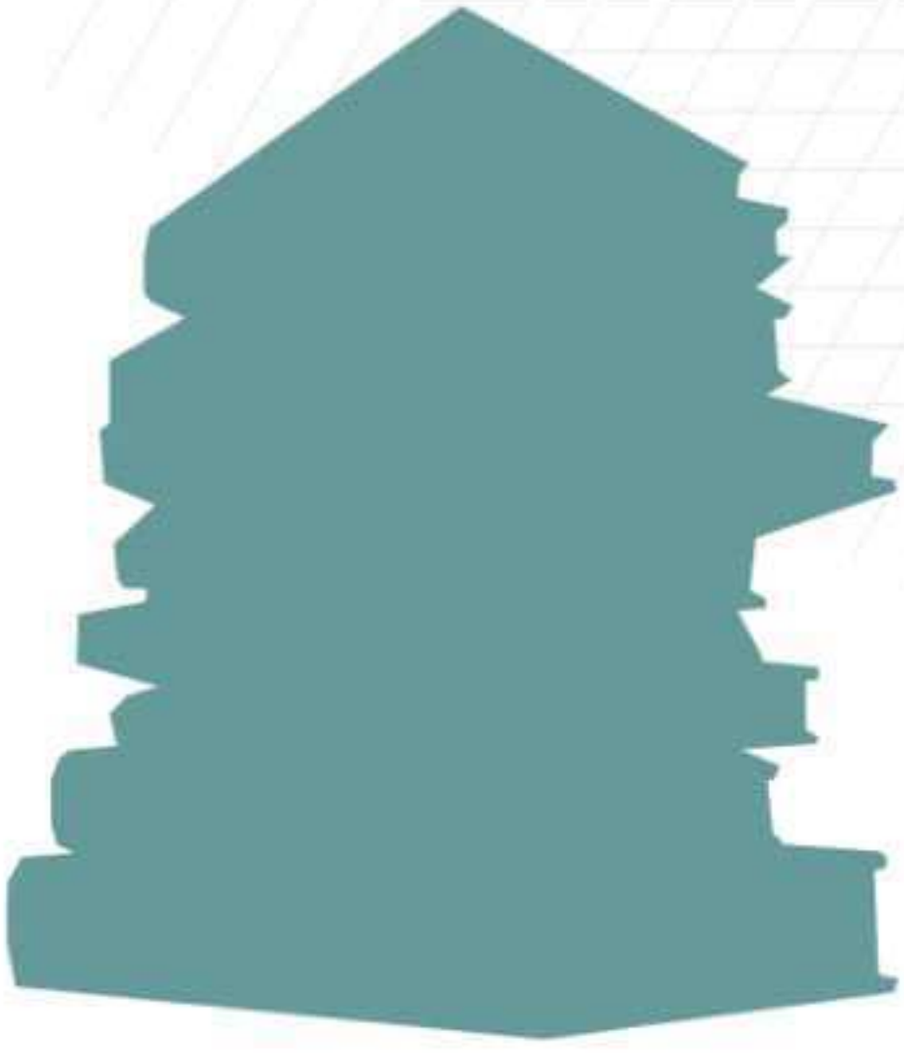
The Story of
Hazrat Shah Daulah
Saint the Engineer
400
Pir Nasiruddaula

Marfat.com

Collection of Prof. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi
Preserved in Punjab University Library.

پروفیسر محمد اقبال مجددی کا مجموعہ

پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں محفوظ شدہ



Marfat.com

Marfat.com

For
M. Iqbal Mujaddidi with
kind regards.
Pir Nasiruddaula
23 Jun 08
21:08 h

(R. A.)

THE STORY OF HAZRAT SHAH DAULAH SAINT THE ENGINEER

"Do saal.
aghet emil."

Pir Nasiruddaula



Ghazia Publishers, House No. B-13/968-A
Shah Daula Road, Gujrat 50700,
Pakistan

Email: pir_nasir@hotmail.com
Land Telephone: + 92 + [0] 53 3608609
Cellphone: 0333 8401149

Marfat.com

Cover portrait: Bichitr's handiwork

128565

Printed in the last Semester of 2005
Format, Designers & Printers, Lahore

First Edition

Copyright © 2003 by Pir Nasiruddaula

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission in writing from Ghazia Publishers.

ISBN 969-8268-06-5

Printed in Pakistan

Marfat.com

Dedicated to my wife Mrs. Farakh Jumshad, who died of Alzheimer's disease.

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

PREFACE

About three hundred thirty years after the expiry of the saint Hazrat Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.) buried at Gujrat, Punjab, the real entity of him has remained confused. This is due to the fact that there have been more than one Daulah, Daula, Doolah or Doola living at the same time and the same place at the service of the same mentor, Shah Saidan Sarmast, in Sialkot, Punjab. Additionally, most of the biographers have been following one another without serious research work of their own. This is understandable, because several of the related works are difficult to find. Thus, the life story of one Daulah has been bungled up with that of the other.

In none of the old books, including the *Karamat Nama Khurd* by Qadri, C. (undated) and the *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Raam (1719-1720), respectively, penned down in Farsi by the authors, who were the contemporary of Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.), the component, Sayyid Kabiruddin, of his name Shah Daulah is not come across. The same is true in case of some other old books like *Khulasatul twarikh* by Bhandari (1695), Farsi, *Char baghe Punjab* by Wadera (1849), Farsi, *Tarikh Gujrat* by Baig (1870), Urdu, and *The chronicles of Gujrat* by Elliott (1902), English.

The old writers, Qadri, C., Raam, Bhandari and Wadera, present no account of the so-called *Chuhas* (micro-cephalous) of Shah Daulah (R. A.). This is relatively a recent fabrication wrongly attributed to him. The occurrence of the micro-cephalous subjects is a worldwide phenomenon and there are well documented scientific factors that result in the development of diminutive heads. That the *Chuhas* are

Marfat.com

artificially "made" by squeezing the heads of the children in varied contraptions at the shrine of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is no more than a flight of fancy. Strangely enough, a whole lot of people still keep on believing that the *Chuhas* are "blessed" by Shah Daulah (R. A.)

It is said that the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.), the so called Niamat Khatun, was the great granddaughter of Sultan Sarang Ghakhar and was taken captive to Delhi by the Afghans where she was married to a certain official Abdul Rahim Lodi in the Mughal court. History is silent on the subject that the descendants of Sultan Sarang were ever captured and led to Delhi. In fact it was the family of Azam Humayun that was indeed arrested by the Afghans.

We know nothing about the parents of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and for that matter about his date of birth. What we do know with certainty is that he witnessed 22 years of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir's rule, 30 years of the Emperor Shah Jahan's period and he passed away on the 17th year (1674-1675) of the Emperor Aurangzeb's ascending the throne.

Shah Daulah's (R. A.) wife's name was Haneefa and she is buried next to him on the same platform in his shrine. Shah Daulah (R. A.) had only one son, Pir Bhawan Shah, who was married twice and had five sons. The present descendants are the offspring of Bhawan Shah.

Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.) was born in Jilan, Iran but died (1206-1207) at Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India (Sabri (1890 Pp 72-77, 437). Historically speaking, it is incorrect. Nobody has paid attention to the fact that Ahmedabad (Bhandari, 1695, P. 92; Kunjahi, 1985, P. 5) was founded much later in 1410-1411.

Some put forth that Hazrat Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.) was the principal caliph of Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) However, Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 66-68), Kunjahi, (1985, P. 152) and Mufti, R. (1967, P. 191, ref. *Tazkerae Auliae Hind* Vol. 3, P. 12 by Dehlvi) give the names of 15 caliphs of Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) but there is no name of Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.).

Marfat.com

Professor Dr. Pir Nasiruddaula has set the facts from fiction apart in an unambiguous way what refers to the independent identity of Shah Daulah (R A). and his life and times are critically analyzed. He has elaborated the topic of the micro-cephalous subjects with particular emphasis on the causative agents responsible to bring about such a condition.

Dr. Munir Slatch
Rawalpindi

23 July 05

Marfat.com

INTRODUCTION

The identity of the saint Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.), buried at Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan, has been discussed in many a book usually without a conclusive evidence. Not only his parents, his place of birth, date of birth, name and marital status are controversial but also the date of his expiry is not agreed upon.

The specific determination of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) has become complicated because of the existence of more than one Daulahs, Daulas, Doolas or Doolahs living contemporaneously or in the other eras. In scientific jargon, dealing with classification is the question of splitters and lumpers: the former set aside discretely individual entities from the mix-up while the latter due to the lack of acumen or carelessness make a mess of the problem at hand.

Qadri (undated) and Raam (1719-1720), both of them disciples and contemporary of the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.), wrote the biographies *Karamat Nama Khurd* (short compendium of miracles and *Karamat Nama Klaan* (long compendium of miracles), respectively. Even from the works of these authors it emerges that they were dealing mostly with two different Daulahs, as it is corroborated by some of the later workers like Lahori, S. (1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 166; 1902, P. 102; Qiladari, 1983, P. 19).

The presence of two Daulahs at the service of the *murshid* (mentor), Shah Saidan Sarmast, in Sialkot, originated the identity confusion of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi. He was imbued with spiritual enlightenment by Shah Saidan Sarmast where as the other Daulah was not. It was this Daulah who is

Marfat.com

said to be born in 1581, that is, on the 25th year of the Mughal emperor Akbar's ascending the throne.

The micro-cephalous subjects, known as the "*Chuhas* of Shah Daulah," have been wrongly attributed to Shah Daulah (R. A.). Because in none of the old books like *Karamat Nama Khurd, Karamat Nama Klaan* and *Char Baghe Punjab* (*Sahib Nama*) there is any citation whatsoever as to this effect. This is a phenomenon of worldwide occurrence caused by genetic and several other factors. It has been repeated and glorified so often by so many writers, without proper investigation, that it is believed to be true as a miracle of Shah Daulah (R. A.). As a matter of fact its link to Shah Daulah (R. A.) is a relatively recent falsification.

The common superstition is: Shah Daulah (R. A.) as a saint could bring about the birth of a child for any issueless parents, but the first child would always be a *chuha* and had to be presented to Shah Daula's (R. A.) shrine as an offering. The question is what kind of a saint can bless (better curse) some issueless persons with the first-born child to be deformed? And how come does the Lord of the Universe answer such a prayer? A more rational answer is that these and other handicapped and abandoned children were looked after in the asylum of the saint, who was known for his liberality not only to humans but also to animals.

Richard Galpin, BBC World Service, *The Guardian/The Observer*, Islamabad Correspondent, interviewed me about the reality of the "rat-children" of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and I did my best to convince him about the prevarication of the story. Nonetheless, he published an article "The rat-children of Pakistan-blessed by a Sufi saint but disfigured for profit" (*The Guardian*, June 29, 1998). Another journalist Charlie Savile, "Tricky Pictures," London, also had my interview Nov. 2, 1998, and did telecast it but completely ignored the facts and sensationalized the otherwise untrue details about the micro-cephalous subjects.

On the frontal gate of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) the name is written as Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah

Marfat.com

Daulah Daryae. In the works of Qadri (*op. cit.*), Raam (*op. cit.*) and other books written not too long after the demise of the saint by Bhandari (1695), Wadera (1849), Baig (1870) and Lahori (various publications) the name Sayyid Kabiruddin is not found to be a component of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) name. However, Sabri (1890, Pp 72-77) did write the name Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah. Anyway, it is a different story altogether as mentioned somewhere else in this text.

There are sixty to seventy pertinent books, including articles, thirty-three in the Urdu language, nine Urdu translations, eleven commercially printed in medieval Farsi, five in English, and five Farsi handwritten versions. It won't be out of place to emphasize that, with limited exceptions, most of the concerned information in the majority of these compilations is fragmentary, inconsistent with reality, tendentious, victim of inadvertence, nonconforming with the chronology of historical events, lack of concurrence with a set of happenings and a tragic disregard of conscientious research.

Some of the books unavailable to the present writer, *e. g.*, Jullundhary's *Salimul Twarikh* (1919), have either been consulted in the form of the corresponding versions thereof like *Tarikh Arraian* (Chaudhry, A., 1987) in lieu of the original *Salimul Twarikh* or cited from the other authors with related references as the text required. *Saerul Salookul al-Muluk al-Mulook,* hand-written, Farsi, .by Qasim, S. *alias* Bshah Daulah Behri, said to be in the Dayal Singh College Library, Lahore, is a rare old preserved document not for "common" use. However, an abridged version was in the possession of Kunjahi (1985), now unavailable. It too has been relied upon from the works of the other authors.

In order to avoid confusion of the important dates at certain places in this text, it is deemed necessary to insert the Christian and Hegira years, because in the old documents only the Hegira years have been considered. Some months of certain A. H (f. Latin *Anno Hegirae*.—in the year of the

Marfat.com

Hegira, of the Muslim era) are included in two A. D. (f. Latin *Anno Domini* years—in the year of our Lord, Christian era). *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Raam, for example, is dated 1132 A. H. One month of this year falls in 1719 A. D. and the other eleven months are in 1720 A. D.

It is further problematic due to the fact that most of the equivalent years are not properly converted, thus leading to discrepancies in the exact dates of events. For this purpose the conversion calendar by Lahori, Z. (1994) has been resorted to.

Last but not the least is the proliferation of non-authentic statements that have been reproduced many times over without giving a serious thought to the basic source of information. Moreover, there is no dearth of wrongly attributed statements. All of this ambiguous combination has added to the inquisitiveness for a scholarly analysis of the criticism. It is attempted to arrive at a logical, for that matter a convincing conclusion, from the diverse details of the interpretations of similar events advanced by various authors.

. It is aimed at establishing the independent entity of the Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.) entombed at Gujrat, Punjab, who lived during the reigns of the Mughal emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. No attempt has been made to indulge in the fantasy of miracles rather to set aloof the discrete identity of the saint Shah Daulah in an unambiguous way.

One tumbles into a different kind of problem that each of the authors represents the traits of his own characteristic quality to formulate particular point of view instead of emergent judicious inference from related studies. In so doing, a scribe unwittingly belittles or misconstrues the prospective details. As if that were not enough the stress is weighted down on *Karamaat,* digressing from the real biographic topic of distinct lineage or other aspects of the celebrity. Another difficulty lies in the fact that several authors appear to be unscrupulous, given to plagiarism. Their

Marfat.com

names and repute are such that it would be inviting wrath of their diehard followers, especially when the society is becoming increasingly intolerant and prone to violence, if names are named.

The author is thankful to the late Prof. Hamad Hasan Syed, ex-principal, Govt. Zamindar College, Gujrat, for the help to translate some of the selected Persian text, to Dr. Munir Ahmed Slatch, Rawalpindi, Arif Ali Mir advocate, Al-Mir Trust Library, Gujrat and Hakim Muhammad Ashraf, Sad Begum Memorial Library, Alam Ghar, Gujrat, for their generosity to allow me to make use of their libraries, even lending me their precious books. The selfless services of Mr. Shahid Gulzar are duly acknowledged for the computer composition of the manuscript and technical assistance.

Marfat.com

CONTENTS

	Page No
Preface	9
Introduction	12
Historical	19
Nomenclature	31
Birth of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.)	40
Afghan dynasty	45
Ghakhar dynasty	48
Mughal dynasty	56
Captivity of Ghakhars (?)	72
Khwas Khan	81
Childhood of the saint Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi	93
Sialkot link	96
Identification	104
Spiritual enlightenment	109
Gujrat link	114
Raja Chattar Singh	117
Caste of Shah Daulah (R. A.)	120
Judicial verdict	130
Suffix Daryae	138
Meetings with the Mughal royalty	142
Knowledge of alphabet	160
Silsila (order) of Shah Daulah (R. A.)	163
Transition	169
Bhawan (Bahawan) Shah	179
Mausoleum	186
Constructions	193
City of Gujrat	198

Marfat.com

Fable 216
Micro-cephalous subjects 223
Notes by the editor, Indian antiquary 246
Hazrat Sheikh Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daula (R. A.)
of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India 248
References 254
Subject index 269
Author index 295
Tables 1-29

Marfat.com

HISTORICAL

Chiragh Qadri, the very first author of the biography *Karamat Nama Khurd,* in Farsi, of the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.), was a learned person (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 69), belonged to an equally well-read family of the village Sook Klaan, about 6 km east of Gujrat, Punjab. Qadri asserts that his father, Shah Murad Qadri, was "the preferential *mureed* (disciple) of Shah Daulah (R. A.), and I have seen him many times in the company of my father. In fact when the transition of Shah Daulah (R. A.) approached I was present in his company."

When Qadri's father expired, Shah Daulah (R. A.) brought him up, in turn he also became his favourite disciple. Qadri does not give the year of the writing of his *Karamat Nama.* Apparently, with rare exceptions, it was customary in those days to skip the year of a manuscript either intentionally or as a matter of inadvertence.

Mushtaq Raam (Roy), as the name implies a Hindu, another disciple of the saint, penned down *Karamat Nama Klaan,* Farsi, in 1719-1720 (1132 A. H.). It may be deduced from Kunjahi (1985, Pp. 7-8, 75; Qiladari, 1983, P. 11) that this work was executed about 45 years after the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.) that took place in 1674-1675 (1085 A. H.).

Shah, N. (1891, Pp. 2-3) states that Raam one day dressed up all in white appeared before Shah Doolah (R. A.). Upon this the saint remarked, "You look like Sheikh S'adi *Sany* (second)." On the same very day the saint converted him to Islam and was renamed as Sheikh Amanullah. On another occasion Khalifa Maan Singh *alias* Khannah paid a visit to

Marfat.com

the saint Shah Doolah (R. A.). There was such magnetism in the saint's personality that he also became converted (when?) to Islam and renamed Khalifa Amanullah.

Chaudhry, N. (1970, P. 142) points out that in the original version of *Karamat Nama Klaan* the name Amanullah of Raam does not appear at all. However, Khalifa Maan Singh Khannah is indeed mentioned to have presented himself before Shah Doolah (R. A.) and was labelled as Sheikh S'adi. After a few years he became converted to Islam and renamed Khalifa Amanullah.

Karamat Nama Khurd and *Karamat Nama Klaan* are the two basic hand-written biographies of Shah Daulah (R. A.). However, there are several other hand-copied versions of the *Karamat Nama Klaan*(Chaudhry, N.,1970, Pp 142-151) with certain incompatibilities and Urdu translations and these are:

1. 520 Pp, approximately 70,000 words, the total number of *karamaat* (pl. of *karamat*) is 109; upon binding the year of the writing has been lost.

2. The present author visited Qiladari in 2002 in whose library, Gujrat, lies a copy, 336 Pp, approximately 65,000 words, *karamaat* 104; the year of the original hand-written version not known but the modern year is 1947. Qiladari had inserted a note on the first page that the author is Mushtaq Raam (Roy), 1132 A. H.

3. Qiladari said that Sayyid Sharif Hussain Shrafat Noshahi of Sahenpal, Gujrat, copied a *Karamat Nama* from him in 1963. But the copy of Noshai contains approximately 70000 words, total *karamàat* 109, and the year of the original version not known. It seems strange as the date below its title was 1940, and Pp 520 Pp, not 336 (*Karamat Nama* No. 2, *vide supra* in the possession of Qiladari presents only 336 Pp). Had it been copied from him then the pages would not have exceeded that much (up to 520), and there is a discrepancy in the year of the copying as well.

4. A version including *Shijra* (order) Suhrawardia, Urdu, 152 Pp, words 40,000 (30, 000 words less than the original form in Farsi), the total *karamaat* 100, the year of the

Marfat.com

translation by Pir Najaf Shah 1890-1891(1308 A. H.), and the calligrapher is Ferzand Ali. Pir Najaf Shah.as well as Ferzand Ali were the direct descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) through his son Pir Bhawan Shah.

5. A modified version of the translator Najaf Shah, Urdu, 192 Pp, 40, 000 words, the total *Karamaat* 101, the latest copy is by Professor Syed Hamad Hasan, 1967.

Karamat Nama Khurd and *Karamat Nama Klaan* are almost entirely replete with miracles. The latter covers exactly one hundred miracles, while in the former the number is relatively less. Whereas several of the miracles are almost similar in both of the works, there is a definite divergence in their interpretation, presenting a different picture altogether.Additionally, some of these are included in the work of one author while the same very miracles are excluded in that of the other.

Kharabati considered Shah Daula (R. A.) as his spiritual *murshid*, usually on Thursdays he used to visit the mausoleums of Hazrat Miraan Yaya, Raniwal Sayyidan and Shah Daulah at Gujrat.

Khwaja Sana'ullah Kharabati is reported to have authored one hundred and two books (Tasbihi, 1972, Pp11, 12, 51). Of these books only 52 have been found in a collection. All, except two, are unpublished and are in manuscript form. Forty-four are in his own handwriting and the rest by six scribes. He has, among his extant works, four in prose, 44 in poetry and four in both prose and poetry. He wrote 51 books in Persian and only one in Kashmiri. He has a sprinking of Urdu and Punjabi in certain of his works and also a few pages in Turkish. He has frequently quoted from Arabic. He composed 102,725 couplets—101,183 in Persian, 1,292 in Kashmiri and 250 in Urdu and Punjabi. He was a fast poet. He composed and scribed *Khulasat-al-Asrar* in one day. He finished *Dalil al-Sadiquin* in a month.

Kharabati was born in 1809 in Tangah, a village not far from Srinagar, Kashmir. When 11-year old, he accompanied his famine stricken family to Jammu. Here he lived for 30

Marfat.com

years. He wrote the *M'aharaj Nama* in the style of *Shah Nama* of Firdousi and gained the favour of the then Maharajah. He held various posts in the court and traveled far and wide—Calcutta (Kolkata) to Samarkand—as the leader of the Maharajah's trade caravan. He fell a victim to court intrigues and had to flee the Punjab. He wandered from Jullundhar, Amritsar, Sialkot and Lahore to settle finally in Jalalpur Jattan, a village in Gujrat. He passed away in 1880 and was buried at a mile from his home.

He seems to have had his early education from Sayyid Abdul Ghafoor Shah, his grandfather, who was a man of letters and a *Sufi*.

Khwaja was a man of many trades—artist, astrologist, calligrapher, courtier, *hakim*, poet, tradesman and a writer. He was, above all, a *Sufi*. A Hanafite by school, he followed the Qadri order. He became a *murshid* but was very consevative in forming his *mureeds*. Those who were able to undergo an ordeal could become his disciples. Only five did. Yet he had a *langar* (free kitchen) to feed those who flocked to him daily for spiritual guidance.

Khwaja Sana'ullah Kashmiri Piray Kharabaat was a wonderful personality. He never got any formal education, notwithstanding he could write upon any topic fluently at a continuous stretch. It is said he worked under the divine inspiration. He claimed that the *silsila* (order) Owaisia, to which he belonged, was due to the persuasion of Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.).

Kharabati wrote in poetic form another *Karamat Nama* and gave it the title of *Tazkeratul Waseleen*. It is divided into three parts: the first part contains all of the *silsilas*; the second part is given the name of *Karamat Nama* that includes the miracles of Shah Doolah, and the third part deals with his *murshid* Hazrat Muhammad Sadek Kashmiri. The third part *Karamat Nama* in Farsi, in the form of *Mathnavi*, is set in couplets, 133 Pp, verses 2000, total miracles 100; the year of writing is 1862-1863 (1279 A. H.).

128565

Marfat.com

Qiladari told the present author that there is no other copy of *Tazkeratul Waseleen* and he copied it from the original version of Piray Kharabaat that has been lost. The next moment, Qiladari maintained that he copied it from the manuscript that was the property of a certain fellow Abdul Latif of Gujranwala, signed 13 May 1966.

Certain authors like Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 150-151) and Slatch (1996, P. 95) have mentioned a *Karamat Nama Piray Kharabaat.* Rizvi (1998, P. 12) brought attention to the fact that Piray Kharabaat never left any work titled, *Karamat Nama Piray Kharabaat* in which we come across the name of Shah Daulah. However, the work of Kharabati that deals with Shah Daulah is *Tazkerahtul Waseleen* 1862-1863 On the P. 299 of *Tazkerahtul Waseleen* under the heading *Hawaul Musta'an* there is a mention of *Hazrat Shah Doolae Daryae Gujrati* (for details consult Tasbhi 1972).

October 10, 2002, the present author, along with his cousin Prof. Nasar Uddaulah Anwer, paid a visit to the village Raniwal Sayyidan, Gujrat, where Nawab Shah Qadri lives, who was said to have the original hand-written Farsi manuscript of Krabati, entitled, *Tazkerahtul Waseleen.* We came to know that he had moved over to Mangowal, Jalalpur Jattan, Gujrat. Eventually, we drove to Mangowal.

Nawab Qadri, a white-bearded old man of more than 80 years, very kindly showed us the photocopy of *Tazkerahtul Waseleen* that included a chapter, *Hazrat Shah Doolae Daryae Gujrati*. The original, he lamented, was given to Qiladari in Gujrat, but he never returned it, handed him over its photocopy instead. It was a *Mathnavi* that contained a total number of exactly one hundred miracles of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.).

Kharabati (1862-1863 or 1279 A. H. Pp 298-471).narrates the story of Shah Doola (R. A.) as: *Ibtadai daftar dowm uz daftar Qalandri wa Doolae Hazrat Shah Doola Daryae Gujrati.* The *muurshid* of Shah Doola (R. A.) was Shah Sadek Qalandar (contrary to all other authors who are unanimous in asserting that the *musrhid* of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was Shah

Marfat.com

Saidan Sarmast of Sialkot) buried in Kashmir (Kharabati, *vide supra,* P. 299).The miracles of Shah Doola (R. A.) cover Pp 306-471.

Some ancient *Karamat Namas* have also come to light but are not available. Nasser Katabdar, Muslim Bazaar, Gujrat, from whose shop the present author, when a school-going boy used to buy stationery, was said to possess the original hand-written version by Mushtaq Raam that he sold out (to whom?).

Regarding the *Karamat Nama* by Raam an article appeared in the magazine *Hindustani,* India (Chaudhry, N.,1970, P. 152) that contained some excerpts from Raam's hand-written *Karamat Nama.* May be it was the same version that was sold by Nasser!

The late Allama Abdul Karim saw a *Karamat Nama* hand-written by Saleh Kunjahi. Perhaps it was the same manuscript that Sharif Kunjahi loaned to somebody in 1931. Kunjahi is still alive but does not remember whether it was the *Karamat Nama Shah Daula Daryae.* However, Kunjahi does remember that once he indeed possessed a short journal about the life of Shah Daulah. The late Sheikh Karamatullah, author of the *A'inahe Gujrat,* once had a copy of *Karamat Nama* that is also not available.

In different versions of the same *Karamat Nama Klaan* the number of miracles (*karamaat*) varies but not less than a hundred. Chaudhry, N. (1970, P. 154) keeps a copy of the *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Ferzand Ali, prepared in 1922. It contains exactly one hundred miracles, and every miracle treats the name as "Shah Doolah (R. A.)," not even once the name Kabiruddin of Shah Doolah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is come across, and the same is true of all other *Karamat Namas.*

In all of the *Karamat Namas* there is no evidence of Shah Daulah (R. A.) being the *humzaad* (cousin) brother of Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) Ghause Azam of Baghdad and that he was an adherent of the *silsila* (order) Owasia of Jilani, and he got *bayat* from Piray Baghdadi R. A. (Chaudhry,

Marfat.com

N., 1970, P. 156). On the other hand, the *silsila* of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is given as the Suhrawardia. It must be emphasized that he was a disciple of Sarmast, the correct name Shah Saidan Sarmast, of Sialkot.

Another *Karamat Nama*, exact title, *The Biography Karamat Nama Khurd Hazrat Shah Daulah Gunj Bux* (R. A.), in Farsi, was hand-written by Qadri. Its latest version was asked to be copied (by whom, not known) from a certain *Karamat Nama Khurd* of unknown ownership, the copy executed in 1905-1906 (1323 A. H), for the pleasure of Hafiz Ghulam Ahmed Hakim Darbari *Pesh-imam* (prayer leader) of Masjid Shah Daulah (R. A.), the maternal uncle of Sharif Kunjahi. The original hand-written version lies with Kunjahi.

In contrast to somewhat disorderly accounts documented in *Karamat Namas*, Bhandari (1695 *in* Zaidi, 1966, Pp 24, 116-117) for the first time represents a comprehensive story of Shah Daulah. Notwithstanding some of the happenings are wrongfully attributed to Shah Daulah (R. A.). the story goes thusly:

Gujrat is an ancient city. During the reign of Akbar some of the villages of Sialkot were separated and a pargana (collection of villages) was established. When Shah Daulah (R. A.) settled in Sialkot he built mosques, wells and tanks. The River Chenab occasionally used to cause damage to Sialkot, therefore, Shah Daulah (R. A.) got a bridge raised over it. Consequently, the city of Sialkot flourished. In the prime of his life Shah Daulah was a servant (?) of Khema Budhra Sialkoti .When the time of the death of Sayyidna (the mentor of Shah Daulah R. A.) approached, he inspired him with spiritual enlightenment.

Afterwards Shah Daulah (R. A.) headed for Gujrat. Due to the possession of inner light he could see the hidden treasures within earth and skies. As a result he could afford to build bridges and undertake other construction works, in particular at a distance of five *kos* (one *ko* equals 1.7 miles) from Eimanabad towards Lahore there is a bridge on the

Marfat.com

main road. He also laid a bridge over the Dek Nullah (stream)—such a solid bridge that even kings and rich persons could not accomplish.

From all over the place devotees used to gather around him. Unacountable offerings, both monetary and otherwise, used to be presented to Shah Daulah (R. A.). Whosoever came to him, he never shirked from imparting spiritual guidance and doled out more worldly presents than the needy actually asked for. In the 17th year of Alamgir's coronation he passed away.

Surprisingly, Bhandari does not consider himself as a contemporary of Shah Daulah (R. A.). The latter died in 1674-1675 while Bhandari composed his work in 1695. He does not give any source of his information, whether he himself visited Gujrat or obtained his data from the authors like Qadri and Raam, both of them being alive at that time.

Captain A. C. Elliott, Deputy Commissioner, Gujrat, Nov. 1899 through Nov.1901, in his book, *The Chronicles of Gujrat*, includes a chapter "Shah Daula, the Saint" (1902, Pp 24-30). When a comparative study is made, it emerges to be almost the copy of *Karamat Nama Khurd* by Qadri excluding practically all of the miracles of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Elliott, under the "Introductory Note", states, "Apart from Vernacular works consulted I am indebted greatly to the papers of Qanungo (Qanoongo) family, and to many leading men of the district for information."

Elliott commits a breach of scholarly ethics failing to mention the *Karamat Namà Khurd* from which the details of Shah Daulah (R. A.) have been incorporated. It is interesting to note that the Qanoongos family has been one of the most learned families of Gujrat.

When I was a child a scion of the Qanoogo family, the late Sheikh Karamatullah, was a functionary in the Gujrat Deputy Commissioner's office and later on authored a book, entitled *A'inae Gujrat*. His family is said to have a copy of the *Karamat Nama Khurd*—a rare book even in those days. Naturally, it crosses the mind that Elliott must have an access

Marfat.com

to it. However, Elliott lists 12 references, all undated, dealing with Alexander the Great and the second Sikh War, which were consulted but the *Karamat Nama Khurd* is not included.

It is amazing that Chaudhry, N. (*op. cit.*) in the list of *Karamat Namas*, does not include such an important work, that is, *Karamat Nama Khurd*, which initiated the controvery about Shah Daulah's childhood at the first place, especially with reference to the legend of Ghakhars (*op. cit.*) and Abdul Rahim Lodi, the "father" of Shah Daulah.

Wadera (1849, Pp 177-178) wrote *Chaar Baghe Punjab* also known as *Gulshane Punjab* or *Sahib Nama*. He belonged to one of the famous Qanoongo families of Gujrat, was employed at the Lahore Darbar (court) and also worked in the office of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir. This way enjoying an official position, he got an easy access to the government records for the historical details.

Chaar Baghe Punjab starts with the early history of the Punjab and ends up with the Sikh reign till 1849. Concomitantly, with the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great, the ancient Hindu rulers are also taken into account. The Sikh period is given a better treatment, the major part of which is devoted to the struggle (1801-1839.) of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh against the Mughals and Afghans. This book is a valuable source of information on Gujrat, and the students of history would find it indispendable when embarking upon a research work on the Punjab.

In 1854.the handwritten version of *Chaar Baghe Punjab* was copied by Abdul Samad of Sook. It is believed that Sir Richard Temple, Deputy Commissioner of Gujrat, March 1854 through July 26, 1854, who served in the capacity of a Settlement Officer of Gujrat, 1852 through 1854, might have gotten it copied and sent it to an exhibition in Paris.

Of all the hand-copied versions of *Chaar Baghe Punjab*, Prof. Kirpal Singh in-charge Faculty of History, Khalsa College, Amritsar, believes that the copy in the possession of

Marfat.com

Prof. Dr. Gunda Singh is the most authentic. Because the facsimile in the Punjab University Library, Lahore, was copied at the behest of Ghulam Qadar, Keeper, Local Government, by Ameer Din also of Sook, on March 4, 1858.

Qiladari (1983, Pp 11-12) believes that Elliott (1902) based the details about Shah Doola on the works of Qadri and Raam that were documented from the individual standpoint. Thus, the real story of Shah Doola does not appear in its correct prospective. In addition, the work of Chaudhry, N. (1970) is also based on the unproven details of Qadri (this is wrong; Chaudhry does not even mention the *Karamt Nama Khurd* by Qadri), Raam and Elliott.

In both of the *Karamat Namas, i. e.*, by Qadri and Raam, there are several conflicting accounts of the events which allude to the reality that they were dealing mostly with two different persons. Qadri (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 31) and Raam (1719, Miracle No. 28, Pp 60-63), concur that before Doola (Shah Daulah Gujrati) gained access to the saint Shah Sayyida Nasser Mast at Sialkot, there was already his favourite disciple, named Mungo (Mango, Mongo, Muko, Mukho). Without the consent of Mungo it might not have been possible for an outsider like Shah Doolah to live peacefully upon the same premises. Resultantly, in addition to be at the orders of Shah Sayyida Nasser Mast, Shah Doolah wholeheartedly extended his hand of friendship to Mungo.

Slatch (1996 P. 95) remarks that although Shah Daulah (R. A.) is one of the reputed saints and within limits of Gujrat no other mausoleum has that many visitors as that of Shah Daulah's yet, surprisingly, we can say nothing with certainty about his life story. Notwithstanding there are several works on his life story, *e. g., Karamat Nama* by Raam, *Karamat Nama* by Qadri, *Karamat Nama* by Piray Kharabaat, *Tazkera Shah Daula* by Chaudhry and *Hazrat Shah Doolah Gujrati, Hayat o t 'aleemaat* by Kunjahi, nothing conclusive has been decided upon.

Marfat.com

When the time of the saint Nasser Mast's passing away approached (Raam, 1719, Miracle No. 28, Pp 60-61; Lahori, 1902, Pp 102-104 *ex-parte*) he shouted from his cell:

"Who is present?"

"Doola is present," Shah Daulah (R. A.) replied.

"Mungo, who is my favourite *mureed*, tell him I want to see him," the saint asked.

Doola conveyed his message to Mungo, who replied, "It is the night time. You are a fool. I would see him in the morning." Doola passed this answer to the saint.

"Who is present?" again enquired the saint.

"Doola is present," was the reply.

Upon this the saint said, "*Her que khuwaid bedehadd Mawla*" [God wills whom He will)—Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 70) gives the last words of Sarmast as "*Jisey de tusey Mawla*" (only God gives to whom He gives); *Her kra Mawala bedehad Sahah Doola gardadd* (to whom God gives becomes Shah Doola)—Lahori, 1902, P. 102; *Her kra Mawla dehadd az gola Shah Doola gardadd* (to whom God gives from *gola* becames Shah Doolah)— (Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 61)] and further added "in this *dalaq* (*faqir*'s coat) is worldly and spiritual wealth."

"In the morning Mungo will snatch this *dalaq* from me," Doola expressed his apprehension.

"When he will demand the *dalaq* from you, throw it onto the ground and tell him whosoever lifts it, will have it," commanded the saint and passed away.

The news of the expiry of the saint spread in the city. In the morning several people, including Mungo, gathered around, but nobody could lift the *dalaq*, either alone or all together. Doola (Shah Daulah) picked it up easy, placed it on his shoulder and walked away. He hid in a cave outside the city of Sialkot.

Lahori, S. (1902, Pp 102-104) followed suit, but the other disciple he named as Doola, not Mungo, thus confirming the existence of two different Doolas or Daulahs. Of course, the other Doola is Mungo in addition to Shah Daulah (R. A.). In

Marfat.com

this way originated the controversy about the identity of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.).

The episodes and miracles embodied in the *Karamat Nama Khurd* by Qadri relate mostly to the Doola (Mungo) that was not a Sayyid in contrast to the *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Raam that covers the life story of Shah Daulah (R. A.), who indeed was a Sayyid. In the former instead of Shah Daula it is repeatedly written Sheikh Doola, while in the latter the name is frequently noted as Shah Daula (R. A.), Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.), Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae Sahib (R. A.), Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae Sahib Gunj Bux (R. A.) and only rarely Sheikh Shah Daula (R. A.), Hazrat Sheikh Shah Daula Daryae Sahib (R. A.) and Hazrat Sheikh Shah Daula Daryae Sahib Gunj Bux (R. A.). In any case even after the prefix Sheikh, the word Shah is invariably inserted. This ambiguous state of affairs leads to conclude that Qadri in fact has represented the story of Sheikh Doola (Mungo), instead of Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.).

Marfat.com

NOMENCLATURE

About two hundred fifteen years later, after the expiry of Shah Daulah Gujrati, we come across the name Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Gujrati which is incorrect; the same way the name of Hazrat Shah Daula Dayrae Gujrati (Punjabi) as Hazrat Shah Muhammad Qasim Shah Daulah Daryae as well as Muhammad Shah Doola are inappropriate; another name Bu al-Fazal (father of Fazal) does not make any sense because Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi had no son named Fazal except the only son Bhawan Shah; comments on the book Saerul Salookul Mulakul Mulook that was written not in Baghdad, Iraq but in Baghdad, near Shorekot, Punjab; some celebrities have the prefix Shah but in fact they are not Sayyid; there are eight different Doolas in olden days Daula or Daulat was an uncommon proper name; Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi was a great religious scholar, frequently discussing with Qazi Abdul Muftah Gujrati and Miraan Faazal Gujrati; there were two doolahs at the service of Saidan Sarmast: one of the Lodi ancestroy, who was the slave of Khem Kern, living on earnings from labour and the other Doolah, a learned figure and a man of God, devoted to the works of welfare; Doolah means a country, royal family, reigning period, time money and turn; after the passing away of Shah Daulah, his son, Bhawan (Behawan) Shah, became the successor; Bhawan Shah had five sons from two wives;

About two hundred fifteen years later, after the expiry of Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.), we come across the name Sayyid

Marfat.com

Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Gujrati in Sabri (1890, 4th ed. 1938, Pp 72-77). However, Sabri's book *Saerul Salookul Mulakul Mulook* is neither an historical work nor it should be quoted as a reference source because, as indicated by Qiladari (1983, P. 21), it deals with *roohani* (spiritual) knowledge. Qiladari states: its chapter *Abwabe Maktoob* starts with the caption *Nataab;* when the *Nataab* is written the other way round it reads *baatan* (spiritual, related to innerself) having no relation whatsoever with the history. At the same time if some information is irretrievable and there are no other means to obtain the relevant facts then *alhaam* (divine guidance) and *kashaf* (revelation of hidden knowledge) are resorted to. Qazi Sultan Mahmud, an adept in such a phenomenon, corroborated the view of Sabri that the name of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (*nec* Shah Daulah interred at Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India) was Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Daryae.

As pointed out by Qiladari (1983, P. 23) and Kunjahi (1985, Pp 2, 4, 82,) in Dayal Singh Trust Library, Lahore there is a hand-written book, in Arabic, entitled *Saerul Salookul Mulakul Mulook*. Allegedly, the author is Shah Qasim *alias* Bshah Doolah Behri, as written at the head of the first page of the book, which alludes to the possibility that the name of Shah Daula Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) might as well be Shah Qasim. The pen and the red ink used for writing on top of the first page are quite different from that employed in the rest of the original document, that is, in black ink. At the end of the document (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 82) it is noted that it was written in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1283 A. H. (1866- 1867, A. D.).

Qiladari (op. cit.) concurs with the foregoing year of writing. The total pages of the manuscript are 103 and every page contains 21 lines. He mentions excerpts from another copy of the same book on the page 107 of which the date of the composition was 1083 A. H. (1672-1673 A. D.), a difference of about 200 years. He managed to get hold of

Marfat.com

this document but could not copy in its entirety as the hand-writing was not legible.

Qiladari (1983, P. 24) further insists that the writing in red ink was quite legible and insists that the above-cited book is indeed authored by Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.) and he gives the reason in continuation: "About 15 or 16 years ago on the margin of a hand-written book, *Tibbe Yousfi*, in the library of *Hakim* (herbal doctor) Muhammad Nabi Qadiyyani of the village Pind Aziz, I read a statement of Mufti Azizullah Quereshi that the ancestors of the *Hakim* belonged to the silsila *Noshahi*. Also on the margin of the book the dates of the expiry of Noshahi personages were written as well. About Hazrat Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.) it was stated *Wafaat Qutubul Kamleen Hazrat Shah Muhammad Qasim Shah Daula Daryae Gujrati*" [death of the *qutub* of the perfect *qutubs* (*qutub*, man of God on whom depends the supervision and management of a country) Hazrat Muhammad Qasim Shah Daula Daryae Gujrati] but no date of his passing away. "In the light of these observations it can be said without hesitation that the name of Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae Gujrati (Punjabi) was indeed Hazrat Shah Muhammad Qasim Shah Daulah Daryae."

In the opinion of the Dayal Singh Trust Library's research scholar, Hafiz Ghulam Hussain, the paper on which the book *Saerul Salookul Mulakul Mulook* is composed is not at all of the Baghdad origin, leading to the reality that this very Baghdad is not the same Baghdad where Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani, R. A. (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 82) is entombed. But it refers to that Baghdad (not in Iraq) about which the Sufi poet Hazrat Sultan Bahu from Punjab reminisced thusly: *Gharh Baghdad de tookre mangsaan karsaan Miraan Miraan*" [I will beg for the pieces (of bread) from the Baghdad city saying *Miraan, Miraan*]. *Miraan, Miraan* means "greatest *ameer*" [nobleman, rich man, *sardar* (chief) of chiefs, title of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Ghause Azam Jilani (R. A.) and Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti (R. A.)—Hamid, 1989, P. 1919].

Marfat.com

Kunjahi (1985, P. 83) clarifies the above-cited Baghdad as: founded by Shah Habib Jilani, near Shorekot, Pakistan, who was from the stock of Hazrat Mehboob Subhani, and named it Baghdad. In the words of Hazrat Sultanul Arefeen the identity of this Bagdad is *Jeethe uchian lamian chillan* (where high and long *chillan*). According to *Ferozeul Lughaat* in Urdu [undated, vi + 638 Pp, *chilla* (pl. *chillan*, P. 537) means "a piece of wood for burning"]. In Baghdad, Iraq, one comes across date-palms not the *chillan*. It must be emphasized here that Kuñjahi (1985, Pp 82-100) has commented comprehensivly on the book *Saerul Salookul Mulakul Mulook*.

Chaudhry, N. (1970, P. 60), from the poetic composition inscribed in the veranda of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Gujrat, Punjab, verse No. 14, second line, the name is described as Muhammad Shah Doola. In the first line of the same verse the name is Bu (Abu) al-Fazal (father of Fazal) which is entirely out of question because there is no son of Shah Daulah (R. A) named Fazal (except the only son Bhawan Shah). If his name was in fact either Shah Qasim or Muhammad Shah Doola then why it was not written on the main entrance of the mausoleum instead of Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah, which is also incorrect.

Chaudhry, A. (1987, P. 297) in *Tarikh Arraian* deals with the celebrities of the Arrain caste and includes the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.) as well. Thus, by inference Shah Daula also falls within the Arrain category.

Shah Inayat Qadri Shattary (R. A.) Lahori's father's name was Pir Muhammad (*ibid*, P. 295), who lived with his in-laws at Kasur, District Lahore, and after the death of his father became an *imam* (prayer leader) in a mosque. Shah Inayat (R. A.) was born therein. Shah Inayat (R. A.) learnt the Holy Qur'an by heart at the age of five and by the age of nine completed his studies of Arabic and Farsi. He became the disciple of Shah Muhammad Shattary Qadri Lahori living at Lahore. In a short time he got the spiritual

Marfat.com

enlightenment. From Lahore his mentor ordained him to move over to Kasur.

In Kasur there emerged a group of his rivals. When Sayyid Bulleh Shah (R. A.) became his *mureed*, a turmoil developed to the extent that Hussein Khan, *Haakame* (ruler) Kasur, also turned against him. Consequently, he moved again to Lahore and stayed there till his death. He died at the age of 85 and his mausoleum is in a *kothi* (bungalow) near Lahore Zoological Gardens.

Of the *mureeds* of Shah Inayat (R A.), Bulleh Shah (R A.) became very famous due to his kaffees (special poetic composition). The late Professor Maulana Illamuddin gave the date of the birth of Shattary as 1646-1647 (1056 A. H.).

In the same vein Shah Ilahi Bux Qadri Fazly Jullundhary *alias* Pir Ilahi Bux is also an Arrain wheras he is not a Sayyid. (*ibid.* P. 297), Sain Blaqui Shah Abu al-Khaer belonged to the famous Arrain family of Lahore, is one of the descendants of Shah Inayat Qadri R. A. (*ibid.* P. 298), Mian Khaki Shah and Baba Mahi Shah (*ibid.* P. 298) are also not Sayyid.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) walked upon this earth in that eon when in this part of the world to address directly the saints, distinguished clerics, luminaries, elderly, parents, grandparents and the like by their proper names was deemed a taboo and regarded as a gesture of insolence. For example, very few people know the name Masood of the saint Baba Farid Shakkar Gunj (R A.). Lahori, S. (1906, *in* Mojadeddi, 1976, P. 74) gives the name Sheikh Fariduddin Masood Gunj Shakkar, enshrined at Pakpattan, District Pakpattan, Pakistan. This motive reflected reverential awe of their personalities—a sense of insignificance in the face of some body who enjoyed an admirable and enviable status. The most common pseudonyms in vogue referred to Hazrat, Hazrat Sahib, Shah Sahib, Shahji, Babaji, Hazoor, al-Hazrat, etc. Consequently, the repeated use of these 'also-known-as,' extending, over a long period of time, mostly ended up losing their proper names in the fog of history.

Marfat.com

The life of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is as mysterious as his death. Some people say he was born during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar the Great.The facts speak otherwise. It can be said with certainty that he had seen 22 years of Jahangir's reign (lived for 58 years 1569-1627) , 30 of Shah Jahan's (lived for 74 years 1592-1666) and 17 of Aurangzeb Alamgir's rule (lived 89 years, 1618-1707). Shah Daulah (R. A.) lived most part of his life in Gujrat, Punjab, where he passed away.

Mufti, R. (1967, Pp 183-191) also followed the same old conventional details about Shah Daula (R. A.), but alluded to an important aspect, that is, there were two *mureeds* by the name of Doola in the presence of Sayyid Nasser Mast: one who was of the Lodi family and an employee of Wadera Khem Kern and his means of living were as a *mazdoor* (labourer) and the other doola who was *Wali Allah* and religious scholar.

The final result is that we are faced with more than one Doolas: a) the one resting in his mausoleum at Gujrat, the Punjab, Pakistan; b) that Doola who fell from grace when his spiritual mentor, Shah Saidan Sarmast, upon his approaching death called for him, but he had gone to Jammu to fetch a medicine for the ailing Sarmast; c) Shah Daula, associated with Baghdad, Iraq, is a different story altogether to be discussed later; d) Hameeda Shah Doola (Khan, M. A, 1869, P. 147); e) Ahmed Ali Shah Doola (*ibid*, P. 147); f) Karamat Shah Doola (*ibid*, P. 151); g) Muhammad Shah Doola (from a couplet written on the wall in the veranda, mausoleum Shah Doola, buried at Gujrat) and h) Shah Qasim *alias* Bshah Doola Behri (Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 2, 4).

The literature reveals that in olden days Daula or Daulat was an uncommon proper name, like Daula Roy, who killed a terrorist in the royal procession of Akbar the Great and we come across Kohistan Daula as well.

It emerges from an in-depth study that most of the details advanced by certain biographers are doubtful, *e. g.*, Ferzowk (2004, Pp 16), Naqshbandi (2005, Pp 88), etc., therefore, not

Marfat.com

worthy of comments. In fact Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) was a great religious scholar. He frequently held discussions with Qazi Abdul Muftah Gujrati and Miraan Faazal Gujrati. Qiladari (2000, P. 103) still keeps a journal of Qazi Abdul Muftah as to this effect. Evidently, all those details of Shah Daulah being orphaned and a slave of Khem Kern in Sialkot are not correct. If this story is considered authentic, then how come, under such trying circumstances, he could have become a pious and learned person.

An analytic review shows that there were two doolahs at the service of Saidan Sarmast. One was of the Lodi ancestroy, who was the slave of Khem Kern, living on earnings from labour. The other Doolah, a learned figure and a man of God, devoted to works of welfare

In the light of these two extreme views one is inclined to interpret that the authors Qadri (*op. cit.*) and Raam (*op. cit.*) had the dates of birth of two different persons at their hands. Due to the involvement of the same very name, *i. e.*, Doola, Doolah, Daula or Daulah, Qadri is dealing with the birth of Shah Doola Gujrati (?). It cannot be the other way round as in his *Karamat Nama* he almost invariably used the name Sheikh Doola. However, he erroneously links his ancestry to the Lodi dynasty that has been refuted (*op. cit.*). On the other hand, Raam represents the birth date of the other Doola, who fell in disgrace while his mentor the saint Sarmast was dying in Sialkot. And he was the Doola whose mother was Niamat Khatun and father Abdul Rahim Lodi.

Of all the above-cited Doolas we are concerned only with Shah Doola (R. A.) buried at Gujrat, the Punjab, Pakistan and not Shah Doola entombed at Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India.

It appears that Shah Doola, Doolah, Daula or Daulah is not a proper name in the real sense of the word rather an *alias* that means the name by which one is or has been called at another time or otherwise. Kunjahi (1985, P. 3) states that scholars have given the meanings of Doolah as country, royal family, reigning period, time and turn. He also

Marfat.com

speculates that "Doolah" due to the very nature of it is another name for *daulat* (money. wealth) and in the Indian subcontinent it forms the first integral part of such names like Daulat Raam. Daulat Khan and Daulat Shah and is one of the several praying names. In other words Shah Doolah is an apparent hymonym of Daulat Shah. Shah Doola might well signify a wealthy person but all of his riches are for others. not for him.

All of the biographers. with rare exceptions. though mistakenly. are in agreement that Shah Daula. in his early teens happened to be at the service of a fellow named Khema Wadera in Sialkot. and was known as *gola* (*ghulam*. usual nickname given to a servant). Obviously. everybody called him *gola*. Neither nobody knew his real name or perhaps if did know. never addressed him correspondingly except *gola*. By a curious twist of circumstances he became liberated from his original name and was content with the name *gola* instead. Thus *nome de gola* (servant) underwent distortions resulting in Doola. Doolah. Daula or Daulah. Nobody bothered about his actual name as there was no need for it. but only after receiving the blessings of his spiritual mentor he became Shah Daulah.

Some writers have recorded that Shah Doola's family name was "*Sayyid* Kabiruddin" (Asif 2000. P. 23). If it is believed to be true then he is related to the Sadaat ancestry. On the contrary. it is also asserted that he belonged to the family of Bahlul Lodi. thus his caste is Lodi.

Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) lived through the reigns of Mughal emperors Akbar (?). Jahangir and Shah Jahan. expiring in the 17th year of the emperor Alamgir's ascension to the throne. 1675 (1085 A. H.). His date of death is inferred from *Ba Khuda Pewust* (footnote)—Wadera (1847 Pp 177-178).

After the passing away of Shah Doola (R. A.). his son. Bhawan (Behawan) Shah. became the successor. Bhawan Shah died in 1699 (1108 A. H.). He had five sons from two wives: from the first wife (Wadera. 1847. P. 178) Muraad

Marfat.com

Bux and Kaam Bux: the second wife gave birth to Izud Bux. Hayat Bux and Karim Bux. The offsprings of these five sons were. namely. Mian Munawwar Shah and Moodi Shah. in turn their sons. Mian Hasan Shah. Fazal Shah and Jewun Shah. etc., were still alive in the family of Shah Doola (R A).

Several authors like Fucqry (1987). Rauf (1962) and Rehman & Wescoat (1993) have either relied upon the foregoing basic story or have been the victims of duplication. with a few changes here and there. regardless of the facts and figures and irrespective of the concurrent chronology of events as stated elsewhere. paying least attention to serious research work. What started as a false story is still considered authentic by the subsequent authors.

Elliott (1902. P. 28) believes that the disappearance of the Qanungo's treasure and subsequent building of mosques. tanks. etc. raise suspicion. The ousting of Moku. and assumption in consequence by Shah Daulah of the full powers of a "Pir." the transmission to heaven of the *faqir* who set himself up against Shah Daula (while in Gujrat). the popular theory as to the production of "Chuhas". all these voice doubts and combine to give Shah Daula a character which in these days would render him notorious rather than respected.

The shrine has no land of "maufi" (exempted from tax) attached to it. the "Pirs" living entirely on shrine and offerings. and the income brought by the *Chuhas*. There used to be a fair at the shrine with dancing girls. and large crowds. but now this is all changed. and the tendency of the age is to mock at saints and such like.

Marfat.com

(R. A.)

BIRTH OF SHAH DAULAH GUJRATI PUNJABI

Sheikh Doola (Shah.Daulah) is said by some to be born on the 25th year of the Mughal-emperor Akbar's ascending the throne where as others regard that Shah Daulah's date of birth was 18 years before the coronation of Akbar and still others believe that the date of his birth could not be found in literature; obviously, there is a drastic mix-up, these dates of birth have nothing to do with Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.). It is not known for sure when and where Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.) was born but we do know that he lived and died in Gujrat except for a sojourn to Sialkot. The name of his mother was Haneefa, buried in the mausoleum of Shah Daula (R. A.) by his grave at Gujrat. The Afghan ruler Sultan Salim sent a huge force against Sultan Sarang Ghakhar because the latter always sided with the Mughal emperor Humayun and after a bloody battle Sultan Sarang got killed. The clan of Sultan Sarang fell captives to the Afghans, including a suckling daughter, Niamat Khatun, of Ghazi Khan, s/o Sultan Sarang, who was at the breast of her mother. It is said that later on Niamat Khatun was married to Abdul Rahim Afghan Lodi, a soldier in the imperial household, and on 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne Sheikh Doola was born. Izzat Khan, son of Sultan Shadman (Khan) Ghakhar, had asked Sheikh Doola about his family background and he replied that the name of his mother was Niamat Khatun and that of his father Abdul Rahim alias Lodi Afghan. It is not known whether Shadman Khan had the descendants or not; thus, the contention that Izzat Khan was the son of Shadman Khan lacks credibility. Izzat Khan did

Marfat.com

not exist at the first place to have asked Sheikh Doola about his family. Neither the name of his mother was Niamat Khatun nor that of his father Abdul Rahim Lodi. Sultan Sarang had 22, 20 or 18 sons but it is a fact that he had 16 sons that were killed, along with him, in the battle with the Afghans. The names of his 6 living sons are known and they all had children.

Qadri (undated, Pp 7-8 *in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 26) was the first to point out that Sheikh Doola was born on the 25th year, 988 A. H (1581), of the Mughal emperor Akbar's ascending the throne; Akbar was enthroned in 963 A. H (1556) at Kalanur. Many authors like Elliott (1902, P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1918, P. 631), Khan, M. W. (1996, P. 1), Rauf (1962, P. 151) and Rehman & Wescoat (1993, P. 88) are in agreement with this contention. However, in the words of Mufti, R. (1967, P. 186),"The date of the birth of Shah Daulah Daryae (Gujrati Punjabi) could not be found in literature. Anyway, he was born in Gujrat and orphaned in the childhood."

Raam (1719-1720, Miracle No. 73, Pp 135-136) describes Shah Daula's date of birth as 18 years, *i. e.*, 945 A. H. (1538-1539), before Akbar's coronation, When they calculated his age, it came down to 150 years. And Akbar's crowning took place in 963 A. H (155-1556). If we lend credence to this, then the story of the Ghakhar relatioship of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (*op. cit.*) is no more than a flight of fancy. Obviously there is a drastic bungling up somewhere, either intentional or Shah Daulah (R. A.) is entirely a distinct person, nothing to do with Sheikh Doola of Qadri or Shah Daulah of Raam.

Qiladari (1983, Pp 20-22) believes that the date of the birth of Shah Daulah Gujrati is 1581 or 988 A. H. [that is the 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne whereas Raam (*op. cit.*) gives 18-19 years before the ascending of Akbar. Thus there is a difference of 43-44 years]. Furthermore, Roy (Raam) is describing the date of birth of the other "Doola"—Mungo or Muko—contemporary of Shah Doola Gujrati (R. A.), at the

Marfat.com

service of the saint Sarmast in Sialkot while Qadri (*op. cit.*) is dealing with the date (25th year of Akbar's on throne) of Shah Doola Gujrati Punjabi (?).

Consequently, it is safe to deduce that we do not know with certainty as to when and where Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.) was born except the date of his expiry that too is controversial. He lived and died in Gujrat except for a sojourn to Sialkot. We also know that the name of his wife was Haneefa, the mother of Bhawan Shah (Chaudhry, N., 1970, Miracle Nos. 47, 48; Pp 220-221: Raam, 1719-1720, Miracle No. 47, Pp 95-96 *nec* Hafeefa of Qiladari, 1983, Pp 50; 69, because the former stands priority being the earlier writer) and she is buried in the mausoleum of Shah Daula (R. A.) by his grave at Gujrat.

Regarding Haneefa there is also a *karamat* (Chaudhry, N. and Raam *op. cit.*) related to the in-laws of Shah Daula (R. A.) when they paid a visit to her and Haneefa treated them out of ordinary. This extraordinary hospitality annoyed Shah Daulah (R. A.). Haneefa was dressed down to the extent that she temporarily lost her sanity.

One day Izzat Khan, son of Sultan Shadman Ghakhar, requested Sheikh Doola (Qadri undated, Pp 7-8 *in* Kunajhi, 1985, Pp 26, 69-70) to throw some light on his family. His reply was: "The name of my mother is Niamat Khatun and that of my father Abdul Rahim *alias* Lodi Afghan, who was from the tribe of Sikander Lodi."

It so happend that the Afghan Sultan Salim, s/o Sher Shah Suri, sent a huge force against Sultan Sarang Ghakhar because the latter always sided with the Mughal emperor Humayun. After a bloody battle Sultan Sarang got killed. A large number of women and children from his clan fell captives to the Afghans. A suckling daughter, Niamat Khatun, of Ghazi Khan, s/o Sultan Sarang, was at the breast of her mother.

When the rule of Sultan Salim came to an end, then the Mughal emperor Humayun regained the throne but died after one year in power (Rahi, 1994, P. 83 says he ruled only for

Marfat.com

two months). This led to the reign of his son, Akbar. By that time Niamat Khatun had grown up and was married to Abdul Rahim Afghan Lodi—a soldier in the imperial household. On 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne Sheikh Doola was born, and the same year his father died.

Raam (1719-1720, Miracle No. 73, Pp 135-136,) recorded that one day Hazrat Shah Daulah Daryae Sahib Gunj Bux, in the company of his son Pir Bhawan Shah, visited the mosque of Muhammad Shafi for offering namaz (prayers). Coincidently, Abid Khan *Saddarul Sadoor* also happened to be around reading the *Panjsura* (five *separas*, *i. e.*, parts of Holy Qur'an bound together). Respectfully, he got up, greeted Hazrat Shah Daulah Daryae Sahib, and showing the *Panjsura* asked, "Hazrat do you recognize some words?"

Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.) took the *Panjsura* from his hand, placed his finger on the a*lif* (the first letter of Arabic, Farsi or Urdu alphabet), for Allah, and replied, "I know this letter very well and I am not indifferent to the others either." After that Abid Khan enquired about the age of Hazrat Shah Daulah.

The answer was: "One day and one night."

Abid Khan again asked, "When Jahangir ascended the throne what was your age then?"

Hazrat replied, "When his father (Akbar) ascended the throne at Kalanur, the *Faqir* was 18-year old."

Dunichand (1725, Pp 141, 173) has referred to (Sultan) Shadman Khan (Ghakhar) only twice in his book. However, it is not known whether he had descendants or not. According to some Sultan Sarang Ghakhar had twenty-two sons or twenty, others maintain eighteen. Anyway, it is a fact that his sixteen sons (Baqir, 1965 *in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 18-25; Dunichand; 1725 *in* Tariq, 1956, Rahi; 1994, P. 119), along with him, were killed in a war with the Afghans. The six living sons were: Kamal Khan imprisoned by Afghans (freed later on). Other son Alawal Khan, who was a disciple of Shah Monga, led a *faqiry* life giving up worldly interests. The third son Sayyid Khan remained busy fighting along

Marfat.com

with Sultan Adam Khan; the other sons were Aziz Khan, Ghazi Khan, Chochak Khan (or Baig) and Abdal Khan (about these sons details are known and all of them had children). Shadman Khan was from the stock of Kamal Khan, not his direct descendant, and it is believed that he had no offspring whatsoever.

Thus the contention of Qadri (*op. cit.*) that Izzat Khan was the son of Shadman Khan lacks credibility. Resultantly, the whole story of Sheikh Doola saying her mother's name was Niamat Khatun and his father was Abdul Rahim Lodi falls apart. The authenticity of the statement of Qadri, *i. e.*, Niamat Khatun being the name of Shah Daulah's mother, is further challenged (*op. cit.*) because Raam is silent on this topic.

In the light of historical facts, it is worth checking the accuracy of the tale about the Ghakhar captives taken to Delhi by the Afghans. The so called future mother, Niamat Khatun or Bibi, of Shah Daulah, was said to be among the prisoners, and his would be father an Afghan Lodi, Abdul Rahim. Logically, the achievement of this end depends upon the critical analysis of the Afghan, Ghakhar and the Mughal dynasties.

Most of the historical data (*vide infra*) involved in this book are based on the works of Abu al-Fazal (*in* Ferishta, 1611, Pp 680-731), Babar (undated *in* Nadvi (1997, Pp 287), Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 72-75), Dunichand (1725 *in* Tariq, 1956, Pp 100, 1-124, 154; *in* Baqir, 1965, Pp 86, 96, 97, 109, 111, 141,165, 173), Ferishta (1611, Pp 81-83, 87-88, 119, 154, 522, 534, 588, 641, 643), Kunjahi, (1985, Pp 18-23), Qanoongo (1996, P. 128) and Rahi (1994, Pp 64-66, 70-71, 77, 81- 84, 86-87, 119).

Marfat.com

AFGHAN DYNASTY

The Lodi Sultanate in Hindustan of Afghan Origin, 1451-1526

Several Afghans of Lodi tribe came to Hindustan and one of them was Malik Behram Lodi, who had five sons. One of them Malik Kala was the father of Bahlul Lodi—the founding father of the Lodi dynasty. Sultan Bahlul Lodi enlisted in his army the Rohi Afghans. Among the Rohi Afghans was Ibrahim Khan of the Sur tribe. Farid Khan, later known as the Sultan Sher Shah Suri, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan. Azam Humayun (Humayun Azam) the grandson of Bahlul Lodi—after the battle of Qanooj, Sher Shah Suri gave the title of Azam Humayun to Haibat Khan of the Niazi tribe. Nizam Lodi, one of their sons of Bahlul Lodi, ruled Delhi under the name of Sultan Adil Nizam Khan Sikander Lodi.He founded the modern city of Agra. After the death of Sikander Lodi his eldest son Ibrahim Lodi ruled Northern India, getting killed at the First Battle of Panipat; thus, ended the 350-year rule of Afghans and paved the way for the founding of the Mughal Empire.

Several Afghans of Lodi tribe came to Hindustan as traders. One of them was Malik Behram Lodi, who settled in Multan (Ferishta, 1611, P. 522), had five sons: Malik Sultan Shah, Malik Kala, Malik Feroze, Malik Muhammad and Malik Khwaja. Malik Kala was the father of Bahlul Lodi (r. 1441-1489)——the founding father of the Lodi family, who replaced the last king of the Sayyid dynasty at Delhi in 1451.

Marfat.com

Sultan Bahlul Lodi during his continuous struggle with the ruler of Jaunpur started to enlist in his army the Rohi Afghans of Kohe Suleiman (Suleiman Mountain). Many of them he sent over to other parts of Hindustan so that they should establish harmonious relations with the indigenous people. Among the Rohi Afghans there was a fellow, named Ibrahim Khan of the Sur tribe. Farid Khan (b. 1488 A. D. at Bajwara, near Hoshiarpur), later known as the Sultan Sher Shah Suri, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan.

Bahlul Lodi died of a sickness at a place known as Bhadowani, near Skate, Hindustan, in 1489 (Ferishta, 1611, Pp 522, 534). After his death some influentials decided that his grandson, Azam Humayun (Humayun Azam) [after the battle of Qanooj (1540), in which Mughal King Humayun was defeated, Sher Shah Suri also gave the title of Azam Humayun to Haibat Khan, who belonged to the Niazi tribe (Ferishta, 1611, P. 643; Kunjahi, 1985, P. 23; Qanoongo, 1996, P. 379)], s/o of Khwaja Bayazid, should be the successor, while the others considered Azam Humayun's elder brother, Barbak Shah (Ferishta, 1611, Pp. 533, 535).

Eventually, the other son of Bahlul Lodi, Nizam Khan, became the successor and ruled Delhi (1489-1517) under the name of Sultan Adil Nizam Khan Sikander Lodi. He continued his father's expansionist policy. He gained control of Bihar and founded the modern city of Agra, simply as a cantonment, on the site known as Sikanderabad. His reign was clouded only by a reputation for religious bigotry.

After the death of Sikander Lodi from a dangerous disease in 1517 his eldest son Ibrahim Lodi ruled Northern India (r. 1517-26), and tried to enhance the royal authority. His harshness built up discontent, was quickly faced with continuous disputes between the royal family and the Afghan nobles. Fearing for his safety, this led the governor of the Punjab, Dawlat Khan Lodi, to call in the Mughal king of Kabul, Babar, to invade Hindustan.

Ibrahim Lodi was killed (April 21, 1526) at the First Battle of Panipat against Babar (Ferishta,, 1611, P. 561).Thus

Marfat.com

ended the 350-year rule of Afghans. and for that matter the loose aristocratic confederacy of the Lodis dissolved in the Indian subcontinent. The victory paved the way for the founding of the Mughal Empire. Ibrahim Lodi`s motto was: "A king has no relations. all are his subjects" (Qanoongo. 1966. P. 128).

Marfat.com

GHAKHAR DYNASTY

The Genealogy of Ghakhars (*see* Table I)

Kewgohar was the Patriarch of the Ghakhars. From his son Sultan Kaed Khan to Sultan Kaab, the Ghakhars ruled Tibet for eleven generations. From Sultan Kaab Khan through Sultan Kabul (Kabal) Khan, the Ghakhars dominated the valley of Kashmir for fourteen generations. Sultan Kabul Khan left for Kabul and conquered it. When Sultan Nasiruddin Sabucktgeen of Ghazni invaded Kabul, friendly relations were established between Sabucktgeen and Sultan Kabul Khan. Possibly, Sultan Kabul Khan is the founder of Kabul city. Due to the bravery of Kabul Khan, Sabucktgeen made him the chief of his army and attacked Hindustan. The Raja Jaipal marched upon Ghazni, was defeated in a severe battle and returned to Hindustan with the promise of sending gifts through the men he brought from Ghazni with him. Once Raja Jaipal reached his capital Lahore he disregarded the truce. Sabucktgeen attacked Hindustan to punish Jaipal. A battle was fought at Lamghan, Jaipal again defeated and fled to Hindustan. Appreciating Kabul Khan's valour in the battle, Sabucktgeen entrusted the control of Kabul to him. After the death of Sultan Kabul Khan his son Ghakhar Shah ruled Kabul. Upon the death of Sabucktgeen, his famous son Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni. During his reign a battle was fought at Peshawar in which Raja Jaipal got killed along with his brothers and sons. Sultan Mahmud invaded Hindustan and occupied a vast territory. Ghakhar Shah ruled Potohar for eight years and his son Bijli Shah (Buj Shah) succeeded him. Sultan Hammad or Hamud

Marfat.com

Khan Ghakhar, s/o of Malik Pelu Khan Ghakhar, became the successor and ruled under the name of "Sultan Hathi (Elephant) Khan." Successive generations of Ghakhars dominated Potohar. Eventually, the pargana Rawalpindi slipped away from the control of the Sarangals (descedants of Sultan Sarang Khan Ghakhar) and fell under the Mughal control. It is not proved that the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.) belonged to the Sultan Sarang stock. Shah Doola Gujrati Punjabi is not linked to Bahlul Lodi through Abdul Rahim Lodi. It was the other Doola who fell in disgrace while at the service of Nasser Mast.

Kewgohar was the Patriarch of the Ghakhars. He is said to be the contemporary of King Kaekaus and Kaekabad and ruled over Isfahan (Esfahan). His son Sultan Kaed invaded Tibet and conquered it. From Sultan Kaed to Sultan Kaab, the Ghakhars ruled Tibet for eleven generations. Afterwards, Sultan Kaab invaded the valley of Kashmir and subdued the natives.

A fellow named Manohar of Chak caste gave his daughter to Sultan Farakh Khan, the son of Sultan Kaab Khan. Resultantly, peace pervaded Kashmir and the Kashmiris according to their own wishes demarcated the territory of the valley and were all praise for the Ghakhars. From Sultan Kaab through Sultan Kabul Khan, fourteen generations, the Ghakhars ruled the valley of Kashmir. Some of the Chagaan caste launched a surprise nocturnal attack and killed the ruling descendant Sultan Rustam Khan.

Sultan Kabul (Kabal) Khan, the son of Sultan Rustam, headed for Kabul (Afghanistan) and captured the territory in 977-978 (367 A. H.). When Sultan Nasiruddin Sabucktgeen of Ghazni invaded Kabul, after an undecided ferocious battle, in 980 (369 A. H.) friendly relations were established between Sabucktgeen and Sultan Kabul Khan. It is possible, as Dunichand (1725, *in* Tariq, 1956, P. 39) pointed out, Sultan Kabul Khan is the founder of Kabul city. Due to the bravery of Kabul Khan, Sabucktgeen made him the chief of

Marfat.com

his army and attacked Hindustan 982 (371 A. H.) with the subsequent control of some areas thereof.

In that era Hindustan had different rulers in different parts of the land. The greatest Raja was Jaipal, who dominated Kashmir, Sirhind and the Punjab till Delhi. Jaipal with a huge army, including elephants, marched upon Ghazni. A severe battle ended in the route of Raja Jaipal. He accepted his defeat, offered some elephants with the promise of sending gifts through the men he brought from Ghazni with him and after making peace returned to Hindustan. Appreciating Kabul Khan's valour in the battle, Sabuktgeen entrusted the control of Kabul to him.

Sultan Kabul died in Kabul. He had five sons, namely, Ghakhar Shah, Rattan Shah, Madan Shah, Talochan Shah and Bijli Shah (Buj Shah). Ghakhar Shah in turn ruled Kabul Dunichand (1725, *in* Tariq 1956, P. 40).

Once Raja Jaipal reached his capital Lahore, he imprisoned all of the personnel, who accompanied him from Ghazni. He backed out from his commitment and disregarded the peace treaty. When Sabucktgeen came to know of his treachery he attacked Hindustan to punish Jaipal. In a battle that took place at "Lamghan" (an area extending between Jalalabad, Kabul and Ghazni), Jaipal was again put to flight and made his way for Hindustan. In this encounter Ghakhar Shah demonstrated extraordinary bravery; soon after this Sultan Sabucktgeen passed away.

After the death of Sabucktgeen, his famous son Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni in 998 (387 A. H.) He re-confirmed Ghakhar Shah as the overlord of Kabul.

Sultan Mahmud captured Bokhara, Iran, Touran and Khurasan. Then he embarked upon conquering Hindustan. In 1002 (392 A. H.) a battle was fought at Peshawar.Raja Jaipal was not only vanquished, but also got killed along with his brothers and sons.

Posteriorly, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi occupied many parts of Hindustan. The territory of Pothohar (Potohar), considered as an integral part of Kashmir, was delinked from

Marfat.com

it in 1002 (392 A. H.) and handed over to Ghakhar Shah. Sultan Mahmud consolidated all of the intervening stretch till the river Jhelum with Ghakhar Shah's kingdom and it included Kabul as well.

The domain of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznivi once spanned greater parts of the area covering Shahdara, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Pasrur, Jammu, Poonch, thence the territories east of the River Sindh, Kohat, the vicinity of Mianwali except Khushab, Koh Tilla (known as *Tilla Joggian* after the legendary Ranjah of the love story *Heer Ranjah*) all the way to Rohtas and Jhelum. Kabul also remained under his influence.

After ruling Potohar for eight years Ghakhar Shah expired in 1029 (419 A. H.) His dead body was carried to Kabul and interred therein. After the demise of Ghakhar Shah, his son Bijli Shah (Buj Shah) succeeded him.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi died in 1031 (421 A. H.). His son Amir Masood undertook no adventures whatsoever. Bijli Shah kept a firm hold on Potohar for thirty-eight years, dying in 1065 (457 A. H.).

It is irrelevant to go into the details of the other Ghakhar rulers and we come directly to the times of Sultan Hammad or Hamud Khan Ghakhar, s/o of Malik Pelu Khan Ghakhar (d. 1512 or 917 A. H.). Hamud Khan became the successor and ruled under the name of "Sultan Hathi (Elephant) Khan." He was said to be more powerful than an "elephant," hence the nickname Hathi (Rahi, 1994, P. 64). He had subdued various rebellious tendencies and the entire region of Pothohar came under his control (Dunichand, 1725 *in* Tariq, 1956, Pp 1-124).

Hathi Khan was not yet under the complete control of the land of Ghakhars when Dervesh Khan Janjua initiated a war against him. Hathi Khan failed to stand up to the occasion and took refuge with his maternal uncle Bussy Khan.

Malik Bair Khan (d.1497) left seven sons. One of them Malik Tataar Khan had two underage sons, Sarang Khan and Adam Khan, thus the first cousins of Hathi Khan. Malik

Marfat.com

Tataar Khan and his sons all fled to Dangly (a place in Pothohar).

Dervesh Khan occupied the land of Ghakhars (Pothohar) and lawlessness ensued. In the mean time Hathi Khan with an army was awaiting by the side of Koh Moorti. At an opportune moment Hathi Khan launched a night attack and in a bloody battle none of his opponents was left alive.He cut Dervesh Khan into pieces upon which he placed a low table and sitting on it, in the company of the lady with whom Dervesh Khan forcibly got married, they enjoyed a dinner. After this episode the entire area of Potohar came under the dominance of Hathi Khan.

For 558 years, *i. e.*, from 1021-1022 (412 A. H.) till 1562-1563 (970 A. H.) the Ghakhars never remained subservient to other kings. They had their own rules and coins—Rahi (1994, P. 86).

From Kamal Khan till Shadman Khan—one of the descendants of Kamal Khan, the rule of Pothohar remained under their control for 4 generations (Dunichand, 1725, P. 154; Rahi, 1994, P. 119).

According to Dunichand (1725, *in* Tariq, 1956), who wrote the *Kewgohar Nama* about 50 years after the expiry of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Kamal Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Sarang Khan, had only one son Sultan Mowara Khan, the latter also with only with one son, Sultan Ajmeer Khan, who in turn also with only one son, Sultan Shadman Khan (Dunichand, *vide supra,* P. 154).

Sultan Shadman Khan was a stupid person (Dunichand, 1725, P. 119). Consequently the title of Sultan was withdrawn, then he lost the control of Pherhala (part of Potohar) He is said to have written a book, entitled, *Diwane* (compilation) *Shadman Khan,* but his foolishness can be imagined from the fact that once he wanted to fly by attaching some contraptions to his body from the parapat of his house, fell down and broke his leg. In fact this *Diwan* was published by Raja Jahandad Khan. The actual author of the *Diwan* was another Sultan Shadman Khan, who

Marfat.com

happened to be a court poet of Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb (Dunichand, *vide supra*, P. 119).

After the death of Sultan Sayyid Khan his elder son, Nazar Khan, was designated the power by the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Like his father Nazar Khan served in the Mughal royal army in the province of Kabul, Bala Bangash, Yusaf Zai area and Peshawar.

Nazar Khan Ghakhar died leaving behind three sons, Khizer Khan, Ilyas Khan and Kamal Khan (not to be confused with one of the sons of Sultan Sarang Ghakhar).The Emperor Jahangir, son of Akbar, assigned the pargana of Rawalpindi to the elder son Khizer Khan. When the latter passed away, at the order of Emperor Shah Jahan, son of Jahangir, his son Ghazi Khan (Sultan Sarang also had one of the sons with this name) took over the domain. Upon his death, his son Muhammad Saeed Khan by the royal order of Aurangzeb Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan, ruled the pargana Rawalpindi. While fighting the Afghans against the Mughal forces, Saeed Khan died but his underage son Hasan Beg could not make it to the court of Aurangzeb, thus the pargana Rawalpindi slipped away from the control of the Sarangals (descedants of Sultan Sarang Khan Ghakhar) and fell under the Mughal control.

Kunjahi (1985, Pp 23-24) rightfully points out if it is supposed that the mother of Shah Daula (R. A.) came from the Sultan Sarang stock, as asserted by all other authors, including Elliott, who copied Qadri, history is at a loss to corroborate its authenticity. Because as far as the closing years of the 11th century Hegira (15th A. D.) the Sarangals remained loyal to the Mughals and dominated the region of the Potohar. The Sarangals, for that matter the Ghakhars, were known to hold their female folks in high esteem. If the mother of Shah Daula (R. A.) had been allegedly from the Ghakhar descendantns, then there would have been no place, from Kala Gujran through Pherwala, too unfamiliar for her to let her grind wheat for making both ends meet. This indignity of lowly manual labour would have been

Marfat.com

intolerable for the Ghakhars. In view of the recent circumstances her noble Ghakhar origin definitely would have been still fresh in the memory of her kith and kin.

Qadri, C. (*op. cit.*) and others have completely overlooked another important fact that if the so called "mother" of Shah Doola in 1547 A. D (953 A. H.) happenend to be a suckling then in the first year of Akbar's ascending the throne at Kalanur in 1556 A. D.(963 A. H.) how come she was married to Abdul Rahim Lodi when she was hardly 10-year old? This is in direct contradistinction to what Raam (1719, P.136) maintained: "When his father (of Jahangir, Akbar) ascended the throne at Kalanur, then *Faqir* was 18-year old," replied Shah Daula upon being asked about his age.

Another significant aspect is worth considering. For Abdul Rahim Lodi, the alleged father of Shah Daula, enjoying a prestigious position, due to his attachment to the royal court, coupled with plenty of captives, it was not difficult to find a grown up match instead of a slave girl hardly 10-year old. Futhermore, the child, "Shah Doola," was born after 15 years of this wedlock, which is surprising though not impossible; Abdul Rahim Lodi dying the same year.

The question does arise that after the death of her husband why the widow did not think of her in-laws, who must be living in the vicinity of Delhi, and opted for Potohar instead? It is also strange that her in-laws could tolerate the separation of Abdul Rahim Lodi's only son to disappear forever from their eyes in the far flung area like Potohar.

Many authors in the wake of one another have repeated the unfounded story, linking Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.) with Bahlul Lodi through Abdul Rahim Lodi. In fact from the family of Bahlul Lodi through Ibrahim Lodi to Abdul Rahim Lodi—a courtier of the Mughal emperor Akbar—was the other Doola, Mungo or Muko a contemporary disciple of Shah Daula at the service of Saidan Nasser Mast of Sialkot. This has already been brought to light by Raam (*op. cit.)* and later on by Lahori (*op. cit.*). Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.) was a Sayyid, neither Lodi, Pathan, Afghan, Arrain nor Gujjar—it

Marfat.com

was the other Doola that was deprived of the spiritual enlightenment by Saidan Nasser Mast.

Marfat.com

MUGHAL DYNASTY

Ghakhars and the Afghan Sultanate Factors

Hathi Khan Ghakhar's loyalty to the Mughal King Zaheeruddin Babar. Babar's support of Ghakhars against Janjuas. Sultan Sarang Ghakhar becoming permanently loyal to Mughals. Battles of Sher Shah Suri and his son Salim Shah against Ghakhars lasted for seven years. Battle between the Janjuas and Ghakhars. Dawlat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan invited Babar to invade Hindustan. Death of Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Death of Babar and designation of Humayun as his successor. Escape of princes Askari and Kamran across the river Neelab. Sher Khan minted his own coins and ruled under the title of Sher Shah Suri. Khwas Khan allegedly took refuge with Ghakhars. Islam Shah (Salim Shah) ascended the throne of Agra. Incarceration of Kamal Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Sarang, and his escape. In a battle with Afghans, Sultan Sarang's sixteen sons killed, and Sarang himself was deskinned. After the death of Sultan Sarang his brother Adam Khan took over Potohar. Death of Islam Shah. Defeat of the Raja of Jammu at the hands of Diwan Lashkar Khan, son of Sultan Adam Khan. After the expiry of Islam Shah Suri, Sultan Adil alias Mubaraz Khan Udli, ascended the throne. With Iran's Shah Mehtasup's help Humayun invaded Hindustan. Sultan Alawal Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Sarang, led a faqiry life. After the death of Kamal Khan, the succession went down to his son Mumara Khan (Mubara or Mawara Khan). Mumara Khan had only one son, Ajmeer Khan. Sultan Shadman Khan was the only son of Ajmeer

Marfat.com

Khan. After the death of Akbar his son Jahangir ascended the throne. Jalal Khan, obeying the orders of the emperor Jahangir, got killed in a battle, and Akbar Kuli Khan, one of his sons became the successor. Rebellion of Shadman Khan in which he was defeated thus putting an end to the rule of the Sarangals (dynasty of Sultan Sarang). It is doubtful that a certain Izzat Khan was the son of Shadman Khan. Izzat Khan (?) allegedly asked Shah Daulah (R. A.) about the details of his family. History of Potohar.

The rule of Hathi Khan over Potohar coincided with the third invasion of Hindustan by the Mughal King Zaheeruddin Babar. On crossing the River Sindh, Babar issued orders for the presence of Hathi Khan before him, but he ignored the overture and started a war with the Mughal army instead. This unpleasant event made the King Babar annoyed. A few times the Mughals made advances against the Ghakhars to overcome the forces of Hathi Khan, without getting the desired results.

At last Babar realized that the Ghakhars are the brave descendants of the King Kayan. Consequently, he resorted to diplomatic and conciliatory moves. It was deemed advisable to make friends with Hathi Khan because it will help him strengthen his forces. The result was that Hathi Khan became an ally of Babar (Dunichand 1725 *in* Tariq, 1956; Rahi, 1994, Pp 64-66). Ferishta (1611, Pp 586-587) points to the contrary. Failing to face the forces of Babar, Hathi sent an emissary named Parbat with some presents, who assured Babar about the obedience of Hathi to him.

After the 12th century there unleashed a series of battles between the Janjuas and the Ghakhars.in the Salt Range (Kohistan Salt). At the time of Babar's entry into Hindustan, Janjuas and Ghakhars were already at the throat of each other. At first Babar supported Janjuas against Ghakhars, but when the Ghakhar *Sardar* (chief) Roy (Sultan) Sarang became permanently loyal to Mughals, Babar changed his policy (Rampuri, 1967, P. 456). Till the time of the Afghan

Marfat.com

Sultan Sher Shah Suri, the Ghakhars were indeed faithful to the Mughals.

Sher Shah decided on a huge army under the command of Khwas khan. A deadly battle was fought in the valley of Salt Range. The Ghakhars were not only defeated but a sort of massacred. Sher Shah Suri emerged triumphant.

Abu al-Fazal (*in* Ferishta, 1611, Pp 830-831) talks about several battles between Sarang and Sher Shah including the latter's son Salim Shah. Sarang captured a significant number of Afghans and sold them. Eventually, Sher Shah captured Sarang and killed him (in fact it was not Sher Shah rather his son Salim Shah, who deskinned Sultan Sarang).

In those days Malik Dawlat Khan Janjua was ruling Khushab with whom Hathi Khan had an old score to settle. In the Mughal army the Ghakhars in the forefront, at a place known as Tarchak, in the area of Talagang, a severe battle was fought in which the forces of Janjua faced humiliating defeat.

Babar was so pleased with the bravery of the Ghakhars that he bestowed the title of Sultan upon Hathi Khan. Consequently, Hathi Khan emerged from his refuge in Dangly, getting Potohar vacated from Dervesh Khan Janjua.

The sons of Tataar Khan (uncle of Hathi Khan), Sultan Sarang Khan and Adam Khan—the first cousins of Hathi Khan, now grown up were bent upon having their share of the land of Pothohar (Rahi, 1994, Pp 70, 71, 81-83, 86). An intra-family feud ensued with vicious combatants on both sides. Hathi Khan was poisoned by his wife of Keswal tribe (some say at the behest of Sarang Khan). He died in 1531 (937 A. H.). His reign lasted for twelve years.

After the death of Hathi Khan, Sarang Khan inherited the title of Sultan and assumed the control of Pothohar; his dominion extended from the Indus till the River Chenab. In those days after the death of Sultan Sikander Khan Lodi his son Ibrahim Lodi had ascended the throne of Delhi. In his darbar (court) there was an imprudent vizir Behar Khan. This led to a sort of anarchy in the country.

Marfat.com

Dawlat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan from Lahore invited Babar to intervene in the chaos pervading Hindustan. Afterward Dawlat Khan himself visited Kabul, thence reached Khurasan where Babar was waiting for some divine guidance. Thus, Babar for the fifth time to conquer Hindustan reached the shores of the River Sindh.

Dawlat Khan was one of the uncles of Ibrahim Lodi, a person of high rank and a *Jagir* (land)-holder in Agra. This same very Dawlat Khan later on became the governor of the Punjab.

Babar sent for the brothers Sultan Sarang Khan and Sultan Adam Khan. They responded the call affirmatively and reached the renedezvous, making a firm commitment to fight along with Babar's soldiers. Babar placed his *posteen* (a sort of gown), which he was wearing himself, on the shoulders of Sultan Sarang and addressed him as his younger brother. Sultan Sarang, after wearing the *posteen*, gave his word that in exchange for this honour, if and when the occasion arose, he won't hesitate to sacrifice his own *posteen* (the proper skin of his own body) to serve Babar. This bond of brotherhood lasted throughout their lives. Later on these prophetic words proved true to the letter, as the Afghans deskinned Sultan Sarang and hung his skin at the gate of the Rohtas Fort in revenge for siding in royal battles with Babar against the Afghans.

Sultan Sarang stuck to his words and defeated the Afghans but he himself stayed behind in Pothohar. Sultan Adam Khan marched along with the triumphant Mughal forces (Dunichand, 1725 *in* Baqir, 1965, Pp 86, 96-97, 109). However, Babar had already dispatched Dawlat Khan, Ghazi Khan and other noblemen towards Lahore.

In the mean time it became known that Dawlat Khan and Ghazi Khan backed out from their commitment and camped with huge army at Kalanur. In addition the royal *Umaras* (noblemen) from Delhi had already reached Lahore, bent upon a fight and got vacated the fort of Sialkot situated on other side of the River Chenab from Gujrat.

Marfat.com

Babar took a quick action and hurriedly advanced toward a place known as Bahlul by the side of the River Chenab. Sialkot was ordered to be destroyed and its population shifted to Bahlul. After some fighting Babar came out with flying colors and reached Kalanur from Sialkot. Advancing from Kalanur he conquered Fort Muloat. Dawlat Khan, the traitor, was imprisoned in the same fort where he finally breathed his last.

Battle of Panipat: Babar headed for Ambala where his son prince Naseeruddin Humayun, after conquering the neighbouring areas, paid homage to him. It was there at Anbala the news came that Sultan Ibrahim Shah with a tremendous army and mighty gunpower had advanced from Delhi to encounter the Mughal forces.

Babar, after marching from Anbala, encamped near Panipat. Sultan Ibrahim Shah also entered the vicinity of Panipat and made moves to engage the Mughal soldiers. When the battle was in progress, Babar noticed that the swift horses of his army, not accustomed to face the ferocious elephants of Sultan Ibrahim, ran helter skelter. The elephants trampled foot soldiers ensnaring them with their snouts. When Babar saw the superiorty of Sultan Ibrahim's army, he shouted at his soldiers, "*Murdan bkosheed ta jamae zanan naposheed*" (men struggle, don't wear women's dress) or "*Murdan bkosheed ya jamae zanan bposheed*" (men struggle or wear women's dress).

Sultan Adam Khan heading 12000-strong Ghakhar soldiers, equal in strength to that of Babar's, reached the forefront of the Mughal column. In the company of a few thousand horsemen he counterattacked the elephants and his men were ordered to aim at the eyes of the pachyderms. The result was that these beasts ran amock, trampled their own soldiers and took to their heels. The flight of the elephants ended in the defeat of the Lodis, Babar emerged victorious.

Unfortunately, Sultan Adam Khan got a hit at his chest and fell onto the ground, was carried off from the battlefield and the royal *tabeebs* (herbal doctors) were ordered to look after

Marfat.com

him. However, Sultan Ibrahim Shah got killed in the battlefield.

Sultan Adam Khan recovered, and with royal gifts, including elephants and horses, returned to Potohar. Sultan Sarang was pleased to see his younger brother return safe and sound.

Prince Humayun had gone to conquer the Fort Kalinjar. When Babar fell ill, he called him back to Agra and designated him as the successor. Babar died at Agra in 1531 (b. 1484, in Farghana, eastern Turkestan). Humayun ascended the throne of Delhi in 1531 (937 A. H.)

The reign of Humayun was hardly a few years in place when a certain Afghan Sher Khan rebelled.This uprising took an ugly and lengthy turn with the eventual defeat of Humayun in 1541 (947 A. H.). Upon fleeing, Humayun faced enormous hardships on his way through Balochistan to Khurasan.

Mirza Askari and Kamran, the other sons of Babar, after facing defeat fled towards Lahore, reaching the Sultan Sarang at Dangly. Sultan Sarang, who was faithful of Mughals, helped the two princes cross over the River Neelab (Sindh).

Sher Shah Suri: Sher Khan was in the hot pursuit of the princes Askari and Kamran. He got a bridge laid over the River Neelab, and a detachment of his troops put up their tents as well. The men of Sultan Sarang attacked the encamped Afghans, cut them all dead and dislodged the bridge. Several times Sher Khan tried to cross the river but the Ghakhars never let him succeed in his designs. However, Sher Khan entrusted the task of subduing the Ghakhars to twelve thousand riders under the command of Raj Humayun, Sayyid Khan and Shahbaz, and he himself reached Agra. In 1541 (947 A. H.) he got his own coins minted and obtained the title of Sher Shah. In other words he was known as Sher Shah Suri, and died during the siege of Kalinjar, May 1545 A. D.(1951 A. H).

Marfat.com

The battle between Sher Shah Suri's Afghans and the Ghakhars had already started but the Ghakhars were as resistant as ever, never allowing them within the precincts of their country. They kept on fighting for seven years. The Afghans failed to gain an upper hand and were repulsed in every encounter. In fact the Ghakhars defended so valiantly that the Afghans dared not venture out beyond the Rohtas Fort into the Ghakhar territory. The vicinity of Rohtas was the point were the Ghakhars stood like the Rock of Gibraltar.

Before closing the topic of Sultan Sher Shah Suri, it is worth a mention that for the first time, while on an expedition to Bengal, Babar mentioned Sher Khan Sur in these words: "Got information about Sher Khan Sur that he has joined the enemies, notwithstanding only last year I gave him a big *jagir* and dispatched him in this direction" (Babar, undated *in* Nadvi, 1997, P. 272).

Islam Shah (Salim Shah): Islam Shah, s/o Sher Shah, ascended the throne of Agra in 1547 (953 A. H.). He gave top priority to harness the Ghakhars and sent an enormous army against them. It is said that it was Salim Shah (not Sher Shah Suri), who continued fighting the Ghakhars for seven years (1545-1552). He made many incursions into the territory of the Ghakhars. But the Ghakhars, through several strategies, made the life of the Afghans so miserable that the Afghan soldiers used to be afraid to leave their detachments.

There was another aspect of this expedition. Islam Shah wanted to subdue Khwas Khan because he had rebelled in favour of Adil Khan, the elder brother of Islam Shah. Moreover, Islam Shah's repressive attitude towards other nobles like Haibat Khan Niazi, Azam Humayun and Shujaat didn't go well with him. In a battle Khwas Khan got defeated and asked for a refuge with the Ghakhars which they granted. Due to this reason later on a battle was fought near Rohtas in which Sultan Sarang was killed.

Sultan Sarang Khan and Adam Khan along with their tribe were at Bala Kot [Kunjahi, 1985, P. 18 ref. Dunichand (1725) names the hill as Manzil, not Bala Kot]. After severe

Marfat.com

battles, Sultan Sarang Khan sent his son Kamal Khan for an audience with Islam Shah. The Afghans betrayed the trust, arrested Kamal Khan and incarcerated him in the Gwalior Fort.

Kamal Khan: Just in passing, the story of Kamal khan goes like this: Islam Shah had him imprisoned in the Gwalior Fort. Because of the fact that Sultan Adam Khan's forces badly mauled the counterparts of Islam Shah, it was ordered that the subterranean cells of the fort that harboured the captives including Kamal Khan should be blown up with the aid of gunpowder. Miraculously, the corner of the cell, where Kamal Khan was held, escaped the ravages of the fire, thereby saving Kamal Khan. Islam Shah took this event as a divine gesture and released Kamal Khan. He led a miserable life post-freedom till Humayun ruled Hindustan for the second time.

Ferishta (1611, P. 699 throughout refers Ghakhars as Khakhars) gives a different version. Since the Ghakhars were traditionally loyal to the Mughals, Sher Shah Suri several times attacked to destroy them. But the Ghakhars could not be brought to their knees by any means; therefore, Sher Shah Suri himself reached their territory. Consequently, he deceitfully killed their chief, Sultan Sarang, and arrested his son Kamal Khan, who was confined to the Gwalior Fort.

Here is another ambiguity. Islam Shah returned after wreaking havoc in the territory of Ghakhars. He designated the *Ameers* (noblemen) of the Punjab to annihilate the Ghakhars. He also ordered that all those Ghakhars, who could be found, must be confined (Ferishta, 1611, P. 700) in a house and it should be blown up. The orders were carried out, thus the whole tribe of Ghakhars was wiped out, only Kamal Khan survived, who somehow or other hid himself in the corner of his house. At that time Salim Shah did not know that Kamal Khan was in fact alive. Afterwards when it came to his knowledge that Kamal Khan was alive (after escape from the fort of Gwalior?), he took a firm promise of obedience and allowed him to return to Punjab.

Marfat.com

Sultan Sarang could not tolerate the backing out of Afghans from their promise of not to capture his son Kamal Khan, therefore, he reinitiated a war with them. In fact Islam Shah wanted to get hold of Adam Khan, the younger brother of Sultan Sarang but his scheme was foiled.

It matters little whether it was Sher Shah or his son Islam Shah, the fact remains that during the 7-year war between the Ghakhars and the Suri (Afghan) forces, in a battle 1545-1546 or 952 A. H. (Dunichand, 1725 *in* Tariq, 1956) Sultan Sarang, and his sixteen sons, were killed. It was the consequence of the Ghakhars loyalty to side with Humayun against the Suris.

Kamal Khan after escaping from the Gwalior Fort, along with his brother Sayyid Khan, led an unknown life. Because his uncle, Sultan Adam, had taken over Potohar, Kamal Khan at that time didn't consider it wise to take any retaliatory steps, and considered it prudent to wait for a suitable opportunity. (Dunichand, 1725 *in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp19-21; *in* Tariq, 1956).

Islam Shah Suri was at the throne of Delhi in 1547 (953 A. H.).The Punjabi *Ameers* were still tackling the Ghakhars conquering their territory when Islam Shah Suri died in 960 A. H. (1553 A. D).

After the death of Sultan Sarang, Sultan Adam Khan descended from Bala Kot, gathered strength and impeded Afghans from gaining supremacy in his land. He buried the dead body of his elder brother Sultan Sarang and his sons near Rawat along the present Grand Trunk Road and constructed their marble graves.

In the death of Sultan Sarang there is something amiss. His skin was hung at the Rohtas Fort but his body was entombed more than ninety kilometers away from Rohtas in the west near Rawat. Seems strange, skin at Rohtas and body at Rawat!

Raja of Jammu: Once a Mirasi named Jug in the court of the Raja of Jammu praised the bravery of Diwan Lashkar Khan and his father Sultan Adam Khan. The Raja was not

Marfat.com

accustomed to hear about the gallantry of others in his court. He got annoyed and ordered Mirasi to inform Diwan Lashkhar and his father, "If they are that valiant they dare attack Jammu."

Mirasi Jug conveyed the same message to Diwan Lashkar Khan. He attacked Makhiala, conquered it and headed towards Jammu. Upon hearing about this victory, the Raja, leaving behind his family and relatives, fled. The Ghakhars burned down the Mandi (market) of Jammu. Each and every brick of the Mandi was ordered to be carried by each one of his riders and returned to Dangly, Potohar, where a tower was built from these bricks to commemorate this eventful victory.

Sultan Adil: After the expiry of Islam Shah Suri, Sultan Adil *alias* Mubaraz Khan Udli, the son of Nizam Khan the brother of Sher Shah Suri, ascended the throne but the Afghans rebelled, ensuing anarchy in the country. By that time Humayun entered the Punjab and Kamal Khan got enlisted in his army.

Sultan Adam Ghakhar informed Humayun about the chaotic state of affairs in the country and recommended that the time was ripe to invade Hindustan with the possibility of regaining the lost throne of Dehli. Upon hearing this news the king of Iran, Shah Mehtasup with whom Humayun had taken refuge, asked him about the identity of the person who dispatched the message. He replied, "The sender of the message is an old dignitary of the Ghakhar caste whose brother laid down his life for my sake." The king of Iran got convinced of the fruitful results and sent his own army for help. Thus, Humayun set upon his way to Hindustan.

When Humayun crossed the River Sindh, he dispatched his special emissary to bring Sultan Adam Khan. He, with twenty thousand riders and one lac of foot soldiers, appeared in the presence of Humayun and they marched together on their way to Hindustan. Eventually when the royal army reached Lahore the Afghans got so scared that Lahore was conquered without shedding a drop of blood. The royal army

Marfat.com

under the command of Behram Khan fought a couple of winning battles in the area of Jullundhar.

At last after crossing the River Sutlej, Behram Khan came to grips with the Afghans and defeated them. In this battle the Ghakhars performed glorious feats and sacrificed their lives for Humayun.

Another battle was decided at Sirhind. Consequently, Behram Khan sought the advice of Humayun who happened to be in Lahore suffering from colic pain. In spite of this he made a move from Lahore and reached Sirhind. The army was divided into three bodies: one under the command of Behram Khan, the second headed by the prince Akbar and the third comprised of Ghakhars.

Every day a battle was fought against the Afghans and the hostilities continued for forty days. Finally, the Afghans were routed and Humayun came out with flying colours, re-occupying the throne of Delhi. Sultan Adam Khan was rewarded with *Khil'at* (special dress), elephants and horses and seen off with honours to retrace his journey back toward Potohar.

Sultan Adam Khan (Shah) Ghakhar had eight sons (Rahi, 1994, P. 82): Diwan Lashkar Khan, Muhammad Khan, Chatta Khan, Lehkan Khan, Hoshiyar Baig, Salim Khan, Jabbair (Jabeer) Khan and Badal Khan. Diwan Lashkar Khan in turn also had eight sons (Rahi, 1994, P. 83).

After the death of Humayun (d. 1556 due to a fall from the stairs of his library, Delhi; b. 1508 in the Kabul Fort) the *Ameers* in complete agreement made Jalaluddin Akbar, the son of Humayun, ascend the throne in 1556 at Kalanur 1556, Hindustan (Ferishta, 1611, P. 963). He was 13-year old, afterwards becoming the conqueror of entire Hindustan.

During all this Sultan Adam Khan did not pay homage to Akbar but the Ghakhars nonetheless remained in the good books of him due to their support of his father, Humayun. However, Kamal Khan early in the reign of Akbar gained access to the royal court and was bestowed with favours including several *jagirs*.

Marfat.com

Sultan Adam Khan, after the death of his brother Sultan Sarang, was selected as the chief of the Ghakhars and without fear dominated Potohar. Like his late brother, Sultan Sarang, he remained a sworn enemy of the Afghans.

During the reign of Akbar, Kamal Khan was bestowed upon a *Jagir* in Karah Maanukpur. Along with Khan Zaman he fought valiantly against Afghans. Emperor Akbar ordered that Kamal Khan, brave as he was, should replace the disloyal *Hakame* Punjab, Sultan Adam (Ameer Sultan), and be appointed as the chief of the Ghakhars instead. The noblemen of the Punjab sided with Kamal Khan. After recapturing the lost territory of Ghakhars, Sultan Adam (Ameer Sultan) was arrested alive. With the royal decree Kamal Khan became the *Hakam* of the Ghakhars.

Alawal Khan: It was rumoured that Alawal Khan, one of the sons of the late Sultan Sarang, had expired. As a result Diwan Lashkar Khan took his woman in the *nikkah* (matrimonial bond). However, one afternoon some time during the spring season, Sultan Alawal Khan in the company of some other *faqirs*, unrecognized, clad in a *faqiri* garb, reached Pherwalah. Both Hindus and Muslims in the ruins of Pherwalah began visiting him to pay their respect.

One day the Ghakhar ladies carried in palankeens (palanquins)—covered lifters to accommodate only one person, in Hindustan and the East, carried usually by four or six men—visited these *faqirs*. Among these ladies was also the one to whom Lashkar Khan had held in his *nikkah* (*vide supra*).At the very first sight she recognized her former husband Alawal. At night she made it known to Lashkar Khan that due to the fact her former husband was still alive her marriage with him was *haraam* (forbidden) Lashkar Khan, infused with the greed to possess the lady, killed Alawal Khan.

One *kahar* (palanquin-bearer), who was the faithful of the Sarang family, cut off one of the hands of Alawal Khan and boiled it in hot *ghee* (solid milk product when unmelted). Afterward, dangling it by one of his hands carried it to

Marfat.com

Kamal Khan in Delhi, and complained, "Diwan Lashkar Khan killed that helpless *faqir* without any of his faults, who was enemy of no one except his own self."

Kamal Khan, being brother of the innocent *faqir*, hit his own head with that amputated hand and made a firm determination to wait for the revenge when the opportunity should arise.

It is said that Kamal Khan was so handsome that when the emperor Akbar used to get up from sleep in the morning loved to see him around. Once Akbar took a typical robe off from his own body and gave it to Kamal Khan. He looked so gorgeous in that robe that Akbar admiringly asked Kamal Khan to take as much treasure as he liked, and so it was.

As Kamal Khan was heart-broken because of the death of his brother Alawal Khan (the *faqir*), he requested Akbar that he enjoyed enough of his kindness and wanted to return to his country (Potohar) to regain the land of his father. Akbar consented and a royal decree was issued that the land of the Ghakhars which used to be the domain of Sultan Sarang, then under the influence of Sultan Adam, be partitioned into two parts: one to remain under the control of Sultan Adam and the other to be handed over to Kamal Khan. It was further ordered that if Sultan Adam Khan failed to comply with the royal edict, then the royal forces from the Punjab should march upon Potohar. Kamal Khan was bestowed upon the title of Sultan. The royal message was conveyed to Sultan Adam Khan. But he and Diwan Lashkar Khan turned a deaf ear and decided to fight it out.

At last due to internal disconcord and severe bloodshed, both Sultan Adam Khan and Lashkar Khan faced a bitter defeat, were arrested alive. Motivated by the revenge of his brother and lust for the possession of land, Kamal Khan at the time of the 8th year (1538. or 944 A. H) of Akbar's ascending the throne.had them hanged (Rahi, 1994, P. 86, the year was 1553 or 960), thus Potohar fell under his authority.

Marfat.com

According to Hussain (1971, P. 284) the fight between Adam Khan and Kamal Khan took place in 1562 (969 A. H.) at Hellan, near Chellianwala (*nec* Jallianwala, Amritsar), Gujrat. Adam Khan got defeated, taken captive and died in prison. Seemingly, this contention is unreasonable.

Kamal Khan's authority over Potohar remained for seven years and died in 1569 (976 A. H.). After his death his son Mumara Khan (Mubara or Mawara Khan) became the ruler. He had only one son, Sultan Ajmeer Khan, who also had the only son, Sultan Shadman Khan (Dunichand, 1725, Pp 100, 154).

In the course of the events, the descendants of Sultan Adam Khan fell on hard times. One of his sons Muhammad Khan presented himself before the emperor Akbar, who sent him on an adventure to Nagore and he expired in the same country.

Jalal Khan, one of the sons of Muhammad Khan, at the suggestion of his servants Rae Paetoo *alias* Bal and Omar Khan *alias* Pakral, all headed for the court of the emperor Akbar to seek a job. Pakral was an expert horse trainer, thus could get some money from rendering his services to noblemen and Paetoo was assigned an ordinary duty in the royal office.

The Mughal emperor Akbar died at Akbarabad in 1603 (1012 A. H.) the 51st year of his ascending the throne. His son Jahangir was the next in line. During that period Sultan Jalal Khan presented himself in his Darbar and was bestowed upon a *Khil'at.* In 1607 (1016 A. H.) when Jahangir visited Kabul, Sultan Jalal Khan also accompanied him.

Jahangir: During the reign of Jahangir, Bangash Afghans rebelled. In order to obey the orders of Jahangir, Sultan Jalal Khan, the grandson of Adam Khan, at the head of 10,000-strong Ghakhar army and Ghairat Khan Mughal with an equal force headed to quell the uprising. Sultan Jalal Khan got killed defending the Mughal emperor Jahangir in 1609 (1018 A. H.)

Marfat.com

Jahangir bestowed the title of Sultan upon Akbar Kuli Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Jalal Khan. Sultan Akbar Kuli Khan, like his father, traveled to the court of Jahangir at Delhi. After seeking the authority for the management of his domain, he marched upon Bala Bangash to avenge the death of his father. A battle was fought with Bangash Afghans, which ended in the victory of Kuli Khan and he returned triumphantly to Potohar.

Shadman Khan: The grandson of Mumara Khan, Shadman Khan, presented himself in the Darbar of Jahangir where ancestral pargana Pherwala was restored to him. He was an unwise person and resorted to the profession of waylaying. Not only this, he engaged himself in rebellious activities against the rule of Jahangir. When this news reached the royal court Sultan Akbar Kuli Khan happened to be around. He got the royal decree to end the uprising of Shadman Khan. When he returned to Potohar, Shadman Khan was ready for a battle that he lost and fled to Bala Koh (also known as Nerul). Sultan Akbar Kuli Khan still pursued him and defeated again at Bala Koh. Shadman Khan was kicked out from Potohar. The defeat of Shadman Khan resulted in the tragic end of Sarangals (the dynasty of Sultan Sarang Khan).

It was Izzat Khan, the alleged son of Shadman Khan, who requested Shah Daulah (R. A.) for the details of his family (Qadri *op. cit.*). However, history is silent on the subject whether Shadman Khan had descendants or not, therefore, in this context, it is irrelevant to continue further with the story of the Ghakhars. To all intents and purposes it is doubtful that a certain Izzat Khan, son of Shadman Khan, would have possibly asked Shah Daulah about the details of his family.

Potohar: It is pertinent to the story of the Sarang dynasty to delve into the background of Potohar—the central area of the Ghakhars to whom Shah Daula is said to be related, though wrongfully, from his espousal side.

Once upon a time Rae Pathora (Prithvi Raj) defeated Shahabuddin Ghouri and pursued him till the River Sindh

Marfat.com

(Indus, Neelab) and upon his return encamped near Dangly, Potohar. It was the summertime and all sorts of flowers were blossoming in the valley. Prithvi Raj was so fascinated by this attractive ambient that he spontaneously remarked,"This country is Popehar" (Hindi pope, a flower). Consequently, from pope it became Pote as the inhabitants of the area failed to understand the correct meaning of the word. Due to this mingling up the name became Potohar.

Raja (1994, Pp 30-33) gives four reasons for the name Pothohar, namely: 1) from the words "Pooth" (back) and "Aar" (like), that is, like a back, because the land of this area is uneven; in the beginning it was called "Pooth aar," later the two words were joined and it became Pothohar. 2) The name Pothohar is after the Bhatti Rajputs, as they ruled this region many centuries ago and the other rulers began to call this area as "Bhatti Var;" later on it got distorted as Pothohar. 3) In 1021 A. D. Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi conquered whole of the Punjab and its capital was Lahore. Sultan Mahmud designated his *ghulam* Ayaz as the governor of Lahore and ordered him to establish forts in different parts of the Punjab to fortify his domain. Near Gujjar Khan a pool was dug up to accumulate water and the work on the fort started; the summer had already set in, due to the heat of the sun the black earth of the region began to crack. Ayaz enquired from the residents about this phenomenon, and they told him that in the Punjabi month "Har" the soil automatically cracks. As a result, Ayaz stopped the construction of the fort and named the area as "Phat Har," ultimately the distorted version becoming Pothohar. 4) Pothohar is the deformation of "Pathahar," as in the local dialect Patha means the other way round, and Har is the word of Sanskrit that means excess of water in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. All of the streams and rivers flow west towards sea whereas in this area the flow is eastward; thus, in the early days this region was known as "Pathahar," later Pothohar.

Marfat.com

CAPTIVITY OF GHAKHARS (?)

Islam Shah sent a large force to subdue the Ghakhars. Khwas Khan allegedly sought refuge with Ghakhars and they supported him. Sultan Sarang killed in a battle near Rohtas and all of his family afterwards said to be captured and led to Delhi, including a daughter of Ghazi Khan, son of Sultan Sarang, who had at that time an infant daughter, Niamat Khatun—the so-called future mother of Shah Daulah —at her breast. It is believed that Sher Shah Suri captured the daughter of Sultan Sarang himself and gave her to Khwas Khan. According to a source the daughter of Sultan Sarang was indeed captured but she stabbed herself to death. The daughter of the administrator of Tillah Balanath captured and Sher Shah entrusted her to Khwas Khan. Historically, the relation of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) with the Sultan Sarang dynasty is not established from his mother's (Niamat Khatun) side; in fact she was **neither** *the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.)* **nor** *Abdul Rahim Lodi was his father.The story of Niamat Khatun and Abdul Rahim Lodi revolves around the other Doola contemporary of Shah Daulah (R. A.) at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast. Collusion of Khwas Khan with Azam Humayun. Withdrawing of Khwas Khan from a battle near Ambala; defeat of Azam Humayun and Salim Shah emerged victorious. Azam Humayun fled toward the Ghakhar territory, his mother, wife and children were arrested and sent back to Salim Shah in Delhi. There is no proof that the children of Sultan Sarang were made captives.*

Marfat.com

It is already established that the Afghan Lodi Abdul Rahim was not the father of the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.), thus his Lodi ancestry is discarded. Now we try to determine whether the so-called Niamat Khatun was in fact his mother,

During the reign of Islam Shah (son of Sher Shah Suri) a large force was sent to suppress the Ghakhars. The hostilities lasted for seven years. Khwas Khan, who had rebelled against Islam Shah, met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Ghakhars. They allegedly supported him.

A battle was fought near Rohtas, District Jhelum, in which Sultan Sarang Ghakhar was killed. It is said that all of his family were afterwards captured, including a daughter of Ghazi Khan (son of Sultan Sarang), who had at that time an infant daughter, Niamat Khatun—the so-called future mother of Shah Daulah—at her breast. The Afghans led the captives to Delhi (Elliott, 1902, P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson 1919, *et al.* P. 631; Qadri undated *in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 14).

If we believe any of the authors concerning the daughter or granddaughter of Sultan Sarang as the "mother" of Shah Daulah, who was married to some Lodi, the historical facts fail to lend credence to the story of Qadri, Elliott and several others. In other words she didn't belong to the Ghakhar dynasty

The Ghakhars remained loyal to the Mughals all along the line. The Ghakhars ruled Potohar till the end of the 17th century. Notwithstanding they indulged in intra-faction struggle for power, never ever showed disrespect or cruelty to their women folk. Had the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.) belonged to their tribe, certainly there would not have been any place from Kala Gujjran till Pherwala so strange to her not to take refuge and be looked after instead of toiling to grind corn thereby earning her livelihood (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 23).

Various authors have neglected the fact that if the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a suckling in 1546, then in the first year of Akbar's ascending the throne, *i. e.*, in 1556, when she was hardly 10-year old how could she possibly get married

Marfat.com

purportedly to Abdul Rahim Lodi. On top of that with such a person, for whom due to access to the royal palace it was not difficult to find a match among the grown up ladies especially in the face of the abundance of slaves. Additionally, the birth of the child (Shah Daulah?), said to have taken place after 15 years of the matrimonial lock, is indeed surprising though not impossible.

Just for the sake of argument if it is assumed that the father of Shah Daulah was a Lodi Pathan, then how come his wife, Niamat Khatun, after the demise of her husband did not resort to her in-laws, who must be living right there in the vicinity of Delhi? And how come they did tolerate that the only surviving legacy (Niamat Khatun) of Abdul Rahim Lodi—customarily ladies held in great esteem [especially Ghakhars highly respected their ladies (Dunicand, 1725, *in* Tariq, 1956, Pp 68-69)] should move away for ever from them? To add insult to injury, living in extreme penurious conditions, should grind corn for others in order to earn a living. Where was the arrogance and ego of the Lodi Pathans while Niamat Khatun weltered in an abject poverty?

Qadri (*op. cit.*), about the life of Sheikh Doola, is the first author who narrates the tale that after the death of her husband, Niamat Khatun returned to Pothohar because she had heard from her mother they belonged to Pothohar.

It won't be out of context to point out that the Ghakhars during the wartime did not take their ladies along with them. As stated by Elliott (1902, P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 631) "*A daughter of Ghazi Khan, son of Sultan Sarang, was among the captured, and she had at that time an infant daughter at her breast. This was Niamat Khatun, who was taken with her* ***brother*** *to Delhi.* It sounds quite unreasonable because the Afghans had not as yet taken a thorough control of Delhi and the periphery thereof. Under these fluid circumstances it would have been foolhardy to send their slaves to Delhi with confidence.

Chaudhry, N (1970, P. 75), in Urdu translation of Elliott's work (1902), repeats the above-cited information without

Marfat.com

probing the veracity of it. May be there did exist a brother of Niamat Khatun! Or is it a typographical error, meaning "mother" not brother? If it were an error then how come Elliott did not rectify it seventeen years later (Elliott *in* Ibbeston, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 631)?

Seemingly, what Elliott (1902, P. 24) had in mind was the correctly typed word *brother* not *mother* (*vide supra*) and inadvertently laid it down "This was Niamat Khatun" instead of "this was the lady, who was taken with her brother to Delhi." Could it be that Niamat Khatun was the infant sister of Ghazi Khan! Then who was the lady that carried the infant girl at her breast? These are all conjectural views.

Anyway, when the glory of Sultan Salim eclipsed and after that Humayun regained the throne but he ruled only a year and died; then the son of Humayun, Akbar, ascended the throne in turn. By that time Niamat Khatun had grown up. She was married to Abdul Rahim Afghan Lodi, a soldier in the court of Akbar. On the 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne in A. H. 963 (1556) Sheikh Doola was born to Naimat Khatun; and in the same year the father orphaned the son. [Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 14) gives the name Abdul Rahim *alias* Lodi Afghan whereas Elliott (1902, P. 24) denominates Abdul Rahim Lodi. Again, Elliott (*in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 631) considers it as Abdu'r Rahim Khan Lodi. The correct name is Abdul Rahim Lodi, because Qadri is the earlier writer.]

Thus, Qadri (*op. cit.*) initiated a tale with Sultan Sarang Ghakhar through his great granddaughter, Niamat Khatun, all the way to her marriage to Abdul Rahim Lodi and the eventual birth of "Shah Daula." All of the writers right from Qadri till Elliott (1902) have believed in this story without caring for the proper research and least regard to critical analysis. It is important to note that Elliot has not cited a single reference related to Shah Daulah (R. A.). This amounts to a serious breach of the ethics of a conscientious writer. The entire edifice of this story comes tumbling down as mentioned in details somewhere in this text.

Marfat.com

In the light of historical facts, Kunjahi (1985, Pp 21-24) challenges the contention of Elliott and others about Niamat Khatun as the mother of Shah Daulah (R. A.), and with good reasons: 1) The Ghakhars never took their women folk along when on a move to face their enemies; 2) had Sultan Sarang been killed in Phirwala (Pherwala) or Dangly, it would have been possible for the victorious soldiers to intrude into the houses of the vanquished to arrest their ladies with the probable inclusion of the late Sarang's daughter in law and his granddaughter. But Dangly, Phirwala and Rohtas are distant apart—Sultan Sarang was killed at Rohtas; 3) the Afghans had not yet had a complete hold over Delhi and its suburbs. Naturally, in such a situation they had no faith in captives to be sent over or carried them along to Delhi.

Sher Shah Suri did not massacre the Ghakhars rather made them captives. It is believed that Sher Shah captured the daughter of Sultan Sarang himself and gave her to Khwas Khan. When Sher Shah occupied Punjab and reached the bank of the River Chenab, contrary to the customs Sarang did not appear to pay respect to him, Sher Shah then decided to build the Rohtas Fort. According to Colonel (retd) Zahoor Akhtar, who belongs to the same family of Sultan Sarang told Kunjahi (1985, P. 20 footnote) that the daughter of Sultan Sarang was indeed captured but she knifed herself to death

Sher Shah marched his forces against Sultan Sarang, not only conquered his territory but also Tillah Balnath where the *daroghah* (administrator) of that area used to live. His daughter was captured, brought before Sher Shah, who gave her to Khwas Khan. It all makes the story complicated: Sher Shah gave the daughter of Sultan Sarang to Khwas Khan; his daughter (*vide supra*) indeed captured but killed herself and now we have the daughter of the *daroghah* that was handed over to Khwas Khan. Where lies the truth, one wonders!

If the character of Khwas Khan was thus blemished, having a Ghakhar lady in his forced possession, then how come he could have taken refuge with the Ghakhars, who

Marfat.com

held their ladies in great respect?(Kunjahi, 1985, P. 22). Moreover, the tradition of the Ghakhars defies this contention. Once the Janjuas, for instance, routed the Ghakhars and Dervesh Khan Janjua compelled the daughter of Bir Khan Ghakhar for *nikkah*, then Hathi Khan, when assumed power, remained restless till he cut the head of Dervesh Khan, placed it under a low table and sat on it enjoying a dinner.

Islam Shah in fact wanted to capture Sultan Adam Ghakhar but didn't succeed. However, he did arrest his brother Sultan Sarang Ghakhar instead, who was ordered to be deskinned, and imprisoned one of his sons, Kamal Khan.

The entire episode only leads us to conclude that Sultan Sarang came to his tragic end while facing the Afghans. That end materialized at the hands of Sher Shah or Islam Shah, it does not solve the problem, rather makes the situation more intricate.

In the light of the above-cited observations, the relation of Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.) with the dynasty of Sultan Sarang, from his mother's (Niamat Khatun) side, is not substantiated. In the same way, his father alleged to be Abdul Rahim Lodi, Afghan, lacks authenticity.

Once Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is de-linked from Niamat Khatun and Abdul Rahim Lodi, logically the story revolves around the other Doola (*op. cit),* contemporary of Shah Daulah, and one of the disciples of Shah Saidan Sarmast. It was the same Doola deprived of the blessings of Sarmast, who found his way to Khem Kern Wadera for looking after his cattle in Sialkot, not Shah Doolah Gujrati (R. A.)—the subject of our consideration, about whom nothing can be said with certainty as to where and when he was born, who were his parents and where and how he spent earlier years of his life before making his appearance before Shah Saidan Sarmat.

The resultant confusion has been repeated so many times by so many writers that it has turned out to be an extremely

Marfat.com

difficult a task, if not impossible, to separate one Doola from the other

All this needs a thorough investigation. If it is proved historically that the captives taken to Delhi had nothing to do with the Sarang family, then the Niamat Khatun's story is no more than a flight of fancy just like that of Abdul Rahim Lodi.

Whosoever author is considered reliable, the story of Sultan Sarang, his daughter, granddaughter or great granddaughter, has no solid foundation. It emerges that if the mother of Shah Daula (R. A.) came from the Sarang family and was indeed married to somebody of Lodi dynasty, the picture of helplessness and extreme penury of his mother, as painted by different authors from Qadri to Elliott, fails to stand the test of time and reality.

Till the end of 11th century Hegira, the predecessors of Sarang, on the basis of being trustful allies of the Mughals, wielded powerful influence in the area of Potohar. It is a different story that they indulged in intra-factional feud nonetheless they always had a soft corner and high esteem for their female folks. If the mother of Shah Duala (R. A.) in fact belonged to their tribe and sect, then there could have been no place from Kala Gujjran through Phirwala so unsympathetic as to let her grind corn to earn her living. There is no way to prove authentically that Shah Daula's (R. A.) mother belonged to the Sarang family tree. Likewise, the repetition of the much talked about crease of his Lodi fabric automatically disappears.

Rebellion of Azam Humayun: Khwas Khan after rebelling against Salim Shah (Islam Shah) colluded with Azam Humayun, who belonged to the Niazi tribe. Azam Humayun's Punjabi forces, including those of Khwas Khan, were twice as large as that of Salim Shah's and to give a fight to Salim Shah they marched from Lahore.

The night before the fight, there was a consultation among Azam Humayun, his brothers and Khwas Khan as to who should replace Salim Shah once he his defeated. Khwas

Marfat.com

Khan suggested that they should look for Adil Khan (elder brother of Salim Shah) as he was the proper person to succeed Salim Shah. Azam Humayun and his brothers replied, "A country is not inherited but with the aid of a sword" (Ferishta, 1611, P. 651). This resulted in a fissure within their ranks.

The next morning a battle was fought near Ambala. Khwas Khan left the field without a fight. The Niazis, also known as the Punjabi forces, had to fight alone against Salim Shah. Azam Humayun and his companions fled, Salim Shah came out victorious.

After the defeat, the Niazis retreated towards Dhankot. Salim Shah followed them up to the Rohtas Fort. Then he left some of the forces with Khwaja Awais Sherwani to crush the Niazis and himself returned to Agra.

Khwaja Awais fought with the Niazis at Dhankot, but got defeated, and left the field. Azam Humayun gave him a pursuit till Nowshera. When Salim Shah heard this news, he reorganized his forces and dispatched them to crush the Niazis.

Azam Humayun returned from Nowshera to Dhankot in 1547-1548 (954 A. H.) The forces of Salim Shah reached near Sunblah. The Niazis fought it out but were defeated. The mother of Azam Humayun, his wife and children got arrested and were sent to Salim Shah (Ferishta, 1611, P. 652) back in Delhi. Haervy (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 23) repeats the same story of Ferishta.

The Niazis took refuge with the Ghakhars by the side of a mountain of Kashmir. Salim Shah again re-organized his forces and himself came to the Punjab to finish the Niazis off once and for all.

There continued a fight between the Ghakhars and Salim Shah's forces for two years. During this period a fellow attacked Salim Shah, who was negotiating a narrow passage in a move to ascend the hills of Maankot. . He cleverly saved himself and killed the attacker. Salim Shah recognized the sword of the attacker that he had given to a certain Iqbal

Marfat.com

Khan. At last the Ghakhars were overcome; for the time being their power waned.

Azam Humayun escaped, reaching Kashmir and a fight took place with the ruler of Kashmir. Azam Humayun and his brother, Saeed, got killed in the battle. The ruler sent their cut off heads to Salim Shah., who had already returned to Delhi after finishing with the Niazis.

It is possible that the story of Ghazi Khan's wife and her daughter, Niamat ,Khatun, was fabricated to humiliate the Ghakhars. Seemingly, the captives were the wife and children of Azam Humayun, not that of Sultan Sarang, who were taken to Delhi by the Afghans (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 23, ref. Haervy's *Makhzane afghani*).

Marfat.com

KHWAS KHAN

After Bahlul Lodi died, his son Sikander Lodi became the king. Jamal Khan was the famous nobleman of Sikander Lodi, and the ruler of Jaunpur. Farid Khan (later known as Sher Shah Suri) and his younger brother, Nizam Khan, were the sons of Hasan Sur. Khwas Khan was the eldest son of Malik Sikha a family servant of Ibrahim Lodi. Khwas Khan got drowned in a trench of the Goad Fort, Bengal. Sher Shah Suri bestowed the same title on his younger brother, Sahib Khan or Mshaib Khan. Sahib Khan also became known as "little" Khwas Khan. Muqarrab Khan was the elder brother of Sahib Khan. Sher Shah Suri appointed Sahib Khan as the confidant of his son Jalal Khan. Jalal Khan and little Khwas Khan conquered the Fort of Goad, thereby vanished the independent state of Bengal. Humayun's siege of the Kalinjar Fort. Humayun's conquest of Bengal and return to Agra. Khwas Khan and Jalal Khan conquered Bengal for Sher Shah Suri. Defeat of Humayun at the battle of Chousa. Humayun faced a crushing defeat at the Battle of Belgram also known as the Battle of the Ganges. Pursuit of Humayun by Sher Shah. Sher Shah ordered to construct the Rohtas Fort near Jhelum. Birth of Humayun's son Akbar in the fort of Umarkot. Sher Shah died while laying siege to the Kalinjar Fort and its ultimate conquest. Jalal Khan, one of the sons of Sher Shah, became the successor, acquiring the title of Islam Shah but everybody called him Salim Shah. Negotiations between Salim Shah and his elder brother Adil Khan which resulted in giving a jagir to Adil Khan. Backing out of Salim Shah from the agreement. Meeting of Adil Khan with Khwas Khan. Rebellion of Khwas Khan and his defeat

Marfat.com

by the forces of Salim Shah. Death of Khwas Khan and his controversial burial place. Death of Salim Shah.

Khwas Khan played a pivotal role in the story of Shah Daulah, hence the details of his life have to be discretely sorted out, facts from fiction. Also, his bravery and daredevilness played a major role in the conquests of Sher Shah (Ferishta 1611, P. 641). After the death of Sher Shah, during the reign of his son Sikander Shah, Khwas Khan was the ruler of the Machiwarah state (Ferishta, 1611, P. 542).

After Bahlul Lodi died, his son Sikander Lodi became the king. Jamal Khan was the famous nobleman of Sikander Lodi, and the ruler of Jaunpur. Jamal Khan was very generous with Hasan Sur (belonged to the Afghan tribe Rawah; came to look for a job during the reign of Bahlul Lodi; Sur an offshoot of Rawah) because he was his old servant. He gave him a *jagir* in the vicinity of Rohtas (not near Jhelum) and designated him as one of his *Ameers*.

Hasan Sur sired eight sons: Farid Khan and his younger brother Nizam Khan were from his Afghan wife; a favourite Hindu keep bore him two sons, Suleiman and Ahmed; and two other wives belonged to his harem, who had four sons, Ali, Yusaf, Khurram and Shadi Khan, respectively. The last four sons deserve no particular attention. Farid Khan later on ruled as Sher Shah Suri (b. 1486 or 1488? Bajwara, near Hoshiarpur, India, d. May 22, 1545, r. 1540-1545). The Islamic Sur (Afghan) dynasty lasted 1540-1557.

. Khwas Khan was the eldest son of Malik Sikha a family servant of Ibrahim Lodi (Qanoongo, 1996, P. 296). At the beck and call of Sher Khan Suri in a struggle to conquer the fort of Goad, Bengal, Khwas Khan got drowned in its trench.

Sher Shah Suri then bestowed the title of Khwas Khan upon his younger brother Sahib Khan or Msahib Khan. During the siege of Goad, Sher Khan Suri appointed Sahib Khan as the confidant of his son Jalal Khan.

Although Sahib Khan was the family *Ghulam* of Sher Khan (Shah) Suri yet he had all the qualities of a prince. He

128565

Marfat.com

was a competent soldier and possessed the capability of wearing a crown of some kingdom. However, he had only weakness (characteristic of every Afghan), that is, the religious zeal and Sufi principles. He was very well built, brimming with youthfulness, brave and a handsome person (Rahi, 1994, P. 9, footnote). He was one of those prominent generals of Sher Shah in whom he had complete confidence and stood by his side in the worst possible circumstances.

Sahib Khan, also known in history as the *Chotta* (little) Khwas Khan, performed meritorious services for Sher Khan (Qanoongo, Pp 297, 300). Jalal Khan and little Khwas Khan conquered the Goad Fort, thereby vanished the independent state of Bengal.

Rahi (1994, P. 136) gives a somewhat different version. The elder son, Jalal Khan, of Sher Shah, and the elder brother Muqarrab Khan of Sahib Khan (Khwas Khan), had besieged the central town Goad of Bengal. During his struggle to reach the walls of the town, Muqarrab Khan made valiant efforts, but got drowned in a trench outside the walled city. Thus, Sahib Khan was the younger brother of the late Maqarrub Khan and Sher Shah Suri gave him the title of Khwas Khan.

Haervy (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp. 23-24) states that when Sheikh Elahi went or was sent to Arabia, Khwas Khan met him in Khwaspur, suburb of Jodhpur. Khwas Khan was deeply devoted to the God-loving persons, and this very devotion became the cause of his defeat to the extent that he could never afterward make a triumphant comeback.

Around the time of Khwas Khan's death, Humayun besieged (1512) the fort of Kalinjar, failing to make a breakthrough, abandoned this adventure and returned to Agra. Sher Khan's power grew by the day. In order to warn him, Humayun himself traveled (1538) to Jaunpur but Sher Khan had already left for the invasion of Bengal.

Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Bengal, got wounded in a battle with Jalal Khan. Previously, Sultan Mahmud repeatedly pleaded with Humayun to attack Bengal. At last

Marfat.com

in 1539 Humayun made a decision for the conquest of Bengal.

Sher Khan became aware of Humayun's designs. Consequently, he sent Jalal Khan and Khwas Khan to defend "Garhi"— a well fortified place between Bengal and Bihar and the route to Bengal ran right through it On one side of Garhi was a high mountain covered with dangerous woods and on the other side flowed the River Ganges, also difficult to cross.

Jalal Khan and Khwas Khan could not withstand the onslaught of Humayun and fled towards Kore, the capital of Bengal. Humayun easily passed through Garhi without any hostilities en route to Bengal and captured Kore.

Because of the climatic conditions and weariness of travel many of Humayun's camels and horses suffered losses, therefore, Humayun stayed in Kore for only three months. Moreover, Hindal Mirza, one of the brothers of Humayun, taking advantage of his absence openly rebelled and besieged Delhi. As a result Humayun decided to return to Agra.

Eventually, Khwas Khan and Jalal Khan conquered the Goad Fort. After this conquest the independent state of Bengal vanished on May 30, 1538. At Goad, Sher Shah (Sher Khan) Suri was crowned as Fariduddin Muzaffar Sher Shah. Sultan Altamash was the first king, who incorporated Bengal in the kingdom of Delhi. Exactly 300 years after him Sher Shah minted coins both in Arabic and Hindi and got his name inscribed as "seery sirsahy."

Sher Shah ordered Khwas Khan to strengthen control over Bihar. On 15 July 1538, Humayun entered Goad (Qanoongo, 1996, Pp 337, 399) and in a battle his left hand was injured. The Afghans began to surround him on all sides. The soldiers of Humayun held the reins of his horse and led him towards the Ganges River. Humayun guided his horse into the river. But due to a fall he was about to drown, when a water-carrier, named Nizam, who was crossing the river with the aid of an inflated goatskin, saved him. About 6000

Marfat.com

soldiers of Humayun got killed, half of these drowned in the river. This was the Battle of Chousa (1539).

After the escape from the river with few remaining soldiers, Humayun was on that bank of the Ganges where Ghazipur was located, thence fled to Benares and onward to Chenar. They stayed in the Chenar Fort for 3 days.

Upon hearing the news of being followed by Sher Khan, Humayun set upon the southern bank of the River Ganges and reached its confluence with the River Yamuna at Pirllag. Raja Kabir Bhan appeared on the scene at a place known as Aril, opposite the fort of Allahabad across. He helped Humayun and his scant companions to cross the river. They have been hungry and thirsty for 4-5 days. The Raja treated them and their horses befittingly. From Aril by the bank of Yamuna, Humayun left for Kalpi.

After escaping from the Ganges, the unnfortunate Humayun reached Agra July 1539 (Qanoongo, 1996, P. 625). Sher Khan pursued Humayun till Allahabad, thence he decided to reconquer Bengal (Qanoongo, 1996, P. 357), which he did. In 1539, Sher Shah again proclaimed himself a king at Goad, Bengal.

Sher Shah, including Khwas Khan, reached the west bank of the Ganges. Humayun marched towards Qanooj (Qanoongo, 1996, Pp 369-370, 372-374, 380-382 389-390, 396-397, 569) where the Afghans had gathered their forces. At Qanooj, the Mughals and the Afghan forces faced each other. In front of the Mughals was the River Ganges and behind the old city of Qanooj. Humayun got a bridge constructed over the river and crossed it. Sher Shah retreated several *kos* from the river, stayed near a place known as Belgram and got trenches dug up all around the camp of his forces.

At the Battle of Belgram also known as the Battle of Ganges, Humayun faced a disastrous defeat, 17 May1540 (10 Muharram 947 A. H.). Some historians call it the Battle of Qanooj which is wrong. The actual battle was fought 4 miles from the eastern bank of the Ganges, thus the field of

Marfat.com

action was near Belgram, not Qanooj. At that time Qanooj was six miles from the western bank of the Ganges. The outcome of this battle was that the results of Babar and his son Humayun's struggle, beyond Sindh, for fourteen years, were wiped out.

After the Battle of Belgram the Mughal force rushed towards the bridge over the Ganges that Humayun got laid previously over. In chaos the bridge gave in. When the elephant of Humayun jumped into the river he had only about a thousand soldiers around him. That afternoon upon running away from the battlefield, Humayun had 17000 soldiers, when they crossed the river only eight survived. Trudi Beg gave his own horse to him to ride upon. A bare-footed, bare-headed, stunned Humayun marched towards Agra. He refused to enter the Agra Fort and reached Fatehpur Sikri instead, at a distance of twenty two miles from it.

Afterwards Humayun headed towards Rohtak, forty four miles west of Delhi (Qanoongo, 1996, Pp 410-411, 427), thence reaching Sirhind. In fact Sher Shah did not want to engage Humayun anymore. He simply wanted to push Humayun further and further away. He entrusted the job of this hot pursuit to Berlamjeet Goad and Khwas Khan.

In the last week of October 1540, two lacs of the Mughals crossed the River Ravi and made their way toward west. The tragedy is that Humayun's step brothers betrayed him at every step but he was so magnanimous that he kept on forgiving them.

Humayun reached the bank of the River Chenab (Qanoongo, 1996, Pp 420, 427), thence headed south, crossed the river Jhelum and marched toward west. Eventually, reaching Khushab, 40 miles southwest of Bhera. In the middle of November 1540 from Khushab he turned south to reach the River Sindh. He first reached Uch, not Multan, and traveled along the west bank of the River Jhelum till that part of Multan near which is the union of Jhelum and Beas, probably crossing between Uch and

Marfat.com

Multan.During the last days of 1540 when Humayun reached Uch. Khwas Khan was still in his pursuit all the time.

During these pursuits of Humayun, while in the area of Khushab, Sher Shah took a view of Kohistan Nundna and Koh Balghat (Ferishta, 1611, P, 641), ordering to construct a fort about 10 miles northwest of Jhelum. It was to be a copy of the Rohtas Fort in Bihar, and its sole purpose was to check the Ghakhars, who used to plunder around. Soon afterwards he died. His son Salim Shah completed the construction at the cost of Rs. 10 crore. [Later on while travelling from the Bhat (Jhelum) River, the Mughal emperor Jahangir stayed at the Rohtas Fort (Rampuri, 1967, Pp 97-98).] He left behind Khwas Khan and Haibat Khan Niazi, who had been at the service of Ibrahim Lodi, with a large force in the area of Kohistan, and himself returned to Agra.

On January 26, 1541, Humayun with his brother Hindal and Yadgar Mirza (Qanoongo, 1996, P. 433) reached Rohri. Humayun married a 14-year old girl, named Hameeda Bano, who gave birth to his son Akbar in the fort of Umarkot, November 1542 (P. 584).

Sher Khan besieged the fort of Kalinjar (1545) that was the most famous and fortified in Hindustan. The Raja, Puran Mul of Kalinjar, was well aware of the backing out habits of the Afghans as they often broke their promises. Consequently, he decided to put up a fight

The spot where Sher Khan was standing had heaps of small boxes of gunpowder all over the place. The soldiers after setting these afire were throwing at the fort. Accidently, one of the ignited boxes hit the wall of the fort, rebounded (Ferishta, 1611, P. 645) and landed on the other boxes where Sher Khan had positioned himself. The gunpoweder boxes caught fire. As a result, Sher Khan, along with some of his noblemen, got burnt up. In the same burnt condition, Sher Khan returned to his tent and was intermittently getting unconscious. During the spells of consciousness, he would breathe normally and in a loud voice would order his soldiers to fight on. He dispatched his particular *Ameers* with special

Marfat.com

instructions to continue the struggle to conquer the fort. Rahi (1994, Pp 585-586) makes a contradictory statement when he says that it was Khwas Khan who conquered the fort of Kalinjar, but Sher Shah had already left Khwas Khan behind in the territory of the Ghakhars (*op. cit.*).

Finally the fort did fall and Sher Shah heard this news, dying soon afterwards in the evening (1545, 12 Rabiul Awal). Upon seeing his white beard in the mirror, Sher Shah used to say, "Riches came to me by the eventide of my life," and then he would feel sorry (Ferishta, 1611, P. 643).

At the death of Sher Shah Suri his elder son Adil Khan, who had to be customarily the natural successor, was holding the fort of Nathanbour far away from Kalinjar and his younger son Jalal Khan was near in the vicinity of Patna at a place called Rewan. The *Umaraas* decided that Adil Khan was far away and it was not practicable to live without a ruler, therefore Jalal Khan must be called upon to reach Kalinjar earlier the better. Consequently, Jalal Khan joined the royal forces at Kalinjar within a few days (Ferishta, 1611, P. 647).

In 1575 (982 A. H) Jalal Khan ascended the throne at Kalinjar. He acquired the title of Islam Shah but everybody somehow called him Salim Shah instead. After assuming power he wrote a letter to his elder brother Adil Khan: "Because of the fact you were far away from the late king and I was relatively nearer to him, therefore, till your arrival to control the riotous and chaotic situation I have taken the reign of the government into my hands. I am protecting the forces and I am under your subordination and obedience."

After writing the letter to his brother, Salim Shah left for Agra from Kalinjar. While he was on his way, Khwas Khan came out from his *Jagir* and presented himself before the king. On consulting the *Umaraas*, Khwas Khan seated Salim Shah on the throne and accepted him as the monarch.

Once in Agra, Salim Shah sent another letter to Adil Khan, expressing his desire to meet him. In response, Adil Khan asked the *Umaraas* of Salim Shah, namely, Qutub Khan, Esa

Marfat.com

Khan Niazi and Jalal Khan Jalwani about the wisdom of his coming. Furthermore, if his safety should be guaranteed he wouldn't hesitate to come.

Accordingly, Salim Shah dispatched all of the three above-cited *Umaraas* to see Adil Khan. As a result of negotiations it was agreed that he would be allowed to decide upon any *jagir* in any part of Hindustan to settle down.

Adil Khan accompanied by the *Umaraas* headed for Agra and reached Fatepur Sikri. Salim Shah heard this news when he was at his hunting lodge in there. Both of the brothers met at the same lodge, thence marched on toward Agra (Ferishta,, 1611, P. 648)

Salim Shah was apprehensive of Adil Khan. He ordered that not more than two or three soldiers of Adil Khan should stay inside the Agra Fort, but nobody obeyed his command. In compliance with the agreement, a place called Beyana and its neighbouring territory were given as a *jagir* to Adil Khan, who left in the company of Khwas Khan, who was already in Agra, and Esa Khan.

Adil Khan was living peacefully at his *jagir*. In the meantime, Salim Shah had a change of heart. In two or three months' time, Salim Shah sent his man of confidence, Ameer Ghazi Mahallry, with the golden fetters to arrest Adil Khan and bring him back to Agra.

Rebellion of Khwas Khan: Adil Khan came to know about the news of his arrest and left for Mewaat to see Khwas Khan. He intended to complain against Salim Shah's backing out of his promise.

Khwas Khan took pity on Adil Khan due to the breach of the commitment of Salim Shah. Consequently, he sent for Ghazi Mahallry, put the same fetters on his feet and proclaimed rebellion against Salim Shah.

Khwas Khan also wrote letters to other *Ameers*, who were around Salim Shah, and convinced them over to him. Eventually, he organized a ferocious army and along with Adil Khan marched upon Agra. Adil Khan and Khwas Khan

Marfat.com

reached Fatepur Sikri, 12 *kos* from Agra (Ferishta, 1611, P. 649). They approached Agra about dawn.

Salim Shah came to know about their arrival and decided to put up a fight. Those *Umaraas*, who had decided to side with Adil Khan, again returned to the fold of Salim Shah.

A battle was fought near Agra. Nature sided with Salim Shah. as a rift developed among the forces of Adil Khan. Esa Khan Niazi and Khwas Khan fled toward the Mewaat *jagir* (Ferishta, 1611, P.·650). Adil Khan headed towards Patna. Afterwards the fate of Adil·Khan remained unknown.

Salim Shah sent forces in the pursuit of Esa Khan and Khwas Khan. They fought near Ferozepur and Salim Shah's forces got defeated. Salim Shah dispatched reinforcements. Esa Khan and Khwas Khan fought valiantly but they lacked the capacity to continue fighting, finally fleeing towards the hills of Kmayun. For quite a while Khwas Khan kept on fighting unfruitful battles from the hills of Kmayun.

Salim Shah sent Qutub Khan to follow them and himself headed towards Chattar. On the way he got Jalal Khan Jalwani and his brother killed, because they sided with Adil Khan. The treasure that fell at the hands of Salim Shah was sent to Gwalior, and he returned to Agra.

After a thorough search through the source of a fellow Taj Khan (Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 22-23) it emerges that Khwas Khan got killed in the vicinity of Sunbal. Ferishta (1611, P. 653) says that Khwas Khan is buried in Delhi. However, according to Ahmed Yadgar (Kunajahi, *op. cit.*, P. 22) he is buried at Khwaspur near Lalamusa, Gujrat, which is not possible. Yadgar himself says that he obtained this information from ordinary people, who told him about Khwas Khan being buried at Khwaspur.

Due to this behaviour of Salim Shah, Khwas Khan, who was very brave and generous, got scared. In order to save his life he began to roam the plains and jungles. Khwas Khan got tired of his wanderings.

With the permission of Salim Shah's eminent *Ameer*, Taj Khan Krani, Khwas Khan came to Sunbal. Taj Khan

Marfat.com

disobeyed the orders of Salim Shah and in a deceitful way while Khwas Khan was reciting the Holy Qur'an got him killed (Rahi, 1994, P. 589, footnote). It was in 1551 (958 A. H.).

After the assassination people brought the body of Khwas Khan. When he was being buried near the Red Gate of Delhi, such a dark windstorm gathered that the day turned into night. It was followed by a quake and several houses of Delhi got demolished. Due to his devotion to God, abstention and high morals, he became famous with the name of Khwas Khan *Wali* (man of God) or *Sakhi* (generous) Khwas Khan.

The death of Khwas Khan proved to be a bad omen for Salim Shah. In the beginning of 1553 (960 A. H.), Salim Shah suffered from a painful condition. As a treatment, he was bled and soon after he came out of the house. The cold wind affected him adversely, and he died. He ruled for 9 years.

It is worth mentioning that Salim Shah gave the title of Khwas Khan to another person as well. Thus, it cannot be said with certainty which Khwas Khan is buried where? Mughal Emperor Alamgir also bestowed the title of Khwas Khan upon Bukhtiar Khan. It is indeed written in *Tuzke Jahangiri* that Khwas Khan founded a settlement near Lalamusa.

Apart from the foregoing emotional aspect if we study the life of Khwas Khan, then the falsehood of the entire story about his Ghakhar link becomes at once apparent. The real Khwas Khan got drowned in the trench of the Goad Fort that was besieged by the forces of Sher Shah. It is written in *Tarikhe Sher Shahi* that his younger brother Sahib Khan or Msahib Khan was given the same name, Khwas Khan, who fought valiantly and conquered the fort.

The route to Kabul through the district Gujrat has still the remains of the serais and *baolis* erected by the Mohammadan emperors (Williamson, 1921, P. 15). The serai of Khwaspur was built by Sakhi Khwas Khan in the year 952 A. H (1546 A. D.) Khwas Khan was a man of power in the service of the

Marfat.com

emperor Sher Shah and his son Salim Shah. His mother was a slave girl, in the former emperor's seraglio, and he himself was married by the emperor to the daughter of a Ghakhar chief, and deputed to govern this part of the Empire. He immortalized his later master by converting the Bhatiaras of the Serai, and dubbing them Salim Shahis, or Islam Shahis. which appellation the *mochis* (cobblers) of the village and its neighbourhood give to their caste to the present day.

It is simply an assumption that she was the daughter of Ghazi Khan, son of Sultan Sarang, rather the daughter of Sultan Sarang that means the sister of Ghazi Khan, who was handed over to Khwas Khan by Sher Shah. Contrarily, Kunjahi (1985, P. 23 ref. *Makhzane Afghani*) does not establish any relationship of Khwas khan with the Ghakhars. However, he does say that Sheikh Elahi (*op. cit.*) met Khwas Khan in Khwaspur, in Jodhpur, way off from the Ghakhar territory.

Marfat.com

CHILDHOOD OF THE SAINT SHAH DAULAH GUJRATI PUNJABI (?)

Two different Daulas, Daulahs, Doolas or Doolahs: one of the Sayyid caste and the other a Lodi, Pathan, Afghan, Arrain or Gujjar, around at the same time and the same place at the service of the same mentor, Shah Saidan Sarmast in Sialkot. The tale of the childhood of the so-called Shah Daulah is simply of an academic value, nothing to do with reality; the best bet is that it deals with the other Doola, devoid of spiritual enlightenment.

The contradictory presentations embodied in the works of Qadri, C. (undated) and Raam (1719-1720) are the indicators of dealing with two different Daulas, Daulahs, Doolas or Doolahs, who happened to be around at the same time and the same place. These discrepancies are understandable, because the devotees of those days considered it a sort of affront to make a critical analysis. Whatever they heard jotted down verbatim with least consideration to the authenticity of the source or an in-depth investigation.of the event. Resultantly, it leads one to believe that they were inadvertently or intentionally concerned with two different Doolas, that is: the subject of Qadri in the most part is the Doola, who was not a Sayyid but Afghan, Lodi, Pathan, Gujjar or Arrain; on the other hand, the one involved in the study of Raam was mostly the Doola of the caste Sayyid, namely, Shah Daulah Daryae Gunj Bux (R. A.) buried at Gujrat, the Punjab. The representation of two distinct entities is supported by the evidence that Qadri repeats the name

Marfat.com

Sheikh Doola more often than not; on the contrary in the tale of Raam the name Shah Daulah or Shah Doola is of uniform occurrence.

About the childhood of the so-called Shah Daulah Gujrati Elliott (1902, Pp 24-30; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, Pp 630-636), based almost entirely on *Karamat Nama Khurd* by Qadri, C. (undated) and Rehman & Wescoat (1993, Pp 88-90) relate the same story with minor alterations.

Shah Daulah is said to be born in the 25th year (1581) of the Mughal emperor Akbar's reign. His "father" Abdul Rahim Khan Lodi, a descendant of the grandson, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (d. 1526) of Bahlul Shah Lodi (d. 1488), was a soldier in the imperial court. Shah Daulah's father died in the year of the birth of his son. His "mother" was Niamat Khatun (Khatoon), great granddaughter of Sultan Sarang Ghakhar (Elliott, 1902, Pp24-30; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, Pp 631-636)

During the reign of Sultan Salim, son of Sultan Sher Shah Suri, a large force was sent (Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.* 1911, P. 631) in 1545-1553 (952-960 A.H) to subdue Khwas Khan, who had rebelled in favour of Adil Khan. Khwas Khan met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Ghakhars, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rohtas, Jhelum District, in which Sultan Sarang Ghakhar was killed, and all his family afterwards were made captives.

A daughter of Ghazi Khan, son of Sultan Sarang, was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at her breast. This was Niamat Khatun, "who was taken with her *brother* (*sic*) to Delhi" (Elliott, 1902, P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 631) and in the first year of Akbar's reign, 1556, shortly after Humayun's death, was married to Abdul Rahim Lodi, then an officer in the imperial household. Shah Daulah was born in the 25th year (1581) of Akbar's reign, also the year of his father's death.

Where Shah Daula was actually born is not known, but his widowed mother along with her son, returned to her native

Marfat.com

country, Pathas (Potohar)—an area now covered by the Jhelum and Rawalpindi Districts.

Upon return Niamat Khatun, to her dismay, found out that notwithstanding being the great granddaughter of Sultan Sarang, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustan (Delhi). She was neglected and nobody paid any regard to her or her fallen family. Under such trying circumstances to feed herself and her son was an extremely a hard job. The difficulty faced with can only be imagined

Somehow she had to earn a living. Consequently, to sustain herself and her son, she resorted to the laborious task of grinding corn for five years in the village Sabhala (apparently Sahala) of the *pargana* Phirhala (Pherwala)—Akbar the Great subdivided Potohar into four *pargana*, *i. e.*, Dangly, Phirwala, Pindi and Akbarabad. At last she moved to Kalah (presently known as Kalah Gujjran on the G. T. Road en route to Rawalpindi from Jhelum) where she passed away in 1590 (Rauf, 1962, P. 151 also gives the same date) after four more years of toil. Thus "Shah Daulah" was 9-year old when his mother died.

Marfat.com

SIALKOT LINK

The so-called tale about the early life of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi. The orphaned 9-year old Shah Daulah (?) decided on begging. His arrival in Sialkot. Khema Wadera (Khem Kern, Mehta Keman, Kema, Mehta Kiwan, Mehta Kiman or Shah Kema Wadera) bought him from somebody and brought him up in luxury or a tyrant sold him to Hindus and somehow he became a disciple of Sayyidna Sarmast. Allegedly, a certain slave trader Ali Naqi sold him to a Hindu "Lalah." Supernatural powers of "Shah Doola" came to light. Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah (R. A.) buried at Ahmedabad, India. Mango, Mungo, Gola, or Doola nec *Shah Daulah at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast. Shah Daulah, another disciple of Sarmast, entombed at Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan. "Shah Daulah" doled out the valuables from tosha-khana. He stabbed himself but recovered. Historically, there is no proof that Shah Daulah was sold to Khema Wadera. The Gujrat Fort. Akbar founded Gujrat. Generations of Mehta Kaka Mal. Ganesh Daas Wadera. Qazi Sahib of Awan Sharif, Gujrat. Hazrat Akhund Abdul Ghafoor of Saidu Sharif, Swat.*

It has been already discussed that there is neither any historical proof of the Sarang (Ghakhar) link of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi's (R. A.) mother, nor her name was Niamat Khatun, nor her spouse was Abdul Rahim of Afgan Lodi caste (*see* Table II for the descendants of Hazrat Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi R. A., antecedents unknown).It was the other Doola, Sheikh Doola (Gola, Mango, Mungo, Muko or

Marfat.com

Mukho) at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast, who of his own accord or enslaved and sold, eventually ended up in Sialkot.

The story hereunder is simply of an academic interest. It has nothing to do with Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.). After the death of his mother when "Shah Daulah," 9-year old, helpless and all alone in this wide world, nobody to feed, clothe, shelter and look after him, decided to go begging.

In the course of his wanderings he reached Sakhi Sialkot, where he met one Mehta Kiwan (Mehta Kiman). Wadera (1849, P. 177) gives the name Shah Kema Wadera (Mehta Keman) or Kema (Lahori, S., 1902, P. 102). His correct name is Khem Kern *alias* Khema Wadera, son of Marrar Daas Bhudhera of Sialkot, and he had bought Shah Daulah from somebody.

Khema Wadera, a slave of the Qanoongos of Sialkot, was a rich and generous but a childless man. Moved by pity and favourably impressed by his looks, he adopted "Daulah" and provided him with all sorts of comforts.

Lahori, S. (1902, Pp 102-104) gives a slightly different version, that is, a tyrant sold him to Hindus (where?). During the period of his slavery he served his masters well, therefore he was set free. Somehow he managed to reach Sialkot where he became one of the disciples of Sayyidna Sarmast (Wadera, 1849, Pp 177-178 gives the name Syedan Nadre Mast)

On the contrary, Asif (2000, Aug. 14-20, Pp 22-23; Aug.21-27, Pp 22-23,70) talks about a certain slave trader Ali Naqi (also Niaz, R. 1992, P. 55), who got hold of the orphaned boy aged nine or ten-year old, and sold him to a Hindu "Lalah" for 200 Ashrafis. Lalah and his wife happened to be cruel slave-masters, subjecting the boy to untold hardships and miseries. While in their bondage, the boy worked wonders and his supernatural powers came to light. (It is neither known where Ali Naqi found Shah Doola nor the place of Lalah is specified.)

Marfat.com

Once the boy told the wife of Lalah that her sister is coming, indeed she did come. After a few days, Ali Naqi got killed. There was no way that the boy should have known about it. Lalah asked the boy:

"Do you know any thing about Ali Naqi, the man who sold you to us?"

"He was murdered," the boy lamented "a Mughal prince stabbed him to death."

On another occasion Lalah told the boy that his younger brother has been missing for years and there is no news whether he is alive or not.

"What do you want?" the boy enquired.

"I want my brother alive and an end to this separation," Lalah replied.

"*Inshaullah* (Allah willing) tomorrow your brother will be reunited with you," was the reply.

Indeed his brother did show up. Eventually, Lalah liberated the boy from his servitude. The same emancipated boy, "who spent long years in slavery was the famous Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doola Gujrati follower of the s*ilsila* Suhrawardy." Finally, the boy ended up at the service of Shah Sayyidan Sarmast in Sialkot.

Surprisingly, Asif makes no reference to the competent authorities on the subject like Bhandari (1695) Chaudhry, N., (1970), Elliott (1902), Kunjahi (1985), Qadri (undated), Raam (1720) and Wadera (1849). Moreover, discrepancies notwithstanding, Raam and Qadri, who lived concurrently with Shah Daula Gujrati, have not made any reference in their accounts of the slave-trader, Ali Naqi.

The entire episode of Asif, except perhaps for the miracles, lacks legitimacy. If Asif had the Hindu Lalah (Hindu Khema Wadera) in mind to whom Doola was sold by Ali Naqi, then the story falls apart as indicated somewhere else in the present book. Or else he is dealing with some other person, not Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi.

The story is further confusing when Asif (2000, P. 23) asserts that the boy was Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doola

Marfat.com

Gujrati, and he is said to have born in Baghdad, Iraq. It is not made clear as to how he reached Hindustan.

The Mughal Emperor Zaheeruddin Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, thus ending the Lodi dynasty. It may be imagined that "Shah Doola," whose father is said to be Abdul Rahim Lodi, was born at Delhi. Thus Asif tries to establish the Lodi ancestry of Shah Doola. He is talking about three different persons (*ex parte*), *i. e.*, Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doola (R. A.), buried at Ahemadabad, Gujrat, Kathiawar, India; Mungo, Gola or Doola (*op. cit.*) *nec* Shah Daulah at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast: and Shah Daulah (R. A.) another disciple of Sarmast, later on entombed at Gujrat, Punjab. Mungo and Shah Daulah, both contemporary, the former bereft of spiritual guidance of Sarmast whereas the latter infused with it.

Shah Daulah's intelligence attracted the notice of the Qanoongos, who gave him the charge of their *tosha-khana* (treasury), but so generous was "Shah Daula" by nature that he could never turn a deaf ear to a beggar. Resultantly, not only all of the money, but also the valuables and the furniture of the *tosha-khana* disappeared! The Qanoongos refused to believe his story that he had doled out everything to mendicants, had him imprisoned and tortured.

In his extremity under torture "Shah Daula" declared that he had buried the money and would dig it up again if released from prison. Consequently, he was led to the *tosha-khana* where he at once seized a dagger from a niche and plunged it into his own belly. This act put the fear of authorities in the Qanoongos, and they sent for a skilful physician, who treated the wound, from which "Shah Daula" recovered in three months. The Qanoongos then set him free and he went to Mauza Sangohi (Sangrohi), near Sialkot, where he became a disciple of the saint, Shah Saidan Sarmast

There is no way to believe in this fabrication that Shah Daula was sold to a Hindu, Khem Kern. The fact is by the death of Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.) in 1674, Khem Kern of

Marfat.com

Sialkot was not even born as yet. It is said that Mehta Kaka Mal was in Sialkot (Wadera, 1849, P. 228) in 1481 or 885 A. H. But Elliott (1902, Pp 7-8) says that Kaka Mal was in Sialkot in 1550 during the reign of Salim Shah Suri. It is mentioned by Sheikh Abdul Karim Qanoongo of Gujrat (*Chronicles of Gujrat Record of Services* in Qiladari, 1983, P. 25) that the emperor Akbar bestowed the title of Wadera upon the engineer Mehta Kaka Mal in 1556 (997 A. H. as Qiladari calculates—the exact coversion is 1588-1589 or 997 A. H., a difference of 33 years), who at the command of Akbar, started to work on the Gujrat Fort in the same year. It is a contradiction. The same very fort, as Qiladari (1995, P. 162.) maintains, was completed in 1660 (1070 A. H.). In the same paragraph, Qiladari writes that the Emperor Akbar named it as Akbarabad and the date, 997 A. H.of its construction is deduced from the anagram "*Gujrat bassahi Akbarabad.*" Interestingly, if we go by the Hegira year, 112 years ago Kaka Mal was in Sialkot. [Wadera (1849, P. 174) says that in 996 A. H.(footnote 6, 1587-1588 A. D.) *Gujrat Sheray ast mussammi Akbarabad der 996 Hijri zameen verandah bellah abaad kardah ast* (in 996 Hegira it was a desolate stretch bella—woods by the riverside, and Akbar named it as Akbarabaad).]

The youngest son of certain Mehta Gur Dayal Bhderha (Table III), the patriarch of Qanoongo family, was named as Mehta Kaka Mal. He was in Sialkot in 885 A. H. (1481 A. D.) and was an employee of Raja Behram the ruler of Jammu. Mehta Kaka Mal had 4 sons: Tehman Roy, Heera, Gujjar and Zehra. Tehman Roy also had 4 sons: Nirmal, Poonam, Sahu and Baaj. Mehta Baaj had one son, Purse Raam. Purse Raam had three sons: Marrar Daas, Shankar Daas, Swinder Daas (footnote Sunder Daas). Marar Daas had 7 sons, three died, the other four sons: Khem Kern *alias* Kehema (of whose "Shah Doolah" became a *ghulam*), Durkah Mal, Mool Raj and Sain Daas (Wadera, 1849, Pp 228-229). Contrary to the five generations of Kaka Mal as outlined by Wadera, Qiladari (1983, P. 25) considers six

Marfat.com

generations of Mehta Kaka Mal, *i. e.*, Tumman (Tehman)—Mehta Cheetah—Baaj—Purse Raam—Marrar Dass—Mehta Khem Kern. Raam (1719-1720, Miracle 4, P. 5) gives the name Mehta Khetham Chand Bdehrah instead of Mehta Khem Kern.

Karamatullah, (1977, P. 3,) traces his ancestry as: Mehta Kaka Mal (Table IV)—Gujjar Mal—Roop Chund—Herdaas (Heera)—Bajo (Baaj)—Dehni Roy—Abdul Moman *alias* Malik Chand (first embraced Islam)—Her Dayal (remained Hindu)—Imam Bux (Hindu name not known)—Sheikh Krori—Sheikh Deedar Bux—Sheikh Ghulam Nabi—Sheikh Ali Ahmed. The latter had four sons: Sheikh Azizullah, Sheikh Hafeezullah, Dr. Sheikh Habibullah and Sheikh Bashirullah. Sheikh Azizullah again had 4 sons: Sheikh Karamatullah, Sheikh Rehmatullah, Sheikh Qudratullah and Sheikh Azmatullah (intimate friend of the present author with only one son Sheikh Niamatullah).

In the above-cited family tree there is no such name as Mehta Khem Kern son of Marrar Daas. May be this is another branch of Kaka Mal. However, it makes the story further doubtful. Qiladari (*op. cit.*) and Wadera (1849, P. 177), some differences notwithstanding, do concur that Marrar Daas was the father of Mehta Khem Kern.

One is inclined to believe the authenticity of Wadera's version.Because Wadera (Badehra) was a descendant of Mehta Kaka Mal and embraced Islam during the reign of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Another branch of Kaka Mal had settled in Gujrat during the days of the emperor Akbar. Shiv Dayal, father of Ganesh Daas Wadera belonged to this particular branch (Wadera, 1849, Intoductory Notes, Pp 10-13).

Wadera was a revenue officer of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh; thus; had an access to the official records. In the beginning he was a Qanoongo in the Chakla of Gujrat when Maharaja Gulab Singh took him in his train to Jammu and appointed him in his court. Ganesh Daas Wadera himself was a Hindu of Kathri subcaste known as Wadera or Badehra.

Marfat.com

Some (*op. cit*) believe that "Shah Daulah" was 18-year old when Akbar ascended the throne in 1556. Kaka Mal was in Sialkot in 1481, *i. e.*, 93 years before the birth of Shah Daulah. Add to it the successive generations (one generation considered to be 25 years) of Kaka Mal till Khem Kern. It comes to the year 1606 (5 generations 125 years) or 1631 (6 generations 150 years) considering Wadera and Qiladari, respectively, thus Khem Karan's birth was 125 or 150 years away from that of Shah Daulah's mentioned age. Similar calculations may be applied in case of the other contention that Shah Daulah was born on 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne in 1581 (*op. cit.*). Moreover, it has never been customary for Hindus to adopt a Muslim child.

In the final analysis Mehta Kehem Kern was not born as yet then how come Shah Daulah would have been his slave? It is simply an imagination or it refers to the other Doola (*op. cit.*), contemporary of Shah Daulah.

In the entire tale there is only one factual statement that Shah Daulah (R. A.) finally became a disciple of Shah Saidan Sarmat in Sialkot (Elliott, 1902, P. 25; Lahori, S., 1902, P. 102; Niaz, 1992, P. 56; Wadera, 1894, P. 177). From where and how Shah Daulah (R. A.) reached there is not supported by any historical evidence? Sheikh Doola (Mango) already was the preferred disciple of the saint Sarmast.

It is not out of context to co-relate Qazi Sahib of Awan Sharif with Shah Daulah (R. A.). In the winter of 1865-1866 Qazi Sahib from Awan Sharif, Gujrat, reached Saidu Sharif, the capital of Swat, and became a *mureed* of Hazrat Akhund Abdul Ghafoor. Subsequently, he paid ten visits to Saidu Sharif. On the 9th visit he was very weak. Akhund Sahib enquired, "How long it takes you to reach here?" "Nine or ten days," he replied. "As you come from a far off place, if ever heavy-hearted, then pay homage to the mausoleum of Hazrat Shah Daula. You should feel happy and peaceful," advised Akhund Sahib (Yarjang, 1983, Pp 136, 144).

Marfat.com

In accordance with the advice of Akhund Sahib, Qazi Sahib visited the mausoleum of Shah Daula (R. A.). for the first time 1874 (1290 A. H.). At the mausoleum he received a spiritual order from Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.) to present himself before Akhund Sahib. This was his 10th visit to Saidu Sharif. In the presence of several other *mureeds*, Akhund Sahib instructed Qazi Sahib on the lines of Qadria order, and advised, "*Maulvi rahe haq bgo*" (Maulvi tell the true path to people.)

"*Mun gunahgaram wu laique bardashtan een bar neem*" (I am a sinner and not capable of carrying this burden), responded Qazi Sahib.

Akhund Sahib laughed and said, "*Kadam gunah maykuni*" (what is your sin?).

Upon hearing this Qazi Sahib kept quiet. Afterwards got the blessings of Akhund Sahib and praying for his long, long life returned back to Awan Aharif after 11 days, en route getting sick (In that era people almost always traveled on foot.)

Akhund Sahib died in 1878 (1295 A. H.) after a long age in Saidu Sharif. After his death, Qazi Sahib visited Saidu Sharif only thrice.

Marfat.com

IDENTIFICATION

The saint Saidan Sarmast born in a religious family at Khanpur, Multan. Shah Monga's advice to Shah Saidan Sarmast for paying attention to the other world as well. Sarmast gave up all of his worldly possessions and Shah Monga commanded him to go to Sialkot to preach God's message. Shah Doola Gujrati (R. A.) was one of the caliphs of Shah Saidan Sarmast. Death of Saidan Sarmast during the rule of the emperor Jahangir. Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.) lived in the 13th century during the reign of Feroze Shah Tughlaq. Saidan Sarmast practiced the orders Suhrawardia and Qadria. Mohallah Ahu Miser, Sialkot. Mohallah Shah Sayyidan, Tehsil Bazaar, Sialkot. Two different disciples of Shah Saidan Sarmast: Mangu, Mokhu, Moku, Doola or Doolah and Daulah. Contradictory versions about the presence of Mokhu and the number of fingers in the hand of Shah Daulah.

The identification of Shah Daulah (R. A.) buried in Gujrat, the Punjab, Pakistan, his life and times along with the family tree have been inadvertently or intentionally confused, due mainly to the fact that every author treated the subject according to his own interpretation without resorting to comparative and critical analysis. This is understandable because a thorough research is a painstaking, time-consuming process that involves dedication, impartially and an inquisitive mind.

It is aimed at establishing the independent entity of Shah Daulah Daryae Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.). who lived during the

Marfat.com

reigns of the Mughal Emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, and entombed in Gujrat, Pakistan. No attempt has been made to indulge in the fantasy of miracles, rather to set aloof the discreet identity of the saint in an unambiguous way.

The identification of Shah Daulah (R. A.) starts with the account of the saint Saidan (Sayedan), title Sarmast (Chaudhry, A. 1968, Pp 296-297), who was born in a religious family at Khanpur fifteen miles from Multan. Niaz (1992, P. 53) gives the name Sayyid Ali *alias* Shah Sayyidan Sarmast Suhrawardy.

The ancestral profession of Sarmast was farming. Once in the prime of his life while tending a field Shah Monga happened to pass by. He concentrated on Sarmast and said, "You are looking after this field, pay some attention to that *field* as well, which should serve you in the future."

This advice penetrated Sarmast's heart, at once left the field and accompanied Shah Monga. After some time he was ordered to go back to his home but his heart was somewhere else. Consequently, he gave up all of his worldly possessions, returning to his *murshid*, Shah Monga, for ever. He gained inner enlightenment from Shah Monga and was ordained to head for Sialkot in order to preach God's message.

First Sarmast went to the village Chowinda Bajwa, then to Bun Bajwa, eventually settling in Sialkot. Along with the spiritual learning he carried on with the worldly learning as well.

Sarmast got constructed at his *khanqah* (abode) a *hujra* (cell) for his own living, a masjid, well and a *deudi* (anteroom) and was buried in the same very *deudi* after his demise. Later on, Shah Doola Gujrati (R. A.), his elder caliph, erected a solid wall around the *deudi* (Jullundhary, 1919, P. 398). The other caliphs of Sarmast are: Shah Jamaal of Ghakhar Cheema, Shah Yazid of Raoke, Gujrat, and Shah Mulook the nephew of Shah Saidan Sarmast (Chaudhry, A., 1987, P. 297)

Marfat.com

As Saidan Sarmast always remained in a state of "*Jazb wa sarmasti*"—a *majzoob* (one whom God has drawn to Himself; madman, an ascetic, given to divine meditation; carried away; abstracted; absorbed; the nonsensical practice of a madman; lost.) therefore he became famous as Sarmast (carried away). He never got married, died at Sialkot, aged 90 years (80 or 90 years—Jullundhary, 1919, P. 398) in 1606 (Chaudhry *vide supra)* during the rule of the Emperor Jahangir.

Niaz (1992, Pp. 53-55) gives a slightly different version about the *bayat* (disciplehood) of Sarmast. He spent most of his time at the graveyard Mohallah Ahu Miser, became not only well-known in Sialkot but also in its suburbs. He passed the greater part of his nights at the mausoleum of the great saint Imam Aliul Haq R. A.(whom everyone presently calls Imam Sahib), who lived in the 13th century, during the reign of Feroze Shah Tughlaq (Hasan, K.2004, P. 9)—Alakh Khan *alias* Juna Shah Muhammed bin Tughlaq (r.1325-1351, d. Thatta, Sindh) s/o Ghiasuddin Tughlaq (r. 1320-1325) and the reign of the Tughlaq dynasty lasted from 1320-1413 (Mahmud, 1993, Pp 310-311). In those days a personage of *silsla* Suhrawardia, Shah Monga used to visit this mausoleum. Shah Sayyidan at the beck and call of Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.) received *bayat* at the hands of Shah Monga. In addition to *silsla* Suhrawardia he also practiced *silsila* Qadria.

Shah Daula (R. A.) used to recite the Holy Qur'an in an attractive voice (Niaz, 1992, P. 56).Shah Sayyidan was very fond of listening to his recitals. Resultantly, Shah Sayyidan entrusted the duty of the recital of Holy Qur'an to Shah Daulah (R. A.) after the early morning namaz and that of *Isha*. Thus, he became rather close to Shah Sayyidan. With the help of his *mureeds*, Shah Sayyidan got a well and a mosque constructed at the *khanqah*. The spiritual enlightenment of Shah Sayyidan had reached its zenith, and that Mohallah came to be known as Mohallah Shah Sayyidan, Tehsil Bazaar, Sialkot.

Marfat.com

Shah Sayyidan and Shah Daulah (R. A.) had great mutual affection. Shah Sayyidan got a cell constructed for the prayers of Shah Daulah (R. A.) near his own cell. Mostly, Shah Daula (R. A.) prayed in his allocated cell. This cell for *chillah* (40 days of exclusive dedication to prayers) is still intact in the graveyard of Mohallah Shah Sayyidan.

Elliott (1902, P. 25; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 632), Qadri (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 36) and Raam (1719, Pp 60-30) have pointed out when Daulah gained access to the saint Sarmast he already had another favourite disciple Mangu or Mokhu. Rauf (1962, P. 152) called him Moku. Lahori, S. (1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 166; 1902, P. 102) named him as Doola (Doolah of Jullundhary, 1919 *in* Mufti 1967, P. 186). It is asserted that Sarmast wanted this Doola to be inspired with spiritual illumination. In those days Gola or Doolah was the name given to a *ghulam* or servant (Jullundhary *vide supra*).

Opposing versions: Long after the death of Nasser Mast (Shah Saidan Sarmast), Shah Doola (R. A.) moved to Gujrat in the 7th year of Jahangir's reign in 1612 in obedience to heavenly instructions (Rehman and Wescoat, 1993, P. 88; *see* also Elliott, 1902, P. 26; *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 633). It won't be out of place to bring to notice some contradictory statements. For example, Mokhu had gone to Jammu to fetch medicine for the ailing Shah Saidan Sarmast. He was not present at the first place when Sarmast asked Daula to call Mokhu. "Little finger" of the right hand of Shah Daulah got lost (Elliott, 1902, P. 25) and the next moment it was the "second finger"of the same hand (Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et al.*, 1919, P. 633).

According to Rehman and Wescoat (1993, Pp 88-89.) Daula joined a group of labourers digging up an old site to recover bricks for the construction of a new fort. Furthermore, "While working, Shah Daula lost the middle finger of his right hand."

Marfat.com

Some people say that there were 6 fingers (Yarjang, 1983, P. 370) in the hand, which hand? It is only written "*Daste Mubarak* of Hazrat Shah Daula."

Marfat.com

SPIRITUAL ENLIGHTENMENT

Shah Daulah resorted to begging to get food for Shah Saidan Sarmast and the other disciple Mango.Toiling of Shah Daulah as a labourer with supernatural powers to build a fort. Sarmast helped invisibly Shah Daulah in his work. Severe pain in one of his fingers. Thrusting of his hand into the bowels of a recently killed cow and the loss of a finger. When the death of Shah Saidan Sarmast approached, due to the absence of his favourite disciple Mangu (Mokhu), he blessed Daulah (R. A.) with the spiritual enlightenment and gave him faqir's coat. Mangu and others could not lift faqir's coat while Shah Daulah (R. A.) carried it easy. Hiding of Shah Daulah (R. A.) outside Sialkot for some time then moving to Gujrat where he settled permanently.

Once at the service of his mentor, Shah Saidan Sarmast, Daulah spent his time begging for the saint and Mango. The scraps he secured as the proceeds of begging were placed before the saint, who ate whatever he liked and passed the remainder to Mango. After Mango used to be satisfied, the small leftover given to Daulah, whose hunger was rarely appeased. But these poor earnings failed to satisfy the saint, who told Daulah to go and work, and earn money with which some good cooked food might be bought, as a substitute for the stale scraps received as alms ((Elliott, 1902, Pp24-30; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, Pp 631-636, based on Qadri, C. undated).

At that time a fort was being built at Sialkot out of the bricks from the foundations of some old buildings. Daulah

Marfat.com

joined the labourers at work the next day. The rate of pay being a *taka*—two pice—for a square yard of the old building dug up. So hard was the material that the most powerful could not do more than two to three yards a day, but Shah Daulah (R. A.). however, with amazing energy dug up to 70 yards on the first day and brought out the bricks. The officials recognizing his supernatural power paid him seventy takas in full. He refused and took only what he wanted, four takas, and left the rest.

With the four takas thus acquired, he bought savoury dish of *khitchri* (mixture of rice and pulses), which he presented before the saint, and was inclined to boast before him of his powers. The the saint told him that he had been working invisibly with him all the time, and showed his badly blistered hands to Daulah. As a mark of special favour, however, the saint gave him some of the *khitchri*.

Soon after Daulah experienced most excruciating pain in the little finger (second finger—Elliott, 1919, P.633) of his right hand. For days the pain lasted, preventing sleep and rest, till at last on Mukho's (Mango) intercession, who requested the saint to relieve him of the pain. The saint advised Daulah to go to the street of the butchers and thrust his hand into the bowels of a recently killed cow. Daulah did as he was told, at once found relief, fell asleep that lasted twenty-four hours.

On waking up, Daulah withdrew his hand from the bowels of the cow and at once his finger dropped off. He returned to the saint and thanked him for his kindness, whereupon the saint replied: "Man, thus much of self-love hadst thou, but it has gone from thee now and love for others only remains. Be of good cheer. Thou art proven worthy of my favour, and of the knowledge of God."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) stayed at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast for twelve years (Elliott, 1902, P. 25; Rauf, 1962, P. 152). Contrarily, Jullundhary (1919 *in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 147) maintains that he served for about a hundred years (?). This view is incredible, not supported by history. He spent

Marfat.com

only a few years serving Sarmast (Lahori, S. 1874, *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 166). At the end of the twelveth year Shah Saidan Sarmast felt that his end was nearing. One night he asked:"Who is around?"

The reply was "Daulah." The saint told him to go and fetch Mokhu, *i. e.* his favourite Mangu, but he refused to come as it was night. Thrice Daulah went and thrice Mokhu refused (Elliott, 1902, P. 25; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, 1919, P. 633; Rauf, 1962, P. 153). It is in contradiction to Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 70) on whose work most of the foregoing observations are based, who maintains that Mokhu had gone to Jammu to fetch some medicine for the ailing saint.

The saint then remained silent. Toward morning he roused himself and said: "God gives to whomsoever He will," and wanted to hand over his *dalaq* (*faqir*'s coat) to Daulah. When Daulah said that he knew Mokhu would not let him keep it, the saint replied: "Let him take it, who can carry it" ("lift it"—Elliott *in* Ibbetson, 1919, P. 633). At last he gave the *dalaq* to Daulah's keeping, also blessed him, and died. In contrast, Sarmast's head was in the lap of Shah Doola (R. A.) and died (Niaz, 1992, P. 57).

In the narrative of Shah Doolah *Faqir* (Faqir, 1977, Pp 102-103), Akram (edited this work 25 years after the hand-written version of the original author, *i. e.*, Faqir) says that on the P. 21 of the manuscript the following data is presented: "This Faqir from the caste Gujjar recently in Sialkot was an employee of the Qanoongoyan, caste Bdheda. At the same time another fellow by the name of Shah Doolah, *brotherzada* (nephew) of Shah Sayyida (Saidan Sarmast) Faqir *kaamal* (perfect) Sialkoti, was also around. When Shah Sayyida, in a state of absorbedness, called for the attention of this Shah Doolah (not Shah Doolah *Faqir*), he was absent. He (Shah Doola Faqir) replied:

'Shah Doolah is not present, but the *ghulam* (servant) Doolah is present'.

Marfat.com

"For the second time he (Shah Sayyida) called for Shah Doolah. He (Shah Doolah *Faqir*) again gave the same answer.

"For the third time the same question and the same answer.

"At last he (Shah Sayyida) said, 'From today gives *Mawla* (Allah). This fellow (Shah Daulah Faqir) upon coming in his presence got the spiritual enlightenment, and settled in the *Qasbah* Gujrat where lies his mausoleum as well."

Faqir (1977, P. 102) makes a startling observation that Shah Doolah, not the *ghulam* Shah Doolah *Faqir*, was the nephew of Shah Sayyida. He does not give any source of this reference.

When the day broke it became known that the saint Sarmast had passed away. Mokhu and all other disciples took part in the funeral ceremonies. After the funeral, they attempted to seize the holy *dalaq* from Daulah, but the *dalaq* fell onto the ground. Each of those around turn by turn tried to lift it. Finally, all of them struggled together, but the *dalaq* would not budge until Daulah grasped it with one hand, shook it, and put it on, thus proving his right to the name and title.Thus, ever since he has been known by the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.).

Making his way out of Sialkot, and leaving the jealous disciples behind, Shah Daulah (R. A.) hid for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Shah Saidan Sarmast he remained in the neighbourhood of Sialkot, growing yearly in reputation and power. After this in obedience to the heavenly instructions (Elliott, 1902, P. 26; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, e*t. al.*, 1919, P. 633), Shah Daulah (R. A.) moved to Gujrat where he settled permanently.

On the question of "heavenly instructions" Jullundhary (1919; P. 400) states that taking a hint and with the permission of his *murshid* (Sarmast) Shah Daulah (R. A.) moved over to Gujrat and after every couple of months used to visit Sarmast in Sialkot. Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 70-71) advanced another version. The reason Shah Daulah (R. A.) left Sialkot was that one day he got an indication from

Marfat.com

Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.). "Because people remain congregated around you, therefore, nobody can spare time to pay homage to my mausoleum, it is better you leave this *qasbah* for Gujrat."

Upon approaching the end of his life, Shah Daulah (R. A.) paid a visit to the shrine of Imam Aliul Huq in Sialkot (Qadri, C. *in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 73) and stayed for seven days. During his stay, one day he prayed:

"Ya Imam the time of my transition has approached, allow me a space in your vicinity."

"For your benefit Gujrat has been decided, so leave as soon as possible," was the reply.

He took this advice and he left for Gujrat. This was the last time Shah Daulah (R. A.) paid homage to the mausoleum of the Imam.

Another version is that Shah Daulah (R. A.) came to Gujrat in the 7th year of Jahangir's reign1612 (Elliott, 1902, P. 26). It is also asserted that this was a move "in obedience to heavenly instructions" (Elliott *in* Ibbetson *et. al.* 1919, P. 633; Rehman and Wescoat, 1993, P. 88).

Marfat.com

GUJRAT LINK

No meeting between Shah Daulah (R. A.) and the Mughal Emperor Akbar recorded. Shah Daulah (R. A.) the patron saint of the city of Gujrat. A fake faqir named Saidan Sikander claimed the guardianship of Gujrat and indulged in derogatory remarks to discredit Shah Daulah (R. A.).When Shah Daulah (R. A.) came to know of it he took the impositor to the skies one midnight and convinced him of his falsehood, then he left Gujrat. In wild Shah Daulah (R. A.) developed affection for lions, cheetahs, tigers, birds, etc. He was very generous to all, and his spending was legendary. Innumerable miracles are attributed to him. He got many wells, serais, bridges and mosques constructed. His most famous works are a bridge in Gujrat and another over the Dik (Degh Nala) in Gujranwala District. He was most successful in finding sites of old buildings. He was sought after by all classes and religious sects, both Hindus and Muslims were his disciples.

The Emperor Akbar died whilst Shah Daulah (R. A.) was still at Sialkot (Elliott, 1902, P. 26). "No meeting between Shah Daula (R. A.) and Akbar is recorded" (Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 635). This is an indirect admission that neither Shah Daulah's birth was during the reign of Akbar nor we know where and when he was born as stated in the Chapter "The Birth of Shah Daulah (R. A.)" in this work. However, his meetings with the other Mughal emperors are laid further down.

Marfat.com

In the world of *faqirs* it is believed that each city has its guardian saint like Data Gunj Bux (R. A.) of Lahore. Likewise, Shah Daulah (R. A.) is taken for the patron saint (for the patron saints of Venezuela, South America, *see* after the Chapter References) of the city of Gujrat (Khan, M. W. 1966, P. 1). When Shah Daulah (R. A.) arrived in Gujrat, just about that time a *faqir*, named Saidan Sikander, from Sialkot (Elliott, 1902, P. 27 gives the name Saidan only without a mention of Sialkot), dropped in at Gujrat and claimed the guardianship of the town by divine appointment to discredit Shah Daulah R. A. (Raam, 1719-1720, *Karamat* No. 83) and indulged in derogatory comments. On knowing these nonsensical remarks, the disciples of Shah Daulah (R. A.) condemned him, "It is inappropriate to usurp the right of saints."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) got wind of those remarks. Consequently, at midnight he took the impositor to the skies and said:

"Open your eyes and have a good look around on whose name this city of Gujrat is? You are wrong."

When Sikander saw such a transcendent status of Shah Daulah (R. A.), the very next morning, along with his followers, he fell at the feet of Shah Daulah (R. A.), and apologized for his impudence. Shah Daulah (R. A.) raised him up and after placing his hands on his head, advised:

"It is incorrect to trespass one's own capacity. Had you not been a visitor *musaffar* (traveler) in this town, I would have taught you a lesson."

He disappeared not to be seen again. Once out of the town he told the story of that night to his companions.

In wild, Shah Daulah (R. A.) developed affection for lions, cheetahs, etc. The spiritual and worldly conquests were divulged and innumerable miracles are attributed to him.Those in need used to get their wishes fulfilled. He had access to the hidden treasures. Birds, tigers, etc. stayed in his presence and sought justice from him. His generosity was for every one, and his spending was legendary. For the poor he

Marfat.com

used to spend immense amount of money. Whatever he said, good or bad, it turned out to be true to the letter.

He got many wells, serais, bridges and mosques constructed. Some of these constructions are still found in Gujrat and Sialkot. His darbar was like that of the rich and kings.

During his life he devoted himself to works of public utility and the construction of religious buildings. His principal works are the bridge not far from the eastern gate, Shah Daulah *Darwaza* (gate), of the town of Gujrat over the Shah Daulah Nullah, and another bridge over the Dik (Degh Nala) in the Gujranwala District.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) never asked for money and paid all his labourers readily. He was most successful in finding sites of old buildings (ruins), wherefrom he dug up all the materials required for his buildings (Elliott, 1902, 26; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 633).

Till the end of his life, princes and nobles, rich and poor alike, sought blessings from Shah Daulah (R. A.), which he never shirked in proffering. He was most liberal to all, particularly to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had peculiar attraction for wild animals, of which he had a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His religious tolerance made him to be sought after by all classes and religious sects, both Hindus and Muslims being his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction toward him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him.

Marfat.com

RAJA CHATTAR SINGH

Raja Chattar Singh of Rajour a devotee of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Shah Daulah (R. A.) blessed Chattar Singh with a daughter with the promise that he won't kill her as female infanticide was rife in those days. The girl was named as Raj or Begum Bai and brought up in luxury. The aged poet and oral historian of Gujrat Mian Mahmud Akhtar Aseer. The Mughal emperors used to pay homage to Shah Daulah (R. A.) at Gujrat en route to Kashmir. Meeting of Shah Jahan with Shah Daulah (R. A.). Shah Jahan impressed with Raj Bai and asked for her hand from Raja Chattar Singh for the prince Aurangzeb. Raja Chattar Singh became converted to Islam. Shah Daulah (R. A.) suggested the name of Raj Bai as Raj Mahal and she was given in nikkah to the prince Aurangzeb. A different version of Raj Bai.

Raja Chattar Singh (Sen) of Rajour (now a part of Indian-occupied Jammu & Kashmir) was a devotee of Shah Daulah (R. A.). At that time female infanticide was rife especially among the Rajputs. It so happened that Chattar Singh was issueless and asked Shah Daulah (R. A.) to pray for him so that he should be blessed with a child. Shah Daulah (R. A.) prayed, but laid down a condition to be complied with by Chattar Singh

Accordingly, he gave his word. Shah Daulah (R. A.) said, "You would be blessed with a girl but never ever kill her, rather bring her up with great affection and in luxury as she is going to be famous, becoming the property of kings and

Marfat.com

the mother of kings." Consequently, a girl was born to Chattar Singh and was named as Raj or Begum Bai. In acordance with the instructions of Shah Daulah (R. A.) she was brought up with great care and provided with all sorts of amenities. [Taji (2001, Pp 37-43) not only gives the distorted version of this story but also substitutes a "Hindu Raja Malik Rajor of Lahore" for of Raja Chattar Singh.]

The aged poet and oral historian of Gujrat, Mian Mahmud Akhtar Aseer, known to the present author, says (personal communication) that the .Mughal emperors en route to Kashmir used to have a stopover at Gujrat and paid homage to Shah Daulah (R. A.). The abode of Shah Daulah (R. A.) happened to be just by the side of the Badshahi Road, running south from the main entrance of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.)

The emperor Shah Jahan presented himself before the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.) while on his way to Kashmir. The saint disclosed it to the emperor that Raja Chattar Singh seems to be inclined towards Islam and it won't be a bad idea to persuade him more in order to accept this religion. At that time Raj Bai had attained the age of about twelve years.

When the emperor was leaving for Kashmir, Chattar Singh along with his family reached Gujrat to receive the emperor.He was greatly impressed with the stature and intelligence of Raj Bai. Resultantly, he asked Chattar Singh for the hand of his daughter for the prince Aurangzeb. Chattar Singh requested some time to give a thought to it. The emperor agreed.

After about two months when the emperor returned from Kashmir, then in the presence of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Chattar Singh became converted to Islam. Shah Daulah suggested his name as Tajuddin and that of Raj Bai as Raj Mahal (a reference to Mumtaz Mahal) She was given in *nikkah* to Aurangzeb. Afterwards the royal family left for Delhi.

Islam (1988, Pp 27-28) gives a somewhat different version. In those days when Shah Daulah (R. A.) was in Kashmir the newly born girls used to be buried alive. He

Marfat.com

advised people not to do that. People said that if you are on the right path then agree to our condition, that is, all those baby girls who have been killed in this way if anyone of those you resurrect, we would refrain from such an act of infanticide.

There was the grave of a girl, who was buried 3 to 4 months ago. Shah Daulah (R. A.) prayed and the girl became alive again. Her mother refused to milk her. Then Shah Daulah (R. A.) said, "Feed her milk." When the mother fed her milk Shah Daulah (R. A.) added, "This girl would become a princess. She is our daughter."

People have heard from their forefathers that once the Mughal emperor Akbar (unbelievable, Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi R. A. didn't witness the period of Akbar. We know for sure that he appeared on the scene during the reign of Jahangir) happened to pass thereby, the girl was playing with her friends. All her companions ran away but the girl stood there. Then she had some arguments with Akbar. When her parents came to know of it they got afraid and fled at night to avoid wrath of the emperor. But the emperor with his *Vizir* approached them and "begged" for the marital bond of the girl. Her parents replied, "Only Shah Daulah can agree to that."

The emperor Akbar (?) appeared before Shah Daulah (R. A.) and repeated the request. Shah Daulah (R. A.) agreed and Akbar after marrying the girl took her to Delhi. She became the favourite wife of the emperor. Strangely enough after one year she became seriously ill. The emperor asked, "Would you like to go back to your parents or to Baba (Shah Daulah)?" She opted to return to Baba and she was sent to him. And she is buried in Gujrat.

Marfat.com

(R. A.)

CASTE OF SHAH DAULAH

Shah Daulah (R. A.) is said to be an Afghan, Gujjar, Arrain, Lodi, Pathan or Quereshi. In Haervy's Makhzane Afghani, *dealing with the Afghan history in Hindustan, the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is not included. The Lodi caste of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is not proved. Since Saidan Sarmast is considered as of Arrain caste, hence Shah Daulah (R. A.), being his disciple, is also regarded of the same category which is not true. Some celebrities have the prefix Shah but they are not Sayyids. Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) is prefixed as Sheikh but he is a Sayyid in true sense of the word. Shah Inayat Shattary was an Arrain but prefixed as Shah. Imam Shah, the grave-tender of Shah Daulah, had the suffix Shah, also Pir Bhawan Shah, the son of Shah Daulah (R. A.). had the same suffix. Yarjang's devotion to Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif of Gujrat. The knowledge of* Kashaf *and* Urfan. *In the list of the caliphs of Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani (R. A.) there is no such name as Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi or for that matter Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah. Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a Sayyid due to five reasons: 1) Qazi Sultan Mahmud has taken him for a Sayyid; 2) in the revenue record of Gujrat, Shah Daulah (R. A.) is enlisted as a* Quereshi; *3) in the book* Rozae Qayumia *the name is written as* Shah *Doolah Gujrati R. A.; 4) the books* Mir'atul A'alm *and Far'ahtul Nazereen, respectively, treat the name as* Shah *Doolah R. A. ; and 5) it is outlined in the verdict of Tirmizi, Additional Judge,Gujranwala that the possibility of Shah Daulah (R. A.) being a Sayed cannot be*

Marfat.com

ruled out altogether. The judicial verdict also maintains that the present grave-tenders are the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) through his son Bhawan Shah. Ahmedabad. The record of the ancestry of some families.

"Shah Daula (R. A.) was a Pathan and claimed descent from the emperor Bahlul Shah Lodi: at the same time the Gujjars assert that he belonged to their class and the present high priest of the shrine professes to be Sayyid" (Williamson. 1921. Pp 54-55. based on Davies).

Shah Daulah (R. A.) has been referred to different castes: an Afghan (Aubdi. 1685 *in* Mojadeddi. 1972. P. 53). Gujjar (Faqir. 1977. P. 102). Arrain (Chaudhry. A. 1968. P. 297). Lodi (Qadri. C. *in* Kunjahi. 1985. P. 69; Rauf. 1962. P. 151). Pathan (Baig. 1870. P. 88; Elliott. 1902. P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson. *et. al.* 1919. P. 931) or Quereshi (Kunjahi. 1985. P. 9).

The descendants of the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.) regard themselves as Sayyid. On the contrary, all of the other fore-mentioned castes may be the attributes of the "other Doola"(*op. cit.*).

Was Shah Daulah (R. A.) of an Afghan origin? Most of the authors are stuck with the notion that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was of the Afghan origin. Consequently, it is considered worth a while to touch this topic in the light of historical facts.

Haervy (1612 *in* Hussain. 1986. Urdu transl Pp. 517-520; *in* Roy. N. 2002 ref. Haervy's *Makhzane Afghani*) provides details of the Afghans' origin, the reigning periods of various Afghan sultans and of the ruling families. He also advances a compilation of different transcripts written by people well acquainted with diverse aspects of the Afghan history.

Beginning with the rise of the Afghan monarchy in the 15th century, Haervy covers its closing years and 16 years of the 16th century. He ends up with Babar's arrival in India and the Panipat campaign. There are the particulars of more than sixty saints, who were almost Afghans, running up to the year 1630-1631 (1040 A. H.) when Shah Daulah Gujrati (R

Marfat.com

A.) had already appeared on the scene—it is almost agreed that Shah Daulah (R. A.) passed away in 1674-1675 (1085 A. H.), thus he was 45-year old at that time.

Haervy is said to have died in 1656-1657 (1067 A. H.) and Shah Daulah's (R. A.) date of expiry is 1674-1675 (1085 A. H.) the resultant difference comes to 18 years. But Shah Daulah's (R. A.) name is not included in his book. If it is assumed that Haervy's death, as some believe, might have occurred in 1631 (1040 A. H.), the difference hovers around 44 years. Even then Shah Daulah's (R. A.) glory was at its climax. Had Shah Daulah Gujrati (R. A.) been an Afghan Lodi, his name must have been in the notice of Haervy.

Haervy (1021 A. H. or 1612 A. D., Pp 517-520) includes the names of 71 Afghan *mushaikh* (celebrities) but the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.) does not appear. Shah Daulah (R. A.) passed away in 1085 A. H. The book was further elaborated till 1040 A. H. or 1630-1631 (Pp 12-14) when Sheikh Shahab Bukhtiar passed away, Haervy recorded this event as well. Other incorporations are: about the descendants of Sheikh Imamuddin, his first son, Sheikh Abdurrazaq, b. 1037 A. H. (1627-1628) his second son, Sheikh Abdul Haq, b. 1039 A. H. (1629-1630) fourth son (*sic*, it should be the third son), Sheikh Muhammad Faazal, b. 1041 A. H. (1631-1632) and the fifth son (*sic*, it should be fourth son), Sheikh Abdul Wahed, b. 1048, A. H. (1639-164); Sheikh Kabir al-Mashtahar d. 1054 A. H. (1644-1645); Sheikh Imamuddin d. 1060 A. H. (1650) and Sheikh Noor left this world 1061 A. H. (1651) Then dealing with the offspring of an Afghan *Sardar*, Mamoon bin Dawood, Haervy writes that a battle took place between Dara Shikoh, the brother of Aurangzeb, and Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1067 A. H. (1656-1657), Dara Shikoh was defeated.

From the foregoing observations, it is concluded that if Haervy indeed ceased to walk on this planet in 1067 A. H, he must have included the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.), had the latter been an Afghan, in his book, *Tarikh Khan Jahani wa Makhzane Afghani*, because the fame of Shah Daulah (R. A.)

Marfat.com

was at its pinnacle only recently. In other words, there is a lapse of relatively a short period of time, *i. e.*, 18 years, between the death of Shah Daulah R. A. (1085 A. H.) and that of Haervy. This rules out the story of the Afghan ancestry of Shah Daulah. Alternatively, if we assume that the death of Haervy took place in 1040 A. H (1631 A. D.) then the emergent difference between his death and that of Shah Daula is 44 years. Even so Jahangir died in 1036 A. H. (1627 A. D.) and only four years after this occurrence, Haervy expired. Shah Daulah (R. A.) had witnessed 22 years of Jahangir's time and there are several accounts of the former being received in audience by the latter. That was the time when the star of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was already shining brilliantly and his fame had reached far and wide. How one could justify the lack of the mention of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) name in the book of Haervy? Definitely Shah Daulah (R. A.) was not an Afghan, the answer is as simple as that.

From the writings of Haervy it appears that he was alive till 1067 A. H. (1656-1657). Hussain (1986, Pp. 517-520) points out that a certain Lodi after fleeing fights with Shah Jahan headed for Deccan where he died in 1040 A. H. while facing the troops of Shah Jahan. There emerge two possibilities: Haervy died before 1040 A. H. otherwise he must have documented the killing of Dara Shikoh or after the death of Haervy this event was added by Haibat Khan Kakkar or somebody else; the other alternative is that may be Haervy intentionally did not take this occurrence into account fearing the wrath of Shah Jahan. It may be surmised that he might have spent the rest of his life somewhere else in seclusion and in the eventide of his life documented the episode of Dara Shikoh and Alamgir, eventually dying in 1067 A. H. Who knows?

Raam (1719-1720, the last Miracle No.100) states that Shah Daulah (R. A.) expired in 1677. Aubdi (b. c. 1634) had died c. 1680, which means he passed away about three years after the demise of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Aubdi in his book, *Ma'rajul Walayat* (1685), narrates that on his way to

Marfat.com

Hassan Abdaal, he presented himself (*see* Mojadeddi, 1972, P. 53; original Farsi text P. 431) before Shah Daulah (R. A.). the "*Mureed Sayyid Nasser Mast ast der assal auz qaum Afghan buwadah* ..." (the disciple of Sayyid Nasser Mast in fact belongs to the Afghan sect). It is not known as to why Aubdi visited Hassan Abdaal at the first place.

Aubdi said that en route to Hassan Abdaal he paid homage to Shah Doola R. A. (Lahori, S. 1902, P. 104; Lahori S. *in* Bhatty, 1994, Pp 168-169) at Gujrat. He was in *maraqbah* (bowed with forehead on floor) and the Qawwals were reciting the Qawwalis of Hazrat Chishti. He joined in prayers. When the *sherenee* (sweet) was distributed by Shah Daulah (R. A.). he requested, "I do not demand this worldly offer, bless me with spiritual guidance." He (Shah Daula) smiled, "Take this and that will be also bestowed upon." Then he infused him with outwardly and inwardly (spiritual) blessings.

Kunjahi (1985, Pp 13-14) observes that in the book *Ma'raj ul Walayat* there is no indication about the time of Aubdi's visit to Shah Daulah (R. A.) and the time of his journey towards Hassan Abdaal. He believes since Aubdi completed his studies in 1656, as mentioned by Mojadeddi, he probably decided upon his travel after this year. Aubdi might have heard during his stay from some of the residents of Gujrat that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was an Afghan.

.That the father of Shah Daula was Abdul Rahim Khan Lodi, a descendant of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Lodi, the grandson of Bahlul Shah Lodi (d. 1488), thus belonging to the caste Lodi Afghan, has been repeated many times over (Baig, 1870, P. 88; Elliott, 1902, P. 24; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et al*, 1919, P.631; Khan, W. 1966, P. 1; Khokhar, 1994, Pp 2-3; Khokhar, 2000, Pp 185-187; Lahori, S. *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 166; Rauf 1962, Pp 151-153 and others), almost verbatim. This contention has been already negated with historical background (*see* Chap. "Birth of Shah Daulah").If at all, they might as well be treating Sheikh Doola (Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 69-70)—the other Doola, who was deprived of the spiritual

Marfat.com

enlightenment while at the service of Shah Saidan Sarmast in Sialkot (*op. cit.*).

Was Shah Daulah (R. A.) of Arrain caste? Jullundhary (1919, P. 398) asserts that Shah Saidan Sarmast was of the Arrain caste. The very facts that Chaudhry, A. (1987, P. 297) deals with only those religious celebrities that belonged to the Arrain caste, including Shah Saidan Sarmast, and the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is enlisted in his book, hence he is regarded as an Arrain. In other words he was not a Shah (Sayyid) but an Arrain, nevertheless he was prefixed "Shah." Daulah being a disciple of Sarmast, who was an Arrain, therefore the same applies to him as well.

Islam (1988, P. 68) talks of a village, Bhidi, District Hafizabad, Punjab, known as Bhidi Shah Rehman (or Rehma) after the name of the saint Shah Rehman, who was not a Sayyid (Shah) but a washerman (*dhobi*). In the same way Shah Hussain Lahori and Shah Hussain Qadri had the prefix Shah but they were not Sayyids.

Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) of Baghdad is prefixed as a Sheikh whereas in fact he was a Sayyid in true sense of the word from the maternal and paternal sides. Shah Inayat Shattary, the mentor of Sayyid Bhulleh Shah, was also an Arrain, but with the suffix Shah. Bulleh Shah (R. A.) himself said that he was an Arrain. In fact the prefix Sayyid is usually preceded by "Ya" Sayyid.

Baig (1870, Pp. 88-91) admits that Imam Shah, the grave-tender at that time, carried the suffix Shah and also the son of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Pir Bhawan Shah had the same suffix. Strangely, Baig attaches no importance to the notion that the descendants of Bhawan Shah should also come from the same Sayyid ancestry. In the vicinity of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) those who take care of it (caretakers of the shrine) are settled and the name of this settlement is "Garhi Shah Doolah." He has talked about the caretakers, not as the descendants of Shah Daula (R. A.).

Yarjang (b.1880, at Badayun, India) during the colonial days was a commissioner of the princely state Hyderabad

Marfat.com

Deccan. In the last few years pre-partition while still in Hyderabad Deccan, five times he came to see Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif, near Gujrat, the Punjab and became his disciple. After partition Yarjang settled in Karachi. When in Karachi, every year even at the age of 85, he used to visit Awan Sharif to see the Khalifa Sahibzada Mehboob Alam, who was the nephew of Qazi Sultan Mahmud.

It is an interesting story of Yarjang's devotion to Qazi Sahib. Once he reached Gujrat by train at night time from Hyderabad, and he walked all the way about 22 miles to Awan Sharif to see Qazi Sahib.

Qazi Sahib's health began to deteriorate in 1915, the same year his younger brother Muhammad Masood died. When Yarjang visited Qazi Sahib at Barnala, 14 Nov.1916, he noticed that Qazi Sahib had developed Parkinson's disease in both of his hands. He was in Hyderabad Deccan when he received a letter, 16 March 1919, from Awan Sharif that Qazi Sahib had become weak due to cough and bad cold. Eventually, he died one Friday, 1919, (b. May 1849).

On one of his visits to the village Awan, Yarjang (1983, P. 369) was told by Chaudhry Alahdin of the village Tahir, District Gujrat, that Qazi Sahib maintained, "The name of Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.) was Kabiruddin Gujrati, he was a Sayyid and came from Baghdad. He was one of the *mureeds* of the Great Pir (Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani R. A.) and an attendant to help the Great Pir while performing ablution. Once in the course of discharging this duty he asked the Great Pir, 'What is the *Aabe hayat* (elixir of life)?' The Great Pir answered 'This water in the cup of my hand has the life span of 500 years.' Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.) quickly drank that water and thus lived for about 600 years."

The contention of Qazi Sahib may be acceptable if we accept that the knowledge of *Kashaf* and *Urfan* (revealing the unknown, and passing through different spiritual tests to get to know God), as possessed by Qazi Sahib, is authentic.

Marfat.com

Was Shah Daulah (R. A.) a Sayyid? Some believe that the very word Shah forming the component of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) name or title, namely, *Shah* Daulah, is a strong argument for the determination of his Sayyid caste. But this does not seem to be logical. Among the Sufis, Sheikhs and Shahs, these two titles are the indication of an exalted self. In spite of the fact that Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) was an irrefutable Sayyid his name is prefixed Sheikh instead of Sayyid. Apparently Sheikh implies spiritually elated personage.

Qadri (undated) refers to Shah Daulah as "Sheikh Doola," the prefix that for a long time has been used in exchange for a "Sayyid." The famous Punjabi Sufi poet (Kunjhai, 1985, P. 69) Baba Farid was addressed to as Sheikh Farid instead of Sayyid or Shah Farid, and he called himself Sheikh Farid too.

Kunjahi (1985, P. 9) believes that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a Sayyid due to two reasons: first, Qazi Sultan Mahmud has taken him for a Sayyid; secondly, in the revenue record of Gujrat, 1868, Shah Daulah (R. A.) is enlisted as a Quereshi (Arabian ancestry) and *Faqir* at the same time. This is due to the fact that in the Islamic period Sufis liked to being called as *Faqirs*. In those days the *Faqirs* were not tantamount to the beggars. Exactly, in the same way the learned Muslim religious personalities are called the *Ulema*, though it is not their caste.

In the opinion of Kunjahi (1985, P.10) the cogent evidence to consider Shah Daulah (R. A.) as "non-ajmi" (ajmi means Arabian, Persian or barbarian) is that different castes attributed to him by various authors fail to be supported by history. In any case the non-Sayyid status in spiritual context has no importance whatsoever. Sheikh, Sayyid or Shah are only honourary titles. In the beginning, on the basis of ancestry or relationship, these titles were not parts of names. By the passage of time in the Indian subcontinent, Sayyid and Shah became attached to the descendants of the daughter, Fatimahtuzahira (R. A), of Prophet Muhammad

Marfat.com

(PBUH). On this basis the word Shah became the part of a name, who laid claim to the succession of Fatimahtuzahira (R. A). And for this vey reason in *Rozae Qayumia* (1751), the life of Mojededd Alif Saani and his ancestors, the name written as *Shah* Doolah Gujrati (R. A.) is one of the arguments to take him for a Sayyid.

Kunjahi (1885, P.13) also cites two authors, that is, Bakhtawar Khan, in the times of Aurangzeb Alamgir, in his book, *Mir'atul A'alam*, and Muhammad Aslam Pasruri in his work, *Far'ahtul Nazereen*, during the period of Shah Alam, have written the saint as *Shah* Doolah (R. A.). This supports the evidence that Shah Doolah (R. A.) is a Sayyid.

Sayyid (2003, Pp 221-222) touched briefly on the controversy related to the caste of Shah Daulah (R. A.), without arriving at a definite conclusion.

The question whether Shah Daula (R. A.) was a Sayyid is summed up in the verdict of Tirmizi, Additional Judge, Gujranwala (1961, Pp.8-9) that follows:

"As pointed it out earlier it does not go to the root of the case whether Shah Daula was a 'Gujjar, a Pathan, a Qureshi or a Syed.' Still I want to place on the record my opinion that the possibility of being a Sayyid cannot be ruled out altogether. There are instances where an important name in History has been claimed by different tribes. In the circumstances I would prefer to leave this question whether Shah Daula was a Sayyid. His descendants' various descriptions of themselves is originally irrelevant as far as I can see. They are the descendants of Shah Daula is undoubted and I find accordingly."

From Tirmizi's verdict it might as well be interpreted that Shah Daulah Gujrati was indeed a Sayyid, because whatever other castes are attributed to Shah Daulah by other writers, are not corroborated by history. Finally, Shah Daulah being a Sayyid is evident from the following episode: in Sialkot Saidan Sarmast gave his *dalaq* (*faqir*'s coat) to Daulah that others failed to lift, but Daulah lifted it easy. From that day on he became to be known as *Shah* Daulah (*op. cit.*).

Marfat.com

The critics vehemently argue that the family tree of Shah Daulah Gujrati to demonstrate his Sayyid caste does not exist at the first place, but the family trees of the other castes attributed to him do not exist either. When the contrary is not proved then the logic demands that the maintained contention should be upheld.

The prefix Shah was attached to the name of Daulah in his lifetime and the same prefix continues with the names of his progeny. This is the greatest argument that the prefix Shah formed the part of his name when Shah Daula Gujrati was still alive.

A Point to ponder: the prefix Shah in Muslims is reserved for Sayyids. Among Hindus it is used for *banian* (traders). However, regarding the caste controversy, there is a verse from Maulana Abdur Rehman Jammi: *Bundae ishq shoodi tarrke nasub kun Jammi/Ke dreen rahe flan ibne flan cheze nayst* (Be a man of love, give up your identity Jammi. Because in this track somebody son of somebody means nothing). In accordance with the doctrine, embodied in this verse, it is possible that the saints or well-esteemed figures might not have liked to publicize their pedigrees. Due to their very humble nature they contented themselves simply as *faqirs* or *derveshes*, not to be carried away with the pride of a high caste.

Marfat.com

JUDICIAL VERDICT

Shah Daula's (R. A.) shrine, not the attached land in the villages Jograh and Chak Yusaf, Tehsil Kharian, and in the Gujrat suburbs, was taken over by the Administrator of the Waqf on 15 March 1960 under the West Pakistan Waqf Properties Ordinance 1959 of General Ayub Khan. Consequently, Pir Rashiduddaula, Pir Hakim Shah and Fazal Hussain on behalf of the other *pirzadgan* (successors) or *waridars* (sharers) lodged a petition, Waqf X Case No. 3 of 1960 in the court of Additional District Judge Gujranwala, Sayyid Mohsin Tirmizi.

The verdict was issued 27th June 1961. The important conclusions verbatim (Pp 6-9) follow:

"In this connection it is to be ascertained first whether the petitioners are Shah Daulah's descendants and or members of his family as contemplated by section 2(d) of the ordnance. It may state at once that the petitioners' positive evidence in the subject is so overwhelming that there is no scope for discarding any finding adverse to them as their alleged relationship with the founder is concerned whether Shah Daulah was a 'Gyujar,' a 'Pathan,' a mere 'Qureshi' or a 'Syed,' though relevant, is not a fundamental question. What really matters for the purpose of the present petition is whether the petitioners are descendants or belong to his family.

"In view of the evidence, which I shall presently refer to, I purpose finding in the affirmative. The petitioner's (*sic*) four witnesses Maulvi Muhammad Hussain (P. W. 1), Hakim Abdul Rahim Jamil (P. W. 2), Muhammad Hussain (P. W.

Marfat.com

3), and Muhammad Din (P. W. 4) have referred to them as 'Pirzadgan' and descendants of Shah Daulah. Two of the petitioner's Muzaffar Shah (P. W. 5) and Rashid ud Daulah (P. W. 6) have made similar statements in support of their claim. The copies of the pedigree tables placed on the record on their behalf clearly name them as descendants of Shah Daulah to his son Bhawan Shah. Bhawan Shah himself was survived by three sons and from them take their respective names the three sub-divisions of the 'Pirzadgan' as detailed in in the list 'A.' That Bhawan Shah was the common ancestor of the three sub-divisions in which the petitioner's are divided is not contested on behalf of the administrator. Only doubts have been expressed on his behalf as to the claim that Bhawan Shah was a son of founder Shah Daulah. What is in dispute is, whether he was in fact a son of Shah Daulah or a mere successor. The pedigree table prepared by the revenue Authorities long before the present controversy came up, universally described Bhawan Shah as the son of Shah Daulah and put Shah Daulah as a common ancestor. Even the historical notes at the time of the earlier settlements referred to Shah Daulah as the founder of the family of the 'Pirzadgan' now inhabitants of Garhi Shah Daulah, the locality around his shrine. It is remarkable some of the administrator's own documents are corroborative of the petitioner's contention. For instance, the historical note of (Ex. N. W. 1/6) prepared during the same year regarding village Joghara in Kharian Tehsil described Imam Shah and Mohd Shah as the descendants of Shah Daula. Imam Shah and Mohd Shah were admittedly among the ancestors of some of the petitioner's. The pedigree tables prepared as various stages in 1888 (Ex. P. 27) in 1914-15 (Ex. P. 28) and in 1955-56 (Ex. P. 29) undoubtedly prove that the 'Waridar' (sharer) named in the list '42' are either Shah Daulah's descendants or they are widows of the descendants through his son Bhawan Shah. That they were accepted as descendants of Shah Daula by Authorities through generations is evident from some of other documents

Marfat.com

produced by the petitioner's in this cause. For instance as far back as 1900 Maulvi Ahmed Shah, a first class, Munsif (judge) at Gujrat while deciding a judicial case between some of the petitioner's referred to them as descendants of Shah Daula through the three none (sons) of his son Bhawan Shah of Shah Daula, similarly in 1917 (the same error) Mirza Zaffar Ali, then Senior Sub-Judge Gujrat described the (Pirzadgan) as the descendants of Shah Daula. An official publication, 'Tarikh-i-Gujrat' by Mirza Azam Beg Extra Assistant Commissioner (Settlement) Gujrat in 1867-1868 contains a note on Khanqah Hazrat Shah Daula Sahib (Page 88 and 89). According to this Shah Daula's descendants live around his shrine in the locality known as Garhi Shah Daula. Another official publication, Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. F. P. based on the census reports for 1883 and 1892 contains an important note (Pages 630-637) about Shah Daula and the reference relevant to the present context reads:

'His descendants dwell near and around the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Garhi Shah Daula.'

"On behalf of the administrator reliance is placed on the following portion occurring at page 676;

"The existing member of the sect (*sic*) of Shah Daula claim that Bhawan Shah is the son of the saint, but whether he was a real or an adopted son or Balka (disciple) the present Pirs are the descendants of Bhawan Shah. Nothing of importance, however, on the record to lend support to this expression of secptics (*sic*, sceptics). An ancient manuscript '*Karamat Nama*' biography of the saint apparently prepared in A. H. 1132 (Corresponding to A. D. 1714) by a Hindu Mushtaq Ram contains several references to Bhawan Shah consistently describing him as the son and successor of the saint. He was on one occasion according to this biography introduced to prince Muazzam, as the son of Shah Daula. That Shah Daula was married to another sect, which Mushtaq Ram's *Karamat Nama* establishes beyond any doubt. Moreover, the grave lying immediately to the east of

Marfat.com

the saint under the dome is on the spot described to be that of his wife, the mother of Bhawan Shah.

"At this stage, I may refer to the controversy regarding the tribe from which Shah Daula sprant.(*sic*, sprang). In the revenue papers his descendants are described variously, as 'Sayed,' 'Qureshi' and Lodi Afghans. Admittedly, Shah Daula was one of the later devines (*sic*, divines) of the Sub-Continent and lived during a period of which the recorded chronicles are almost complete. According to Elliott, a Deputy Commissioner of the district towards the close of nineteenth century, as quoted on pages 631-636 of a Glossary of the Tribes and Castes referred to above. Shah Daula was born in A. D. 1581 during the reign of Akbar and died in A. D. 1676 in Aurangzeb's time. His meeting with Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, and Prince Muazzam are facts of history. As he was able to build works of beneficience, such as bridges, tanks, mosques and serais he was known as the Engineer Saint of Gujrat. Ghulam Hussain's 'Siyat-al-muta-Akhirin' when referring to the rebel Prince Khusur's capture at Soddara Ferry on the Gujranwala side of the Chenab and his detention at Gujrat across the river introduces the town as Gujrat-i-Shah Daula. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Shah Daula lived in the lime light of history. All the same it is strange that no historical work of reference could be cited in proof of the contention that the saint was a 'Syed's descendant of the Prophet from his beloved daughter Fatima by Ali. Even Mushtaq Ram is silent on the subject though his biography as he says was prepared by him at the instance of some of the grandson of the saint in A. H. 1132 (corresponding to A. D. 1676). It is possible that a research in original sources may establish the point one way or the other. According to the indications, several biographical notes concerning him are still extant. On referring to a book on Sufis in my own library 'Khazina-tul-Asfia' (I find that the author of 'M'arajul Walayat he has himself met the saint at Hassan Abdaal.) Another contemporary work 'Mukhbir-ul-Wasilin'

Marfat.com

is referred to in 'Khazina-tul-Asfia' Maulvi Ghulam Sarwar Lahori had the advantage of consulting the contemporary literature. He completed 'Khazinatul Asffia' in A. H. 1281. (Corresponding to A. D. 1863). He appeared to have visited Gujrat and met Imam Shah then 'Sajaada Nashin' at Shah Daulah's Khanqah. According to another, Shah Daula was a descendant of the Pathan King Sultan Bahlul Lodi. To the same effect is the conclusion drawn by Elliott as quoted in the Glossary both referred to above. At the same time, Elliott has hinted at the claim madė by the 'Gujjars' of Gujrat, that Shah Daula came from their tribe. He further mentions that Shah Daula's mother was Niamat Khatun, great grand daughter of Sultan Sarang, the Gakhar Chief. As his descendants have been described themselves as 'Qureshi' and even 'Syed' the contention on behalf of the administrator is that they are not the descendants of Shah Daula, who was according to history a Lodi Pathan. As already discussed I am satisfied that the petitioners are the descendants of Shah Daula. As pointed out earlier it does not go to the root of case whether Shah Daula was a 'Gujjar' a 'Pathan,' a mere 'Quereshi' or a 'Syed.' Still I place on the record, my opinion that the possinbility of his being 'Syed' cannot be ruled out altogether. There are instances where an important name in history has been claimed by different tribes. For instance, the founder of the Rampur family Nawab Mohd Khan is generally known to be a Mohilla Pathan. The family Chronicles, however, describe him as a 'Syed' and of the celebrated stock of the King-Makers the 'Syeds' of Barah. Some of the 'Burkis' of Jullundhar who are commonly known to be 'Pathans' have in fact been claiming to be 'Syeds.' Even such a great figure as Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani (R. A.) is known both as a 'Sheikh' and 'Syed.' The Shias stoutly refused his description as a 'Syed' and the Sunnis ascribe this to his denunciation of the 'Shias' as the vilifiers of the Prophet's (PBUH) wife Ayesha (*sic*).

"The Syed Kings of Delhi have not been accepted as genuine 'Syeds' in some quarters as explained by the

Marfat.com

celebrated historian Ferishta. Even the great 'Syed' Ali Hajveri Data Gunj Bux has not been spared and a visitor to his shrine at Lahore on a look at the epitaph and the walls be struck by the careful and calculated omission of his subscription as a descendant of the Prophet. He is disposed off by so many lesser applications such as 'Makhdum' and 'Khwaja.' This under current of hostility to the family of the Prophet which the unimaginative display every now and then may explain why at times of his illustrious descendants found it difficult to get identified as such. Or may be that they themselves did not like to publicise the holy commection and preferred to pass along unknown. In the circumstances I would prefer to leave along the question whether Shah Daula was 'Syed.' His descendants various descriptions of themselves are equally irrelevant as far as I can see. That they are the descendants of Shah Daula is undoubted and I find accordingly."

To sum up the above-cited verdict it is concluded that the successors indeed are the descendants of Bhawan Shah, the son of Shah Daula (R. A.). The possibility of Shah Daula (R. A.) being Sayyid cannot be ruled out altogether. However, the shrine could not be restored back to the rightful claimants due to another ordinance of the President Ayub Khan.

In addition to the fore-mentioned observations the other conclusions deduced from the work of the present author are:

There are more than one Shah Daulas, that is, Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daula (R. A.), Hameeda Shah Daula, Ahmed Ali Shah Daula and Karamat Shah Daula. It means that Daula (Daulah, Doola, Doolah) or Shah Daula is not the proper name, simply an additional qualifier.

As some say that there is one mausoleum of Shah Daulah in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India and the other in Gujrat, Punjab, there is no truth in it. It parallels the story that one mausoleum of Sharufuddin Boo Ali Qalandar is in Panipat, India and the other in Kernal, India or one mausoleum of Hazrat Ali (A. s.) in Mushhad Muquddus, Iraq and the other in Afghanistan.

Marfat.com

The *Karamat Nama Khurd* by Qadri and *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Ram treat the life histories of "Doola" and Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.), respectively, but the pertinent facts and traditions are so bungled up that it is extremely a difficult endeavour to separate one from the other unless one makes an unbiased critical analysis of the details embodied.

Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daula (R. A.) of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India, is a different story altogether.

Sabri (1938, Pp 72-77) wrote that Shah Doolah was born in. 1106 (499 A. H.) and expired in 1207 (603 A. H.), thus paved the way for the confusion just as there are more than two Gujrats, the same way there might well be more than one Shah Doolahs. The age of Sabri's Shah Doolah comes to 101-104 years—buried at Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar Peninsula, India.

Ahmedabad is also spelled Ahmadabad, city, administrative headquarters of Ahmadabad district, Gujarat state, west central India, on the River Sabarmati, north of Bombay. The city was founded in 1411 (813 A. H.) by the Muslim ruler of Gujarat, Sultan Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, next to the older Hindu town of Asawal. The contention of Sabri that Shah Doolah was buried at Ahmadabad in 1106 becomes baseless, because Ahmadabad didn't exist at that time.

It is possible, in Gujrat, Shah Daulah (R. A.) was considered as an Afghan not on the basis of his Afghan ancestry but due to the fact that in those days, even at the present time, any arrival in the Punjab from the northwest was taken for a Khan. We are all aware of the prevalent customary habit that anyone coming from Europe, irrespective of the fact whether from Germany, France or other European countries, is branded as a *gora* (Englishman).

Shah Daulah's (R. A.) date of birth and as to where and how he spent his early childhood are not corroborated by history. It must be borne in mind that in olden days in this part of the world, mostly the date of the birth of a common person was not attached that much of an importance. If the curious twist

Marfat.com

of fate turned an ordinary mortal into a celebrity only then all sorts of hectic efforts were brought into play to determine one's date of birth. Moreover, the author remembers distinctly that in the pre-partition India, the birth-date of a girl was downgraded mostly by one year and that of a boy upgraded more or less a year from the actual occurrence.

The well-known families did maintain more or less reasonable records of their ancestry. For example, Caliph al-Mamun Rashid, b. 786 (169-170 A. H.), d. 833 (217-218 A. H.); the Sunni scholars Imam Hambal, b. 781 (164-165), d. 855 (240-241 A. H.) and Imam Bukhari, b. 810 (194-195), d. 870 (256-257); Al-Farabi b. 870 (256-257 A. H.), d. 950 (338-339 A. H.) from Turkestan, called the "second teacher," second only to Aristotle, because of his excellence in logic: Ibne Sina, b. 981 or 986 (370-371 or 375-376 A. H.) d. 1037 (1306-1307 A. H.)—the greatest encyclopaedic scholar of Islam, born in Ismaili family in Bukhara; Imam Ahmad Ghazali, b. 1058 (449-450 A. H.) at Tus, Khurasan, Persia, d. 1111 or 1112 (504-505 A. H.); and Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, b. 1144 (538-539 A. H.), d. 1191 or 1235 (586-587 or 632-633).

Marfat.com

SUFFIX DARYAE

•

Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a compassionate and magnanimous person, who maintained asylums for the micro-cephalous subjects. He looked after wild and domestic animals. For the first time the suffix Daryae of Shah Daulah (R. A.) appears in the work of Qadri without giving its significance, Raam follows suit. Shah Daulah (R. A.) cleared a well full of debris upon the premises of Shah Saidan Sarmast and its bitter water turned into sweet, thus his title became Daryae. Once he saved the city of Gujrat from flood, hence the name Daryae. The suffix Daryae is also interpreted from the numerous bridges he built. The attribute Daryae refers to his generosity that was like a river. Since Shah Daulah (R. A.) used to live by the river bank therefore he was known as Daryae. He enjoys another suffix Gunj Bux—one who gives treasures away.

It is meaningful to emphasize that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a very compassionate and magnanimous person, provided shelter and food to the invalids and poor. He used to keep micro-cephalous subjects in asylums as well, and got many constructions made for the public welfare. Also, all kinds of wild and domestic animals were looked after by him.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) is marked with the suffix, "Daryae," referring to river. Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp. 7-8) for the first time made the addition of Daryae, thus the name became Shah Daulah Daryae Gunj Bux (R. A.), but he did not elaborate its significance.

Marfat.com

Raam (1719-1720, Pp 13, 27, 34) is the second author, who affixed the word Daryae after the name Shah Daulah (R. A.). Concerning this nickname Daryae, Raam (1719-1720, Miracle No. 29, P. 44) narrates that upon the premises of Shah Saidan Sarmast there was a well that somehow got filled with debris. One night Sarmast asked Shah Daulah (R. A.) to get the well cleared of the rubble. Consequently, he took a fellow named Mana Khokhar along with him and told him to get down into the well to check the situation. However, due to trepidation he hesitated, becoming afraid of the darkness and depth.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) lowered himself in instead. The moment he entered into the well, his height became equal to that of the water level, calculated to be about 50-yard deep. When Mana saw this he almost fainted. Shah Daulah (R. A.) held his hand and said, "Baho (or Paho the pet word of Shah Daulah R. A.) don't divulge this secret of the *faqir* to anyone." He continued filling up the buckets with the debris and Mana carried on with the labour of pulling these up outside the orifice of the well. Mana exclaimed, "Are you a giant or a fairy?" Shah Daulah (R. A.) modestly replied, "No, I am a humble *faqir*."

Before the well got filled up with the debris its water was bitter. When the rubble of the well was completely removed, Shah Daulah (R. A.) offered a receptacle filled with water therefrom to his mentor Sarmast. Upon tasting the water, he exclaimed, "How pleasant this water tastes! None of the rivers has such water. It should be called *Aabe kausar* (elixir of life) or *Zamzam*. May God bless you *Sakhi* (generous) Shah Daulah (R. A.), from today onward your title is Daryae."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) offered another receptacle of water to a celebrity around. "Only in one night you have changed the bitter into sweet water," wondered that dignitary!

Once upon a time Shah Daulah (R. A.) saved the city of Gujrat from an inundation of the River Chenab. The story goes that when the floodwaters began to threaten the city, the inhabitants rushed to him for praying to Allah so that the city

Marfat.com

might be spared the onslaughts of the surging tides. Look what he did? To the surprise of others, instead of praying, he started digging a trench in the way of advancing current for its easy inflow. The mystified onlookers hesitatingly requested,

"How is that Hazrat you are making it easy for the water to flood in?"

"On the side my *Mawla* (Allah), the same side Shah Daulah (R. A.)," was the cryptic wise reply "if the Almighty Allah wills the city to be submerged, I comply with His command. That is why I am digging a passage so that the floodwaters make their way with the least possible hindrance."

He had hardly started to dig when the flood receded. Unbelievable, but strange are the ways of God!

Elliott (1902, P. 28; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 636; Khan M. W. 1966, Pp 1, 3; Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 90) interpret the suffix Daryae from the numerous bridges Shah Daulah (R. A.) built.

Lahori (1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, Pp 166-167) gives a different explanation of the suffix Daryae. Shah Doola Daryae Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) customarily spent unlimited wealth on those who sought his help. Whosoever came to him for spiritual enrichment or worldly needs, he was never turned him down. Due to his generosity he was known a Daryae. Chaudhry, N. (1970, P. 62) quotes from Faqirullah Qadri's book *Sahib Anwaar Auliya Allah* thusly: "He was known as Shah Doolah Daryae (R. A.) because his generosity was like a river and whosoever in need came to him was never disappointed. Whenever he wanted to cross a river could do so without wetting his feet."

Kunjahi (1985, P. 9) believes as Shah Daulah (R. A.) lived by the river-bank (apparently the River Chenab) that is why he became known as Daryae. On the contrary, he also cites the saint Bahlul Daryae of those times, who neither built bridges nor turned the bitter water of a well into the sweet condition, but was known by the suffix Daryae. Additionally, there was

Marfat.com

Qazi Mahmud Daryae, who, on the request of boatmen used to save the sinking boats, thus the name Daryae. It is possible the same applies to Shah Daulah (R. A.) to be called as Daryae as well.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) also enjoys the qualitative suffix "Gunj Bux" (one who gives treasures to others). This very suffix is also the component of the name of Ali Hajveri Data Gunj Bux (R. A.). the patron saint of Lahore.

Marfat.com

MEETINGS WITH THE MUGHAL ROYALTY

Shah Daulah (R. A.) lived mostly in Gujrat where he died in 1674-1675. He witnessed 22 years of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir's rule, 30 years of Shah Jahan's and 17 years of Aurangzeb's period, thus the age of Shah Daulah (R. A.) comes to 69 years. No recorded meeting of Shah Daulah (R. A.) with Akbar the Great. Shah Daulah (R. A.) moved over to Gujrat in the 7th year of Jahangir's ascending the throne. Shah Daulah (R. A.), after displaying his animals with golden crests and neck collars, used to let them loose. A deer, named Darbakhtah, thus arrayed strayed near the place where the emperor Jahangir was hunting at Shahdara, Lahore. Shah Daulah (R. A.) looked after wild beasts, birds, aquatic and desert animals. Shah Daulah (R. A.) was summoned to Emperor Jahangir's court at Shahdara where it was attempted to kill him but no harm resulted. When the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb mounted the throne of Delhi, he sent for Shah Daulah (R. A.), who appeared before him in a miraculous way. Emperor Shah Jahan marveled at the spiritual ascendancy of Shah Daulah (R. A.). The paraphernalia of Dara Shikoh and Hoori Begum got lost in the flood of Dek Nullah, Gujranwala. Shah Jahan summoned the Faujdar, named Badiuz Zaman, to build a bridge over the Dek Nullah, which he could not accomplish. Shah Daulah (R. A.) got the bridge constructed difficulties not withstanding. It still exists in a fair condition, its fresco painting and turrets are also in good condition. A fellow named Behta created problems while Shah Daulah (R. A.) was building the bridge. Shah Jahan imprisoned Behta but Shah Daulah (R. A.) interceded for him

Marfat.com

and obtained his release. Shah Daulah (R. A.) refused a gift of 14,000 ashrafis from Hoori Begum. Sheikh Arif killed Badiuz Zaman at Wazirabad, getting himself killed in the process as well. Princess Jahanara Begum was the daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan and Queen Mumtaz Mahal. Jahanara Begum learnt the art of reciting the Holy Qur'an, and became an accomplished lady skilled alike in prose and poetry. She reached Gujrat to meet Shah Daulah (R. A.) but she did not get from him what she wanted. The saint Haji Abdullah. In a meeting with Shah Daulah (R. A.). the prince Aurangzeb was predicted to be the future king. Begum Bai. The Keenjhar Lake and the story of Nuri. The Begumpura mosque. Aurangzeb Alamgir while stationed at Shahdara sent for all of the derveshes, including Shah Daulah (R. A.), so that he could subject them to some trials to find out their comparative spiritual transcendence. Shah Daulah (R. A.), along with his son Bhawan Shah, went to see the prince Bahadur Shah at Gujrat. The prince Mu'azzam, the second son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, prospective heir apparent after his elder brother defected to join his father's brother and the rival Shah Shujah, ruled India as Bahadur Shah I. Chronological discrepancy. Bahadur Shah unjustifiably involved in the mutiny. The Shah Daulah (R. A.) Bridge--scene of a hasty coronation. The death of Aurangzeb and fight for the succession. Portrait of Shah Daulah (R. A.) by Bichitr.

What can be said with certainty is that Shah Daulah (R. A.) lived for the most part of his life in Gujrat, Punjab, and died therein. Before permanently moving to Gujrat, at what age and time he had been in this province is an open question. Since there is no direct foolproof evidence of his date of birth, it may be worth a while to attempt at indirect inference from the almost agreed date of his expiry, *i. e.*, 1674-1675 (1085 A. H.)—17th year of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir's ascending the throne:

Aurangzeb Alamgir (b. Nov. 3, 1618 or 1027 A. H., Dhod, Hindustan, , d. at the age of 89 years, March 3, 1707, 1118

Marfat.com

or A. H.), and his reign covered 49 years (1658-1707). Thus Shah Daulah (R. A.) witnessed 17 years of Alamgir's rule.

Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb's father, (b. 5 January 1592 or 1000 A. H., Lahore, d. at the age of 74 years, 22 January 1666 or 1076 A. H, Agra, Hindustan) and ruled for 30 years (1628-1658). In turn Shah Jahan's father, Jahangir (b. 31 August 1569 or 976 A. H., Fatepur Sikri, d. Oct. 28 at the age of 58 years, 1627 or 1036 A. H, en route to Lahore from Kashmir) was on the throne for 22 years (1605-1627).

Akbar the Great, the great grandfather of Aurangzeb, (b. 15 October 1542 or 948 A. H., Umarkot, Sindh, d. 1605 1013 A. H, Agra, Hindustan, at the age of 63 years) and ruled for 49 years (1556-1605). In fact Akbar was not born at Umarkot, rather in a small village Joghrai, near Umarkot during Humayun's stay in Sindh (Janjhi, *Dawn* letter, Feb. 5, 2003, P. 6).

The age of Shah Daulah (R. A.) comes down to 69 years when we consider 22 years of Jahangir's reign, 30 of Shah Jahan's and 17 years of Aurangzeb's rule. This is the logical calculation. If we consider the improbable speculation that "Shah Daulah" was born on the 25th year of Akbar's rule, the addition of another 25 years would result in 94 years. In case we imagine his birth 18 years before Akbar's ascending the throne, then the age would be 137 years.

Once it is established that Shah Daulah (R. A.) witnessed the monarchies of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and part of the reign of Alamgir, let us see whether there did exist some personal or indirect contact amongst them!

There is no account of any interaction between Shah Daulah (R. A.) and Akbar the Great. The statement of Rehman & Wescoat (1993, P. 90) that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was "contemporary with Akbar" is without historical support. Also, there is no truth in the statement of Baig (1870, P. 90) that Shah Doolah (R. A.) "witnessed the period of Akbar with his own eyes," but it is true, as maintained by the same author, that he was a contemporary of Jahangir and lived up to the middle of the times of Aurangzeb. However, there is a

Marfat.com

documented evidence of his encounter with Jahangir—Shah Daulah (R A.) moved over to Gujrat in the 7th year 1611-1612 (1020 A. H.) of Jahangir's ascending the throne (Elliott, 1902, P. 26; Rehman and Wescoat, 1993, P. 88). Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Jahangir: It is of interest to note that Shah Daulah (R A.) after displaying his animals with golden crests (*zarrin kalghis)* and *patta* (neck collar), used to let them loose (Raam, 1719-1720, Miracle No. 12, Pp 26-32). English writers like Elliott (1902, P. 26) transliterate the golden crests as "helmets, or head coverings, with *kauris* put on them" (sing. *kauri* also *rauri*—coniferous tree of New Zealand). Apparently, a reference to the fact that tops of the helmets used to be covered with conical cap-like contraptions.

One day a deer thus arrayed strayed near the place where the emperor Jahangir was hunting at Shahdara, Lahore. The king enquired about the deer with the strange head-gear.

His animal-keepers told him, "It belongs to Shah Daula (R A.), who is known to some people as an alchemist and the others believe he possesses the Philosopher's stone that is why he gets raised magnificent, solid and long-lasting buildings like bridges, wells, guest houses, gardens and domes." Upon asking further details it was added, "Shah Daula (R. A.) looks after wild beasts, birds, aquatic and desert animals. He is a devoted *faqir* of Almighty Allah and performs miracles. And that is all."

"The deer was caught" (Elliott *in* Ibbetson *et al.* 1919, P. 634) and two men were at once sent to fetch Shah Daulah R A. (from Gujrat), who at that time was seated at his *khanqah* (*faqir*'s abode).

During the day Shah Daulah (R. A.) conveyed surprise to his disciples:"What a strange thing has our deer, Darbakhtah (Raam, *op. cit.*, P. 28, but Elliott gives no name of the deer) done! It has appeared before His Majesty and caused men to be sent to take me before him. They will come today. Cook a delicious *pilao* (dish of rice and meat) and all sort of food for

Marfat.com

them." The astonished servants prepared the meal and towards the evening the men arrived with His Majesty's order to take Shah Daula (R. A.) along with him to the presence of Jahangir.

Placing the order of Jahangir on his head, as a token of respect, Shah Daulah (R. A.) wished to start at once, but the hungry messengers had smelt the supper, so they stayed overnight at the *khanqah* till the next day. The next morning Shah Daula accompanied the messengers to Shahdara. When arrived at Shahdara, he got a *roti* prepared with ghee, fine flour (*maida)* and *shakkar* (raw sugar). The *roti* was packed in a red handkerchief. When summoned to the audience, he presented it to the Emperor Jahangir.

The emperor was seated on his throne with Noor Jahan Begum behind the lattice nearby. They were both much struck by his holy appearance. The king asked Shah Daulah (R. A.) as to where from he had found the Philosopher's stone? but he denied all knowledge of any such stone and said he lived only on alms.

The emperor, however, saw in him a wealthy and influential person, capable of raising a revolt; and Noor Jahan suggested he should be done away with. At the emperor's order the imperial chamberlain produced a poisoned green robe, which Shah Daulah (R. A.) put on without receiving any harm.

Another green robe smeared with a still more deadly poison was ordered. Shah Daulah (R. A.) thought of his mentor (Shah Saidan Sarmast), who materialized invisibly to others and gave support to him. When Shah Daula (R. A.) put on the robe, again no injury resulted.

Upon this the astonished emperor ordered a cup of poisoned *sherbat*, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of armed *faqirs* (*zarahposh faqirs*) were seen everywhere (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 88). The emperor got immensely frightened. Noor Jahan exclaimed, "The *faqir* is very powerful. It is wise to leave him alone." Consequently, the emperor recognized the

Marfat.com

sainthood of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and ordered the gift of a red robe for him. Shah Daula remarked, "In olden times' *faqirs* used to wear red robes but I have got a green instead (a reference to that poisoned robe that he had already on) and we like this very colour."

The emperor remained silent for a while, and then dismissed Shah Daulah (R. A.) with honour and two bags of *ashrafis*.

. Giving the emperor his blessing, Shah Daulah (R. A.) departed after distributing the *ashrafis* to the royal servants. Hearing of this the emperor summoned him back again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 5000 *bighas* of land. Shah Daulah (R. A.) replied that he did not want any land right now, and would avail himself of the offer later on if necessary. Upon this the king allowed him to depart after showing him much reverence.

Shah Jahan: In order to bring harm to Shah Daulah (R. A.). some jealous persons wrote against him to the Emperor Shah Jahan. But the emperor was not a bigoted man, so nothing came out of it.

Once the Emperor Shah Jahan and a Hindu, named Mohandas, who was exceptionally devoted to Shah Daulah R. A. (Raam, 1719-1720, *Karamat* No. 76), were busy talking about his miracles. "Mohandas, Hazrat (Shah Daula R. A.) has not remembered us!" wondered the emperor and soon afterward left for a bath. When he returned after the bath, a fellow carrying a gift of *loongi* (a sort of chador to be wrapped around to cover from waist down) and some *nibaat* (*misri*, chunks of solid white sugar) materialized in the *darbar* of the emperor, and asked the attendants to take the *tabarrak* (gift) on behalf of Shah Daulah (R. A.) to the emperor.

The emperor placed that *loongi* on his shoulder and after putting the *misri* into his mouth, exclaimed, "This is the miracle of Doola (Shah Daulah R. A.)" and marveled at the spiritual ascendancy of Shah Daulah (R. A.). The court

Marfat.com

attendant was ordered to present the messenger, who had brought the present.

Hectic efforts were made to locate the messenger but he could be found nowhere. The emperor commented, "He was the *Moakkal* (trustee) of Daulah (R. A.) You will never find him. He has at once gone back to Gujrat."

A meeting with the Emperor Shah Jahan is also recorded. Once Shah Jahan was held up due to the flooded Dek, Dik or Daik Nala or nullah (ford) in Gujranwala district while going to Kashmir. In an attempt to cross the ford, varied paraphernalia of Dara Shikoh, one of the sons of the emperor, including the perfume casket of Hoori Begum, and many packs of animals were carried away by the current.

The emperor summoned the *Faujdar*, named Badiuz Zaman (the *Faujdar*'s name is also cited as Mirza Badi Uzman), of the District and ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready for the convenience of public at large by the time the royal party would return from Kashmir.

In accordance with the royal instructions, the *Faujdar* set upon the project and spent a lot of money, but the workers could not provide a single properly baked brick—all were mud bricks, for the construction of the bridge. Notwithstanding several futile tries, the result was only the mud bricks. He imprisoned all of the brick-burners. When the emperor returned the construction of the bridge was not even commenced.

The emperor severely reprimanded the *Faujdar* and again ordered him to get along with laying over the bridge. In the mean time somebody among the audience said, "With the exception of Shah Daula (R. A.) nobody else could build the bridge on this spot." The emperor at once ordered a *palky* (palankeen or palanquin) accompanied by eight carriers to fetch Shah Daula (R. A.) and also sent his greetings.

Upon seeing the palankeen, Shah Daulah R. A. (the place is not known where he happened to be at that time, in Gujrat or elsewhere; most probable it refers to Gujrat) wondered:

"What a gorgeous *palky* is it?"

Marfat.com

By a stratagem he was induced to enter the *palky* and was quickly carried off. As it was unbeknown to him. he enquired:

"Where are you going?"

"The emperor has called for you to construct a bridge." somebody replied.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) responded. "This type of trick does not go well with the *derveshes*. There is no need to force me to obey the emperor's orders. I know them and will carry them out."

Upon arrival at the Dek. Shah Daulah (R. A.) managed to get the release of the brick-burners from Mirza. Once liberated. Shah Daulah (R. A.) told them to clear all of the mud scattered on the site and then leave. He asked for the preparation of construction material. the *massala choona* (active limestone soaked in water—the resultant product being lime. and mixed with sand to form the *massala* for holding the bricks together; the *massala choona* has been in use for centuries. in lieu of cement; more than sixty years ago. it was still the only mixture. better than simple mud. employed in construction works). After getting the bricks extracted from the old buildings. Shah Daula (R. A.) turned his attention towards building the bridge.

Some *deos* (hobgoblins. monsters. demons. evil spirits. etc) lived at the prospective site of the bridge. They did not let the bridge stand. Shah Daulah (R. A.) called them and asked to get away from this place. They resisted. "We eat the very first-born boy. ten sheep and ten maunds of food every day." Upon hearing that Shah Daulah (R. A.) got hold of them and buried them under the foundations. The foregoing account is from the *Karamat Nama* by Raam. The other version from Elliott (*in* Ibbetson. *et. al.*. 1919. P. 635) in continuation:

A wicked *guru*. who inhabited the spot where the bridge was to be constructed. destroyed the work as fast as it was done. After a controversy in which he was overcome. the *guru* was lured into a lime pit and buried up to his neck in lime and mortar by Shah Daulah (R. A.).

Marfat.com

A fellow named Jalhotra approached Shah Daulah. After exchanging greetings, Shah Daulah (R. A.) directed him, "Go down into the water and the *massala* that is conveyed to you apply it well so that the walls become strong." Thus the walls were raised from the water and the construction took off, the bridge got started. Shah Daulah (R. A.) discovered an underground *chabutrah* (platform) that was made up of bricks from ten and twenty *sairs* (a *sair* about two pounds) each. These were removed to be used in laying the bridge.

During the building of the bridge over the ford Dik, Shah Daulah (R. A.) met with many other hurdles. Among these was one raised by the *zamindar* (farmer) Behta (Buta), the land-owner of the neighbourhood, who charged tax from those crossing the ford at that spot. He was worried about the loss of money if the bridge were laid over the ford. Thus, his source of income would be gone. Shah Daulah (R. A.) had dammed up the ford as the construction was in progress. He sent a verbal message to Shah Daulah (R. A.) to stop work on the bridge. Here again there are two versions:

Behta had decided to breach the dam at night so that all of the *faqirs* and labourers would be drowned to death. Shah Daula (R. A.), through a *karamat*, came to know of his bad intentions, and one of his Hindu disciples was assigned to watch with the remarks, "Tonight the Prophet Khizar (A. S.) would let you know, at that time alert all of the *faqirs*." Shah Daulah (R. A.) also sent a message to Behta, "It is a welfare work and to put a hurdle in the way is not at all a good gesture."

Nevertheless, Behta tampered with the dam and the water came gushing out. Just in time the Hindu on the lookout made the others aware of the fact. This way all of them were saved. In the morning Behta was ashamed of his condemnable act.

The other side of the story is: Buta cut the dam in order to drown the *faqirs* encamped below by its side, but Shah Daulah (R. A.) cleverly frustrated him by already having erected a second dam down below it.

Marfat.com

A *faqir* reported on Behta's behaviour to Shah Jahan. The emperor treated the *faqir* with raw sugar and granted him seven villages in the vicinity of the Dik Bridge. Shah Jahan ordered for Behta to be sent to Lahore bound hand and foot, there to be beheaded and his head to be hung on a *nim* tree. Shah Daulah (R. A.) interceded for him and obtained his release. After this Behta rendered every possible assistance.

Hoori Begum sent a gift of 14,000 *Ashrafis* for Shah Daulah (R. A.). but he returned the amount saying, "It is not becoming of a father to take money from daughters. The Almighty Allah is the greatest provider of resources; he would ordain every thing to turn out the way it should be in the proper perspective."

Badiuz Zaman got wind of the fact that Shah Daulah (R. A.) declined the monetary offer, and was profoundly hurt. He, in a sense, ridiculed Shah Daulah (R. A.):

"How would you get that bridge constructed?"

"You have raised such a hue and cry for nothing," replied Shah Daulah (R. A.) "you unjust fellow I have denied myself sleep and food with the sole determination of getting this job accomplished. Everybody except you would see the job executed."

This same evening at Wazirabad, Sheikh Arif killed Badiuz Zaman, getting himself killed in the process as well. When Shah Daulah (R. A.) heard this news exclaimed, *"Kince ko Ganesh nay mara aur khud be mer gaya"* (In Hindu mythology Kince was a Raja of Mathura; he was the cousin and implacable enemy of Krishna, by whom he was slain; as the foe of the deity, he is identified with the *Asur* Kalanemi.)

After all that the bridge was successfully laid over the Dek ford. It still exists in a fair condition. Its fresco painting and turrets are also in good condition (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 89). Another bridge in Sheikhupura district is known as Pul Shah Daulah. This is a mistake. There is no other bridge except the one and the same Pul Shah Daulah, as above, near Kamoke. Eventually, Shah Daulah (R. A.) returned to Gujrat.

Marfat.com

Princess Jahanara Begum (Khan, S., 1993, Pp 35): She was the daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan and Queen Mumtaz Mahal, b.1614 (1022 A. H.), played a key role in the political affairs of the day. Brought up by Mumtaz Mahal and benefittingly by Noor Jahan's company and the highly cultural atmosphere of Shah Jahan's reign, she made a name for her because of wide information and scholarship.

She received her early training under Satiun Nisa Khanum, poet laureate Talib Amuli's sister and wife of Hakim Rukn Kashi. Nisa Khanum knew the Holy Qur'an by heart. Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan held her in high esteem and she was the former's holder of the seal. On her death Shah Jahan had her mausoleum built at the cost of Rs. 30,000 in Raiza Taj Gunj.

Jahanara Begum learnt the art of reciting the Holy Qur'an from Nisa Khanum. By all accounts she became an accomplished lady skilled alike in prose and poetry. At 26 she wrote *Munisul Arvah* detailing with the life of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti (R. A.) and that of the other distinguished personalities of that line. Jahanara got *Munisul Arvah* written on parchment. It bears the date 1658 (1068 A. H.), in other words 19 years after its composition in 1639 (1049 A. H.).

There are many verses attributed to the poetry of Jahanara. For example: "The friend has cast the noose around my neck/And takes me wherever he likes."

After her death, Jahanara was true in her faith in the Chishti saints. In accordance with her wishes, she lies buried at the feet of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya's (R. A.) tomb. The railing around her grave is of marble, but the *la'vidlh* is modest and remains covered with grass. Her purity, humility, and poetic taste are evident from the following verse inscribed on her simple and homely grave:

Bghair sabza na poshad ksay mazaar mera
Ke qabr poush humein gya bus ast.

(Nobody covered my grave except greenry/For me the grave cover of grass is sufficient.)

Marfat.com

When Shah Jahan sent Dara Shikoh. brother of Jahanara Begum. to Kabul. he met two revered personages en route his destination and wrote a letter to Jahanara so that she should contact them. One of these was Sheikh Doola (R.A.) at Gujrat *Khurd* (Persian version P. 20) and the other Haji Abdullah living aloof in the vicinity of Tal Jalal Ghakhar. Accordingly. when she reached Gujrat. she sent a eunuch with some presents to Sheikh Doola (R.A.) expressing devotion to him and seeking his grace but she did not get from him what she desired.

Upon making a stop over near Tal Jalal Ghakhar. she also sent a eunuch with some presents to Haji Abdullah. seeking his gracious attention. He accepted the presents and directed her to keep busy in the usual remembrances and celebrations of Allah. He also sent a prayer carpet woven with his own hands (this vocation being his source of livelihood)—along with three loaves of bread. She took a part of them. which forthwith produced enlightenment of the mind and great composure and sense of peace. It was 30 years that Haji Abdullah never came out of his house.

Aurangzeb Alamgir: When the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb mounted the throne of Delhi. he sent for Shah Daulah (R.A.). who appeared before him in a miraculous way. As the emperor was dining alone. he saw a hand that was partaking of the same dish. Surprisingly. nobody could be seen around. The attendants were ordered in and apprised of this strange occurrence. They replied that the hand appears to be of an old man with the second finger missing. One of the attendants. named Bakhtawar (Kunjahi. 1985. P. 116) suggested that the hand was probably Shah Daulah's (R.A.) Thereupon the emperor asked him to appear. and then Shah Daulah (R.A.) at once stood revealed. The amazed sovereign saw him off. loaded with presents.

The prince Aurangzeb. being anxious to know whether he or one of his brothers Dara Shikoh or Murad. would succeed to the throne. went to see Shah Daulah (R.A.) He presented Shah Daulah (R.A.) with a *zarmurgh* (golden pheasant). a

Marfat.com

foreign coat and a wooden stick, having already settled that if the saint accepted all and returned the stick he would be the king. As soon as he arrived, Shah Daulah (R. A.) got up, saluted him as "Your Majesty" and returned the stick with a cake, saying: "God has sent (given) you this cake, and this stick is granted you as the sceptre of your authority. Be of good cheer."

Returning home, Aurangzeb told the tale to Begum Bai, who confirmed him in his belief in it relating Shah Daulah's (R. A.) prophecy (*op. cit.*) that she herself would be the mother of kings. There is another version: Shah Jahan passed through Rajour on his way to Kashmir the girl was presented to him as a *nazar* (offering), and was later given to Prince Aurangzeb, who married her. Her sons were Prince Mu'azzam and Muhammad Shah (Elliott, 1902, P.. 27; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et.. al.*, 1919, P. 636), of whom the former became the emperor Bahadur Shah.

In this context Piracha (2003, P. 25) narrates another analogous tale related to Keenjhar Lake, Sindh, Pakistan. A ruler of bygone era, Raj Jasodan issued orders that if his expecting wife delivered a baby girl, the baby was to be cast away in the river. As luck would have it, when the girl was born the Raja was away. So the mother gave the baby to a fisherman for adoption. The girl was so lively and bright that she was named Nuri (holy light). Later on, Nuri was struck by leprosy. Out of depression and dejection she left her home and wandered until a Muslim saint, Pir Hoondal Shah, took pity on her. She served the Pir like a daughter.

On his deathbed the Pir told Nuri to bathe in the water of a particular spring, and foretold her marriage with a king. She did what she was asked to, and was cured of her leprosy. The Pir died but some years later Nuri caught the eye of Jam Tamachi, who was the ruler of Sindh. They fell in love.

When they died both were buried at a location which now lies right in the middle of the lake. Theirs are the only two graves on an approximately twenty-foot wide, round concrete platform in the lake. The actual graves are said to be

Marfat.com

50 feet below the surface and can be reached in about 15 minutes by motorboat from Keenjhar Recreational Complex on the lake bank.

It won't be out of context to talk about the grave of Bagum Raj Mahal. During the height of her power, she realized that the status she received was all due to the blessings of Shah Daulah (R. A.). She made a will that after her death she sould be buried at a spot toward the feet of the grave of the saint and a mosque (known as the Begumpura mosque) be constructed nearby. So it was.

By the passage of time due to the apathy of the people and disregard for the heritage, the state of the mosque deteriorated to such an extent that even the animals took refuge in it. Some old folks are still alive as a testimony to this neglect. In 1933 when the famous maulana and auliya Muhammad Yusaf passed away, he was buried in the ancestral graveyard adjacent to the Begumpura mosque. The younger son of the late maulana named Mubarak Mohiuddin, one of the friends of the present author, took the management of the mosque and with the help of the neighbours cleared the mess in the mosque and again the mosque is regularly frequented by the faithful.

The original walls of the mosque were extraordinarly thick for the subsequent protection from the summer heat and cold. However, it lacked any type of windows and vents. The disciples of the late maulana Yusaf and the residents of the mohallah Begumpura, under the supervision of Mubarak Mohiuddin decided for the reconstruction thereof. Resultantly, in 1968 the old historical mosque was lamentably demolished and the foundations laid anew. The most surprising fact is that nobody was appealed for the contribution. The philanthropists on their own accord clandestinely provided generous monetary sources. Now this mosque is so constructed with such a high quality material, especially precious marble, expensive electric fittings, etc. that it is a gem to behold.

Marfat.com

Once Aurangzeb Alamgir was stationed at Shahdara when he sent for all of the *dervishes* so that he could subject them to some trials to find out their comparative spiritual excellence. In compliance with the imperial dictate Nawab Ibrahim wrote to a certain fellow Rae Bandrabin for the purpose of sending Shah Daulah (R. A.) to the presence of Alamgir.

Bandrabin happened to be one of the devotees of Shah Daulah (R. A.). thus he dared not convey the message to him. At the same time failing that he would have to face the wrath of Alamgir. At last he dispatched Har Kern, a *kotwal* (high police official), with the emperor's order to Shah Daulah. Once in the presence of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Har Kern vacillated to express the purpose of the visit. Shah Daulah (R. A.) enquired, "Tell me without any fear whatever you want as I am afraid of nobody except the Prophet (PBUH) and the Almighty Allah."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) embarked upon the journey. He made a stop at Mauza Kalyan. About midnight there was a sudden uproar. Shah Daulah queried about all that. The answer was, "Baba Imam Sahib (apparently the saint Imam Aliul Haq R. A. of Sialkot) has sent some troops for your help." After crossing the River Chenab all along the way devotees offered him varied offerings that he kept on distributing these among the folks. Finally, he reached Shahdara. All of the *faqirs* already gathered there were relieved to see him because they were awestricken to be in the presence of the Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir.

Alamgir was busy taking food at his *dastarkhan* (equivalent of a dining table cloth on floor). Behold! Shah Daulah, by dint of a miracle, was right there at the *dastarkhan* participating (*op. cit.*) in eatables but only a hand made its appearance. Bakhtawar Khwaja and Mah Bano *kaneez* (maid) exclaimed, "This blessed hand of which the big finger (*op. cit.*) is missing belongs to the old person Shah Daulah R. A." (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 89).

Marfat.com

Aurangzeb Alamgir requested. "Kindly expose your gracious person for our satisfaction."

Shah Daula's (R. A.) personification materialized just like that.

Alamgir ordered the Nawab Sahib that all the needful of the faqirs should be tackled in accordance with the wishes of Shah Daulah (R. A.) Thus all of the *faqirs* were let free from the court of Alamgir and sent to their respective homes. Shah Daulah returned to Gujrat.

Bahadur Shah: Once Aurangzeb with his son Prince Bahadur Shah embarked upon a journey to Hassan Abdaal. On the way they made a stop over at Gujrat (Raam. 1719-1720. *Karamat* No. 37. P. 78). Prince Bahadur Shah had wished for a long time to pay homage to Shah Daulah (R. A.) Consequently, the prince sent an emissary asking Shah Daulah about his intention to see him. Instead, Shah Daulah (R. A.) along with his own son Bhawan Shah went to see the prince. The latter asked Shah Daulah (R. A.) about the prospective successor of his father. The saint replied that whosover deserved would be the king.

Prince Mu'azzam (b. Oct. 14, 1643, Burhanpur, Hindustan, d . Feb. 27, 1712, Lahore, Hindustan): The Mughal emperor of India 1707-1712, was the second son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, prospective heir apparent after his elder brother defected to join his father's brother and the rival Shah Shujah. He ruled India as Bahadur Shah I.

There is a chronological discrepancy if we assume that the meeting of Shah Daulah (R. A.) that took place at Gujrat was with Bahadur Shah II. Bahadur Shah II (b. Oct. 24, 1775, Delhi, Hindustan, d. Nov. 7, 1862, Rangoon, now Yangôn, Myanmar, formerly Burma), the last Mughal emperor of India (reigned 1837-58), ascending the throne at the age of 62-year. He was a poet, musician, and calligrapher, more an aesthete than a political leader. He was unjustifiably involved in the mutiny of 1857, and at the age of 82 years was exilied to Burma. Bahadur Shah II b. 1775, whereas

Marfat.com

Shah Daula (R. A.) d. 1675, thus there is a difference of 100 years.

Following the death of Aurangzeb, March 3, 1707, a decisive battle over succession to the Mughal throne of India was fought between Bahadur Shah II and his next brother Azam Shah, June 12, 1707, at Jajau, a few miles south of Agra on the River Yamuna. The crown passed to Aurangzeb's eldest surviving son, Bahadur Shah II. The latter was born about 100 years after the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.)?

It is strange that an important event, *The Shah Daulah Bridge, Scene of a Hasty Coronation* (Khan, M. W.,1966, Pp 1, 3), is not mentioned in the important works like that of Elliott and even did not find its place in the folk-lore. This fact is narrated in the Cambridge history of India.

Aurangzeb died on Friday, March 3, 1707 A. D. at Ahmadnagar, Deccan. It was followed by a short battle for the throne which ended in the death of the two of his sons, Azam and Kam Bux and three of his grandsons in the battlefield. His eldest surviving son, Mu'azzam (Alam Shah, the third son of Aurangzeb) was at Jamrud when on 22nd March, 1707, he heard of his father's death and set out for Agra. On the way, crowning himself emperor with the title of Bahadur Shah I at the bridge of Shah Daulah, twenty four miles (14 *kos*) north of Lahore

It was the meeting of Bahadur Shah I, not the Bahadur Shah II, which took place with Shah Daulah (R. A.).

As written in *Tuzke Jahangiri* and *Shah Jahan Nama*, the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan together passed by the vicinity of Gujrat in 1619 (1028 A. H.) and Shah Jahan alone did that in 1634 (1043 A. H.), 1639 (1048 A. H), 1640 (1049 A. H.),1645 (1054 A. H.), 1646 (1055 A. H.) and 1651 (1061 A. H.) but there is no mention about meeting the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.). and for that matter about the "*Chuhas*" of Shah Daulah (R. A.). It is rather strange because all of the Mughal emperors were fond of visiting the mausoleums and the living saints.

Marfat.com

In this context Nath (1994, P. 157, Pl X) details such aspects of the architecture of Jahangir (1605-127) as public works (roads & serais), gardens & garden-pavilions, palatial mentions and hunting lodges. There is a handiwork portrait of Shah Daulat R. A. (*sic*, P. 157, Pl X) by Bichitr. It means that the Emperor Jahangir was well aware of the existence of Shah Daulah (R. A.). During the British Raj the same portrait of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was in the possession of the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Somehow it found its way into the British Museum, London. Another copy of the same used to be in the Punjab Museum, The Mall, Lahore.

Marfat.com

KNOWLEDGE OF ALPHABET

The mosque of Muhammad Shafi in Gujrat. Abid Khan Saddarul Sadoor. Shah Daulah (R. A.) recognized the letter Alif from the Panjsura, was a religious scholar and appreciator of human values. With Qazi Sheikh Abdul Fattah and Sayyid Miraan Faazal Gujrati, Shah Daulah (R. A.) frequently exchanged religious views in Gujrat. During the reign of the bigoted Aurangzeb the forcible conversion of the Hindus to Islam took place. Masjid Loharan. Khateeb. Shah Daulah (R. A.) used to offer prayers. Fawarah Chowk. Conflicting accounts of Qazi Miraan Faazal.

Once Shah Daulah (R. A.) along with his son, Pir Bhawan Shah, visited the mosque of Muhammad Shafi in Gujrat to offer prayers (Raam, 1719-1720, *Karamat* No.73, Pp 135-136). Abid Khan *Saddarul Sadoor* (title) also happened to be around and was reading the *Panjsura* (five suras of the Holy Qur'an bound together). Respectfully, he got up and greeted Shah Daulah (R. A.). Afterwards he asked:

"Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.) do you recognize some letters (from the *Panjsura*)?"

Shah Daulah (R. A.) replied, "Pehao (or pahao, the pet word of Shah Daula) sure I do." With that he took the *Panjsura* from the hands of Abid Khan, placed his finger on the letter *Alif* (A, for Allah), and let it beknown, "I know this letter very well and the others are not unknown to me either."

Apart from the miracles and other biographical details, the scholarly aptitude of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is not found in the books written on him.However, Qiladari (1995,

Marfat.com

P. 193) remarks that in fact he was one of the greatest religious scholars and appreciator of human values.

In those days there were other religious scholars, namely, Qazi Sheikh Abdul Fattah and Sayyid Miraan Faazal Gujrati (Qiladari, 2000, P. 103), in Gujrat, with whom Shah Daulah (R. A.) frequently exchanged religious views. The present writer has seen one of the journals of Sheikh Abdul Fattah as to this effect that lies in the library of Qiladari.

Miraan Faazal was a scholar of Farsi (Qiladari, 1995, Pp 244-245) and a poet. Unfortunately, all of his writings have been lost only one Ghazal in Farsi is survived (Qiladari, 1995, P. 245).

During the reign of the bigoted Aurangzeb (Elliott, 1902, Pp 12-13) the forcible conversion of the Hindus to Islam took place. The majority accepted the new faith without demur, but many left their homes and fled to the Kashmir hills to retain their ancestral religion. That the conversion was readily accepted seems clear from the following verses: "*Sal-i-awal julah budam/Sal-i-doem Sheikhji/Ghalla ghar arzan shawad/Imsal Sayyid me shawam*" (in the first year I was a weaver, in the second a Sheikh, when grain was abundant in my home I became a Sayyid).

The chief instrument in conversion was Miraan Faazal (Sayyid Miran Faazal) then the governor of Gujrat. When Aurangzeb visited Gujrat he perpetuated the memory of this officer (d. c. 1695 or 1106 A. H.) by erecting a tomb to his memory that cost Rs. 5000.

According to Qadri, C. (*op. cit.*) during the times of Aurangzeb there was a controversy between the religious scholar Qazi Abdul Fattah and Shah Daulah (R. A.)

There was another contemporary of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Miraan Faazal Gujrati, who was a religious scholar and the Mufti (not governor as Elliott says, *see* Rizvi, 1998, P. 28) of the District Gujrat appointed by Aurangzeb.

Slatch (1996, P. 254) points out that Sayyid Miraan Mohammad Faazal was a perfect *hazurg* (exalted person), dedicated religious man and a poet of Farsi. He was the chief

Marfat.com

Qazi and ombudsman of Gujrat. He managed Masjid Loharan, was its *khateeb* (prayer leader) and teacher. The training of the recent converts was also under his supervision. He was a friend and contemporary of Shah Daulah (R. A.)

Qazi Faazal complained to Aurangzeb that Shah Daulah (R. A.) does not offer prayers (*namaz*). Aurangzeb came to Gujrat and visited the Masjid Loharan, behind the old jail of Gujrat, near the present Fawarah Chowk. A fellow was offering his prayers alone in one of the corners of the mosque. Aurangzeb asked, "Who is that man?" He was told, "Shah Daulah (R. A.)"

There are several details about the times of Shah Daulah (R. A.) found in Qadri, C. (undated) but lacking in Raam's *Karamat Nama Klaan* (1719-1720). For example, a fellow named Sayyid Ahmed came from Ahmedabad to Gujrat (Qadri, C. *in* Qiladari, 1983, Pp 171-172, apparently ref. to Qadri, C.), reason unknown, but due to the lack of sources he could not take a return journey and Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.) constructed a cell for him near the mosque to stay. All of the living expenses used to be borne by Hazrat Sheikh Doola (R. A.). When Sayyid Ahmed and Hazrat Miraan Faazal went for the Hajj, Hazrat Sheikh Doola (R. A.) took care of the family of Sayyid Ahmed. Before dying while on the way, Sayyid Ahmed willed Hazrat Miraan Faazal to hold Sheikh Doola (R. A.) in great respect on his behalf. Consequently, upon return from the Hajj, Miraan Faazal did the same. Upon the death of Sheikh Doola (R. A.), Miraan Faazal undertook all of the funeral responsibilities and wept. Although we come across Qazi Miraan Faazal in Raam (1719-1720) at several places in the text (*e. g.*, miracle No. 51, P. 101; miracle No. 52, P. 102) yet the above-cited event described by Qadri, C. is not available.

Marfat.com

SILSILA (ORDER) OF SHAH DAULAH (R. A.)

The silsila of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is Chishtia, Suhrawardia, Owaisia, Qadria Owaisia or Junaidey, that of the saint Sarmast Suhrawardia, of Shah Monga also Suhrawardia and that of Khwaja Sanaullah Kharabati Qadria. The silsila is Qadria Munawwaria of Shah Munawwar Ali Allahabadi and that of Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah Gujrati R. A. (India). Shah Munawwar Sahib Allahabadi. Two mausoleums of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and Hazrat Ali (A. S.). The Sufism and the concept of silsila. Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti (R. A.) Baba Farid Gunj Shakkar (R. A.). Urs and Sufi shrines. Qawwali.

Lahori, S. (1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 166) says that Shah Daulah's (R. A.) spiritual *silsila* (order) reaches Sheikh Bhauddin Zakariya Multani (R. A.).

The saint Sarmast (Elliott, 1902, P. 25; Elliott *in* Ibbeston, 1919, P. 633) was a *faqir* of the Sohlwardi (Suhrawardy) sect, the other sects of *faqir* being Qadri, Naqashbandi and Chishti

According to Kharabati (1862-1863 *in* Tasbihi, 1972, P. 29) *Silsilae tarreeqat* of Shah Daula (R. A.) is: Akmaluddin—Shah Abdul Wahab Nuri—Sayyid Abdul Ghafoor Shah—Sadiq Shah Qalandar—Mian Mir—Sayyid Muhammad Ganami Qalandar—Sayyid Wahab—Tayab Mureed Kungal—Shah Qalandar—Ghulamuddin Khurasani—Shah Doolah Daryae (order Owaisia)—Khwaja Sanaullah Kharabati Piray Kharabaat and so on (Table V).

According to one tradition the religious order of Shah Daulah R. A. (Lahori, M. 1902, P. 102) is: Sheikh Bhehauddin

Marfat.com

Zakariya Multani (R. A.)—Shah Saddaruddin Arif—Sheikh Ismail—Sheikh Baddaruddin—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Peer Burhan—Sheikh Yousaf—Sheikh Shehrullah—Shah Kabir—Shah Monga—Shah Sayyid Sarmast—Shah Daulah (R. A.) This *silsila* is Chishtia (Table VI).

Pasruri (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 28; Slatch, 1996, P. 97) maintains the *silsila* of Shah Doola (R. A.) as under: *mureed* of Sayyid Nasser Mast—Shah Monga—Shah Kabir—Shehrullah—Sheikh Yousaf—Sheikh Burhanuddin—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Sheikh Baddaruddin—Sheikh Ismail Quereshi—Sheikh Saddaruddin Rajan Qataal (excluded *in* Niaz, 1962, P. 3)—Sheikh Rukunuddin Abu al-Fateh Multani—Sheikh Saddaruddin Arif—Bahauddin Zakariya Multani—Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardy—Ziauddin Abdulqaher Suhrawardy. Thus the *silsila* of Shah Doola (R. A.) is Suhrawardia (Table VII).

According to Yarjang (1983, Pp 367-374) as Shah Daulah (R. A.) got spiritual guidance from Sayyiden Shah Suhrawardy of Sialkot therefore he is related to *silsila* Suhrawardy. Some say he became follower of "*silsila* Owaisia" in the times of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) However, Yarjang could find no proof that he followed "*silsila* Qadria Owaisia." Also he could find no corroboration of the statement of the author of *Haquiqat Gulzare Sabri* that Shah Daula was born 499 Hegira (1106 A. D.).

Some say Shah Daula was the cousin brother of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani (R. A.) and became his *mureed* and lived a long life. In his later life got spiritual guidance and teachings of "*silsila* Suhrawardia" from Syden Shah Sahib Sialkoti. He came to Gujrat at the beck and call of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani (R. A.) He has two mausoleums: one in Ahmedabad, Gujrat province, India and the other in Gujrat city, Punjab province, Pakistan. It is similar to the story that one mausoleum (*mazaar*) of Hazrat Sharfuddin Bu Ali Qalandar is in Panipat, and the other in Kernal (both places in India). Or one mausoleum of Hazrat Ali (A. S.) in Mashhad

Marfat.com

Muqaddas, Iraq, and the other in Mazare Sharif, Afghanistan.

A story is attributed to Shah Munawwar Sahib Allahabadi (Yarjang, Pp 369, 370, 372), who follows the same *silsila* as that of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R A.), and his name is frequently quoted after Hazrat Shah Daula. His mausoleum is in Allahabad, India. Hazrat Shah Munawwar is known with the title of the "The one with Long Life" in that area. He was the *mureed* and *khalifa* of Hazrat Shah Daula. It is said that his age was about 500 years when he died.

Yarjang cites Sabri, who says, "The Great Pir (Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilanai R. A.) on 19 Rajab 521 Hegira, the day Punjshanba, after Namaze Maghreb, took Sayyid Kabiruddin, s/o Saeed Musa Jangi Doost, his *aumvi haqiqi*, for a *mureed* and blessed him with spiritual guidance. And 9 Zilq'ad 848 Hegira, the day Doshanba, after Namaze Asr in an open gathering made him seated with me, gave him my *kulah* (cap), wound a green *imama* (headband) with my own hand, made him wear a *khurqa* (long overcoat) and appointed him my *khalifa*."

Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 91-96) states that the *silsila* of Shah Daula (R. A.) is Suhrawardy and Junaidey as in continuation: Sayyidul Ta'af Junaid Baghdadi—Abu Ali Rowd Bari—Sheikh Abu Ali Kaatab—Sheikh Usman—Sheikh Nisaaj Toosi—Sheikh Ahmed Ghazali—Ziauddin Abdulqaher— Abul Qasim Gargani—Shah Daulah Daryae (Table VIII). Chaudhry, N. (Pp 93-96) also gives the *shijra silsila* Suhrawardia written in Punjabi poetry by Pir Najjaf Shah, one of the descendants of Shah Daula (R. A.).

Regarding the *silsila* of Shah Monga, Niaz (1992, Pp 50-55) says he settled in Sialkot 475 years ago and his *silsila* Suhrawardia is: Sheikh Bahawal Haq Multani Suhrawardy (the other name is Bahauddin Zakariya Multani Suhrawardy)—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Shah Rukunuddin Abdul Fateh Multani—Shah Saddaruddin—Sheikh Ismael Quereshi—Sheikh Baddaruddin—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Pir Burhanuddin—Sheikh Yousaf—Sheikh Shabbiruddin

Marfat.com

(Sheharuddin)—Shah Kabiruddin—Shah Monga Wali (Table IX).

The *silsila* Suhrawardia of Shah Saidan Sarmast is: Sheikh Bahawal Haq Multani Suhrawardy—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Shah Rukunuddin Abdul Fateh Multani—Shah Saddaruddin—Sheikh Ismael Quereshi—Sheikh Baddaruddin—Sheikh Saddaruddin—Pir Burhanuddin—Sheikh Yousaf—Sheikh Shabiruddin (Sheharuddin)—Shah Kabiruddin—Shah Monga Wali—Shah Saidan Sarmast. (Table X).

Shah Doola practiced *Silsila Chishtia and Suhrawardia* (Lahori, 1877, reprint 1996, P. 531).

Naqvi (2002, Pp 15-16) elaborates that the *Sufi* orders are referred to as *silsilas* (chains or orders), simply because that is what they are: unbroken chains of guides, each trained, initiated and confirmed as a teacher by their guide. No Sufi exists as an individual, only as a link in the chain. The concept of the *silsila* is central to Sufism because it connects with the *Sufi* concept of knowledge.

Sufis believe that there is *zaahri* (apparent) knowledge and *baatni* (hidden) knowledge and that *baatni* knowledge can only be passed on from one person to another, not simply entombed in a text. A *silsila* is therefore not only a chain of teachers, but a chain of teachings going all the way back to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and through him to God. No wonder then *Sufis* believe that once initiated onto this path, an individual is never alone but always under the protection of his/her *murshid*, and all of his *murshids* who make up that particular *silsila*.

The *Chishtia silsila*, for example, was founded by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti (R.A.) who came to India in 1778 (1191 A.H.) from Iran. At that time Islam had only a precarious toehold in the subcontinent, established by the invader Mahmud Ghaznavi. Over the centuries to come, the disciples of Moinuddin Chishti would succeed in spreading the message of Islam far further than the sword of Ghaznavids ever could.

Marfat.com

Even today, the shrine of Moinuddin Chishti (R.A.) Ajmer Sharif, India, is one of the few shrines that attract devotees from all religions. Baba Farid Gunj Shakkar (R.A.) enshrined at Pakpattan, District Sahiwal, Pakistan, was one of the closest disciples of Moinuddin Chishti (R.A.) The celebration of *Urs*, literally translated as "marriage," is the union of the saints' souls with God.

Some say that the relationship of a guide to a disciple can be compared to a *tashih* (prayer beads or rosary): the guide is the common thread holding the disciples together like beads. The disciples are held together by a common line of saints.

Baba Farid once told a visitor: "Do not give me a knife: give me a needle. The knife is an instrument for cutting asunder and the needle for sewing together." This is what a shrine does in many ways. Besides spiritual training, it acts as a meeting place for the followers from all over the world. In keeping with the *Sufi* tradition, the spirit of the *Urs* is about bringing people together; rather than dividing them apart.

Sufi shrines have always been centers of learning; but a different form of learning. There are no books or lessons required, just an open heart. *Sufism* has long preached openness towards each other and towards learning. No wonder then that so many of our *Sufi* saints have been such learned men.

The *qawwali* is the highlight of the *Urs* for many. In the *Chishtia silsila*, this form of music is held in high regard because of its role in spiritual development. For, it is through this music that *Sufi* poetry is given a voice and a beat that speaks to the heart. This is the reason it speaks to so many people who do not even speak the language, this is the reason it induces *haal*, a spiritual intoxication, in so many others.

It has been taught that to be overpowered in *qawwali* is to invite digression. The more you resist, the higher you go. Even dancing in *qawwali* is looked on as a sign of being overwhelmed, a weakness on the *Sufi* path. The lesson, or

Marfat.com

challenge, there is to control your *nafs* (self). The ability to do so is believed to raise you higher spiritually. A man gets up and starts frenzied dancing. He looks hypnotized. Others sit there motionless with their eyes closed; the whole world seems to be spinning.

Khwaja Sanaullah Kharabati got spiritual enlightenment from Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae (R. A.) in Gujrat (Qadri, M. 1985, P. 220). *Silsilae tareeqat* of Kharabati, that is Qadria, runs all the way to Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani (R. A.) In the entire book of Qadri there is no indication about the *Silsilae* Qadria of Shah Daulah (R. A.) There are no names of the descendants of Hazrat Abdul Qadri Jilani (R. A.), only his ascendants all the way to Hazrat Ali (A. S)—altogether 13 generations.

Shah Munawwar Ali Allahabadi *Omardrazi* (b. 491 A. H., old Baghdad) in 519 A. H. got *bayat* from Ghaus Pak (R. A.) (Hasan, S. M.,1894, P. 28). He got *Khilafat* (in 587 A. H.) from Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin in Ahmedabad, Gujrat—source *Maktoob Nataah Tuffatul Arwah*. He died in 1199 A. H. and his mausoleum is in Allahabad, near Rani Wala Bagh, Hindustan.

Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah Gujrati (Hasan, S. M.,1894, P. 28) was born in 499 A. H., at Gilan. In 548 A. H. he got spiritual enlightenment and *Khilafat* from Ghaus Pak (R. A.) in Baghdad—source *Maktoob Nataah Kurbatul Wahdat* of Ghaus Pak (R. A.). He died in 603 A. H. and his mausoleum lies in Ahmedabad, Gujrat.

Both belonged to *Silsila Qadria Munawwaria.*

Marfat.com

TRANSITION

Qadri, C. gives the version of Sheikh Doola's (R. A.) expiry as: when his transition approached, he passed seven days at the mausoleum of Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.) in Sialkot. He was told to go back to Gujrat. On his return he stayed overnight at a place Miani Mallahan by the east bank of the River Chenab. In the morning he crossed the river and reached the village Mauza Sook, eventually reaching Gujrat. He spent five days peacefully and on the 6th day ran fever that lasted for thirteen days. He passed away in the company of his son Bhawan Shah in 1675. Raam gives a different story thusly: Shah Daulah (R. A.) had sent Bhawan Shah to Hassan Abdaal to look after one of his favourite disciples Heera Nand. In his absence Shah Daulah (R. A.) became seriously ill. He wrote several letters to Heera Nand to send urgently Bhawan Shah back to Gujrat. In a few days Bhawan Shah reached Gujrat. Shah Daulah (R. A.) made him his caliph and died after a week. Just as some parts of the life of Shah Daulah Daryae Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) are controversial, in the same way his date of expiry is debateable. It is further complicated due to the conversion of A. H. and A. D. years.

When the time of Sheikh (Shah) Doola's (R. A.) transition approached he traveled from Gujrat to Sialkot (Qadri, C. *in* Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 73-74; Qiladari, 1983, Pp. 87-88), stayed for seven days at the mausoleum of Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.) and requested a space in his vicinity. Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.) responded, "You will stay in Gujrat, go there." This was the last time of his stay at the mausoleum.

Marfat.com

On his way to Gujrat. Sheikh Doola (R A) reached the east bank of the River Chenab where a huge crowd had gathered around him. Sheikh Doola (R A) spent the night at a place Miani Mallahan in the garden of *Toot* (Mulbery) trees that he himself had planted.

In the morning Sheikh Doola (R A) took leave of all his devotees and in a boat crossed the River Chenab over to its west bank. Sheikh, after rewarding the boatmen with money and eatable commodity, headed towards Gujrat. About 10 in the morning, he neared a spot named Chasht, Mauza Sook (about 6 km south east of Gujrat)—the village of Qadri. He rested in the mausoleum of the Qadri's ancestors under a tree and offered *Fateha* (prayers). Sheikh Doola (R A) told Qadri, "It is about time to depart." People began to converge and he rewarded them with money and edibles. For a while Qadri was also near to him and was also honoured with gifts. Eventually, Sheikh ended up in Gujrat.

Sheikh Doola (R A) spent five successive days peacefully. Suddenly, on the 6th day he ran fever that lasted for thirteen days. The herb doctors brought medicines but he refusd to be treated. He kept on saying, "I want a union with my friend (Allah) and these unwise look for the means for separation."

In the mean time, Bhawan to whom some consider the son of Sheikh Doola (R A) and the others as adopted, presented himself and asked for *tabbarrak* (offering, gift) He responded, "Bhawan you couldn't keep Doola (R A) satisfied how would you keep *Mawla* (Allah) satisfied. Anyway, here lies the *gleem* (*faqir*'s coat) either you take it or somebody else does. However, I do will if you would tend the grave of Doola Shah (R A) then whosoever would come from Hindustan and Khurasan would place a *Dirim* (coin) on my grave that is going to be enough for your living. You would never be short of the means of livelihood and feel sad. If you develop arrogance in you and go somewhere else then you will be given to wandering and become disconcerted." At last the day Doshanbah, 15 Rabbiul Awal, 1675 (1085 A. H).

Marfat.com

he breathed his last. This date of expiry is also deduced from Qadri`s anagram *Mehboob Mawla Sheikh Doola.*

Raam (1719-1720, Miracle No. 100, Pp 167-169) describes the event of Shah Daulah`s (R A) death as: he had sent his son Bhawan Shah to Hassan Abdaal, where one of his preferred disciples, Heera Nand *alias* Nand, caste Handah, was lying indisposed. Due to the particular attention of Bhawan Shah, he completely recovered after six or seven days.

In the absence of Bhawan Shah, Shah Daulah (R A) got seriously ill. He wrote several letters to Hassan Abdaal, asking Heera Nand to send Bhawan Shah urgently back to Gujrat. One night Nand saw Shah Daulah (R A) in his dream asking to send him back. The next morning Nand told Bhawan Shah to return as quickly as possible because Shah Daulah (R A) himself was gravely ill. When this conversation was going on another letter was delivered from Shah Daulah (R A). On reading this Bhawan Shah became greatly perturbed. A fellow Khan Bahadur Murtaza Khan requested his Pir (*Murshid*), Bhawan Shah, better to leave for Gujrat at the earliest, because this is about the end lest you should be deprived of seeing the face of your father for the last time. Bhawan Shah immediately rode a horse and headed for Gujrat. En route at every stop the horses to carry post were available. [Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 247 in his version of Raam`s *Karamat Nama* says differently: Bhawan Shah became greatly worried and asked Murtaza Khan to arrange for the departure.]

At last in a day and a night, Bhawan Shah arrived at Gujrat. Respectfully, he touched the feet of his father. Shah Daulah (R A). The latter got up, embraced and kissed him. He held his hand and took him inside the house, and said, "You did a good thing that you returned in time." Shah Daulah (R A) took out hot *naans* (thick chapattis) of fresh *khumeeri maeda* (fermented flour) from a box and gave it to him. Afterwards he made him seated on a low table and placed a crown on his head (Shah Daulah R A gave him the coat of caliphhood—Slatch, 1996, P. 47) and said, "You are hungry for several

Marfat.com

days. eat it. Allah gave me half a *naan* (apparently. it meant that when he himself was a boy had not enough to eat) and you have it in full. Abundance is in your destiny. and infused him with spiritual enlightenment."

From the same very day Bhawan Shah began to receive offerings. After one week. Shah Daulah (R. A.) breathed his last. The date of his expiry from Raam's (1719-1720. Miracle No. 100. P. 169; Chaudhry. N.. 1970. P. 248. ref. Raam: Kunjahi. 1985. P. 28 ref Raam: Mojededdi. 1972. P. 53) chronogram. *Khuda dost howad.* might be interpreted as 1676-1677 (1087 A. H.). If the word *howad* is excluded then from *Khuda dost* it stands as 1664-1665 (1075 A. H.). Kunjahi (1985. P. 106) agrees with this interpretation. for him the addition of the suffix *howad* to the anagram makes the year 1085 A. H.—the same as from Qadri's anagram (*op. cit.*).

Qiladari (1983. P. 89) points out the anagram to be *Khuda dost howaday.* In that case the emergent numerals are 1097 A. H. If the value twelve of the *howaday* is deducted. then *Khuda dost* amounts to the year 1085.

Shah Daulah told Mufti Abid Khan *Saddarul Sadoor* (Raam *op. cit.*) that when the father (Akbar) of Jahangir ascended the throne at Kalanur. his age was 18 or 19 years. Akbar ascended the throne 1556. On this basis the date of the birth of Shah Daula comes to 1537 or 1538. Thus the story of his mother (*op. cit.*) coming to Delhi as a captive of the Afghans becomes doubtful. Raam does not say anything about the forefathers of Shah Daulah (R. A.).

Akbar the Great ascended the throne at the age of 14 years in 1556 (963-964 A. H.) and Sheikh Doola or Daula (Qadri. C. *in* Kunjahi. 1985. P. 14) is said to be born on the 25th year *i. e.*, 1581 (988-989 A. H) of the reign of Akbar. On the contrary. Raam (1719-1720. P. 136. Miracle 73) refutes this assertion. He is of the opinion that Shah Daulah was 18-year old when Akbar was enthroned. It makes the year of his birth 1538 (944-945 A. H.). Furthermore, without any elaboration

Marfat.com

he gives the total age of Shah Daulah as 150 years. which is quite unusual though not improbable.

Just as some parts of the life of Shah Daulah Daryae Gujrtai Punjabi (R. A.) and his date of birth are controversial. in the same way there are divergent opinions about the date of his expiry. The anagrams (chronograms) deciphering the date of his expiry are differently interpreted by different writers. This is further complicated because most of the months of Hegira year fall within two A. D. years. Khan. M. W. (1966. P. 1). for example. converts the anagram *Khuda dost* to 1676 (1087 A. H.). It is correct if Shah Daula (R. A.) were to die in any of the Hegira months from the month of Muharram through the nineth month. Shawal. However. the last two months of the same Hegira year 1087 are included in the 1677 A. D. Consequently. the date should be 1676-1677. It is a different story if the exact day and month of a Hegira year is known. then the precise Christian era (*Anno Domini)* year is determined. Different dates of the passing away of Shah Daulah (R. A.) in continuation:

1641 (1050 A. H. *in* Kharabati 1862-1863): anagram *Yuk hazar punah az hijrat*/Bowad sunne rehlat aan aali muqaam. Qiladari (1983. P. 90) rejects this date of birth outright as the couplet lacks the poetic measure of the words.

1664 (Irshad. 1997. Vol. 2. P.173): no anagram.

1664-1665 (Kunjahi. 1985. Pp 105. 106; Lahori. 1874 *in* Bhatty. 1994. P. 169; Shahab 1997. P. 224; Slatch. 1996. Pp 97-98).): anagram *Bajanat raseed* Shah Doola. 1075: Lahori. S.(1902. P. 104. ref. *Mukhbarul waseleen*) says that Shah Doolah died in 1085. In *Shijrae Chishtia* dealing with the details of Suhrawardy personages the date of the expiry 1075 A.H. is interpreted from *Bajanat raseed.*

As some authors have written the anagram Shah Doola *Bajanat raseedah. i. e.*. the addition of "*ah*" after *raseed.* it results in the Hegira year 1085 (1674-1675). Thus. the same method that was introduced to avoid mistakes. has in itself become the victim of mistakes due to different grammatic interpretations.

Marfat.com

1664-1665 (Author unknown, year unknown. *Tazkertul fuqrah.* P. 35 *see* Chap of References: Lahori, 1906, *in* Mojadeddi, 1976, P. 174; Lahori, 1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 169; Mufti, 1967, P. 189 based on *Tazkerae auliyae hind*, Vol. 3 and *Tohfatul abrar*, Vol. 4; Kunjahi, 1985, P. 106); chronogram *Khuda dost*, 1075, A. H. The same year is inferred from the anagram *Shahenshah doola qutubey daoraan* (Lahori, 1874, Farsi ed., Urdu transl. Bhatty, 1994, P. 169; Lahori, 1902, P. 104, Mufti, 1967, P. 189; Slatch, 1996, P. 98). "The death of Hazrat took place in the year one thousand seventy-five, the month and date result from the source words *Khuda dost*" (Lahori, 1906 *in* Mojadeddi, 1976, P. 174); in the footnote (P. 172) it is written, "Shah Doolah Daryae was one of the famous saints of the Punjab, in 1087 Hegira/1676 Christian era died."

1674-1675 (Bhandari, 1696 *in* Zaidi, 1996, Pp 116-117; Chaudhry, N. 1970, Pp 51-52; Fucqry, 1987, P.143; Jullundhary, 1919, Kunjahi, 1985; P. 105; Mufti, 1967, Pp 189-190; Yarjang, 1983, P. 368). There is a couplet of Jullundhary inscribed on top of the front portal of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R A): Batoheed aan arifay haq gazeedah /Bgo Shah Doolah *hajam raseedah*—this anagram denotes the expiry date 1085 A. H. Slatch (1996, P. 98) gives the first line of the same couplet as Sir khail aan arifay haq gazeedah. Slatch's anagram *La khaofun alaihim wa la hum yahzanoon* gives the date 1085 A. H. The same date is deduced from the anagram *Khwaja ishaq* (Lahori, 1877, reprint 1966, P. 531).

1675-1676 (Mufti, 1967, P. 189; Qiladari, 1983, P. 89; Wadera, 1849, P.177) from the anagram *Ba Khuda pahwust* –Yuk hezar u heshtadah u sush Hegira (one thousand eighty-six years). The anagram of Qadri, C. (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 28) *Mehboob Mawla Sheikh Doola* results in 1086 A. H.

Qiladari (1983, Pp 88-90) asserts that Shah Daulah's (R A) expiry date Monday, 15 Rabiul Auwal, 1086 A. H./1675 A. D. as given by Qadri, is correct. It is argued that Muhammad Chiragh Qadri, son of Shah Murad Qadri, was a witness

Marfat.com

when Shah Daulah's (R. A.) transition approached. In Raam's anagram *Khuda dost howad*. the expiry date 1087 (1676 A. D.). the numeral 1 of the alif in *Khuda* due to the word combination necessity might not be counted. In *Mukhbarul waseleen* ref. *Khazeenatul asiffia*. the date is 1085 A. H. (1674-1675 A. D.). From *Ba Khuda Pahwust*. 1086 (1675 A. D) and from *Shahenshah Doola qutube daoraan* is 1085 (Lahori *in* *Khazeenatul asiffia*)—this date has been taken from *Shijra Chishtia de hal Buzurgane Suhrawardy* where the anagram is *Bajanat raseedah Shah Doola*. 1085. In Qiladri's opinion 10 numerals have been mistakenly left out. because the writer of the *Shijra* in his mind indeed had the year 1086 (1675 A. D.). Lahori has given another reference *Khuda dost* but from the anagram *Khuda dost howaday*. 12 numerals of *howaday* are not counted.

1676-1677 (1087 A. H.)—Elliott. 1902 P. 28; Lahori. 1902. reprint 1976. P. 172; Rauf. 1962. P. 153; Rehman & Wescoat. 1993. P. 89. "He (Shah Daula ?) was born in the 25th year of Akbar's ascending the throne. A. H. 989 or A. D. 1581 and died according to the anagram of his death. *Khuda dost*. in A. H. 1087 or A. D. 1676. He was. therefore. really 95 years old at his death" (Elliott *in* Ibbetson. *et. al*., 1919. P. 636). This interpretation is incorrect. The numerals from the composition of the anagram result in the year 1075 A. H. not 1087. Khan. W. (1966. P. 1; Mojadeddi. 1972. Pp 52-53) repeat the same wrong deduction from the chronogram. In any case. history is silent as to where and when Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) was born at the first place.

Elliott (1902. Pp 24-30; Elliott *in* Ibbetson. 1919. Pp 630-636) says: "Shah Daulah was contemporary with Akbar. Jahangir. Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and died in A. H. 1087 & A. D. 1676. As he was born in the 25th year of Akbar's reign in 1581 (989 A. H.). his age was ninety five years. not a hundred and fifty as is commonly stated." The anagram *Khuda dost* contains the date of his death (Elliott. 1902. P. 28).

Marfat.com

1685-1686 (1097 A. H.)—Pasruri's book, *Far'ahtul nazereen* (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 28; Slatch, 1996, P. 97).

Baig (1870, P. 90) states, "The age of Hazrat Shah Doolah Sahib (R. A.) was a hundred and fifty years. He saw the reign of Akbar Badshah and Jahangir with his own eyes and died in the middle of the rule of Aurangzeb in 1875 A. H. From *Sir khel aan arif haq guzeedah/hgo Shah Doolah* bajanat raseedah and from the words *Khuda dost* the same date of his expiry is deduced." It is quite impossible as the 1875 Hegira would take us far beyond the Christian year of 2400. To all intents and purposes it is a matter of oversight or printer's error. However, if the anagrams *hjamat raseedah* and *Khuda dost* are considered, then the expiry dates are 1085 (1674-1675) and 1075 (1664-1665 A. D.), respectively.

Chaudhry, N. (1970, 134-136) cites nine verses from different authors the anagrams of which allude to the date of the expiry of Shah Daulah. However, the exact numerical calculations of the years inferred from these are not represented.

Again, Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 51-52) talks about the travels of Sayyid Hassan Peshawari, who stayed with Shah Doolah (R. A.) at Gujrat. When he wanted to leave, Shah Doolah (R. A.) repeatedly refused. However, he promised to pay him a visit upon his return from Lahore. Upon this Shah Doolah (R. A.) said, "The present meeting is a blessing, not to be materialized again. You are destined to live in this world but I am called for in the other world." This was in 1084 A. H.—the year the father of Peshawari died. And it was only after his demise that Peshawari emmbraked upon travels to associate with *derveshes*. It may be assumed that Shah Daulah (R. A.) did expire in 1085 A. H. It does not seem possible that Peshawari would have taken more than one year to travel to and fro Lahore. In his travels while returning from Lahore en route to Peshawar, there is no mention about seeing Shah Daulah (R. A.) again as he had promised.

Elliott (*in* Ibbeston, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 636) Shah Daula (?) lived to a great age, commonly stated to have been 150

Marfat.com

years, and was contemporary with Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. He was born on the 25th year of Akbar's ascension in 1581(989 A.H.989) and died according to the anagram of his death *Khuda Dost*, in 1676 (1087 A. H). He was therefore really 95 years old at his death.

It is commonly believed that Shah Daulah (R. A.) died in the 17th year of Alamgir's coronation, that is, 1085 A. H. (1674 A. D.) while Qadri gives the date 1086 A. H. (1675), which is deduced from the chronogram *Mehboob Mawla Sheikh Doolah.* Pasruri's book *Far'ahtul nazereen* (*in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 28; Slatch, 1996, P. 97), written during the time of the Mughal King Shah Alam II (b. 1728, d. 1806, r. 1758-1806), not long after that of Raam's *Karamat Nama Klaan* (written 1719-1720), gives the expiry date of Shah Daulah (R. A.) as 1097 A. H. (1685-1686), that is, in the 30th year of Alamgir's ascending the throne. It is possible that Pasruri might have read or heard the version of Qadri that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was 110-year old and believing in the birth of Shah Daula (R. A.) during the 25th year of Akbar's coronation would have guessed that Shah Daulah (R. A.) died in 1097 A. H.

Abdullah Khweshgi Kasuri Aubdi (b. c. 1043 A. H/1633-1634., d. c. 1680 A. H./ 1090-1091), a scholar during the reigns of Mughal emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, in his book *Ma'rajul Walayat*, 1094 A. H. (1683, all of the Hegira years fall within this year), written about nine years after the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.), mentions that on his way to Hassan Abdaal (Mojededdi, 1972, P. 53) he showed up in the presence of Shah Daulah (R. A.) but it is not known as to why he happened to be there and when?. However, Aubdi finished his studies in 1564-1656 (1066 A. H.), therefore it is assumed that only after this he might have embarked on his travels (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 14).

When Aubdi (Shahab, 1967, P.324) presented himself before Shah Daulah (R. A.), a *qawwali* was in progress. Shah Daulah being in the position of *Maraqbah*, raised his head, attended to Aubdi and gave him some sweets. Aubdi

Marfat.com

requested, "I want to be blessed with some spiritual enlightenment."

Shah Daula (R. A.) smiled and replied, "Accept this offer, I give that (spiritual guidance) as well." After that he blessed him with spiritual enlightenment. Shah Daula (R. A.) died in 1664-1665/ 1075 (Shahab, 1967, P. 324), anagram *Bajanat raseed Shah Doola.*

Marfat.com

BHAWAN (BAHAWAN) SHAH

Allegedly, the actual name of Bhawan Shah is Bahauddin. Sheikh Bahauddin Saani. Behaul Haq Multani. Bahao, Bhao or Pahao were the pet words of Shah Daulah (R. A.). On way to Kashmir at the village Roopowal Shah Daulah (R. A.) and his companions were mistaken for thieves, robbed and and locked in a house for the night by the villagers. The next morning the sardar of the village, who happened to be a disciple of Shah Daulah (R. A.), recognized him and reprimanded the villagers. Shah Daulah (R. A.) cursed the village to be alternately desolated and repopulated. Afterwards a daughter of the same sardar married to Bhawan Shah. After the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.) his son Bahawal (sic) Shah became the successor. He got married twice; from the first wife two sons, Murad Bux and Kaam Bux, and from the second wife three sons, Izud Bux, Hayat Bux and Karim Bux. Of the grandsons of Bahawn Shah, Mian Munawwar Shah, and Moody Shah were renowned personalities. From the family of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Mian Hasan Shah, Fazal Shah, Jeevan Shah, etc. were still living. Gujrat revenue record 1868 shows Bhawan as the son of Shah Doolah (R. A.); had in turn the five forementioned sons. The mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) built by his son Pir Bhawan Shah. The present Pirs are the descendants of Pir Bhawan Shah. The name of the wife of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was Haneefa, buried right next to him in his mausoleum. Rarely, it is said that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was never married; neither was his mentor Shah Saidan Sarmast. Some consider

Marfat.com

Bhawan Shah as an adoptee or caliph of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Bhawan Shah passed away in 1696-1697.

Like most of the controversy involving the life story of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.), *e. g.*, his ancestry, caste, date of birth and expiry, some conflicting views are held about Pir Bhawan (Bahawan, Behawan) Shah whether he was the real son of Shah Daulah (R. A.), adopted or a favourite disciple of him.

It is said that the actual name of Bhawan Shah is Bahauddin. In this context an example is cited that the *Sajaadah nasheen* (successor), Sheikh Bahauddin Saani, of the mausoleum of Behaul Huq Multani, is also called Bhawan Shah (Chaudhry, N. 1970, P. 122).

The actual name Bahauddin, due to a frequent use over the years, was settled at Bhawan Shah (Qiladri, 1983, P. 102). This is one explanation. The other possibility is that the favourite word of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was "Bahao, Bhao or Pahao." He was accustomed to call his friends, disciples and others by this very nickname irrespective of their forenames. Perhaps in those days it was a common substitute for a forename. It is probable that from this word Bahao, Bhao or Pahao—a distorted version Bahawan, Bhawan or Pahawan—his son came to be known as Bhawan or Bahawan Shah.

Raam (1719-1720, Miracle No. 60, Pp 118-120) states that once Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.) along with some of his followers decided to visit Kashmir from Gujrat. En route they made a stop at a village known as Roopowal and got some food prepared. In the evening the food was equally distributed among them and was given to some of the villagers as well. These villagers approached their *sardar* (chief) and told him that some thieves have encamped nearby, who prepared a sumptuous dinner that they also shared with them. Moreover, they have expensive merchandise, which they had stolen from somewhere.

At midnight a gang from Roopowal descended upon the camp of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and collected whatever they could

Marfat.com

find in there. In the process they tied Shah Daulah (R. A.) and demanded, "Give us all you have including cash, otherwise we are going to kill you."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) replied that except the clothes they were wearing there was no other worldly possession with them. On hearing this, they took Shah Daulah (R. A.) and his companions into a house and locked them in. In the meantime, they approached the *sardar*, apprising him of the fact that the thieves had been captured and all of them confined.

In the morning when the *sardar* visited them, he was surprised to see Shah Daulah (R. A.) and his companions in confinement. He immediately fell at the feet of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and admonished the captors, "You did a bad job. Don't you know he is Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.), beg his pardon?"

Shah Daulah (R. A.) took some water and sprinkled on their eyes, and they got wised up. Shah Daulah (R. A.) asked, "Paho what is the name of this village?"

"Roopowal," was the reply.

"Pahao you are mistaken. The name of this village is *ujarwal* (desolate)," said Shah Daulah (R. A.).

They all implored him for his forgiveness because of the wrong that was done and besought to save this village from desolation. Shah Daulah (R. A.) relented and said, "Sometimes desolated, sometimes repopulated." Afterwards a daughter of the same *sardar* of Roopowal was married to Bhawan Shah. The words of Shah Daulah (R. A.) are true till today. Alternately, the village is depopulated and repopulated at some other spot.

After the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.) his son "Bahawal (*sic*) Shah" became the successor. He got married twice. From the first wife had two sons, Murad Bux and Kaam Bux, and the second wife bore him three sons, Izud Bux, Hayat Bux and Karim Bux. Of the grandsons of Bahawan Shah, Mian Munawwar Shah, and Moody Shah were renowned personalities. From the family of Shah Daulah (R. A.), Mian

Marfat.com

Hasan Shah, Fazal Shah, Jeevan Shah, etc. were still living (Kunjahi, 1985, Pp 151-152; Wadera, 1849, Pp. 177-178).

Qiladari (1983, Pp 104-106) in his copy of Raam's *Karamat nama klaan* also talks about the above-cited five sons of Bhawan Shah. Of these sons, two died in the life time of Raam, about one of them, Izad Bux, Raam composed a verse whereas the name of the other deceased is not mentioned. However, in the version of *Karamat nama* in the possession of the present author and that in Chaudhry's book (1970, Miracle No. 60, P. 229) there is no mention of Bhawan Shah's sons except that he was married to the daughter of the chief of Roopowal. Anyway, Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 123-124, ref. *Tarikh Gujrat* by Baig) has reproduced from the Gujrat revenue record 1868 (Mauza Nanwan Fatehpur, mushmoolah Gujrat, Katha No. 209-196) that Bhawan was the son of Shah Doolah (R. A.), had the five above-cited sons, of these Izad Bux and Hayat Bux were issueless, and Shah Doolah's (R. A.) caste is given as *Faqir gote* (subdivision of a tribe or caste) Qureishi.

The very first *mazaar* (mausoleum) of Shah Doola (R. A.) was built by his son Pir Bahawan Shah (Baig, 1870, P. 90 Lahor*i* S. 1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P. 169; Lahori, 1902, P. 104). Lahori adds that in his time, Pir Imam Shah, from the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was the successor.

Kharabati (1862-1863, Pp 298-471; *in* Kunjahi, 1985, P. 63) has repeatedly mentioned Bhawan Shah as the son of Shah Daulah (R. A.). This contention is further strengthened when we know that the name of the wife of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was Haneefa (*op. cit.*) buried right next to him in his mausoleum. Kunjahi (1985, Pp 74-75) does consider Bhawan Shah as the son, not an adoptee of Shah Daulah (R. A.). He argues that Qadri seems to be carried away by jealousy because he had longed for the succession after Shah Daulah's (R. A.) demise that was denied to him. Naturally, being a son, Bhawan Shah was the rightful heir, thus Qadri sowed the seed of a probable adoption.

Marfat.com

Qadri, C. (*in*.Kunjahi, 1985, P. 15; Qiladari, 1983, P. 101) initiated the controversy when he wrote: *Ba'zi au ra ferzand haqiqi mi namand wa ba'zi mutbanna mi goyand* [some consider him as his real son (Shah Daulah's) and others take him for adopted.]

Toward the end of his life, when Shah Daulah (R. A.) saw his death approaching he sent for his disciple, Bhawan Shah, duly invested him with the *dalaq* (*faqir*'s coat) but whether he was real or an adopted son or *halka* (disciple), the present Pirs are the descendants of Bhawan Shah (Elliott, 1902, P. 28; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, et. al., 1919. P. 636). It is to be remembered that the work of Elliott is based on Qadri's *Karamat nama klaan*.

It is said (Jullundhary, 1919, Pp. 398, 403) that Shah Doolah (R. A.) never got married. His successors and the grave-tenders have their origin in his caliph (Bhawan Shah) but they regard themselves as the descendants of Shah Doolah (R. A.). It is also maintained that Shah Doolah's (R. A.) mentor, Shah Saidan Sarmast, was also not married either. In the wake of Jullundhary, Mufti, R. (1967, P. 190) remarks, "The *mujawreen* (grave-tenders) are not the offspring of Shah Doolah (R. A.). They are the children of the caliph (Bhawan Shah)." Slatch (1996, P. 47) remains undecided when he says that according to one tradition Bahawan Shah was the son of Shah Daulah (R. A.), while the others claim he was an adoptee instead.

Mufti, R. (1967, P. 190) quotes from *Khazeenaul asiffia* by Lahori, S. (Vol. 2, P. 22, no year and *Tazkera auliye Hind*, P. 167, no year either; Kunjahi, 1985, P. 151 copies the same without verification) that, "Shah Daulah (R. A.) remained single throughout his life," but I have before me the work of Lahori published in 1902, and on its P. 104 it is clearly written in Farsi that the mausoleum of Shah Doola Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) was constructed *az olaaday* (by the son), that is, Pir Bahawan Shah.

The controversy leads one to believe that Bhawan Shah was the real son of Shah Daulah (R. A.). He had a wife and her

Marfat.com

name was Haneefa (*op. cit*). Her grave lies on the east side of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) grave on the same platform of the mausoleum. It cannot be the grave of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) mother or his father for we don't know who his parents were and where he came from in his pre-adult years.

Qiladari (1983, P. 104) from a certain version of Raam's *Karamat nama* (1719-1720) gives the date of the death of Bhawan Shah 1108 (1696-1697 A. D), anagram "*Wasalush shoud bahaq dil deh deruday*." Slatch (1996, P. 47) follows suit with a slight variation in the anagram: "*Wasalush zud* (instead of *shoud*) *bahuq dil wo dereeddy*." Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 125-126) however, seemingly from another copy of Raam writes: "*Wasalush shoud bahuq dil dereedey*."

Rizvi (1998, P. 8) points out a grammatical error in Slatch's anagram from which the emergent numerals are 1110, not in conformity with the expiry date 1108 of Pir Behawan Shah. The reason is that Slatch in the anagram inserts the word "wo" that is never ever written in the Farsi language. In Rizvi's personal opinion the word should have been "jo" that befits the grammatical sense as well because it translates into the correct calculation.

Wadera (1849, P. 177) and Qiladari (1983, P. 140) give the date of the death of Bhawan Shah *Yuk hazar u yuk sud u husht* (1108) Hegira; anagram *Bhaq Paiwast;* place of expiry not known. Mufti, R. (1967, P. 190), while copying Wadera distorts the statement as *Yuk hazar u yuk sud u hufi* (instead of *husht* that comes to the year 1107 Hegira); anagram *bhaq paiwast.* Kunjahi (1985, P. 151) without checking the veracity of Mufti, ignoring Wadera, copies Mufti verbatim. Such lapses make the task of serious research workers unnecessarily laborious.

Pir Bhawan Shah died 1108 (1696-1697) and was buried in the graveyard of the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.)— Raam (*in* Slatch, 1996, P. 47). Slatch locates his grave in a graveyard near the Masjid of Haji Sahib, Shah Daulah Road, Gujrat. The grave is still a solid construction but there is no epitaph.

Marfat.com

It should be pointed out that from the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) there was another Bhawan Shah, who was the father of Pir Najaf Shah—translator of Mushtaq Raam's *Karamat Nama* in 1891 (1308 A. H.).

Once it is established that Shah Daula Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) was indeed married, then the possibility of having descendant (s) also exists. It is futher strengthened by the fact that the shrine of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was particularly known, and is still known, for those who pay homage and pray to be blessed with children. How come a saint (as erroneously maintained by some) being himself childless, could pray for others to be blessed with children? It is mind-boggling and defies norms of rationality.

Conclusively, the saint Shah Daulah (R. A.) had a son and his name was Bhawan Shah, married to the daughter of the s*ardar* of Roopowal, Kashmir (Raam, P. 122, Miracle No. 60). The story of Mushtaq Ram about Bhawan Shah is irrefutable because he happened to be at the same place and at the same time as Shah Daulah (R. A.) himself. It is corroborated by different writers. Bhawan Shah in turn did have his offspring.

Marfat.com

MAUSOLEUM

For the first time, Pir Bhawan Shah, the son of Shah Daulah (R. A.), built the mausoleum of his father. In 1867 the foundation was raised at the cost of Rs 600. Garhi Shah Daulah. In 1868-1869, the mausoleum was reshaped into a chabutrah. In 1894-1895, Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif, Hakim Muhammad Saeed and Maulvi Ghulam Ahmed started to rebuild the dome and the mausoleum that were completed in 1895-1896. The mausoleum might have been started in 1894-1895 and took the finished form in 1899. The mausoleum was on a high chabutrah at the each corner of which were turrets and the chabutrah had a total of 13 stairs that could be ascended by the visitors, who prayed there and presented offerings. About three decades ago the bridge that Shah Daulah (R. A.) constructed over a nullah in Gujrat had to be demolished to lay the sewerage system and water supply lines. The bridge was so solid that the gas line had to be laid superficially. Faqir Shah Jahangir not to be confused with the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. The nullah Shah Jahangir. The surrounding verandah of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) was added afterwards. In the pre-partition days when the present author was a High School student, the repair and polish-up of the mausoleum, as it stands now, was undertaken by a certain Sain Nur Muhammad of Lahore and the funds were provided by the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.).

For the first time, Baig (1870, Pp 90-91) remarks that Pir Bahawan Shah, the son of Shah Daulah, built (date not

Marfat.com

known) the mausoleum of his father. In 1867 the foundation was raised at the cost of Rs 600. At the time of Baig. from the descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Imam Shah was the *Sajaadah nasheen* .

Shah Daulah's (R. A.) mausoleum in Gujrat. Punjab. is a pilgrimage site for the devotees. From the descendants of Shah Doola (R. A.) his son Pir Bahawan Shah had the mausoleum constructed (Lahori. S. 1874. Urdu transl. Bhatty. 1994. P. 167; Lahori. 1902. P. 104).

After the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Sayyid Bahawan Shah raised a mausoleum over his grave (Qiladari. 1983. Pp 90-91). His grave is at that spot where he customarily used to be seated in his life time Shah Daulah (R. A.) got constructed a serai where the destitutes were provided all of the necessary amenities. Thusly populated area even in his time was known as "Garhi Shah Daulah." These days this area is in the midst of a thickly populated locality. By the passage of time the mausoleum in its original condition as set up by Bahawan Shah became demolished. In about 1285/1867 A. D. (*sic*)—it should be 1868-1869; it was reshaped into a *chabutrah* (a terrace. a raised and leveled place of ground. a platform, and a boundary mark).

In 1312/1898 (*sic*)—it should be 1894-1895. Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif. Hakim Muhammad Saeed and Maulvi Ghulam Ahmed (the maternal grandfather of the famous writer Sharif Kunjahi) started to rebuild the dome and the mausoleum (Qiladari. *vide supra*). The next year the project was successfully executed and the given date is 1313/1899 (sic)—it should be1895-1896.

Slatch (1996, P. 98) states that Bhawan Shah for the first time built the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.). There is no evidence of an epitaph affixed. In 1867 the *chabutrah* was raised, even then there was no epitaph. The present dome of the mausoleum was due to the efforts of Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif, Hakim Muhammad Saeed Rhodes and Hafiz Ghulam Ahmed in 1899 and the slab in the name

Marfat.com

of "Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.)" was affixed.

On the contrary, Rizvi (1998, P.12) points out that according to *Diwan sheikh nishan sheikh* (P. 84) of Sheikh Abdullah, resident Chak Omar, the construction of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah Daryae (R. A.) was initiated in 1894-95 (1312 A. H.). Rizvi cites eight lines of verses (in Farsi) from Abdullah and the last line of these, *i. e.*, Uz jenab hatuf heen amud , nadaa *Aaghaz Baash.* The anagram composed of the last two words denotes the date 1312 A. H. Rizvi was the first to publish the poetic composition related to the initiation of the construction of the mausoleum of Shah Daulah. The poetic form indeed mentions the names of Qazi Sahib, Hakim Saeed and Ghulam Ahmed. It is just a matter of word-game; the mausoleum might have started in 1894-1895 and took the finished form in 1899.

The *darbar* (mausoleum) of Shah Doolah (R. A.), at the distance of a hundred yards east of Gujrat, was constructed in the closing years of the 17th century due to the efforts of Bhawan Shah when in 1867 the foundation (chair) of the grave was raised and reconstructed. In 1898 the devotees (there are no names) of Shah Doolah R. A. (Kunjahi, 1985, P. 122) completely repaired it.The descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) live in the vicinity of the mausoleum and their dwellings have assumed the form of a mohallah that is known as "Garhi Shah Daulah."

The tomb of Shah Daulah (R. A.) lies in the east of the city, in the suburb called "Garhi Shah Daulah." The original shrine built by Bhawan Shah was rebuilt on a raised platform (*chabutrah)* in 1867 (1283 A. H.) and again thoroughly repaired in 1898 (1315 A. H.) by his followers (Elliott, 1902, P. 28).

Chaudhry, N. (1970, P. 127) states that Elliott (1902), after almost a hundred years, talks about raising the mausoleum on a "high chair" (base) in 1868 A. D.; the exact year is 1867 (Elliott, 1902, P. 28). Chaudhry maintains that the

Marfat.com

mausoleum was on a high c*habutrah* at the each corner of which were *burjian* (towers, turrets).

Chaudhry (*vide supra*) further adds that the c*haburah* had a total of 13 stairs that could be ascended by the visitors, who prayed there and presented offerings. Nobody dared to put his feet on the chair or c*habutrah* and collect the offerings except the *khakrobe* (cleaner) who would collect whatever the offerings whether in the form of coins or otherwise and would in turn give to the *pirzadgaan* (descendants). The present author could not corroborate this observation from any other source.

In accordance with Elliott (1902, P. 28), Chaudhry, N. (1970. P. 128) narrates that the original shrine built by Bahawan Shah, was rebuilt on a raised platform in 1867 and again thoroughly repaired in 1898 by his followers. But Elliott does not name the followers, who were in fact Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif and his companions (Chaudhry, N. *op. cit.*).

In fact the mausoleum used to be by the right bank of the river Chenab and the river every year used to approach it to "pay respect" (Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 127) to Shah Daulah (R. A.). Either the inundation damaged the mausoleum or there was the possibility to be damaged that is why in 1867 the foundation or chair was added to raise the graves.

"The River Chenab had changed its course (Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 128) and began to flow far away from Gujrat (toward east). As an indication only two of its remnant streams were left." This is a questionable statement. I was born in 1930 and have been living on the north bank of the Shah Daulah Road. About 20 meters from my house toward west there used to be a nullah, known as the Shah Daulah Nullah (now all filled up and houses constructed). Upon this nullah along the Shah Daulah Road, Shah Daulah (R. A.) constructed a bridge known as the "Shah Daulah Bridge" (Elliott, 1902, P. 26).

When the present writer was a boy he used to swim in the Shah Daulah Nullah and the bridge over it was known as the

Marfat.com

Pul (bridge) Shah Daulah. About three decades ago the bridge had to be demolished to lay the sewerage system and water supply lines. It was so solid that the workers faced a tremendous difficulty for weeks to get the job done. They even failed to bore through the arches with the tools at their disposal. Later on when the gas line was to be led through, it had to be laid superficially. I still remember that the bridge had three arches (delimiting spans) intact but two other spans were partly filled with debris. It was ascertained by the old folks in those days that the bridge had several more spans. There are still some old inhabitants of Gujrat around who are a testimony to this bridge and have seen the current flowing through it. The bridge is gone but some of its remnants are still evident.

Khan, S. A. (1844, P. 152) observes that Shah Daulah's (R. A.) contributions in Gujrat and Gujranwala districts were noted earlier. Shah Daulah (R. A.) constructed a variety of bridges, mosques and other public welfare buildings. He constructed a bridge over half a mile long on the eastern side of Gujrat town spanning a branch of the River Chenab or perhaps the Bhimber nala. "The material remains of which could still be seen" (apparently, he is talking about the same bridge in the above paragraph.).

If this is one of the remnants of the River Chenab that had changed its course, as mentioned above, then how come Shah Daulah (R. A.) would have built a bridge over the river that allegedly flowed by the city of Gujrat during his life time?

Seemingly, the River Chenab never followed a normal course by the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.). It was only during its inundation that the flood waters might have approached the mausoleum. The other so called remnant of the river Chenab is a seasonal stream known as the "Nullah of Shah Jahangir" (folks have it that he was a *faqir* who lived in a small village of huts known as Bhole by the nullah and used to say, "I am Shah Jahangir," not to be confused with the Mughal Emperor Jahangir) like the nullah over which he

Marfat.com

built the Shah Daulah Bridge. On the eastern side of the Nullah Shah Jahangir, about 3 km further east along the Shah Daulah Road, at various distances are villages like Gilanwala, Sade Chak and others. Now Nullah Jahangir has a bridge over it. In pre-partition days during the rainy season the flood waters of this nullah and that of the Shah Daulah Nullah used to reach till the Shah Daula gate of the Gujrat City right up to the Circular Road.

Qazi Sultan Mahmud of Awan Sharif got the *chabutrah* (raised platform) of the grave of Shah Daulah leveled off. After digging, under the tomb stone, two graves were encountered that are presently found inside the mausoleum.

Qazi Mahmud requested the nearby living *pirzadgaan* to cede some parts of their dwellings in order to extend the surrounding yard of the mausoleum. The two graves were raised on a 20-ft square *chabutrah* and two double domes and eight small minarets were constructed. The surrounding verandah was added afterwards. This time the treasurer of the building committee was Hakim Muhammad Saeed. In the northern wall there was a door only for the use of the ladies. Now this door is not used to enter the yard of the mausoleum. A space was provided for women where they could place candles and the like. [For details of the writings and verses written on the walls of the mausoleum itself and the verandah please consult Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 129-137).]

Shah Daulah's (R. A.) tomb lies east of the Gujrat city, in the suburb called Garhi Shah Daulah. The original shrine built by Bahawan Shah has been re-built on a raised platform and again thoroughly repaired in 1898. Recent repairs have totally changed the original character of the tomb. The tomb complex houses a mosque on its southern side (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 90).

In the pre-partition days when I was a High School student, the repair and polish-up of the mausoleum, as it stands now, had been undertaken by a certain Sain Nur Muhammad. He lived in Lahore. In his dream he had a

Marfat.com

vision that the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is in the dire need of repair. He was tall thin fellow in forties, always clad in black, with long black hair, clean-shaven. The descendants of Shah Daulah (R. A.) contributed financially and Sain Nur Muhammad embarked upon the project of repairwork and other additions like concrete floors. The overall supervision was under the watchful eye of Pir Ghulam Haider, one of the four sons of Pir Fazal Shah *alias* Baba Mimber (member), because he once became elected to the City Council. Pir Fazal Shah was the maternal uncle of Hazrat Pir Rashiduddaula. The work was started in 1942 and finished in 1944. Pir Ghulam Haider was also known as "Lalah Haider." In 1947 he became bedridden due to some complication resulting from a febrile condition and passed away in the month of October or November 1948.

After the completion of the repair of the mausoleum Sain Nur Muhammad returned to Lahore where he started a restaurant adjacent to the Novelty Cinema of Heera Mandi. When the present author was studying at Lahore many times visited the restaurant of Sain Nur Muhammad.

The present author is a witness to the fact that on top of the main portal of the mausoleum, the writing "Dargah Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doola Daryae Gunj Bux," Pir Haider Shah got inscribed by the calligrapher Pir Muhammad Gujrati. Why the name Sayyid Kabiruddin was chosen, cannot be said with certainty. May be Pir Haider Shah heard from others without bothering to undertake a thorough research.

Marfat.com

CONSTRUCTIONS

Shah Daulah (R. A.) was very fond of constructions. He constructed many buildings, bridges, wells, tanks, houses, masjids, solid graves, and mausoleums. In Sialkot he also constructed the mausoleum of Imam Aliul Huq and that of various martyrs. On an unknown date he built a bridge over the Aik Nullah that flows through Sialkot. Mention of the Aik Nullah in the Upanishads. Veda. About a decade after the death of Saidan Sarmast, Shah Daulah (R. A.) moved over to Gujrat, where he settled permanently. He raised a bridge over the Degh (Dek, Dik or Devka Nadi) Nullah in the Gujranwala district, which is known as the Pul Shah Daulah, located between Eimanabad and Batala, five kos (8.4 miles) from Eimanabad. The fresco paintings on this bridge made it unique in the history of bridge construction in Punjab. The bridge over the Dik Nullah was constructed at the order of Shah Jahan after the paraphernalia of Dara Shikoh and Hoori Begum got lost in the flood. A village known as the "Pul Shah Daula." Concerning the Pul Shah Daulah, it is also believed that the original name of the bridge was Pul Sa'adullah (sic) or Sa'adullah Pur after the well-known courtier of Shah Jahan. Jamia Shahi in Qil'adar, Gujrat. Altogether Shah Daulah executed 44 constructions.

Baig (1870, Pp 88-89) states Shah Doolah (R. A.) was very fond of constructions, especially for social welfare. He used to get constructed bridges, wells and tanks at appropriate places. Towards Lahore a bridge is said to have been laid over by him. In the east of the town of Gujrat he got a solid

Marfat.com

bridge constructed in his own life time, which is still present and its repair was undertaken during the British rule. There is also a tank and masjid attributed to him also in the east of the town. In the same way he might have built other solid graves and mausoleums. In Sialkot, mausoleum of Imam Aliul Haq (R. A.). and some other mausoleums as well as other buildings in the neighbourhood of mausoleum of Imam were also constructed by him.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) was so fond of construction that he got many (Lahori, 1877, P. 531) houses and bridges constructed that are still intact. Various bridges, wells and tanks are mostly due to his efforts and most of these are undamaged till the present time. On way to Lahore many bridges were constructed by him. In Gujrat there is also a solid bridge; there used to be a tank and masjid now demolished but the indications thereof can still be found. In Sialkot he also constructed the mausoleum of Imam Ali and that of various martyrs. He also erected bridges on Nullahs Dek and Eik (Aik).

During a ten-year stay, after the death of his mentor Saidan Sarmast, Shah Daulah (R. A.) on an unknown date built a bridge over the Aik Nullah (Elliott, 1902, P. 26) which flows through the city of Sialkot. Hasan, K. (2004, P. 9) quotes a fellow Jalil Mir, who recorded his memories of old Sialkot in a 12-page hand-written note in which it is stated that the Aik nullah's name appears in the *Upanishads*.

Just in passing it is worth giving some information about the *Upanishads*. With the last component of the *Veda*, the mystically oriented and originally esoteric texts known as the *Upanishads*, Vedic ritualism and the doctrine of the interconnectedness of separate phenomena were superseded by a new emphasis on knowledge alone—primarily knowledge of the ultimate identity of all phenomena, which merely appeared to be separate. The phase of Indian religious life roughly between 700 and 500 BC was the period of the beginnings of philosophy and mysticism marked by the *Upanishads* ("Sittings Near a Teacher").

Marfat.com

Historically, the most important of these are the two oldest, the Brhadaranyaka ("Great Forest Text") and the Chandogya (pertaining to the Chandogas, a class of priests who intone hymns at sacrifices), both of which are compilations that record the traditions of sages (rishis) of the period, notablyYajñavalkya, who was a pioneer of new religious ideas.

Niaz, R. (1958, P. 232) records no constructions undertaken by Shah Daulah (R. A.) in Sialkot or its vicinity. However, he gives the list of 40 *Auliyas* (exalted muslim religious figures) of Sialkot, including Hazrat Shah Monga Wali and Hazrat Shah Sayyidan, the details of whom are found in Niaz, A. (1992, Pp 50-57), but the name of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is excluded.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) raised a bridge over the Degh (Dek, Dik) nullah in the Gujranwala district (Elliott, 1902, P. 26). He built many buildings, mosques, tanks, bridges, wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Aik (Elliott *in* Ibbetson *et. al.*, 1919, P. 633).

A bridge known as the Pul Shah Daulah, located between Eimanabad and Batala, five *kos* (8.4 miles) from Eimanabad, was constructed by Shah Daulah R. A. (Bhandari, 1695, Pp 116-117) on the high road to Lahore. No definite date is known as to when this bridge was constructed. This is the best remaining bridge of Shah Daulah (R. A.) in Gujranwala District where it spans the Nala (Nullah) Dek (Khan, S, A. 1844, P.152).The viaduct on the bridge was strengthened with an intermediate slab. The fresco paintings on the bridge made it unique in the history of bridge construction in Punjab. Rashid (2002, P. 120) defines it as massively arched and gives its location about 20 km from Lahore, northwest of Muridke. It spans the perennial Degh, Dek, Dik or Devka Nadi (stream), as it is known near its source in the Jammu hills.

The building of the bridge over the Dik Nullah came about in this way: During one of the journeys of the emperor Shah Jahan towards Kashmir, the private belongings of Dara

Marfat.com

Shikoh and Hoori Begum, including all of the perfumeries, and many packs of animals were lost in the Dik, which was in flood (*op. cit.*). The *Faujdar* (armyman) of the District, Mirza Badi Usman., was directed to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party would return from Kashmir. The *Faujdar* failed to lay the bridge, but Shah Daulah (R. A.) did manage it. The details have been given elsewhere in this book.

The village also known as the"Pul Shah Daula"(Faqir, 1977, Pp 102-103; Rashid, S., 2002, P. 120) is located by the bridge of the same name over the Nullah Dek. It is said that during the reign of Shahanshah Alamgir, Shah Doolah Gujrati (R. A.), whose marvels were widely known got a concrete bridge constructed on this nullah that is still intact and serves as a comfortable via for the travelers. The construction of this bridge is solid and admirable. In early days this was the normal route of travel from Peshawar to Lahore. "When he built this bridge (Pul Shah Daula) there were many houses of caste *Patharah*. Then gradually it took the form of a Qasbah. Now the owners are the caste Kumboh and Dadkan. Good quality of rice is cultured there. Population is about 850 people. Cattle and rice are transacted."

The village Bridge Shah Daula ("Mauza Pul Shah Daula") located by the bank of Nullah Dek, Gujranwala District, is so called because at this spot is the bridge on the Nullah Dek constructed by Khwaja Shah Daula Suhrawardy Gujrati (R. A.), therefore, the village is known as the Bridge Shah Daula. He was a perfect *Wali* and belonged to Gujrat. He constructed many a welfare edifice in this area. First this was simply a settlement of a few Afghan houses, but by the passage of time it became a village due to diverse ethnic migrants. At that time there were 176 houses and 6 shops; total population amounted to 870-strong. The characteristic feature of this area was the culture of the *Basmati* rice (Lahori, 1877, Pp 274-275; Akram and Javaid, 1982-1984, P. 76).

Marfat.com

Concerning the Pul Shah Daulah, Tariq Masood, Punjab Archaeology Department (*in* Rashid, S., 2002, P. 121), believes that the original name of the bridge was Pul Sa'adullah (*sic*) or Sa'adullah Pur after the well-known courtier of Shah Jahan. Sa'adullah was known for his work as a builder. "But again, history does not mention the undertaking of a bridge building in this area by him or by anyone else under Shah Jahan's orders." Rashid is of the opinion that "while the bridge might have been built by Shah Daula, it must not necessarily have been raised during Shah Jahan's reign."

It must be pointed out that the bridge is on the ancient road of Sher Shah Suri that ran from Wazirabad through Sodhra, Serai Kachi, Eimanabad, Batala all the way to Lahore, not the present Grand Trunk Road.

Qiladari, in a personal communication, states in 1652 (1062 A. H.) Shah Daula (R. A.) built a mosque, Jamia Shahi Qil'adar, in the village Qil'adar about 6 miles south of Gujrat. In 1923 due to the inundation of the River Chenab, the dome caved in. However, the walls 6-ft wide made of typical old time small bricks remained intact. In the same year Maulvi Mohammad Alam, paternal uncle of Dr. Qiladari got the dome reconstructed.

Altogether Shah Daulah (R. A.) executed 44 constructions, namely, fortresses, mausoleums, bridges, wells, serais, mosques, residences, gardens, tanks, lots, *hammams* (ancient oriental bathrooms or steam baths), asylums for abandoned, sick and disabled, orphanages, in Gujrat, Sialkot and other places.

Marfat.com

CITY OF GUJRAT

On the 27th year of the Mughal Emperor Akbar's coronation a pargana was separated from Sialkot and named Gujrat. It was destroyed during the invasion of Alexander, remaining deserted for a long time until Raja Gopat alias Kala Chand founded a new city "Kula Chor." It came under the control of Raja Saliyahan or Salbahan of Sialkot. A royal lady, Kaur Jan, reportedly the daughter of Raja Rasalu of Sialkot and the wife of Raja Bade Sen or Bahadur Sen, allegedly founded a city on the ancient site of Udenagri. The rebuilt city named after her as "Kurjan Nagri." It fell at the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. In 1835 Gujrat was surrounded by a mud wall. Gujrat flourished during the time of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and is known after his name as "Gujrat Shah Daula Sahib." Undoubtedly, the city of Gujrat is of an ancient origin. A Hindu Raja, Bachan Pal, founded the city and named it Undanagar, Udanagar or Udenagri—meaning "ever lasting or sweet city." Again another city seems to have been built by one Ali Khan, identified with Alakhana, Raja of Gurjara. The destruction of the city of Gujrat. It served as a grazing ground for the cattle of the Gujjars and Jats, who had divided the land into roughly a northen and a southern half. In the reign of Bahlul Lodi, another important district Bahlolpur was established, located on a trade route north of Gujrat before crossing the River Chenab. The emperor Akbar is said to have built a new fort on a mound in Gujrat. The emperor Jahangir gave the details about the building of the fort by his father Akbar. Abdul Qasim Namkin stationed at Gujrat to intercept the rebellious Prince

Marfat.com

Khusrau. The English traveler William Finch passed through Gujrat and Khwaspur. The emperor Shah Jahan visited Gujrat in 1634 and stayed there for a short period of time. Shah Jahan deputed Sheikh Mahmud Gujrati, who was the superintendent (darogha) of the new converts, to recover all Muslim women and slave girls he could find and to regain the possession of the mosques. Tale of the converts. Shah Daulah (R. A.), who out of the rich offerings made to him, is said to have spent money freely upon the adornment of the town (Gujrat) and its suburbs. He constructed tanks, wells, mosques and bridges. Gujrat grew beyond its fortification walls. The followers of Shah Daulah (R. A.)constructed their houses near his khanqah, and the area was known as Garhi Shah Daula. The subdivision of Gujrat into different areas. The history of Gujrat. The cost of the Akbari Fort, one and a quarter lac rupees, was provided by a Gujjar, Chaudhry Fateh Muhammad of Varaichanwala. Akbar asked Mehta Kaka Mal to make a survey of the forest around Gujrat. Gujrat and its fort built at the same time. The baoli of Gujrat constructed by Akbar at the cost of 10,000 rupees. The plunder of Gujrat. Nadir Shah. Sultan Mukarrab Khan. Ahmed Shah Durrani. Sultan Charat Singh and Gujjar Singh. The Sikh possession of Gujrat. Shah Zaman. Bahadur Khan. Sardar Sahib Singh. Ahmed Khan Shahhanchi, a Pathan adventurer, who invaded the Akbari Fort but was killed and his fighters decimated; this was the last assault on the city. The complete defeat of the Sikh army at Gujrat February 21st, 1849. The Sheshianwala gate (present name Chowk Pakistan) of Gujrat was so called because in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh it had the second story wholly made of glass. The recovery of a statue of Buddha from a tank showed that Gujrat was a Buddhist city. Different version about the construction of the Akbari Fort, baoli and the hammam. "Gujrat Akbarabad." Kunjahi doesn't believe that Akbar built a fort at Gujrat and he gives reasons for this contention. Serai Khwas Khan or Khwaspur not more than 12 kos from Serai Alamgir. The walls and roofs of the houses

Marfat.com

of the Serai covered by cow-dung cakes. The Serai was built by Sakhi Khwas Khan. The so-called tomb of Khaws Khan situated in a graveyard west of Khwaspur Serai; his grave is also said to be in Rohtas and in Delhi.

During the days of (Mughal emperor) Akbar the town of Gujrat was lying desolate. It was repopulated by Akbar on the 27th year of his coronation, *i. e.*, 996 A. H. (Wadera, 1849. Pp 43. 200)—the pargana was separated from Sialkot and named as Gujrat. It is maintained that Akbar laid the foundation of the Gujrat City in 997 (1588-1589 A. D.). As Shah Doolah (R. A.) had already come to Gujrat from Sialkot, the activities in Gujrat increased. It is questionable that Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) witnessed the rule of Akbar (*see* Chap "The Birth of Shah Daulah").

The Gujrat City was destroyed (Baig, 1870, Pp 79-80) during the invasion of Alexander, in 4th century B. C. It remained deserted for a long time until Raja Gopat *alias* Kala Chand founded a new city "Kula Chor" about seven miles east of Udenagri. The town was said to have spread over an area of 6 *kos (10.2 miles)* square.

The territory forming the district of Gujrat fell under the control of Raja Saliyahan or Salbahan of Sialkot. A royal lady of the name Kaur Jan is alleged to have founded a city on the ancient site of Udenagri. She was reportedly the daughter of Raja Rasalu of Sialkot and the wife of Raja Bade Sen or Bahadur Sen. The rebuilt city was named after her as "Kurjan Nagri," and it enjoyed a peaceful life for many decades. When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna passed through the Punjab during the 6th invasion (1011 A. D.) of Hindustan, Gujrat was a flourishing city of Hindus. Kurjan Nagri fell at his hands with little or no resistance (Mughal, 1964, Pp 12-19).

Kunjahi (2000, P. 40) states that the traveler Charles Huegel while passing near Gujrat in 1835 saw this town surrounded by a *kachi divar* (mud wall). It might have been

Marfat.com

erected for the simple reason of protecting the town from the invaders.

Gujrat was comparatively a small settlement before the arrival of Shah Daulah, but it flourished under his heavenly hand (Baig, 1870, Pp 88-89). Shah Daulah (R. A.) lived in Gujrat and died at this place. The town is known after his name as "Gujrat Shah Daula Sahib" (Jullundhary, 1919, P. 400).

The city of Gujrat (Elliott, 1902, Pp 7-8; Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 77) is undoubtedly of ancient origin, and there is a reason to believe that it existed, as popular report says, prior to Alexander's invasion of Hindustan (in the spring of 326 B. C. Alexander crossed the River Indus near Attock).

The legend has it (Elliott *vide supra*) that a Hindu Raja, Bachan Pal, emigrated from the lower Gangetic Doab (Doab, stretch of land between two rivers) and came to the Punjab. Charmed with the green country and the *belas* (jungles) of the River Chenab, which at that time flowed right by the site of the old city, he determined to end his wanderings and built himself a home. In due course he accomplished this and the city he named Undanagar (Udanagar, Udenagri), "the ever lasting, or sweet city." The date is alleged to be 460 B. C.

For what period the city existed, or what the fate, is not known. But in Sambat—1782 years ago, about 120 A. D.—Rani Gujran, wife of Raja Bade Son (Sen), the son of the locally famous Raja Risalu (Rasalu) of Sialkot, built a city or rebuilt Udanagar, and called it Gujjarnagri.

Again another city seems to have been built by one Ali Khan, identified by General Cunningham with Alakhana, Raja of Gurjara, who was defeated by Sangkhara Karma (Verma) between 1011 A. D. (*sic*). Rehman & Wescoat (1993, P. 78, ref. Sastri, 1924) maintain that Alakhana was defeated between 883 and 901 A. D.

It was a city of the Hindus, with temples and tanks. Mahmud Ghaznavi, during the 6th invasion of India, passed through the Punjab, and Gujjarnagar (Gujrat) with little or no

Marfat.com

resistance fell at his hands. Following his usual custom he destroyed everything which had the least reference to the Hindu religion, looted the city and left it a smoking and deserted ruin. Every man, woman and child whom he could seize he sent to Ghazni, and it is probably from this reason that the Sobati clan of Khatris claim to have come to the Punjab from Ghazni.

Rehman & Wescoat (*vide supra)* remarked that the city was destroyed in. 1303 A: D. when the Mongols were threatening India during the reign of Alauddin Khilji. The area remained deserted and desolate for a long time and finally turned into a jungle. It served as a grazing ground for cattle of Gujjars and Jats, who had divided the land into roughly a northen and a southern half (Elliott, 1902, P. 22)

In the reign of Bahlul Lodi (1450-1488 A. D) a part of the district was separated from the province of Sialkot and made into an independent charge titled Zila Bahlolpur (Mughal, 1964, P. 13). Because Bahlolpur was located on a trade route north of Gujrat, it became the most prominent town in the area. It was also an important halting station before crossing the River Chenab on the way to Sialkot and Pasrur.

No attempt was made to rebuild the city till Akbar, when passing either to Kashmir or Kabul, passed by Gujrat in 1580 A. D., and determined to do so. The city was then a ruin, and all the land around it was waste and untilted. The foundation stone was laid by Akbar himself on the 16th Cheyt, Sambat 1660, and he appointed two men, Dianat Roy and Wazir Khan, to carry on the work. The old city stood near the imperial road to Kabul, and there was then no fortress in the Chaj Doab, so the emperor decided to build a fort (Elliott, 1902, P 8).

There is another version (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 78). During his second visit to Kashmir in 997 A. H (1582 A. D. *sic;* it should be 1588-1589), Akbar passed through the area and found a ruined site 41 feet higher than the surrounding country. He decided to build a new fort on this mound to settle the dispute permanently between the two

Marfat.com

tribes (Gujjars and Jats) and to secure his conrol in the region. The date of the construction is evident from the Persian verse, "*Gujrat basai Akbarabad,*" (Gujrat is founded by Akbar). This chronogram gives the date as 995 A. H. or 1580 A. D. (The correct conversion is1587).

The construction (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 78, ref. Rogers, 1974, Pp 91-92) of Gujrat town is described by Jahangir in the following terms: "Having reached the Chenab in two marches on Thursday, the 21st Zi-l-Hija, I crossed the river by a bridge that had been built there and my camp was pitched in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Gujrat. At the time when His Majesty Akbar went to Kashmir, a fort had been built on that bank of the river. Having brought to the fort a body of Gujjars who had passed their time in neighbourhood in thieving and highway robbery, he established them here. As it became the abode of Gujjars, he made it a separate pargana, and gave it the name of Gujrat." The construction of Gujrat by the Emperor Akbar has also been described by Jahangir in *Waqiaat-i-Jahangiri (see* History of India as told by his own Historians—Elliott and Dawson, 1976, P. 303; Rampuri, 1967, P. 96).

Rampuri (*vide supra*) makes almost identical observations. Jahangir reached the pargana Gujrat and stayed there. His father Akbar, on way to Kashmir, got a fort built in Gujrat. The Gujjars settled there, thus the name became Gujrat. The Gujjars did not do any work their living was on milk only. Gujrat was a halting place of the royal travels to Kashmir, and the usual serai was built, but no traces remain.

During the reign of Jahangir, Abdul Qasim Namkin was stationed at Gujrat with the responsibility for intercepting the rebellious Prince Khusrau near Rohtas in 1605 A. D. The prince was captured on the bank of the Chenab and handed over to the emperor (Rogers, 1974, Pp 91-92).

By this time Gujrat had grown into an important commercial city in the Punjab.The English traveler William Finch passed through Gujrat and Khwaspur in 1611 (Forster, 1978, Pp. 167), and he described it as "a fair city of trade."

Marfat.com

Shah Jahan visited Gujrat in1634 and stayed there for a short period of time. The local Muslims population of the town complained that some non-believers possessed Muslim wives, and others had violently appropriated mosques for their use. Shah Jahan deputed Sheikh Mahmud Gujrati, who was the superintendent (*darogha*) of new converts, to establish the truth of the matter, and to release all Muslim women and slave girls he could find and to regain the possession of the moşques.

"When these acts were related in the royal presence the emperor ordered that in the case of Raja Daulatmand's tribe whoever declined to change his faith should be reported, so that he might be fined or otherwise punished. Thus, a number of men converted to Islam, and remainder suffered. One individual who had treated the Holy Qur'an with disrespect was put to death. The women then wedded the new converts with whom they had previously cohabited. About 400 acknowledged the creed of Islam, and two temples were razed to the ground, and mosques were erected in their instead. Seven other mosques were wrested from unlawful proprietors" (Khan, I., 1990, Pp 139-140).

A saint of great repute (apparently Shah Daulah R. A.), who out of the rich offerings made to him, is said to have spent money freely upon the adornment of the town (Gujrat) and its suburbs. He constructed tanks, wells, mosques and bridges (Khan, S. A., 1844, P. 151). During this time the Bhimber Nullah flowed by the city and not one mile away as it does today (Ross, 1883, P. 144 wrote that a ruined brick viaduct extends to the north and north east of the city).This is partly confirmed by the stories of the Shah Daula bridge which once spanned a tributary close to the River Chenab.

During this time Gujrat grew beyond its fortification walls. Shah Daula (R. A.) established his *khanqah* south east of the town and a small settlement began to emerge. The followers of the saint constructed their houses near it. The area was known a Garhi Shah Daula, and it had a road linking it with the town.

Marfat.com

The area between Gujrat and Garhi Shah Daula became a favourite place for settlement. The dwellings were occupied by groups of people organized by profession (Mohallah Bakar Qasaban and Mohallah Mashkian). caste (Mohallah Kakezaian & Mohallah Jattan).intellectual stature(Mohallah Kanun Goyan and Mohallah Pandatan), and on the basis of religion (Mohallah Aesaian, *i. e.*, Christian quarter).

Traces of settled government in a portion of the district Gujrat (Williamson, 1921, P. 17) are to be found at a period nearly a century earlier than that indicated by Captain Waterfield (who conducted a revision of the settlement in 1866-68 adding that the people look no further in their history than the establishment of the Moghal power in the 16th century). In the reign of Bahlul Lodi (1450-88 A. D.) it appears that a tract of country on the right bank of the River Chenab and including part of the district Gujrat was separated from the Province of Sialkot, and made into an independent charge under the name of Zila Bahlolpur. The ensuing century was an era of great confusion preceding the consolidation of the Delhi Empire under Akbar. In the 32nd or 34th year of his reign, Akbar is said to have visited this part of the country, and, having induced the Gujjars of the neighbourhood to restore Gujrat, made it the headquarters (Williamson *vide supra*, P. 18), half of which was occupied by the Gujjar clans, the second half by the Jats. This new district was known as Chakla Gujrat. It was divided into two primary subdivisions—the *parganas* of Gujrat, and Heart, the latter being the Jat and the former the Gujjar country. There was subsequently a third *pargana* formed, that of Shajahanpur (later called Dinga). For more details of the history of Gujrat *see* Williamson (*vide supra*, Pp. 18-30). However, some of the details, as outlined by Williamson (1921, Pp 13-14), are given below:

"The following account of the history of the district is reprinted from the corresponding section of Captain Davies' Gazetteer of 1893 (*in* Williamson, 1921), with some small alterations. It should however be noted that in 1902 Captain

Marfat.com

A. C. Elliott, who had been Deputy Commissioner of district for two years, published a small volume entitled the '*Chronicles of Gujrat*' which gives more details on some events and matters of interest. He has a chapter on 'Alexander the Great in the Gujrat District.'

"Little is known concerning the early history of this district. The town of Gujrat itself is of modern origin, but occupies the site of an ancient city, the foundation of which is traditionally assigned to one Raja Bachan Pal, a Surajbansi Rajput, who emigrated from the Lower Gangetic Doab, but of whom nothing more is known. The original name of the city is said to have been Udanagri, the everlasting or sweet-smelling city. This tradition is recorded both by General Cunningham and by Captain H. Mackenzie, whose Settlement Report is a principal work of reference on all matters connected with district. General Cunningham further states that the restoration of the old city is 'attributed to Ali Khan, a Gujjar, whose name is strangely like that of Alakhana, the Raja of Gurjara, who was defeated by Sangkara Varmma between 883 and 901 A. D.' Captain Mackenzie, on the other hand, records the tradition that the city was rebuilt 'in *Sambat* 175 (118 A. D.) by Rani Gujran, wife of Badr Sen, son of Raja Rasalu of Sialkot.' Both accounts agree on the final restoration of the city in the time of Akbar. The antiquity of the city is probably beyond doubt, but it is to be noted that Captain Mackenzie heard of no 'Antique coins having been found in Gujrat itself by which any trustworthy dates might be fixed.'"

[For the detailed ancient history of Gujrat, its invaders, tribes, profession, culture, etc, *see* Karamatullah (1977, 50-269). Since it is beyond the scope of this book, there is no point in getting involved in this lore. What can be concluded from the work of Karramatulla (P. 269) is: the historians have written in clear words when Gujrat was repopulated during the reign of Akbar; he named it as Gujrat. However, in old documents its name was Gujrat as well even before Akbar.]

Marfat.com

It is claimed that in the construction of Gujrat, the Qanoongo family played a major role. It is possible that due to a tug of jealousy to let Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.) down, Bhandari (1695 *in* Zaidi, 1966) and Wadera (1849) might have fabricated the story of Gujrat construction involving the Qanoongos. The oldest reference about this tale is found in Bhandari, afterwards Wadera made a repitition thereof. On the contrary, in old books the city of Gujrat is clearly termed as "Gujrat Shah Doola" or "Shah Doola Nagry." In addition, the settlers of Gujrat owe their settlement to Shah Daulah Daryae.

Akbari Fort: The cost of the fort being great (Elliott, 1902, P. 8) and the Imperial Exchequer also being rather low, Akbar called on the leading men to assist him in the cost, as now, the Jats and Gujjars were jealous of each other's influence; and then, as now, the Jats were a great deal more close-fisted than the Gujjars. They accordingly refused any monetary aid. But the Gujjars, rejoiced at the prospect of "going one better" than the Jats, and of having a Gujjar fort dominating the Jats' country, decided to raise the cash required, namely one and a quarter lac rupees. Chaudhry Fateh Muhammad of Varaichanwala, a wealthy but ignorant Gujjar, supplied the money. So ignorant was he that he could not count the money at all, but had to measure it in the district measure, called a *topa*. His descendants to this day bear the name in their clan of "Gujjar Topa," and the prefix of "Topa," *e. g.*, Topa Adam, distinguishes their villages.

There was also built a large *baoli* (step-well) and a *hammam*, which are still in good order.

Akbar at that time was accompanied by Mehta Kaka Mal, a descendant of the Solar dynasty, from whom the Qanoongo family of Gujrat claim descent. Kaka Mal had been appointed ruler and Qanoongo (well versed in law) of Sialkot by Salim Shah Suri, about 1550 A. D. He was ordered by the King (Akbar) to make an accurate survey of the forest around Gujrat, which was estimated at 14,000 bighas. An order was given to Kaka Mal to populate and cultivate the

Marfat.com

land, and in exchange he received a large *Jagir*. From this time dates the prominent Qanoongo family of Gujrat.

The daughter of Kaka Mal married Lakhan Gobati, and her dowry was a *Tappa* (endowment) of eighty four villages, the chief village of which is Lakhanwal.

One of Kaka Mal's descendants, Sukh Deo, presented himself before the emperor Aurangzeb, and expressed his wish to become a convert to Islam. The name "Iqbalmand" was given to him as a mark of the royal pleasure.

The city and fort thus built became known as *Gujrat Basai Akbarabad*, this being an anagram giving the date 995 A. H. or 1580 A. D. (*sic*, it should be 1587), but it is impossible to say how much of the fort, as existing at present, was built by Akbar, and how much is due to the work of Gujjar Singh early in the Sikh rule.

Wadera (1849, P. 180) says that Baba Behgwant Daas Beragi in 1267 A. H (1850-1851) repaired the well in the fort of Gujrat. It should be mentioned that both the city of Gujrat and the fort were built at the same time.

The *baoli* of Gujrat was constructed by the emperor Akbar in 1580 A. D. at the same time that Gujrat Fort was constructed. The project cost about 10,000 rupees (Baig, 1870, P. 83). The *baoli* is situated inside the fort about 120 feet from the Kabuli Gate.

In referring to Udanagar it was mentioned that the River Chenab flowed by the city, not six miles away as it flows these days. This is partly confirmed by the existing arches of the Shah Daulah bridge, which is over half a mile long (built by Shah Daulah—Elliott, 1902, P. 9), and goes to show that if the Chenab did not then flow near, some very considerable branch of it, or else some nala (nullah, stream) did flow by the city. The love story of Sohni Mahinwal confirms this. And also all round the city there is but some two or three feet depth of soil, and below this comes pure river sand.

The city was ravaged and looted by Nadir Shah in 1738 A. D. But it was again repopulated when in 1741 A. D. Sultan Mukarrab Khan came down with Ghakhars from

Marfat.com

Rawalpindi, took the city by storm, and overrun the Chaj Doab. Mukarrab Khan was confirmed in his rule by Ahmed Shah Durrani and so the city itself escaped any further attack by that adventurer, though the district will never forget the sufferings caused by Ahmed Shah. But in the same year that Ahmed Shah went south to Muttra and looted that city, then Khaka Singh advanced from Gujranwala, and taking Gujrat by storm ravaged it of everything they could carry away with them. After the battle of Panipat and the return of Ahmed Shah to his country, the Punjab was overrun by the Sikhs, who spread northwards.

Sultan Mukarrab Khan made vigorous resistance to the forces of Sardar Charat Singh and Gujjar Singh, but defeated in the open, he retired to the city, and shut himself up in the Gujrat Fort. Thence being besieged with the supply cut off, he made a desperate sally, and cut his way through the Sikh investing lines. But encumbered with baggage and women he was shortly overtaken again, his forces surrounded and overpowered. The Sultan escaped on an elephant and was seen to descend on the animal's back into a deep wide nala. The elephant appeared on the furtherside, but the Sultan was not on his back. He was never seen and his fate remains uncertain.

The Sikhs took possession of the city, but did not sack it or ravage it at all. They renewed the fortification and strengthened the walls. Twice again was the city stormed, but the fort was not taken. The aggressor in both cases was Shah Zaman, who first sent an army under Bahadur Khan in Sambat 1852 A. D. Sardar Sahib Singh reached to meet him, fought him in the open, and so entirely defeated him that Bahadur Khan found his line of retreat out, and had to flee to Sialkot and there made terms of peace.

Again Shah Zaman sent Ahmed Khan Shahhanchi, a Pathan adventurer, with 5000 men. Advancing cautiously they reached Gujrat, and assaulted the fort at daybreak. Sahib Singh with a garrison of (Elliott, 1902, P. 10) 500 men only, was in the fort and the only pieces of ordnance they had one

Marfat.com

enormous gun, called "Shah Basant." For three hours a fierce fight raged, found the gates of the fort, but then Shahhanchi being killed, the Sikhs drove off their assailants, and pursued them to Jalalpur. Many Pathans were killed and driven into the tank outside the city by the brick kilns,which has since been called "Fateh Sar."

The Zamindars attacked the fleeing Pathans wherever they appeared and it is stated that not one escaped. The dead Sikhs are buried at the Dharmshala of Damdama Sahib.

This was the last assault on the city, which, however, was destined once more to see a force threatening to attack it. But the complete defeat of the Sikh army at Gujrat February 21st, 1849, rendered any assault unnecessary, since then the city has remained undisturbed under the British rule.

The gates of the city are mostly non-existent. Their names in themselves proclaim their origin, except the Sheshianwala gate (present name Chowk Pakistan). This was so called because in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it had the second storey wholly made of glass, which latter was allowed to fall into ruins, and is now no longer extant. This is the gate leading to the Barandari, the old court house.

Excavations (Elliot, 1902, P. 15) carried out in the tank of the Bagh Mal, Gujrat gave rise to the idea that it was a Buddhist city because a statue of the Buddha was found at a great depth.

There is another version about the construction of the Akbari Fort, *baoli* and the *hammam*: In order to resolve the longstanding rivalry between the Jats and the Gujjars of the neighbourhood, Akbar induced the Gujjars to furnish half the construction funds in return for which they would hold the fort in his name. The required sum of 1 lac was immediately provided, and the fort thus took the joint name of "Gujrat Akbarabad" and was made into a separate pargana (Rogers, 1974, P. 91).The construction of Gujrat town is described by the emperor Jahangir in the following terms:

Akbar also constructed a haveli, a baoli and a *hammam* for the convenience and welfare of the public and travelers

Marfat.com

(Baig, 1870, P. 83; Ross, 1883. Pp144).The construction was carried out under the supervision of Dianat Roy and Wazir Kjan (Khan). The former became the local ruler of Gujrat during the reign of the emperor Jahangir (Elliott, 1902, p. 16). Although the haveli was destroyed during the Sikh period; the *hammam* and *baoli* exist even today.

In contrast to the foregoing observations, Kunjahi (2000, Pp 38-39) states while ascending the hump of Dhaki *Darwaza* or the Kabuli Gate from the West Circular Road, Gujrat, a building reminds us that there was once a fort. It is written in *Tuzke Jahangiri*, the autobiography of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, that his father Akbar got a fort built thereupon the top of the height. However, there is no evidence as to its date of construction. It is also not known when Jahangir paid a visit to Gujrat. Like his son Shah Jahan, he is also said to have passed in the vicinity of Gujrat on his several trips to Kashmir.

Apparently, Jahangir and Shah Jahan traversed far away from the limits of Gujrat, because it did not seem reasonable to cross the Bhimber Nullah unnecessarily that flowed near Gujrat. Jahangir might have heard from his courtiers, who, in order to please him, fabricated the story that Akbar constructed a fort at Gujrat. And Jahangir believing it to be true might have written it down in his autobiography

It is written in *Shah Jahan Nama* that Shah Jahan, after the 7th year of his coronation, when he marched from Lahore towards Bhimber, en route to Kashmir, encamped outside the suburbs of Gujrat. Thence he reached Kashmir in 12 *manzals* (distance of a day's travel on horseback). This alludes to the fact that in order to reach Bhimber he did not resort to the route of Gujrat. The return was also via Mirpur and Bhimber, away from Gujrat, some place beyond the Bhimber Nullah. It was at that place where some Sadaat dignitaries (Kunjahi, 2000, P. 40) and religious leaders complained to Shah Jahan about non-Muslims having held Muslim women and Muslim female maids. The same way a mosque was also possessed

Marfat.com

by them. Shah Jahan appointed Sheikh Mahmud Gujrati for the investigation.

Thus, neither Akbar, Jahangir nor Shah Jahan entered Gujrat nor took any interest in its fort. This seems to be a similar false story that Humayun built a *baoli* in Kharian, though Humayun, as is evident from history, never stayed at Kharian (*op. cit.*). In the same way, Akbar's coming to Gujrat or the phrase *Gujrat mussami* (named) *Akbarabad*, are doubtful.

In the book *Forts of India* there is no mention of the fort of Gujrat Kunjahi (2000, P. 40). From the time of the rise of Akbar till the fall of the Mughals, we do not come across any ruler who showed interest in this fort supposedly attributed to Akbar. However, Elliott (1902, P. 8)) maintains it is difficult to ascertain that how much portion of the fort in question was built by Akbar and how much of it by Gujjar Singh early in the days of the Sikh regime.

Kunjahi (2000, Pp 41-42) gives another explanation about the Gujrat Fort. Gujrat had fallen under the rule of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. He like the emperor Akbar was illiterate, notwithstanding, both of them employed learned persons in their respective courts (*darbars*). In Ranjeet Singh's court, there was one such *adeeb* (man of letters) and poet, Dewan Amar Nath. On the works of Ranjeet Singh he wrote a Persian *Mathnavi*, titled *Zaffar Nama*. And in the text he labelled Ranjeet Singh as Akbar. On the basis of the name thus given he called himself Akbari, much the same as the poet Sa'di called himself by this title from the reference of Sa'd. However, after 1835 the reign of Ranjeet Singh began to decay and this drama failed to be fully staged.

It can be assumed that Ranjeet Singh might well had some interest or his associates in building the fort of Gujrat and persons, who understood the royal temperament of Ranjeet Singh, hastened to call him Akbar. But after his expiry in 1839, this flame that suddenly flared up, extinguished.

Serai Khwas Khan or Khwaspur: Huegel (1843 *in* Siddiqui, 1990, P. 293) stated that Serai Khwas Khan was

Marfat.com

not more than 12 *kos* (20.4 miles) from Serai Alamgir. Serai Khwas Khan was surrounded by high walls that were spotted all over by cow-dung *apleys* (cakes) used as a source of fuel. The serai was constructed like a fort in a plain. There was much hustle and bustle therein, but it presented a strange sight, because all of the walls and roofs of the houses were covered by cow-dung cakes to be dried in the sun and later on stored. In open lawns of the houses too there were piles of fried cow-dung cakes.

From the Serai Khwas Khan, Wazirabad (Huegel *in* Siddiqui, 1990, P. 204) is at a distance of 12 *kos*. The town of Gujrat, which is surrounded by raw mud walls, located about half the way in-between, and is famous for the family of Ranjeet Singh. Maan Singh, father of Ranjeet Singh, was about 27-year old when he initiated the adventure to capture Gujrat.

Elliott (1902, P.. 11) observed that near Serai Alamgir was the ruined hunting lodge of Akbar, built in the 4th year of his reign, and called Chokandi. Not far from there is Guliana, a fort built by one Gul Muhammad in the time of Akbar. The old imperial road used to run by Guliana from Khwaspur, and so over the Pabbi hills by the tank known as Ban Bariala and by Bena to Jhelum. Ranjit Singh repaired the fort, which now was the village school. The usual Royal Serai was built at Gujrat as also at Khwaspur, Kharian and Serai Alamgir. At Gujrat no traces remained, but at Khwaspur a large part of the Serai was to be seen forming a considerable portion of the present village.

The Serai was built in 1545 A. D. by Sakhi Khwas Khan, a son of the emperor Sher Shah by a slave girl (he was not a son of Sher Shah *op. cit.*) The emperor married him to the daughter of a Ghakhar Chief (wrong again *op. cit.*), and gave him rule over Chakla Gujrat. The Serai stands as a monument to his name, which is also remembered for his forcible conversion to Islam of the Butiaris of the Serai, whom he called Salim Shahio or Islam Shahio, by which name of Machis of that part were still known. At the

Marfat.com

beginning of the British Raj Khwaspur was a Thana. A few remains of the old Serai were also to be seen as that of Serai Alamgir

Khwaspur (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 103) was an important halting station after Gujrat. It is situated three miles east of the present Grand Trunk Road on the left bank of the Bhimber Nala. It had a *Serai* built for the maintenace of peace and rest of travelers. The *Serai* was furnished with a *baoli* and a mosque, in addition to the other facilities required by travelers and caravans. .

Emperor Jahangir passed through Khwaspur *Serai* in 1607 A. D. on his way to Kabul. He wrote in his autobiography that, ". . . on Friday I pitched at Khwaspur, five *kos* from Gujrat, founded by Khwas Khan, a slave of Sher Khan Afghan" (*Tuzuke Jahangiri*, V. 1, P. 91) [contradicted by Jahangir that Khwas Khan was only a slave, not a son of Sher Shah]

The *Serai* stood as a monument to his (Khwas Khan's) name throughout the Mughal period, but later on it fell into decay until it disappeared except for some portions of the northern wall, and the town which bears its name.

There was a mosque and a *baoli* inside the *Serai*. According to local tradition the mosque and *baoli* were built by the emperor Akbar. In 1836 Major Jervis passed through Khwaspur and spent a night here. He throws some light on its design, construction and condition at that time:

"Although Khwas Khan (*sic*) is not more than twelve miles (from Jhelum) we had a long march . . . The *Serai Khawas Khan* (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 106), which we did not reach till night fall, was surrounded by high walls. . . The town on the plain is built in the form of a fort . . . The only resting place to be found was an open mosque, and with much difficulty I had obtained a supply of fuel, which I knew would be indispensable for the long cold night" (Jervis, 1843, Pp 247-250.).

The *baoli* was subsequently filled up, and houses have been constructed on its site, but the original structure of the

Marfat.com

mosque is still in good condition. There is also an old well of the Mughal period to the west of the *Serai*, which irrigates the surrounding fields.

Some rooms of the *Serai* survived till independence from the British Raj, but due to their dilapidated condition the local population pulled them down and constructed new houses.

The last structure of historical and cultural interest in this area is the so-called tomb of Khawas Khan. It is situated in a graveyard west of Khwaspur *Serai.* However, the grave of Khwas Khan is also said to be in Rohtas (which Rohtas in Jhelum or Bihar?) and in Delhi. According to the legend a battle was fought at Rohtas Fort in which his head was separated by a sword cut, and suddenly his corpse disappeared. In Khwaspur some women were washing their clothes on the bank of the pond. They saw a rider on a horse without head, with a sword in his hand. When he reached there, he fell down. The local people buried him there and his head is lying in a grave at Rohtas. In fact Khwas Khan was assassinated in Sambhal (India) with the conspiracy of Islam Shah and buried there (SirWilliam Haig & Sir Richard Burn. 1987, P. 59).

Marfat.com

FABLE

Allegedly, Shah Daula (R. A.) was the first Khalifa and the cousin brother of Ghause Azam (R. A.). Shah Daula's (R. A.) wedding procession remained underwater for 12 years and then emerged intact. He was actually 85-year old but due to the paryer of Ghaus Pak (R. A.)) another 500 years were added. Ghause Azam (R. A.) ordained Shah Daulah (R. A.) to go to the eastern countries and serve the Deen Islam. Kabiruddin Daryae Doolah alias Shah Daula. Shah Daulah's (R. A..) age was calculated to be 150 years. Historical discrepancy about the meeting of Baba Guru Nanak with Sahah Daulah (R. A.). Groh Doola Shahi. The Swat sect of faqirs. Unreasonable connection of the ancestry of Shah Daulah (R. A.) with Akhund Sahib of Swat. The baoli of Kharian wrongfully attributed to the Mughal Emperor Humayun as he never made a stop at Kharian.

Afzal (1995, Pp 341-342) states that Shah Daula Daryae (R. A.) according to Akhlas Khan, son of Nawab Khan, the saint Rehmat Ali used to say that his mentor was Shah Daula (R. A.), whatever he got was due to him. Rehmat Ali asserted that Shah Daula (R. A.) was the first *Khalifa* of Ghause Azam (R. A.). In the words of Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain sub-inspector police, Rehmat Ali said that Shah Daula (R. A.) was the *chacha zad bhai* (cousin brother) of Ghause Azam (R. A.).

Shah Daula's (R. A.) *baraat* (wedding procession) remained underwater for 12 years and throughout these years Hazrat Khizer (A. S.) showed his hospitality to the *baraat*.The mother of Shah Daula (R. A.) presented herself to Ghause Azam (R. A.)

Marfat.com

and solicited him to pray for the recovery of the *baraat*. Consequently, he prayed and Shah Daula (R. A.) along with all members of the *baraat* emerged intact from the water.

Rehmat Ali further added that the actual life span of Shah Daula (R. A.) was 85 years. Due to the paryer of Ghaus Pak (R. A.) another 500 years were added. Thus the life of Shah Daula (R. A.) turns out to be 585 years. Muhammad Yusaf quotes Rehmat Ali as saying that Shah Daula (R. A.) passed away 450 years ago.

A river used to flow through Baghdad (these days the River Dujla flows through the city). Palaces of the *umaraa* were located by the bank of the river and people fastened their boats by the river banks. Once this river flowed near Baghdad, Shah Daula (R. A.) with his parents lived in a small settlement. When Shah Daula's (R. A.) *baraat* left, Ghause Azam (R. A.) did not participate. The *baraat* was to leave for a village across the river. Shah Daula (R. A.) along with his bride and others got inside a boat. While returning, in the midst of the current, the boat along with the *baraatis* (participants of the *baraat*) disappeared. His mother started to roam in the woods and became greatly grieved.

One day she decided to visit Ghause Azam (R. A.). In those days the river had changed its course, but Shah Daula's (R. A.) mother knew the spot where the *baraat* got drowned. She beseeched Ghause Azam (R. A.) to kindly locate the *baraat*. Ghause Azam (R. A.) came along with Shah Daula's (R. A.) mother to the spot where the *baraat* had drowned.

Ghause Azam (R. A.) while standing near the spot shouted and all of the aquatic creatures came out. These aquatic creatures requested in their own language that they have not done any harm to the *baraat*. The *baraatis* kept on enjoying the hospitality of Hazrat Khwaja Khizer (A. S.). Again Ghause Azam (R. A.) shouted then the boat came out. When Shah Daula (R. A.) emerged, Ghause Azam (R. A.), placing his hand on the shoulder of Shah Daula (R. A.). said, "How is the bridegroom? For 12 years you have been feasting yourself."

Marfat.com

Then Ghause Azam (R. A.) ordained, "Go to the eastern countries and serve the Deen Islam."

Khan, Y. (1939, Pp 392-393), in the preface of his book, *Darsul Qur'an*, briefly mentions that Kabiruddin Daryae Doolah *alias* Shah Daula (R. A.) is resting in Gujrat. Shah Daula (R. A.) is the same personage whose drowned wedding procession, including the bride, was recovered alive by Ghaus Pak after 12 years. Thus, his title is Daryae Doolah (R. A.) that has been distorted, with some difference, to Shah Daula.

Abid Khan enquired about the age of Shah Daula (R. A.). He replied, "Pehao, one day and a night" (Raam, 1719-1720, *Karamat* No. 73).

Again Abid Khan asked:

"When Jahangir ascended the throne how old were you by that time?"

"When his father (Akbar) was crowned as a king at Kalanur, the *faqir* on that occasion was 18-year old."

Upon calculating the age of Shah Daula (R. A.), it came to 150 years.

It is alleged (Raam, 1719-1720, *Karamat* No, 50, Pp 99-101) that once Baba Guru Nanak came to see Bhai Piyara in Mangowal (it is not known whether this village is the one, near Kunjah, south of Gujrat or the other, near Jalalpur Jattan, east ot it. Both Mangowals are about equidistant from the city of Gujrat).and asked him, "How far does Shah Daula (R. A.) live from this place?"

"About six or seven *kos* from here," replied Bhai Piyara.

"Have you ever had the opportunity to see Shah Daulah (R. A.)?" enquired Baba Nanak.

"Every week," was the reply.

"Tomorrow early in the morning go and fetch him," asked Baba Nanak.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) through the heavenly inspiration came to know of the intention of Guru Nanak. Consequently, about midnight Shah Daula (R. A.) visited Guru Nanak at Mangowal. After some conversation and a treat, he took leave of him.

Marfat.com

The next morning Baba Nanak told Bhai Piyara to cancel the trip to Gujrat as Shah Daulah (R. A.) had already paid him a visit the night before. The same morning Shah Daulah (R. A.) in the company of two or four devotees carrying the gift of *bhang* (hashish), *hulva* (a sort of cooked sweet dish) and a container of cow milk returned to Mangowal and offered the gift to Guru Nanak. After accepting the gift, Guru Nanak (R. A.) placed a *tunba* (receptacle) in front of him for Shah Daulah (R. A.) to pour the milk into it. When Shah Daulah (R. A.) began to pour the milk from his container into the *tunba* of Guru Nanak, neither the supply of the milk from the container would exhaust nor the *tunba* would get filled up. Guru Nanak marveled, "Shah Daulah (R. A.) you are *Daryae* in real sense of the word, and your container is like a river that never gets emptied, and the *tunba* is like an ocean that never gets filled up." Afterwards he returned to Gujrat.

So far so good but there is a historical discrepancy. Guru Nanak, the first guru of the Sikhs was born April 15 (4th Baysakh), 1469 (873 A. H.), during the time of Bahlul Lodi, in the house of Kaloo Kathry *alias* Baydi (Wadera 1849, P. 105), at Roy Bhai di Talvandi, Sheikhupura, (now Nankana Sahib, Pakistan), India. He died 1539 (945 A. H) in the beginning of the reign of Sultan Salim Shah Suri, at Kartarpur, Punjab.

Shah Daulah (R. A.) died 1674-1675 (1085 A. H.). Thus there is difference of 135 or 140 years between their respective dates of expiries. The best guess about Shah Daula Gujrati's (R. A.) age is 69 years. To all intents and purposes this story is nothing more than figment of the imagination!

Most of the writers (wrongfully) believe that Shah Daulah was 95-year old when died. He is said to be born in 1582 (989 A. H.), *i. e.*, 25th year of the emperor Akbar's ascending the throne, and mostly believed to have died 1675 (1085 A. H.). Thus, there is no possibility of a meeting between Baba Nanak and Shah Daulah R. A.(Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 166).

Marfat.com

In *Karamat nama* of Raam (1719-1720, P.60, *karamat* No. 60) when the age of Shah Daula was asked (*op. cit.*) he replied that when Akbar was crowned at Kalanur he was 18-year old. If we believe this, Shah Daulah had the age of 150 years; the date of birth comes to 1529 (935 A. H.). Resultantly, at the death of Baba Nanak, Shah Daula was 15-year old. At that age Shah Daulah had not achieved the heights of that grandeur so that Guru Nanak might have wished to meet him.

An unnamed and undated author of *Tazkeratul Fuqrah* (P. 35, *see* Chap References)) has brought to attention a certain "Groh Doola Shahi" (sect Doola Shahi). It started from Doola Daryae (R. A.), who belonged to the descendants of Bahlul Lodi. There are no references in *Tazkeratul Fuqrah.*

The adherents of this sect, with the aid of dust draw an *Alif* (the first letter of Urḍu, Persian, or Arabic alphabet) on their foreheads. The reason is that Shah Daulah (R. A.) after burning his *khurkah* (overcoat) drew an *Ālif* from the ashes thereof on his own forehead. Thus it is binding on the integrants of this sect to follow suit. However, instead of ashes from their burnt up *khurkahs* they employ dust. *Alif* is taken for Allah. Due to this Shah Daula (R. A.) is known with the title "*Alif Allah ke Faqir*" (*see* also Chaudhry, C., 1970, P. 98, ref. Magazine *Sirajul Fuqrah* No. 29 and ref. Siraj Ahmed Lahori; Qiladari, 1983, Pp 28-29, ref. *Sirajul Fuqrah*). Both of the *Karamat Namas* are silent on the subject.

Elliott (1902, P. 28) comments though Shah Daulah (R. A.) a reputed holy saint, and esteemed for his religious tolerance, many of his acts, which are imputed to him for righteousness, do not appear in the same light to western minds.

The founder of the Swat sect of *faqirs* was a disciple of the shrine of Shah Daulah R. A. (Elliott, 1902, P. 29), and the Swat sect acknowledges allegiance to the Gujrat shrine. In other words, Elliott, indirectly, tries to connect the ancestry of Shah Daulah (R. A.) with Akhund Sahib of Swat (though the name Akhund, the founder of the sect, is not mentioned),

Marfat.com

thus maliciously tries to establish the Pathan origin of Shah Daula (R. A.).

Elliott (1902, P. 11) says the most noticeable monuments on the old imperial road (present Grand Trunk Road) are the *baolis* at Kharian, near Gujrat. There are two of them, one of stone and the other of bricks. The wells are some 200 feet deep, of three stories of arched and domed chambers, with a long flight of steep steps leading to the water, and with side passages leading to the center chambers. The following story about their construction, as told, is:

"About 1542 A. D. Humayun, dethroned and flying to Sistaan, halted at Kharian on the way up from his disastrous Scfhde campaign. There was a peasant by the name of Gaurah, who approached the king with a present of pomegranate and a pot of butter, and said: (Elliott *vide supra*, P. 12): "Your Majesty, in a dream I saw a lighted lamp in your house, which means that a good news is coming."

"Within the honour (*sic*, it should be within the hour) the news of the birth of Akbar at Umarkot was brought. The pleased Humayun sent for Gaurah and told him to proffer a request. In reply Gaurah urged the lack of water around there and the difficulty of obtaining it. Humayun gave him a *parwana* (written royal note) that a well should be built when his rule would be restored.

"After Humayun's restoration, and death six months Kabul" (ambiguous; one presumes that after Humayun was restored to the throne, he died six months later in Kabul, but he died in Delhi). Guarah showed the *parwana* of Humayun, and Akbar (his son) ordered not one but two wells. On the *baoli* there is an inscription, set into the wall on the left hand of the domed center chamber at the entrance, which records that the work was completed in the month of Ramazan A. H. 1013 or A. D. 1602 (*sic*, it should be 1604-1605) in the reign of Akbar, who ordered it to be built by Fate ul-la, son of Haji Habib-ul-la, and that it cost 11,000 Akbari rupees. A prayer for the maker's sins (to be forgiven) ends the inscription.

Marfat.com

"The eastern *baoli* is in the original state, built of stone, and this is the one with the inscription in it. The appearance of the western *baoli* is very different owing to its having been thoroughly repaired by S. Lehna Singh when he ruled Gujrat."

Translation of the inscription of the

Akbari *baoli* at Kharian

"To God, the Almighty:

This *baoli* was built and completed in the month of Ramazan A. H. 1013, in the reign of the just and victorious King, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Ghazi. The Chief Engineer Fateh-ul-la, son of Haji Habib-ul-la, was ordered by the said king to build this *baoli*. On it were spent 11,000 Akbari rupees. O God, have mercy on the man who ordered its erection for the sake of the prophet and his descendants."

[Humayun when chased by the forces of Sher Shah Suri never followed this route (*see* elsewhere).]

Williamson (1921, P. 15) repeats most of the story told by Elliott.

Marfat.com

MICRO-CEPHALOUS SUBJECTS

Baig (1870) for the first time mentioned the "Chuhas of Shah Daulah." Elliott (1902) used the terms "Chuhas" and micro-cephalous subjects. In the Jahangir's Tuzke Jahangiri and Shah Jahan's Shah Jahan Nama there is no account of their meetings with Shah Daulah (R. A.) at Gujrat. Although Jahangir was a keen observer yet he didn't take a note of the chuhas. Many of the foreign travelers in Hindustan have not observed the phenomenon of the micro-cephalous of Shah Daulah (R. A.) and the same is true of Qadri and Raam, who were the contemporary of him. Shah Daulah (R. A.) has nothing to do with the chuhas. The "Rats of Shah Daula" is a fabrication of the recent times. The characteristics of the chuhas. Many a detail of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) miracles is well documented but the one which is chiefly associated with his name, though erroneously, is the miracle of the chuhas. The origin of chuhas. The fact is simply that such deformed children are occasionally born. The criminal gangs acquire the rat kids from families by either posing as emissaries from the shrine of Shah Daulah (R. A.), or in some cases purchased for several thousand dollars. The tale of a Maharani. Some of the chuhas are exploited for begging. A family is known with microcephalics who used to take part in domestic chores and one or two of them joined the government service as well but none of their parents had prayed so that they should be born with diminutive heads. It was not always the first born child to be mico-cephalous but could be the second or the third. The phenomenon of micro-cephalous deformity is almost worldwide, where there are no saints to procure

Marfat.com

the "rat-childern" with the prayers for the issuless parents. There are many unfounded exaggerations attached to this abnormal condition. Glorification of the falsehood of the chuhas of Shah Daulah (R. A.) by different writers. Baseless assertions that the heads of the infants are squeezed by contraptions to make them the "rat children." Findings of the Anthropology Society in Berlin and Paris. Various scientific reasons that may result in micro-cephaly.

Baig (1870, P. 89) for the first time mentioned the "Chuhas of Shah Daulah." Then came along Lahori (1874 *in* Bhatty, 1994, P.168; 1877, reprint 1966, Pp 307, 531; 1902, Pp 102-103; 1906 *in* Mojadeddi, 1976 Pp 172, 174). Afterwards, Elliott, 1902 (Pp. 28-30) used the terms, "mice," "Chuhas" and "micro-cephalous subjects." He also stated that the *chuhas* mostly came from Jammu and Poonch, and there were forty-three *chuhas* in 1885 in the Punjab and during his stay in Gujrat there were only twenty *chuhas* attached to the shrine itself.

In spite of the fact that the Mughal Emperor Jahangir passed through Gujrat on various occasions, there is no mention in his book, *Tuzake Jahangiri* (the same is true of his son, emperor Shah Jahan's *Shah Jahan Nama*), that he ever heard of or met with Shah Daulah (R. A.). On the contrary, Qadri (undated) in *Karamat Nama Khurd* and Raam (1719-1720) in *Karamat Nama Klaan,* respectively, have documented quite a few meetings of Shah Daulah (R. A.) with the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan (*see* Elliott, 1902, P. 26; Elliott *in* Ibbetson *et. al.*, 1919, P. 634; Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 88).

Jahangir was a keen observer. He took the notice of most unusual things in Hindustan. For example, Rampuri (1967, P. 454) states that in 1625 (1035 A. H., 19th Muharram) Jahangir embarked upon his return trip from Kashmir toward Lahore and on his way he was told that on the top of Pir Panjal mountains there lived such a bird the food of which consisted of pieces of bones. Upon his order the bird was

Marfat.com

caught. When opened up, in its stomach were in fact pieces of bones. Jahangir was told that this bird resembled the legendary bird *Huma* (when it flies over the head of a person he becomes a king). He recorded (Rampuri, 1967, P. 38) details of flowers such as their colours, fragrance, etc. and made comparative studies of similar kinds.

Many times Jahangir passed by Gujrat en route to Kashmir, but failed to become aware of the existence of Shah Daulah (R. A.) living right therein with whose "blessings" the so-called "*Chuhas* of Shah Daulah" are born. It seems strange! It should be emphasized that all of the Mughal emperors were devoted to the saints alive or dead.

The foreign travelers like Bernier (1656-1668, *in* Nadvi, 1960), who have recorded their travels in India, have also not considered the unusual phenomenon of the micro-cephalous of Shah Daulah (R. A.). As late as 1845 the famous traveler Dr. Huegel (*op. cit*) passed through Gujrat without considering Shah Daulah (R. A.) and his "*Chuhas*."

Qadri (*op. cit*), Raam (*op. cit*—both of them contemporary of Shah Daulah R. A.) and Wadera (1849)—the biographers of Shah Daulah (R. A.), have never noticed the phenomenon of the *chuhas*. Hussein S. M (1990, P. 30) states that Khwaja Muhammad Gauharuddin Ahmed after visiting the Mascleum of Hazrat Data Sahib (R. A.). at Lahore, returned to Gujrat and paid homage to the grave of Shah Daulah Sahib (R. A.). Through the knowledge of *kashaful kaboor* (ability to enter into conversation with the graves) asked, "These *chuhas* that are born have been attributed to you by different events, what is the background of all of these, is it a fact?" Shah Daulah (R. A.) replied, "It is an exaggeration. There is no truth in it." Slatch (1996, Pp 96-97) justifiably concluded that in so far as the question of the "Rats of Shah Daula" is concerned it is a fabrication of the recent times.

Baig (*op. cit*) and Lahori (*op. cit.*) elaborated further that if somebody asked Shah Doola (R. A.) to pray for being blessed with a child, he would reply, "The first son give to me, Allah will bless you with a child." The prayer would be

Marfat.com

answered. The first son thusly born presented the following characteristics: the head relatively smaller than usual, loss of speech and the *chuha* oblivious of himself. The child born with such a condition would be brought by the parents to the presence of Shah Doola (R. A.). He would accept and keep him.

In this way hundreds of similar children, called the "*Chuhas of Shah Doola*", remained in his custody. They were provided with food from the free eatery.Till the present time (Lahori, 1902) this *karamat*, that is, the *chuhas*, are found at the mausoleum of Shah Doola (R. A.). At the annual *Urs* the *chuhas* from far off places gather at the shrine of Shah Doola.

The issueless persons, men and women alike, visit the shrine from distant localities. They accept that the first born son would be donated to Shah Doola (R. A.); consequently, when a *chuha* is born to them, they leave him at the mausoleum..

"At the time of the writing of this book (Lahori, 1874 original Farsi version) four chuhas, two-month-old each, are present at the mausoleum."

There are many *karamaat* attributed to Shah Daulah (R. A.). The most famous *karamat* is that if some issueless person prays at his mausoleum his paryer is answered but the child, male or female, would be an idiot and he would leave him (her) at his mausoleum. "Nine 'rats' are still (at that time) at his mausoleum (Lahori, 1877, reprint 1966, P. 307). The head of a *chuha* is small, ears big and the stature short. The *chuhas* live upon the premises of the mausoleum, and the *Mujawwars* (grave tenders) move from place to place with them begging." Lahori (1877, reprint 1966, P. 531) saw many of these micro-cephalous that are indeed the *karamat* of Shah Daula (R. A.).

Many a detail of Shah Daulah's (R. A.) miracles is well-documented but the one which is chiefly associated with his name, though erroneously, is the miracle of the *chuhas* (Elliott, 1902, Pp 28-29; Elliott *in* Ibbetson, *et al.*, 1919, P.

Marfat.com

636). These *chuhas*, or rat-children are micro-cephalous subjects, said to be born through his agency with large pointed ears, a conical head, and rat-like impression of face. They do not have any understanding and power of speech, and are used for begging only.

Elliott (1902, P. 30) calculates that in 1885 there were forty-three "chuhas" in the Punjab, but at present are only twenty "chuhas" attached to the shrine itself.The question as to whether "chuhas" are artificially made has been frequently under consideration, but the matter has been treated always "confidentially" and had better remain so. The papers and files are in the District Office (Gujrat).

Elliott (*in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, P. 630) again maintains that the *Chuhas* or Rat-children are an institution in the Punjab. They are micro-cephalous beings, devoid of all powers of speech, idiots, and unable to protect themselves from danger, of filthy habits, but entirely without sexual instincts (for medical opinion on the *Chuhas*, an article is referred to in the *Indian Medical Gazette*, May 1st, 1886, by K. E. Wilson Johnston. Reprinted in *Punjab Notes and Queries*, 1886, III, Pp. 117-118; also II, Pp 69 and 172).

The *chuhas* are given names, but are usually known by the names of their attendants, whose voices they recognize and whose signs they understand. They have to be taught to eat and drink, but cannot be allowed to go unguarded. Their natural instinct is to suck only, and, when they have been taught to eat and drink and can walk, they are made over to a *faqir* of the Shah Daula (R. A.) sect, who wanders about begging with his "Shah Daula's Rats."

Marfat.com

The popular idea that these unfortunate beings have been "blessed" by the saint, Shah Daula Daryae (R. A.) of Gujrat in the Punjab, and that, though they are repulsive objects no contempt of them must be shown, as the saint will make a *Chuha* of the next child born to one who despises one of his *protégés*. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperirty of Shah Daula's (R. A.) shrine at Gujrat.

The common superstition as to the origin of the *Chuhas* is this:

Shah Daula (R. A.), like other saints, could procure the birth of a child for a couple desiring so, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a *Chuha*—brainless. small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shah Daula's (R. A.) *khanqah*, but in a modified form. Persons desiring children would go to the saint's shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases, when the deformed child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was also a *Chuha*, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled (in most part this is the copy of Elliott, 1902, "The religion and sect of Shah Daula" P. 29, related to *Chuhas*).

The shrine of Shah Daulah (R. A.) is just outside the city of Gujrat to the east (Williamson, 1921, Pp 54-55) that Shah Daulah (R. A.) was a saint of great repute, who in the reign of Shah Jahan lived in Gujrat and from the rich offerings made to him spent freely on the adornment of the town and its suburbs.

At this *khanqah* (shrine) are domiciled human deformities known as Shah Daula's *chuhas* (rats). The popular belief is that the Shah Daulah (R. A.) undertakes to cause children to be born in childless homes on condition of the parents consenting at the shrine to relinquish to him their first-born child, which is then said to be born rat-headed.

Marfat.com

There are at present about a dozen rat-headed men, women and children at the khanqah: they are wretched looking imbeciles, with little or no forehead, and sharp features, which in a manner justifies the appellation of 'rat-head.' They are very shy and most of them are said to have been brought from great distances—Kashmir, Kabul, Multan, Lahore, Amritsar, etc.

The fact is simply that such deformed children are occasionally born, and that the Shah Daula (R. A.) priests lose no opportunity of acquiring them, as they are found to be profitable in marketing the identity of a priest or disciple of the celebrated Shah Daula (R. A.) shrine in his alms-collecting rounds among the distant constituents, each disciple being usually accompanied on his tours by a rat-faced deformity; and the fostering of superstitious stories regarding these unfortunates tends to increase the reverence and liberality shown to the Shah Daula (R. A.) priesthood.

There is a strong reason to fear that some of them are helped into idiocy by superstitious parents compressing their heads in infancy between boards or bandages in order to fit them for this shrine, as *chuhas;* but of course no body will admit this, and they are commonly reputed to be born thus as a mark of divine wrath on parents who are willfully failed to keep a vow of one sort or another.

The Settlement Officer reported in 1915—"I understand that the artificial deformation is doubtful but that deformed children, who are congenital idiots are kept at the shrine and profit is made by sending men in charge of the children to tour the country. It is suspected that the children are not well treated" (Williamson *op. cit.*).

Dehlvi (*in* Mufti, 1967, Pp 188-189) states, "If Shah Daula (R. A.) prayed for some person to be blessed with a son, he would get a pledge from that person that the very first son should be given to me, Allah would give you another one." But the author has quoted no source as to this effect.

Faqir (1977, P. 102) says that till today people have a faith that a person (he or she is not stated), who has no hope of

Marfat.com

children, makes a promise with his heart that if he is "blessed" with an offspring, then the first, second or the third child, girl or a boy, would be left as an offering at the mausoleum. Then God Almighty blesses him with offsprings.

The boy or girl that a person he intends as an offering, is very bad looking understands to believe these monstrosities are really 'gifts' from God. This has also allowed the *chuhas*, or rat-children as the locals refer to them, to become highly effective beggars. Exploitation by criminal gangs are inevitable as the gangs acquire the rat kids from families by either posing as emissaries from the shrine, or in some cases purchased for several thousand dollars. The little freak is then carried around in knapsacks or held on a leash like little monkeys, and are made to work long hours in the heat and dust begging for money.

Chaudhry, A. (1987, P.297) says that Shah Doolah Gujrati's (R. A.) "rats" are not only well known in the Punjab but also throughout India.

Fucqry (1987, 136-138), without reference, narrates the tale of a Maharani, coming from a certain region, who implored Shah Daula (R. A.), "I have the worldly amenities, grandeur and status but I am deprived of children. I need your prayers so that Allah takes pity on me and fulfills my wish."

Shah Daula (R. A.) replied, "Lady your prayer would be answered, however, there is condition that is not going to be acceptable to you."

"Hazrat I agree to all of your conditions."

"Then listen, by the grace of Almighty Allah you would be blessed with children but the children must be donated to this *khanqah*. In other words for the very first child you should have to wash your hands off."

The lady after thinking for a while, answered, "I abide by this commitment."

"Now you return to your home and wait for the blessing of Allah."

Marfat.com

She became pregnant and after ten months Allah gave her a son. The head of the boy was relatively smaller than that of the normal children. She thought that she had promised to give only this very child to the saint, if in future she would fail to bear anymore children, then why she should leave this child at the *khanqah*. The lady consulted her servants, near ones and relatives. It was decided that it is more reasonable to keep this event as a secret.

In one of the nights she saw Shah Daula (R. A.) in her dreams and he said, "You have gone back on your word and this is against *shari'ah.*"

In the same dream she replied, "God has given me only one son. How can I part with him?"

"This child is with a small head. This means that the thinking faculty has been taken away from him and this is a lost child," answered Shah Daulah (R. A.).

Upon hearing this, the lady got scared and woke up. She got the boy examined by competenent *hakims*. They all concluded that the boy is an empty-headed, no thinking power at all.

The lady came back to her senses and appeared in the presence of Shah Daula (R. A.), saying, "I made a mistake, came late and I offer this child to you."

"The devil tried his best to lead you astray from your goal. Take it for the kindness of Allah that you have returned to the right path. Leave this child here and you may go."

She left the boy at the *dargah* and returned to her palace. After that she gave birth to three normal and healthy sons.

From that day on it has become customary that the issueless persons pray at the mausoleum of Shah Daulah (R. A.) to be blessed with children, with the commitment that the very first child would be left at his mausoleum. The first child thus born possesses a relatively small head, devoid of thinking, dumb and lost. Such children are called as "C*huhas* of Shah Daula." This practice continues up to the present day.

Marfat.com

There is another folklore related to the micro-cephalous of Shah Daulah (R. A.): it is alleged (Islam, 1988, P. 32) that Shah Daulah (R. A.) received the spiritual guidance from Shah Syeda Sarmast (his mentor) whose mausoleum is in Sialkot. His shape represented that of the modern day *chuhas* of Shah Daulah (R. A.). This is the reason that the occurrence of the *chuhas* materialized because the *Murshid* (spiritual leader) of Shah Daula (R. A.) had a similar physical appearance.

A *chuha* has small and clumsy stature, small head, and big ears. The *Mujawwars* give him the name of "*Chuha* of Shah Daula" and accompany him at the time of begging. Due to this people out of compassion and pity give alms.

Anantham (2001, P. 34) harps on the same story when he narrates that thousands of Pakistani women who are unable to conceive travel to the town of Gujrat each year to pray at the shrine of Shah Dulla (*sic*). According to a centuries old myth, the deity will make them fertile if they hand over their first-born to him. Not as bad a deal considering these babies tend to be born as 'chuhas' or micro-cephalics (individuals with severely shrunken heads and mental retardation). If the couples decide to rip Shah Dulla (R. A.) off, all their subsequent offspring are condemned to be *chuhas* too.

Over hundreds of years, this myth has taken a life of its own causing thousands to believe these monstrosities are really 'gifts' from God. This has also allowed the *chuhas*, or rat-children as the locals refer to them, to become highly effective beggars. Exploitation by criminal gangs are inevitable as the gangs acquire the rat kids from families by either posing as emissaries from the shrine, or in some cases purchase for several thousand dollars. The little freak is then carried around in knapsacks or held on a leash like little monkeys, and are made to work long hours in the heat and dust begging for money.

Experts ask why does not Pakistan have the world's highest incidence of micro-cephaly? On one hand, it may be the Pakistani custom of first-cousin marriage that results in the perpetuation of the autosomal recessive gene. Others

Marfat.com

claim there are unscrupulous businessmen who kidnap young children and then create their own *chuhas* by deliberately deforming kids' heads with medieval clamping contraptions that hamper skull growth. These man-made *chuhas* are then sold off in the market as the God's work.

Kunjahi (1985, Pp 46-48) remarks that he knows one family of his acquaintaces with micro-cephalics who used to take part in domestic chores. Not only that one or two of them joined the government service as well. None of their parents had prayed so that they should be born with diminutive heads.

Kunjahi investigated some other families about this phenomenon. He found out that it was not always the first born child to be micro-cephalous but could be the second or third. Most of the parents flatly declined that they ever prayed (through the agency of Shah Daulah R. A.) for the birth of such a child. Among the indigenous writers, Kunjahi (1985, Pp 49-53) is the very first writer who searched for the scientific causes like chromosomal aberrations, *Herpes simplex*, radiation and the like that are instrumental in the development of micro-cephaly.

Nasir (2000, P.10) observed that the phenomenon of micro-cephalous deformity is almost worldwide, where there are no saints to procure the "rat-children" with the prayers for the issueless parents (Shali, 2001, P. 3, presented an Urdu transl. of the article "The Micro-cephalous subjects" by Nasir, 2000, P. 10). Nasir (2001, P. 6) gave some scientific facts that lead to the development of micro-cephalous condition.

There are many unfounded exaggerations attached to this abnormal condition. Doctor Sher Afgan (1994, Pp 1, 6), the ex-Federal Minister of Social Welfare, for example, remarked, "The three martial laws in the country have transformed the entire nation into *Shah Daula kay Chuhas* (the rat-children of Shah Daulah). The manner in which their heads are put into helmets, the same way it has been tried to

Marfat.com

suppress the thinking ability of a common man" Just have a look at the glorification of the falsehood:

At the mausoleum of Sayyid Kabiruddin (*nomen nudum*) Shah Doolah Daryae Gunj Bux (Islam, 1988, Pp 25-30, 32) when the issueless women pray for children, the prayer is answered. The child possesses typical characteristics for which the term"The rat (*chuha*) of Shah Doolah" is used. He has a small head and other features of face are also smaller than that of common persons. He cannot lead a normal life.

Islam (*op. cit.*) further adds that after a child (male or female *chuha*) is born he would be left as an offering at the mausoleum of Shah Doolah (R. A.).where some *dervish* or *faqir* takes him to bring him up. When the *chuhas* are grown up they lead them begging in streets. This tradition is gradually disappearing. The people instead of offering children at the mausoleum, they buy a typical image of silver from any shop in the vicinity which resembles a *chuha* of Shah Doolah (R. A.) and take their *chuhas* back with them.

"Gory tale of human trade continues unabated at Shah Daula Shrine "(Qureshi, 1995, January 10, P. 3).

Special report "Mazaar of Shah Daula (R. A.) where children are made into *chuhas*. By squeezing the heads of children in iron covers the cephalic growth is impeded" (the weekly Magazine *Takbeer*, 1995, April 10-20, Pp 33-35).

"The rat-children of Pakistan—blessed by a Sufi saint but disfigured for profit—Galpin in Gujrat reports of a gruesome slave trade in new-born babies, fuelled by fear, a 300-year-old myth and religious fervour" (1998, June 29, P. 11).

"After a 12-year investigation, Dr. Mehdi and his team now believe that the newly born babies given up to the shrine as part of the grateful mothers, and whose numbers may run in the tens of thousands over the past century, have been deliberately turned into human freaks by the use of metal devices strapped to their skulls...contraptions that are designed to crush the soft unformed bone tissue at base of the skull deliberately damaging the pituitary gland and producing a mute, sexless and mentally retarded child with a

Marfat.com

unique look that makes them the most successful beggars in a land of beggars"—Investigator Dalrymple (*Daily Mail*, 1998, July 11).

"Rat-children (*chuhas*) in and around Gujrat city are a common sight. . . It is said that rat-children are born normal. They are deformed by beggars using certain devices..." (*Dawn* photo feature, 2000, Aug. 21, P. 3).

"Horrifying beyond belief" (*Dawn* editorial, Aug.22, 2000, P. 20). It is further stated that when the first-born are taken to the shrine of the saint Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.) "They are immediately pounced upon by scheming criminals who repeatedly put their heads into steel helmets and their growth is deliberately stunted. . ."

"Heinous crime" is another heading of a write-up (*Dawn* letter, 2000, Aug. 25, P. 20) and "it is strange that the beastly activity is going on unchecked and no agency has raised a finger."

"Exploitation of 'rat-children,'" repeating the photo feature of *Dawn*, 2000, Aug. 21, Wahid (*Dawn*, 2000 Aug. 27, P. 20), without any authentic documentary proof, makes a sweeping statement, "It's really sad to know that there are people in this country who give up their own flesh and blood to complete strangers (who may possibly harm them) at shrines (sic). It is rumoured that the Sufis at these shrines enclose the heads of the children 'donated' to them in metal casing. This is done when they are infants. Thus, 'rat children' are born with deformed heads and normal bodies."

"Crime against humanity" (*Dawn* letter, 2001, March 20, P. 6). "Professional beggars put tight iron helmets on the heads and iron shoes in the feet of such children (left at shrines) to hamper their normal mental and physical growth. Later these boys are used as sympathy seekers by professional beggars."

"Children with 'small heads'"(*Dawn* letter, April 17, 2001, P. 6). "Most of these children are those left at the shrine of Dollah Shah (R. A.) at Gujrat by people whose wishes are fulfilled and thereafter these children are made to wear iron

Marfat.com

helmets so that their normal physique and mental growth is stalled and they are later on used for beggary."

Another letter (*Dawn*, 2001, April 24, P. 6) captioned "Children with small heads" but the writer deals with the humanitarian aspect of the micro-cephalics, especially with respect to their exploitation.

An article captioned "The tragic tale of rat-children" appeared in the *Daily Times* (Oct. 15, 2002, P. I A3) that states in part: "As the tradition goes, people visit the shrine, which dates back to the 1800s, to pray for children. They give away their first child to the shrine as a sign of respect...all the children left at the shrine grow up with abnormalities and have been dubbed as 'rat-children.'"

The foregoing sensational statements are nothing but exaggerated fabrications far from the true journalistic spirit with least regard to thorough investigation, lacking irrefutable evidence, showing woeful neglect of scientific basis and replete with unfortunate mockery of human respect.

To start with, the derogatory terms, *e. g.*, "the rat," "rat-children," "look-like rodents," and "*chuhas*," not worthy of *Homo sapiens* must be discarded; micro-cephalous [GK *micros*, small; GK *kephalikos*, head] subjects or micro-cephalics should be used instead.

In 1872, Berlin, in a meeting of Anthropology Society, and after some time in another gathering of the same society in Paris, Van Merzheyevsky (*in* Myshine, 1959), for the first time touched upon the topic of newborns with severe mental weakness who later on reached the stage of foolishness and were known as micro-cephalics. He reported in details the changes that had taken place in their brains. It was demonstrated that the small size of the brain, 341 grams (normal weight of brain 1300-1400 grams) was the cause of idiocy. On this topic, in a heated discussion, the German scientist K. Vogt insisted that the foolishness of the micro-cephalics is due to the fact that after the lapse of many generations there is the recurrence of a certain ancestral

Marfat.com

character and he referred this condition back to the evolutionary stage of apes.

On the other hand, Merzheyevsky maintains that the micro-cephaly (micro-cephalia, micro-cephalism) can be in no way identified with the anthropological ape ancestors from whom the man has supposedly originated. The foolishness of the micro-cephalous subjects he attributes to the internal brain injuries suffered while the foetus is still intra-uterine and the injuries block the brain growth.

According to the latest scientific studies the primary micro-cephaly results: a) when the brain is itself abnormally small (micro-encephala), so that there is no stimulus for the vault to grow; b) it also occurs when all of the cranial features fuse prematurely, precluding brain growth; c) irradiation of the abdomen in pregnant women or maternal (and via the placenta, fetal) infection with German measles or toxoplasmosis during the first three months of pregnancy may sometime produce a micro-cephalous child; d) micro-cephalic condition of greater or lesser degree also accompanies various genetic syndromes such a Hurler's syndrome and some chromosomal disorders; e) an injury especially during the last three months of pregnancy may end up in micro-cephalism; f) exposure of an embryo or fetus to chemical agents is also instrumental in bringing about micro-cephalia; g) hallucinogenic drugs like LSD and thalidomide used by mothers are known to produce deformities including micro-cephalic state and ; h) the micro-cephalous condition may be caused by heredity (Mosby's *Medical Encyclopaedia* C. D.).

Dr. Shakoori, Meritorious Professor & Director, Punjab University, New Campus, Lahore, in a personal communication, sums up micro-cephaly in the following:

Micro-cephaly is a rare, neurological disorder in which the circumference of the head is smaller than the average for the age and gender of the infant or child. Micro-cephaly may be congenital (present at birth) or it may develop in the first few years of life. The disorder may stem from a wide variety of

Marfat.com

conditions that cause abnormal growth of the brain, and is often a symptom of syndromes associated with chromosomal abnormalities. Infants with micro-cephaly are born with either a normal or reduced head size. Subsequently the head fails to grow while the face continues to develop at a normal rate, producing a child with a small head, a large face, a receding forehead, and a loose, often wrinkled scalp. As the child grows older, the smallness of the skull becomes more obvious, although the entire body also is often underweight and dwarfed.

Micro-cephaly could be due to the skull being too small. The brain is normal to start with, but there is premature closure of the cranial sutures, the normal openings between the skull bones in the baby's head. This condition is termed craniosynostosis. It can prevent the baby's head from growing properly and result in micro-cephaly.

Micro-cephaly is often equated with developmental delay and mental retardation. However, not all children with micro-cephaly are mentally retarded. The development of motor skills and speech may be delayed. Convulsions may also occur in some cases. Motor ability may be impaired and range from clumsiness in some children to spastic quadriplegia in others.

An abnormally small brain either is caused by anomalous development during the first 7 months of gestation (primary micro-cephaly), or is the result of an insult incurred during the last 2 months of gestation or during the perinatal period (secondary micro-cephaly). Micro-cephaly stems from a wide variety of problems that can cause abnormal growth of the brain including infections, radiation, medications, chromosome abnormalities and genetic diseases. Congenital micro-cephaly may follow intrauterine infections such as the rubella, cytomegalovirus (CMV) and toxoplasmosis. Micro-cephaly is part of many chromosomal abnormalities and other syndromes including:

Marfat.com

- Chromosome abnormalities—such as trisomy 18 (Edward's syndrome), trisomy 13 (Patau syndrome), the Wholf-Hirschhorn syndrome, the cri du chat syndrome, and partial deletion of long arm of chromosome 13.
- Contigous gene syndromes—such as the Miller-Dieker syndrome, Langer-Giedion syndrome, Prader-Willi syndrome, and the aniridia-Wilms tumor syndrome.
- Genetic disorder—such as the Johanson-Bilzzard syndrome, Seckel syndrome, and the Smith-Lemli-Opitz syndrome.
- Environmental insults—such as maternal PKU (mothers who have poorly controlled PKU during pregnancy) and the fetal alcohol syndrome.

De Robertis & De Robertis (1987, P. 497) stated "*13-Trisomy* (chromosome # 13 are 3 in number instead of normal 2) multiple and severe malformations, as well as profound mental deficiency are characteristic features. The head is small and the eyes are often small, or absent. Harelip, cleft palate and malformations of the brain are frequent. The internal organs are also severely malformed, and in most cases death occurs after birth." Similarly *21- Monosomy* (complete deletion of one of the chromosomes in pair 21), *18-Trisomy* and *18-Monosomy* result in varied malformations.

Generally there is no specific treatment for micro-cephaly. Treatment is symptomatic and supportive. In general, life expectancy for individuals with micro-cephaly is low and the prognosis for normal brain function is poor.

Once the scientific basis of the micro-cephalous condition is established, for a saner person it is hard to understand about the use of mechanical devices to clamp the heads of infants. It requires a barbaric mother or any other person for that matter, bereft of any sensory perception to abandon a newborn child, no matter how badly deformed, at the shrine as an offering. And still a ruthlessly callous Hitlerite "human being" would dare force the head of an infant into a metallic bowl, or a ring to bring about the micro-cephaly. The truth of

Marfat.com

the matter is that no such rumoured dens exist at the shrine to perpetrate such a dastardly act. The shrine is a public place open to anyone to check the authenticity of the presumed gory practice. Has anyone seen or can prove that the *chuhas* are "made?" Of course not.

During my long stay of more than 30 years abroad, I have come across the micro-cephalous subjects, never begging around, in Budapest (Hungary), Moscow (Russia), Zagreb (the capital and largest city of Croatia, in the northern part on the River Sava north-northwest of Belgrade), Rennes (a city of northwest France north of Nantes), Oklahoma (USA), San José (Costa Rica, Central America), Caracas (Venezuela), and Santiago de Chile (Chile)—places visited for the presentation of scientific papers in international professional gatherings. Now you don't have to tell me that it was the work of some Pir or saint in those countries or their heads were indeed compressed in mechanical devices!

There is a well-documented case in Pakistan of the micro-cephalics. Sheikh Sardar Muhammad of Garhi Shahu, Lahore, was a renowned political figure and the very first Mayor (or Deputy Mayor) of Municipal Corporation of Lahore after the partition. He had three sons Mian Sadek—a big business man, still alive, Mian Salik and Mian Khalid in that order. The last two sons, now dead, were micro-cephalics and got married too (issueless), the daughters were normal. Did Sheikh Sahib squeeze the heads of his sons in mechanical contraptions? Never ever. Apart from that Sheikh Sahib was one of the *Mureeds* of Pir Nangay Shah of Gujrat and not that of Hazrat Shah Daulah (R. A.).

Galpin (*op. cit.*) interviewed me in Gujrat and I explained to him explicitly about the conditions instrumental for the development of the cephalic abnormality. A footage was telecast too but he never bothered to pay any attention to the scientific reasons, instead relied on baseless rumours for the cheap publicity to lead the gullible astray.

The question arises what kind of a saint is he, who "blesses" a woman to give birth to a deformed child? And

Marfat.com

what kind of a divine power is there, who listens to such an inhuman prayer and answers the prayer positively? One has to be mentally deficient or with a crooked bent of mind to believe in such a fantasy.

Perhaps, an explanation is found if we take into account the spiritual and meditational effects. When a lady prays at the mausoleum she has in her mind the image of a *Chuha*. It is a well-known fact if in the room of an expecting mother there are the photographs of beautiful children, then more often than not the child thus born would be healthy and handsome. Similarly unsightly pictures would result in the birth of an unsightly child. It so happens when women pray at the mausoleum of Shah Doolah (R. A.), they mentally expect their first child would be a *Chuha*, therefore under this influence the child who is born is a *Chuha*.

The lies about this phenomenon have been spoken so often and so long by the so-called learned and laity alike that the falsity has now converted into truth. In fact it is relatively a recent "fabrication" that has been exploited to the extreme. "Lies often spoken become half truth"—Dr. (Paul) Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda.

People firmly believe that the micro-cephalous subjects are due to the "blessing" of the saint Shah Daula (R. A.) or failing that his descendants squeeze the heads of infants in iron contraptions so that their heads do not keep abreast of the growth of other body parts.

Once my brother, Prof. Nasar Uddaulah Anwer, on his way to Pakistan from Venezuela, stopped over at New York to obtain a visa from the Pakistan Consulate. He handed in the visa application along with his Venezuelan passport to the concerned clerk. When his documents reached the signing authority, this gentleman taking the notice of his name (related to Shah Daula) called him upstairs in his office. The first question of this "educated" diplomat was, "How come you make *Chuhas* by putting iron caps on their heads?" He tried to convince him about the falsification of the story, alas in vain.

Marfat.com

Many miracles of Shah Daula (R. A.) have been told. After the saint's death, his followers began to include a new group. Parents who begged him for children sometimes promised a sum of money or the child to the shrine, but if they forgot that vow after the child's birth, they would be punished by the saint. The next child born by the influence of the outraged saint would be a *Chuha* as would subsequent children until the promise was fulfilled. The question as to whether these *chuhas* are genuinely defective or artificially deformed has been a longstanding topic of public discussion (Rehman & Wescoat, 1993, P. 89).

In fact micro-cephalics is not one of the miracles of Shah Doolah (R. A.). He had maintained an asylum for the handicapped and other deprived children where they were taken care of. The parents of micro-cephalics instead of looking after them used to leave these children at the asylum on their own accord for their custody and upbringing (Qiladari, 1995, Pp 193, 198).

Irshad (1997, Pp 172-174), under the caption "Human rats," in two Letters to the Editor, *The Pakistan Times,* September 9, 1961 and September 25, 1961, respectively, touched upon the topic of "Shah Daula's mice." He refers to Major H. W. Cox, I. S. O. sometime a Civil Surgeon in the Punjab, who called it "hereditary micro-cephaly," but Irshad preferred only "micro-cephaly" instead. The charge that the heads of these creatures are made small by torture is false. Major Cox refuted this charge thus: "The opinion among the Indian population is that these micro-cephalics have been submitted to various forms of mechanical pressure in early childhood, producing the deformity of the cranium. This is utterly without foundation." The essay of Thomas Fuller (1672) on "Natural Fools" proves that some micro-cephalics existed in Britain, though they are extinct now. Describing them the same author said that their heads are sometimes so little that there is no room for wit (Irshad, 1997, P. 170). Major Cox expressed his inability to understand this phenomenon and said: "The origin of micro-cephalics is

Marfat.com

difficult to determine," but Irshad offered an explanation, "Thought-power coupled with spiritual beliefs and a woman's credulity play a great part in shaping a baby in the uterus." He further adds, "Woman's uterus is directly connected with the brain; put a garlic or saffron in the uterus and a woman will feel as if she is smelling it with the nose" (there is no scientific basis for this assertion).If anyone begets such children and bring them to the shrine, the beggars hanging around take them, and turn their charge into a source of gain.

A normal human brain weighs forty-nine and one-half ounces. If it appears to be less than thirty-nine ounces, the case is that of idiocy. Hakim Jilani (*in* Irshad, 1997, P. 172) has mentioned the disease with particular reference to Shah-Daula's mice (*Tibbe Jilani,* Vol. 2, P. 1394). Irshad refers to Dr. E. Noble Chamberlain (*The Text-book of Medicine,* P. 696) writing about micro-cephaly and places the micro-cephaly in the third and the lowest grade of idiots. "Disorders in particular organs are the expression of different types of character development resulting from environmental influences when subjected to the emotional tension produced by mental conflict." The other two kinds being imbeciles and feeble-minded persons called morons in the USA. Major Dr. Cox (*Medico-legal Court Companion,* P. 582) says, "Shah Daula's mice to be micro-cephalics. I have therefore no doubt in my mind that this is a specific disease."

Irshad (1997, Pp 172-173.) came across four kinds of micro-cephalics in Gujrat: 1) Those born to issueless mothers after prayers (at the shrine of Shah Daula R. A.). 2) micro-cephalics accidentally born to mothers in Bombay and Delhi, who did not even know the name of Shah Daula (R. A.); some people have seen such children in Iran; parents who cannot keep them, or who believe that they are meant for the shrine bring them to Gujrat. 3) Children born to micro-cephalic girls as a result of the beastliness of men; they do not live long, but so long as they live they are stigma on the

Marfat.com

fair name of humanity. 4) Some unemployed poor people with small heads put on green shirts, resort to begging and try to pass off as "Shah Daula's mice."

Shah Daula (R. A.) was a great saint, engineer and philanthropic. *Makhzane Tarikhe Punjab* published by Nawal kishore (P. 303) describes bridges, inns, shrines and mosques that he built in and around Lahore, Sialkot and Gujrat. During his wanderings he came across some neglected micro-cephalics and established an institution for their care and protection. The rulers of the day were so impressed by the philanthropic activities of Shah Daula (R. A.) that they conferred upon him the proprietary rights of two villages, Eusuf and Jagora. The spirit of that institution has been lost in the night of time. The soul has gone; the skeleton remains [Irshad, 1997, P. 173].

"A vociferous propaganda in the countryside should be made to convince mothers that a pious saint like Shah Daula (R. A.) could not show his miracles by deforming humanity"—Irshad (1997, P. 174).

Contradiction: Contrary to the disinformation that Shah Daula (R. A.) "blessed" issueless persons with the deformed children, is an excerpt from the *Karamat Nama Klaan* (Raam, 1719-1720, P. 69, Miracle *alif*) in continuation: A peasant lady named Jeuni appeared in the presence of Hazrat Shah Daula (R. A.) and beseeched, "Two or three sons were born to her and they died. Now for several years I have been issueless, please pray for me so that Allah may bless me with a son."

Shah Daulah (R. A.) prayed and by the grace of Allah a son was born to her and she named him Amar Baaz, but the child could not speak and people took him for a dumb. The lady returned to Shah Daulah (R. A.) and said, "Due to your prayers, God Almighty has blessed me with a son but he lacks the speaking power."

Shah Daula (R. A.) listened to the peasant lady and addressed the child, "Hey, Pehao do not make us ashamed in the

Marfat.com

presence of so many people. Undoubtedly, you can speak." Immediately the boy began to talk like a "Bengal parrot."

Marfat.com

NOTES BY THE EDITOR, INDIAN ANTIQUARY

(*In* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, Pp 636-637)

"In the first place it seems pretty clear from what has been above recorded that the ascription of the *Chuhas* to the agency of the well known saint of Gujrat is posthumous. One suspects that Bhawan Shah of Shah Daula shrine created the cult, much in the fashion that Qazi Sultan Muhammad is creating one now out of the shrine which he has set up round the tomb of the great local saint. All the circumstances point to such a situation. These are the extreme modernness of the cult, the fact that a band or order of *faqirs* make a living out of a certain class of local microcephalous idiots, and the convenient existence of an important shrine. Then the absence of landed property in possession of that band, or of any recognized right to succession to the leadership, and the entire dependence on earnings, in turn dependent themselves on the gullibility of the 'faithful,' all make it almost certain that Bhawan Shah took the opportunity of the then recent decease of a well-known ancient and holy man to find a sacred origin for the unholy traffic of his followers. The divison of the income thus earned is just such as one might expect of a body that had no other source of cohesion originally than profit out of a common means of livelihood.

"As regards the legend of Shah Daula himself, we have the usual ascription of a direct connection by birth of a local holy man with the great ones of the earth in his day, with the usual clear openings for doubt in the account thereof, and we have also the ascription of miraculous powers common to

Marfat.com

Panjabi saints. There is nothing in the story that could not have been picked up by the tellers out of the tales of other saints commonly current in the country. No doubt there did live, during the 17th century, a holy man in Gujrat town, who died there at an advanced age and had a tomb erected to him, which became venerated. It is quite probable that he was instrumental in forwarding works of public utility in his neighbourhood, and was notorious for his charity to the poor and needy, led an excellent life, and was venerated by the nobility around him. Considering the situation of the town of Gujrat, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Shah Jahan and his suite, during their many journeys to and fro between Kashmir and their Indian court. But all this affords no ground for supposing that he had anything to do personally with poor idiots now exploited by the sect, band, or order of *faqirs* that have fastened themselves on to his name.

"As regards the *Chuhas* themselves, it is quite possible that there is a tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Punch (Poonch) and Jammu, but one cannot help suspecting that, owing to the necessity for a continuous supply being forthcoming for the well-being of these who live on them, some of these unfortunates are artificially produced after their birth as ordinary infants. It would be be so easy to accomplish this on the part of the unscrupulous."

Marfat.com

Hazrat Sheikh Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daula (R. A.) of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India

Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.), son of Sayyid Saeed Musa Hunmbli, became the disciple of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) in Baghdad, Iraq. Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.) born in Jilan and died in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India--historically incorrect as Ahmedabad was founded much later. Shah Munawwar Ali received the caliphate from Shah Doolah (R. A.) 16 or 26 years after the passing away of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). Shah Doolah (R A.) entrusted Munawwar Ali with the walayat (domain) of Allahabad, Purab country (Hindustan) and he left. In accordance with the instructions of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). Shah Doola (R. A.) designated Shah Saifuddin Abdul Wahab, the elder son of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) as the successor and himself left for "Gujarat situated at the sarhad walayat Afghana" (border of Afghan kingdom, Hindustan). Allegedly, Shah Doolah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is from the lineage of Ghaus Pak (R. A.) and he came from Kashmir to Sialkot, then from Sialkot to Gujrat. The reason for coming to this city being that God entrusted him with some karamaat. Shah Munawwar Ali drank a small quantity of water from the cup of the hand of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.), thus 650 years were added to his already 50 years; just about a similar story is attributed to Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.).

Sabri (1890 Pp 72-77, 437) maintains that Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.), son of Sayyid Saeed Musa

Marfat.com

Hunmbli—a close friend of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.)—at the age of 22, 19 *Rajab*, 521 Hegira (1127-1128 A. D.), the day *Punjshambah*, became the disciple of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) in Baghdad, Iraq. After 27 years, at the age of 49, 9 *Zilqad*, 548 Hegira (1153-1154), the day *Doshanbah*, Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) put the same *kulah* (headgear) that came down to him from Hazrat Ali (A. S.) on the head of Shah Doolah (R. A.), tied the *imamae sabz* (green band) around the *kulah*, made him wear the *khurqah* (*faqir*'s coat) and gave the *Sanade khilafat* (certificate of caliphate). Abdul Ghafoor Abdal and Shah Munawwar Ali were assigned to serve Kabiruddin Shah Daulah (R. A.). Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) said, "You are from me and from you is Munawwar Ali."

Kabiruddin Shah Doolah was born R. A. (499 Hegira or 1105-1106 A. D.) in Jilan and died (603 Hegira or 1206-1207 A. D.) in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, India. Historically, it is incorrect. Nobody paid attention to the fact that Ahmedabad (Bhandari, 1695, P. 92; Kunjahi, 1985, P. 5) was founded much later in 1410-1411 (813 A. H).

17 · Rabiulawal, 587 Hegira (1191-1192), the day Doshanba, Shah Munawwar Ali received the caliphate from Shah Doolah (R. A.) in the same way as the latter from Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). This happened 16 or 26 years after the passing away of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). The dates of the birth and that of expiry of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) are controversial: b. 470 Hegira or1077-1078, d. 561 Hegira or 1165-1166 (Rizvi, S. S., 1991, P. 3; Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 52, ref. Dehlvi); b. 471 Hegira or 1078-1079, d. 571 Hegira or 1272-1273 (Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 52, ref. *A'inae Tarikhe Tasawaf*). However the places of birth, Jilan, Iran and that of expiry, Baghdad, Iraq are settled. Shah Doolah (R. A.) entrusted Munawwar Ali with the *Walayat* (domain) of Allahabad, Purab country (Hindustan) and he left.

In accordance with the instructions of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.), Shah Doola (R. A.) designated Shah Saifuddin

Marfat.com

Abdul Wahab, the *Sahibzada Klan* (elder son) of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) as *Sajaadah nasheen* (successor) and himself left (Mufti, R. 1967, P. 185, ref. Sabri) for "Gujrat situated at the sarhad walayat Afghana" (border of Afghan kingdom, Hindustan).

When (Islam, 1988, P. 27) it was asked to a fellow, named Hameed Shah, seated at a shop in front of the shrine of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.), as to where Shah Doolah came from? He replied, "Shah Doolah (R. A.))is from the lineage of Ghaus Pak (R. A.). He came from Kashmir to Sialkot, then from Sialkot to Gujrat. The reason for coming to this city being that God entrusted him with some *karamaat*."

Mufti (1967, Pp 184-185) refers to the book, *Faqarul'affiat*, authored by Shah Munawwar Ali in which he states, "At the age of 28 years on 21st of *Zilhaj*, the day *Yakshunbah*, 519 Hegira (1125→1126) I became a disciple of Sayyid Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.), Afterwards for 22 years served in the capacity of an attendant to Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) to help him perform ablution. 27 *Shawa*l, the day *Chaharshunbah*, 541 Hegira (1146-1147), was doing my duty for the ablution preparatory to *nimaze Zohar* when I requested 'What is *Aabe hayat'* (elixir of life) that Hazrat Khizer drank and gained an eternal life?'

"Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) placed a *jurrah* (small quantity) of water upon his flat hand and said 'at this time in the hand of the *faqir* there is *Aabe hayat* for 650 years, drink it.'"

"I drank it and at that time my age was 50 years."

According to Yarjang (1983, P. 369, ref. Allah Din, resident of the village Tahir), Qazi Sahib of Awan Sharif, Gujrat, used to say that the name of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is Kabiruddin. Once when on his duty to help Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) perform ablution he asked, "What is *Aabe hayat*?" Hazrat replied, "In my handful of water there is an age of 500 years."

Marfat.com

Shah Daulah (R. A,.) drank that water and reached the age of 600 years. Yarjang says a similar story is attributed to Shah Munawwar Allahabadi as well.

It is superfluous to discuss the name of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) as it has already been treated somewhere else in this book.

It is said that the name of Shah Daula Gujrati Kathiawari (R. A.) is Sayyid Kabiruddin, ibne Syed Saeed Musa Jungi Dost, *Amumi haqiqi* (cousin brother) of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.), born at Baghdad 1105-1106 (499 A. H.) and died 1206-1207 (603 A. H). [In this context Yarjang (1983, P. 368) states that some people say he was the cousin brother of Ghause Azam (R. A.). Yarjang casts a shadow of doubt he is not so sure himself.] His father was a particular friend of Sheikh Mohiyuddin abu Muhammad Sayyid Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). Shah Daula (R. A.), at the age of twenty years became a disciple of Hazrat Jilani (R. A.) in 1127 (521 A. H.). Twenty-seven years later Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) took a particular note of his favourite *Mureed* (Shah Daulah) and in open court, on the day *Doshambah*, 9th of the month of *Zilq'ad*, 1154 (548 A. H.), past *namaze Asr*, in Baghdad, Iraq, placed with his own hands upon the head of Shah Daulah the *kulah* (headwear) that was handed down all the way from Hazrat Ali (A. S.) and after tying an *imama* (headband) made him wear the *khurkah* (overdress) and gave him the *Sanade khilafat* (certification of caliphate).

The foregoing details are found in *Katabah al Wa'hdat* by Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.)—Sabri (1890, Pp 72-77) and corroborated by *Tohfatul Arwah* (Mufti, 1967, Pp 183- 184; Yarjang, 1983, Pp 369, 371-373). Some authors have maintained that the author of the book *Tohfatul Arwah* is "Kabiruddin" Shah Daula Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.), but Sabri (1890, Pp 76, 437) emphasizes that Kabiruddin Shah Daula (R. A.) of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kathiwar, India, is the author.

A handwritten book, in Dayal Singh Trust Library, entitled *Saer al-Salook al-Mulik al-Malook* by Shah Qasim *alias* Bshah Doolah Behri, is alleged to be written in

Marfat.com

Baghdad, Iraq and the year is 1283 (1866-1867 A. D.). It may be deduced from the authorship that the name of Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi is Shah Qasim. There is one snag in this attribution and that is, it was penned down about two hundred years after the death of Shah Daulah (R. A.). Moreover, the research scholar Hafiz Ghulam Hussain of the above-cited library believes that the quality of the paper is not that of manufactured in Baghdad, Iraq. Kunjahi (1985, Pp 82-83) takes it for another homonym village Baghdad, near Shore Kot, Punjab, Pakistan, founded by Shah Habib Gilani.

The contention of some authors emanating from the above-cited story that there are two shrines of Hazrat Shah Daula Gujrati (R. A.), one in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India and the other in Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan, is simply a flight of fancy. Kabiruddin Shah Daula of Baghdad, if there is any, buried in Ahmedabad, relates to some other saint, nothing to do with the saint who lies in the mausoleum at Garhi Shah Daula, Gujrat, Pakistan.

Sabri (*op. cit.*) has given the names of 10 caliphs of Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.) and Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah is ranked as the *Khaliphae akbar* (prime caliph). [Chaudhry, N., 1970, P. 49, refers to another book *A'inae Tarikhe Tasawaf* by Sabri, P. 29, not available to the present author that includes the name of the caliph Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah (R. A.), if it all it refers to the saint buried in Ahmedabad, Gujrat, Kathiawar, India.] Chaudhry, N. (1970, Pp 66-68), Kunjahi, (1985, P. 152) and Mufti (1967, P. 191, ref. *Tazkerae Auliyae Hind* Vol. 3, P. 12 by Dehlvi) give the names of 15 caliphs of Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.). However, there is no name of Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.).

The names of the caliphs are: Shah abu Omar Quereshi bin Marzooq, Sheikh Kaseebulbaan Mosuli, Sheikh Ahmed bin Mubarak Baghdadi, Sheikh abu Saeed Qailvi, Sheikh Sadaqa Baghdadi, Sheikh Omar Saireeni, Sheikh Muhammadul Wany, Sheikh abu Saeed bin Shibli, Sheikh Hayat, Sheikh

Marfat.com

abu Moweed Maghrabi Shoaib, Sheikh Mowafaq-ul-din Almuqadsi, Sheikh Saddaruddin Quveeni, Shahabuddin Shuhrawardy, Sayyid Ahmed Rafa'ee and Sheikh Shamusuddin Ali Hudad bin Omar Baghdadi (Table XI).

In none of the *Karamat Namas* and the other old books the name Kabiruddin of Shah Daula Gujrati Punjabi (R. A.) is found.

Marfat.com

*REFERENCES

Afgan, S., 1994. Shah Daula ke chuhay, Urdu. Lahore: *Khabrain,* March 1, Pp 1, 6.

Afzal, M., 1995. *Tazkera Hazrat Haji Rehmat Ali Sarkar, aik marde qalandar ki iman afroze dastan*, Urdu . Gujrat: Minhajul Qur'an Printers, Pp 357.

Ahmed, M. S., 2000. Heinous crime. Karachi: Daily *Dawn* letter, Aug. 25. P. 20.

Akram, M. J., ed. *See Faqir*, 1997.

Akram, M. M. & Javaid, M. M., 1982-1984. Pul Shah Daulah, Urdu. *Mehak audbi majalah* Gujranwala number. Gujranwala: Government College, Pp 1124, relevant P. 76.

Ali, A. Y., 1927. *Three travelers in India.* Lahore: Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh and Sons, P. 40.

Anantham, S., 2001. Pakistani pin-heads. *FHM*, in-flight magazine, June, P. 34.

Asif, K., 2000. Hazrat Shah Doola Gujrati, Urdu. Karachi: *Akhbare jahan,* Aug. 14-20, Pp 22-23 ; Aug. 21-27, Pp 22-23, 70.

Aubdi A. K.Q., 1683-1684 (1094 A. H). *M'arajul walayat,* Pp. 431, Farsi, hand-written. Transl. Mojadeddi, M. I. 1972. *Awal au asaar Abdullah Khweshgi Qasuri Aubdi*, Urdu. Lahore: Muhammad Shamusuddin Tajar Kutub, Muslim Masjid, Chowk Anarkali, Darul Muwrejeen, 264 Pp relevant Pp 52-53.

Babar, Z., Emperor Zaheeruddin Babar wrote *Tuzke Babari* in Turkish; Abdur Rahim Khan, son of Behram Khan, one of the courtiers of emperor Akbar—the grandson of Emperor Babar—translated into

Marfat.com

Farsi from the Turkish language. An incomplete hand-written Farsi version, Punjab Public Library, Urdu transl. Nadvi. R. A., 1997. Lahore: Sange-Meel Publications, Pp 287.

Baig, M. A., 1870 (data compiled 1867-1868). *Tarikh Gujrat*, Urdu. Lahore: Sheikh Azizuddin, Victoria Press, Pp 606, relevant Pp 88-91.

Baqir, M., 1965. *See* Dunichand, R. D. D., 1137 A. H.

Begum, J. A., Original date unknown, *Sahibia*, Persian, Pp 33. Transl Khan, S. A. A., 1993. Urdu & English, Lahore: Tahir Ahmed Khan Advocate, Lahore High Court, Urdu version iv + 35 Pp, English version, xv + 25 Pp., all of the three versions bound together.

Bernier, F. S. P., 1656-1668. Urdu transl. Hussain, S. M., 1960. *Stay in Hindustan, the days of Shah Jahan's imprisonment and the reign of Aurangzeb*. Karachi II: Nafees Academy, Blas Street, Pp 608.

Bhandari, S. R.,1695 (1107 A. H.). *Khulasatul Twarikh*, Farsi, composed in Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir's 40th year of ascending the throne in 1107 A. H., Asaalbahun 1618, 1695 A. D., Bikrami 1753, and 4797 years of Kaljoug have passed. Reprint Ed. Hasan, M. Z. Delhi: J. & Sons. 1918, 539 + 32 + v (these five pages in English introduction). Urdu transl. Zaidi, N. H. 1966. Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 36-G, Gulberg, x +711, relevant Pp 24, 116-117.

Bhatty, M. Z., 1994. *See* Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1874.

Cambridge History of India. Vol. IV. Mughal Period: Cambridge, P. 319.

Chaudhry, A. A., 1987. *Tarikh Arraian*, Urdu. Lahore: Ilmi Kutub Khana, Kabir Street, Urdu Bazaar x + 479 Pp, relevant Pp 296-297 "Hazrat Shah Sayyida Sarmast Suhrawardy Sialkoti."

Chaudhry, M. S. N., 1970. *Tazkera Shah Daula Daryae*, Gunj Bux" (R. A.), Urdu, Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, Pp 354.

Marfat.com

Chaudhry, S. A., 2002. *Royal express international,* Monthly, Urdu,.Gujrat: Mohammad Yusaf, Gujrat Express, Oct. 2002, 60 Pp, relevant article Pp 33-39, based mostly on Nasir 2000 "Micro-cephalous subjects."

Daily Times, 2002. The tragic tale of rat children. Oct. 15, P. IA3.

Dalrymple, J., 1998. The Rat. London: *Daily Mail,* 11 July (in present auhtor's photocopy page numbers not clear).

Dar, S. R., 1991. Caravansarais in Pakistan. Unpublished P. 2, comprehensive paper on ancient highways and highway infrastructure. Various forms and plans of sarais also discussed.

Dawn photo feature, 2000, Aug. 21, P. 3.

Dawn editorial, 2000. Horrifying beyond belief. Karachi, Aug. 22, P. 20.

Dawn letter, 2000. Heinous crime. Aug. 25, P. 20.

Dawn letter, 2001. Crime against humanity. March 20, P. 6.

Dawn letter, 2001. Children with 'small heads.' April 17, P. 6.

Dawn letter, 2001. Children with small heads. April 24, P. 6.

De Robertis, E. D. P & De Robertis, E. M. F., 1987. *Cell and molecular biology*. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, Pp 734, relevant Chapter 18: Human cytogenetics, P. 497.

Dunichand, R. D. D., 1137 A. H. (1725 A. D.) *Kewgohar nama,* Farsi, written five years after the narration of *Karamat Nama Klaan* by Mushtaq Raam, 1132 A. H. or 1720 A. D. Baqir, M., 1965. Punjab Adbi Academy, 1721, Lahore, reprint, Pp 245+58 (these pages in English), relevant Pp 86, 96, 97, 109, 111. Urdu transl.Tariq, R. M. Y., 1956. Afzalpur, District Mirpur, Azad Kashmir: Prof. Raja Haqdad Tariq, Govt. College of Education, and Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir: Col. Raja Muhammad Aurangzeb Tariq, Pp 208. It comprises three parts: Pp 1-124, covering the Urdu version of the original in Farsi as written by Rae Zadah Diwan Dunichand; the second integral part Pp125-150, contributed by Rae Zadah Birge Nath, son of Dunichand, starting from the invasion of

Marfat.com

Mathura by Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1170 A. H. till 1186 A. H., and the third part, Pp 151-208 deals with additional information as advanced by Tariq R. M. Y.

Elliott, A. C., 1902. *The Chronicles of Gujrat.* Lahore: Civil and Military Press, Pp 38, Chap. V111, "Shah Daulah, the Saint," Pp 24-28; Chap. IX, "The Religion and Sect of Shah Daulah," Pp 28-30.

Elliott and Dawson, 1976. *See* Rogers, 1974.

Faqir, F. M., 1970-1972. *Tarikhe Gujranwala,* Urdu, hand-written, *see* Faqir, 1997.

Faqir, F. M., ed. Akram, M. J., published 25 years after the death of Faqir F. M., 1997. *Tarikhe Gujranwala*, Urdu, Lahore: Buzme Faqir, 125/B2 Township, 134 + 135-175, addendum by Akram M. J., relevant Pp 102-103 "Pul Shah Daula."

Faruki, Z., 1935. *Aurangzeb and his times.* Lahore: Al Biruni, Pp 306-308. Also Ebha Koch, Mughal Architecture, P. 111, and Dar, *op. cit.*, P. 7.

Ferishta, M. Q., 1019 (1611 A. D). *Tarikhe Ferishta,* Farsi. Urdu transl. Khwaja Abdul Hai. Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons (Pvt) Ltd. Publishers, 199 Circular Road, Chowk Anarkali, Vol. I, Pp 936, Vol. II, Pp 940. Vol. II is not relevant to the subject of the present investigation. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta started this work in 1606 A. D. and finished in 1611 A. D. In addition to the information from reliable persons, he consulted 32 historical books available at that time. The 12th part of the original *Tarikhe Ferishta* is not translated in Urdu, because according to the translator this part is entirely different from the rest of the book. In any case it matters little as Shah Daula died 1085 A. H. [Allama Sheikh Abu al-Fazal, brother of Sheikh Faizy, has documented the entire period of the Mughal emperor Akbar the Great in Akbar Nama. It consists of one lac and one thousand lines. Ferishta has given the summary of Akbar Nama Pp 680-731.]

Ferozeuddin, M., Undated. *Ferozeul lughaat*, Urdu. Lahore,

Marfat.com

Karachi, Peshawar: Ferozsons, Part I, vi+ 696 Pp, Part II, 638 Pp, relevant Part I, P. 537.

Ferzowk, S. A., 2004. *Tazkera Hazrat Shah Daulah Daryae*, Urdu. Gujrat: Rozan publishers, Railway Road, Pp 16.

Forster, W., 1978. *Early travelers in India.* Lahore: AIBiruni, reprint. Pp 161, 167 (first published in London, 1921).

Fucqry, A., 1987. *Tazkera auliyae Pakistan,* Urdu, Lahore: Shabir Brothers, Urdu Bazaar, Pp 480, relevant Pp 132-143 "Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daula Daryae (R. A.)."

Galpin, R., 1998. The rat-children of Pakistan-blessed by a Sufi saint but disfigured for profit. Manchester, UK: *The Guardian,* June 29, P. 11.

Haervy, K. N. U., 1612 (1021 A. H.). *Tarikh Khane Jahani wa makhzane Afghani,* Persian. Urdu Transl. Dr. Muhammad Bashir Hussain, 1986. Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 299 Upper Mall, 2nd ed., Pp 808 , relevant pages 517-520.

Haig, S.W. & Burn, S. R., 1987. *The Cambridge history of India, Mughal period.* Delhi: S. Chand & Company, P. 59.

Hamid, K. A., 1989. *Jam'ah allafaat*. Lahore: Urdu Science Board, Upper Mall, Vol. II, Pp 1073-2116.

Hasan, K., 2004. Sialkot's vanished days. Lahore: *The Friday Times*, February 20-24, 72-FCC, Gulberg-IV, Lahore, P. 9.

Hasan, M. Z., 1918. *See* Bhandari, S. R., 1695.

Hasan, S. M., 1311 A. H..(1894 A. D.) *Twarikh Ainahe tasawaf,* Urdu, Rampur State, India: Mutbah Hasany, Bustan, xiv + 554, relevant Pp 28.

Hashmi, I. A., 1983. *Zikre Mehboob,* Urdu. Gujrat: Irshad Ahmed Hashmi, Ghausia Street, Begumpura, 160 Pp.

Huegel, C. B., 1843. *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab. London*: John Petheram, 71 Chancery Lane, xv + 423 Pp, Urdu transl. Siddiqui, M. S., 1990. Lahore: Ahmed Nadim Qasmi, Majlise Tarraquie Adab, Club Road, xviii + 512, relevant Pp 204, 293-294.

Marfat.com

Hussain, B. H., 1986. *See* Haervy, K. N. U., 1612.
Hussain, S. M., 1860. *See* Bernier, F. S. P., 1656-1668.
Hussein, M., (ed.), 1970-1972. *Urdu encyclopaedia, mahana ma'loumat*. Lahore: Maktaba Jaddid Press, 50 Sunt Nagar, Nos.1-27, Pp 952, information about Adam Khan, No. 9, Feb. 1971, P. 284.
Hussein, S. M. 1990. *Gauharay nayab*, Urdu. Gujrat: Sheikh Mohammad Hussein, Mohallah Hasanpura, Pp 110. relevant P. 30. Slatch, 1996 gives the year of publication 1992, either it is a composer's error or another edition.
Ibbetson, Sir Denzil;Maclagan, Sir Edward, M. and Rose, H., 1919. *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.* Vol. III. Punjab: Superintendent Government Printing, 923 + 42 Pp. The *Chuhas*, Shah Daula's Rats, Pp. 630-631. The legend of Shah Daula by Elliott *op. cit.* reproduced on Pp 631-636 and Notes by the Editor, Indian Antiquary, Pp 636-637.
Ijaz, W., 2000. Rat-children (chuhas). Karachi: Daily *Dawn* photo, Aug. 21, P. 3.
Irshad, H. S., August 1, 1952-March 26, 1959. *Lest we should forget*: *The memory of the letters of Hakim Sayyid Irshad* (b. February 8, 1908, d. October 17, 1987). Gujrat: Hakim Sayyid Irshad Memorial Society, Court Road, 1997, Vol. 2, xii + 405 pp., relevant pages 170-171 & 172-174. [Letters to the editor. 1961. Human rats. The Pakistan Times, September 9, September 25.]
Irshad, H. S., June 1968-April 29, 1987. *Lest we should forget: The memory of the letters of Hakim Sayyid Irshad.* Gujrat: Hakim Sayyid Irshad Memorial Society, Court Road, Pbl date (?), Vol.3, xii + 404 Pp, relevant Pp. 18-19. [Letters to the editor. 1963. Conversion of Dates. *The Pakistan Times*, February 5, 1963.]
Islam, M., 1988. *Lok Punjab,* Urdu. Islamabad: Lok Virsa, P. O. Box No. 1184, 2nd ed., Pp 454, relevant Pp 25-30, 32.
Janjhi, N. A., 2003. *Dawn* letter, Feb. 5, P. 6.
Jervis, A. N. M., 1843. *Memoirs, voyages and travels, illustrative geography and statistics of Asia.* London: John

Marfat.com

Petheram, Pp 247-250.
Jullundhary, S. M. A., 1919. *Salimul twarikh. Julundhar:* published by the author from his residence at Chowk Mufftian, Pp 794, no other edition.
Karamatullah, S., 1977. *A'inae Gujrat*, Urdu. Gujrat: Zamindar Educational Association, Kothi Nawab Sahib, Pp 378, relevant Pp 3, 50-269.
Khan, A. A. N., 1868 (1285 A. H.) *Tarikhe Deccan*, Persian. Lucknow: Naval Kishore, 304 Pp., relevant Pp 147, 151.
Khan, I., 1990. *Shah Jahan nama,* in part translated and edited by Begley, W. E. & Desai, Z. A., Delhi: Oxford University Press, Pp 139-140, 475.
Khan, M. A. Y., 1939. *Darsul Qur'an,* Urdu. Lahore: Al-Farooq Book Foundation, Pp 392-528, published under the title *Rasaele N'aemia*—a compilation of eight different booklets of Mufti Ahmed Yar Khan, reprint: Gujrat: N'aemi Kutb Khana, Pp 528...
Khan, M. W., 1966. The Shah Daula Bridge: Scene of a hasty Mughal coronation. Islamabad: *The Pakistan Times* Magazine, Pp I, III.
Khan, S. A. A., 1993. *See* Begum, J. A.
Khan, S. A., 1844. *Ar'aishe mehfil.* London: J & Cox Brothers, Pp 151-152.
Khan, S. G. H., 1871. *The saere mutaqherin,* transl. and ed. Gokal Parahad. No. 1, Kishore Press, P. 181.
Kharabati, K. S. U., 1862-1863. *Tazkeratul waseleen,* Farsi. Vol. 2, Pp 530, relevant Pp. 298-471.
Khokhar, M. Z., 1994. Hazrat Shah Daulah Sahib, Urdu. Gujrat: Muslim Abad, Weekly *Ainah,* October 31, Pp 2-3.
Khokhar, M. Z., 2000. *Gujrat tarikh ke a'inah mein,* Urdu. Gujrat: Yasser Academy, Muslim Abad, Pp 608, 3rd ed., relevant Pp 185-187.
Kumboh, M. S., 1982. *Shah Jahan nama.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Urdu version, Vol. I, Pp 217, Vol. II, Pp 218-431, Vol. III, Pp 431-600. [Original version, hand-written manuscript, Persian, under the name *Amale*

Marfat.com

saleh (*Shah Jahan nama*), is said by Kumboh, in the preface, to have been composed in 1070 A. H. (1660 A. D.) but it does not seem to be correct as the incidents till 1080 A. H. (1669 A. D.) have also been incorporated. However, the preface was left unaltered. [Shahabudin Shah Jahan b. 1000 A. H. (1592 A. D), at Lahore, d. 1076 A. H. (1666 A. D.) at Agra. He ruled for 32 years.]

Kunjahi, S., 1985. *Hazrat Shah Doolah Daryae Gujrati, hayat o t 'aleemaat,* Urdu. Lahore: Markaze Mu'araf Auliya, Mehkma Aukaaf, Punjab, xiv + 182 Pp.

Kunjahi, S., 2000. *Tarikhe Gujrat aur lufzoon ki ainak,* Urdu. Gujrat: Al-Mir Trust Library, Mir Street, Bhimber Road, 178 Pp.

Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1874 (1290-1291 A. H.). *Khazeenatul asiffia,* Farsi. Lucknow: Munshi Naval Kishore. Urdu transl. Bhatty, M. Z., 1994. Lahore: Maktabahe Nubween, Gunj Bux Road, Vol. 5, Pp 188, relevant Pp 166-169.

Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1877 (1293-1294 A. H.). *Tarikhe makhzane Punjab.* Lucknow: Munshi Naval Kishore, Pp 589. Reprint 1966, Lahore: Dost Associates, Al Karim Maıket, Urdu Bazaar.

Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1902 (1319-1320 A. H.). *Khazeenatul asiffia*, Farsi. Lucknow: Munshi Naval Kishore, Vol. 2, ii + 454 Pp, relevant Pp 102-104. Another version Urdu transl. Lahori, M. M. A. & Farooqi, A. I. A., 1973, Vol. 2, Pp 328. Lahore: Al Mu'arif 239, N. Samanabad, No. 249.

Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1906. *Hadiqatul auliya*. Lucknow: Munshi Noval Kishore. (Lahori died 1307 A. H. or 1890 A. D., composition 1292 A. H., or 1875.).Reprint Mojadeddi, 1976, Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 249-N. Samanabad, 324 + iv Pp, relevant P. 174, distributors Alma'harref, Gunj Bux Road, Lahore.

Lahori, M. M. A. & Farooqi, A. I. A., 1973. *See* Lahori, M. G. S. Q., 1902.

Lahori, Z. D., 1994. *Johare taqweem*, Urdu. Lahore: Idara Saqafte Islamia, vi + 291 Pp.

Marfat.com

Lal, K., 1984. *Tarikhe Lahore* 1st ed. Lahore: Majlise Taraquie Adab, 6 Club Road, 2nd ed., Faiq, K. A. K., 1987, Pp 480.

Lal, K., 1989. *Tarikhe Punjab,* Urdu, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, reprint, Pp 44, 448.

Mahmud, S. Q., 1993. *Shahkare Islami encyclopaedia*, Urdu. Karachi: Shahkar Book Foundation, Hasan Ali Afandi Road, Pp 792.

Mir, A. A., 2002. *Tarikhe Jalalpur Jattan, Mir aur Kashmir*, Part I, Urdu. Gujrat: Bhimber Road, Almir Trust Library, Markaze Tehqueeq au Talif, Pp 690.

Mojadeddi, M. I., 1972. *See* Aubdi A. K.Q., 1683-1684 (1094 A. H).

Mufti, R., 1967. Shah Doola Gujrati. *Shaeen*, six-monthly, Jublee No. 4 (2). Gujrat: Khurshid Humayun Chaudhry, Pp 218, relevant Pp183-191.

Mufti, R., 1997. *Gujrat aihed baihed.* Urdu transl. of *The Chronicles of Gujrat* with some additions. Gujrat: Tipu Sultan Publications, Alipura Road, Pp 120.

Mughal, M. R., 1964. Gujrat by the Chenab. Karachi: *Pakistan quarterly*, V. XII (1), relevant Pp12-19.

Myshine, D., 1959. *Soviet medicine in the fight against mental diseases*, transl. from the Russian version of Rokhlin, L. London: Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd, Pp 164. [Urdu transl. Mahmud, K., 1987, relevant Pp 28-29. This book used to be in the Zamindar College Library, Gujrat.]

Nadvi. R. A., 1997. *See* Babar, Z.

Naqshbandi, M. T., 2005. *Hallat wa waa'at Hazrat Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Doolah Daryae Gujrati.* Narowal: Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, Pp 88.

Naqvi, A. H., 2002. City of Sufis. Lahore: *The Friday Times,* October 4-10, Pp 15-16.

Nasir, P., 1996. *Jaddid karamat nama, aik marde qalandar ki dastane hayat,* Urdu. Gujrat: Ghazia Publishers, Shah Daula Road, Pp 288.

Nasir, P., 2000. Micro-cephalous subjects. Islamabad, Pakistan: *The Nation*, Nov. 19, P. 10.

Marfat.com

Nasir, P., 2001. 'Small heads': some facts. *Dawn* letter, March 26, P. 6.

Nasir, P., 2002. *Dear editor.* Gujrat: Ghazia Publishers, Shah Daula Road, xxxx + 233 Pp.

Nath, R., 1994. *History of Mughal architecture (the transitional phase of colour and design, Jehangir 1605-1627 A. D)* Lahore: Main Chambers, Nadeem Book House, vi + 625 Pp, 48 colour illustrations, 315 black & white line illustrations, 93 line illustrations.

Niaz, A., 1992. *Auliyae Sialkot,* Urdu. Sialkot: Niaz Academy, Salim Market, Mujahid Road, Pp 264, covering 46 *auliyas*, relevant Pp 50-57

Niaz, R., 1958. *Tarikh Sialkot,* Urdu, ed. 1998. Sialkot: Niaz Academy, Salim Market, Mujahid Road, Pp 416.

Notes by the Editor, Indian Antiquary (*in* Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 1919, Pp 636-637.

Piracha, I., 2003. Reflections on a lake. Lahore: 45-The Mall, *The Friday Times,* March 7-13, 2003, P. 25.

Qadri, C., 1725 (1137 A. H.). *Biography karamat nama khurd Hazrat Shah Doolah Gunj Bux Daryae*, Farsi. Copied 1905 (1323 A. H.) for the pleasure of Hakim Ghulam Ahmed. Gujrat: Darbar Janab Hazrat Shah Daula Sahib, Pp 56.

Qadri, M. D. K., 1985. *Tazkera mushaikhe qadria,* Urdu. Lahore: Muktbah Nabviah, Gunj Bux Road, Pp 288.

Qanoongo, K. R., 1996. *Sher Shah aur uska aihed*, Urdu, reprint, Lahore: Akram Arcade, Saffanwala Chowk, 29 Temple Road, Pp 704, previous version 1964, India: Orient Longman.

Qiladari, A. H. Q., 1983. *Tazkara Hazrat Shah Daula, Daryae aur unka khandan*, Urdu. Gujrat: unpublished, Pp 176.

Qiladari A. H. Q., 1995. *District Gujrat*, Punjabi, Urdu, Lahore: Punjabi Adbi Board, Pp 1104, relevant Pp. 191-198.

Qiladari, A. H. Q., 1971. *Tazkerae Auliyae Gujrat*, Urdu, Lahore: Jawad Brother, Al Fazal Market, Room No. 4,

Marfat.com

Urdu Bazaar, Pp 128, relevant Pp 19-22.
Qiladari, A, H. Q., 2000. *Huseen yadeen*, Urdu, Gujrat: Rae Zaid Jarral advocate, Pp 111, relevant Pp 100-110.
Quddoosi, E. H., 1968. *Tuzke Jahangiri,* Urdu transl. Lahore: Majlise Taraquie Adab, 6 Club Road, Vol. I, Pp 746, Vol. II, xxii + 603 Pp [The original autobiography was written in Farsi by the emperor Jahangir, A. N. M. himself. The first Urdu transl. Nawab of Tonk got translated by Maulvi Sayyid Ahmad Ali Rampuri and published at his own expense. Nizami Press, Kawnpur in 1291 A. H. or 1874-1875. The first Farsi edition, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan published from his personal press, Aligarh, 1864. The second edition of the same published by Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1914.]
Qureshi, S. J., 1995. Gory tale of human trade continues unabated at Shah Daula Shrine. Karachi: Daily *Dawn* Cultural Diary, Jan. 10; P. 3.
Raam (Roy), M., 1132 A. H. (1719 -1720A. D.). *Karamat nama klaan Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae,* Farsi. Written about 47 years after the death of Shah Daula. Copied version 1905 (1323 A. H.) for the pleasure of Hakim Ghulam Ahmed. Gujrat: Darbar Janab Hazrat Shah Daula Sahib, Pp 249 [Urdu transl. Sayyid Najaf Shah 1890-1891 (1308 A. H.), one of the descendants of Shah Daula, the maternal grandfather of the great Punjabi poet Pir Fazal Hussain Fazal Gujrati, Pp 190.]
Rai, K., 1847. Saer-e-Punjab, Urdu, Lahore, Pp 142-175.
Rahi, A., 1994. *Sher Shah Suri,* Urdu. Lahore: Maktabah al-Quresh, Urdu Bazaar, Pp 589.
Raja, I. H., 1994. *Tarikhe Gujjar Khan*, Urdu. Lahore: Patiala Ground, Maktaba Daastan, Pp 328.
Rampuri, M. S. A. A., 1967. *Tuzke Jahangiri,* Urdu transl. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Chowk Urdu Bazaar, economic ed. x + 465 Pp.
Rashid, A., 1907. *The travellers' companion.* Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, Pp 104-105.
Rashid, S., 2002. Legend bridge. Karachi: *The Herald,* May

Marfat.com

2002, Pp 118-121.
Rauf, A., 1962. Monthly *Gule khandan*. bzurgone deen number, Urdu. Lahore: Malik Sirajuddin & Sons, Publishers, Kashmiri Bazaar, Pp 392, relevant Pp 151-153 "Hazrat Shah Daula."
Rawlinson, P., 1926 *India and Western World,* P. 47 and Sarkar, K. M. The Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab, 1849-1886. Monograph No. 1. Lahore: Punjab Government Record Office Publication, Pp 3, 7, 15, 49.
Rehman, A. & Wescoat, J. L. Jr., 1993. *Pivot of the Punjab, the historical geography of medieval Gujrat*. Lahore: Dost Associates Publishers, Al Kraim Market, Urdu Bazaar, Pp 208, "The saint Shah Daula, and his tomb," Pp 88-91.
Rizvi, S. A. M. M., 1998. *Khuftgane Gujrat ka tehquiqui wa tanquidi ja'ezah*, Urdu. Gujrat: Tipu Sultan Publications, Alipura Road, Pp 40.
Rizvi, S. S. N. H. Q. R., 1991. *Mazhure amale Mustafai,* 3rd ed. Lahore: Allama Abdul Barkat Academy, Gunj Bux, x + 336 Pp.
Rogers, A., 1974. *Tuzuke Jahangiri* transl. ed. Henry Beveridge. Lahore: Sange-e-Meel Publications, V I, Pp. 91, 92,100.
Ibid. The Construction of Gujrat by emperor Akbar has also been described by emperor Jahangir in *Waqui'ate Jahangiri,* Pp 91-92.*See* "History of India as told by its own Historians"(Elliott & Dawson). Lahore: Islamic Book Service, V. VI, reprint, Pp. 299-300, 303. *See* also *Waqui'ate Jahangiri,* transl. Elliott and Dawson, 1976.
Ross, D., 1883. *The Land of the five rivers and Sind.* London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., P. 144.
Roy, N., 2002. *Naimatullah's history of the Afghans*. Urdu transl. *Makhzane Afghani of Naimatullah Haervy*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Pp 211.
Sabri, M. H., 1889-1890 (1307 A. H.). *Haquiqat gulzare Sabri*, 4th *ed.* 1938. Sikanderi: Rampur State, India: Mutbah Hasni, iv + 468 Pp, relevant Pp 72-77.

Marfat.com

Sastri., 1924. *Cunningham's ancient geography of India.* Calcutta: Surendarnath Mujamdar, Chuckervestty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd, P. 206.

Sayyid, H. H., 2000. *Sharif Kunjahi ki parwarashe loho kalum,* Urdu. Gujrat, Pakistan: Almir Trust Library, Center of Investigation and Publication, Bhimber Road, Pp 478, relevant Pp 228-240, including a list of incomplete references compiled by Dr. Waheed Quereshi, M. S. Nasim Chaudhry, Sharif Kunjahi and Pir Rashiduddaula.

Sayyid, H. H., 2003. *Sufrey-Sadaat and Sadaat district Gujrat Pakistan*, Urdu. Gujrat, Pakistan: Almir Trust Library, Center of Investigation and Publication, Bhimber Road, 311 Pp, relevant Pp. 221-222.

Shah, S. N., 1890-1891 (1308 A. H.). *See* Raam (Roy), M., 1132 A. A.

Shahab, M. H., 1967. *Khitta* e *pak Uch*, Urdu. Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, Pp 443; relevant Pp 323-324.

Shali, H. S. Z., 2001. Urdu transl. of Nasir, P., 2000. Micro-cephalous subjects. Gujrat: Daily *Jazba,* 2001, Jan. 14, P.3.

Siddiqui, M. S., 1990. *see* Huegel, 1843.

Slatch, M. M. A., 1996. *Khuftgane khake Gujrat: zila Gujrat mein mudfoon mashaheer ke halaat wa alwae qaboor*, Urdu. Gujrat, Loraan: Slatch Publications, Pp 320, relevant Pp. 47, 95-98.

Taji, B. A. S., 2001. Hazrat Shah Doola Gujrati. *Taj* Monthly. Karachi: Khanqahe Tajia, Mewa Shah, Nov. Pp 37-43.

Takbeer Magazine, 1995. Mazaar of Shah Doolah where human children are made into *Chuhas,* original in Urdu, Karachi: 14-20 April, special report, Pp 33-35..

Tariq, R. M. Y., 1956. *See* Dunichand, R. D. D., 1137 A. H.

Tasbihi, M. H., 1972. *Fehrist nuskhahae khatti Khwaja Sanaullah Kharabati*, Persian. Rawalpindi: Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies (Uz Intshare Markaz Farsi Iran wa Pakistan), Pp 57 + 222 + 100 Catalogue of the manuscripts of Khwaja Sana' Allah

Marfat.com

Kharabati, nine English pages at the back of the book.
Tavernier, J. B., 1925. *Travels in India.* London: Oxford University Press, Pp 32-39.
Tazkeratul fuqrah Urdu transl. named *Asrarul waseleen.* Undated. Lahore: Channun Din, Allah Wale ki Qaumi Dukaan, Manzal Naqashbandia, Kucha Kakezei, Kashmiri Bazaar, Pp 96, relevant P. 35.
Tirmizi, S. M., 1961. Waqf X Case No. 3 of 1960. Gujrat: June 27, Pp 13, copy obtained from Gujranwala Courts.
Wadera, M. G. D., 1849. *Char* (*nec* Chehar) *baghe Punjab*, Farsi, also known as *Sahib nama,* Pp 411, relevant Pp 177-178. Reprint of original hand-written MS, ed. Prof. Kirpal Singh, 1965. Amritsar, India: Sika History Research Department, Khalsa College, 439 Pp, English part 34 Pp, relevant Pp177-180.
Wahid, S., 2000. Exploitation of 'rat-children.' Karachi: Daily *Dawn,* Aug. 27, P. 20.
Williamson, H. S., 1921. *Gazetter of Gujrat.* Revised version based on Captain Davies' Edition of 1892-93. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Shahrae Pakistan, Reprint. vi + 179 Pp.
Yarjang, N. M., 1983. *Makamaate mahmud.* Lahore: Istaqlal Press, xiv + 486 Pp, relevant Pp. 367-374.
Yusuf, K., 2001. Children with small heads. Karachi: Daily *Dawn* letter, Aug. 24, P. 6.
Zaidi, N. H., 1966. *See* Bhandari, S. R., 1695.

*Not necessarily all of the references cited in the text.

Marfat.com

The patron saints of Venezuela—the present author stayed for about 28 years in Venezuela, South America, therefore, it is of interest to mark some of the saints revered in there and these are:

Virgen Santa Ines the patron saint of the city of Cumaná and also Nuestra Señora de Altagracia venerated in the same city (Sucre State), la Madre Santisima de la Luz of Caracas (the capital of Venezuela) also Dr. Jose Gregorio Hernandez Cisneros (died in a tragic automobile accident, particularly worshipped by taxi drivers throughout the country), Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria of Victora (Aragua State), Nuestra Señora de Balbanera of El Tocuyo (Lara State), Nuestra Senora de la Chiquinquira also known as "La Chinita" (brought from Colombia to Venezuela) of Zulia State), Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Guaymacuar of Puerto La Cruz (Anzoategui State), Nuestra Señora del Valle or Virgen del Valle of La Asunción (Nueva Esparta State), Virgen de Lourdes (answers prayers of sick persons for their recovery), Santisima Trinidad (venerated throughout Venezuela), Nuestra Señora del Socorro of Valencia (Carabobo State), and Virgen de Fatima (brought from Portugal) venerated throughout Venezuela.

****

Marfat.com

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Aabe Hayat, 126, 250
Aabe Kausar, 139
"Aar", 71
Abdul Ghafoor Abdal, 249
Abdal Khan, 44
Abdul Latif, 23
Abdul Moman *alias* Malik Chand, 101
Abdul Qasim Namkin, 198, 203
Abdul Rahim Lodi, 10, 27, 37, 41, 44, 49, 54, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 94, 99
Abdullah Khweshgi Kasuri Aubdi, 177
Abdul Rahim *alias* Lodi Afghan, 40, 42
Abdu'r Rahim Khan Lodi,75
Abdul Samad of Sook, 27
Abid Khan,43, 172, 160, 218
Ablution, 126, 250
Abu Ali Rowd Bari, 165
Abul Qasim Gargani, 165
Abwabe Maktoob, 32
Adam Khan, 51, 56, 58, 64
69
Adeeb, 212
Additional Judge, 120, 128
Administrator, 72, 76, 130, 131, 132, 134
Afghan Dynasty, 45
Afghan Lodi, 44, 122
Afghan Lodi Abdul Rahim, 73
Afghan Kingdom, 248, 250
Afghan *Mushaikh*, 122
Afghan Sultan Salim, 42
Agra, 45, 46, 56, 59, 61, 62, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 144, 158
Agra Fort, 86, 89
Ahmadabad, 136
Ahmadnagar, 158
Ahmedabad, 10, 32, 37, 96, 121, 135, 136, 162, 164, 168, 248, 249, 251, 252
Ahmed Ali Shah Daula, , 135
Ahmed Khan *Shahhanchi*, 199, 209
Ahmed Shah Durrani, 199, 209

Marfat.com

Ahmed Yadgar, 90
A'inahe Gujrat, 24
A'inae Tarikhe Tasawaf, 249, 252
Aik Nullah, 193, 194
Ajmeer Khan, 56
Ajmer Sharif, 167
Akbar, 25, 38, 40, 41, 43, 53, 54, 57, 66, 67, 68,,69, 75, 87, 96, 1.00, 101, 102, 114, 1.19, 133, 144, 172, 175, 176, 177, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 220, 221, 254
Akbarabad, 69, 95, 100, 199, 203, 208, 210, 212
Akbari Fort, 199, 207, 210
Akbar's ascension, 13, 40, 41, 43, 54, 68, 73, 75, 102, 144, 175, 219
Akbar's coronation, 41, 177, 198
Akbar's reign, 94, 175
Akbar the Great, 36, 95, 142, 144, 172, 257
Akbar Kuli Khan, 57, 70
Akhund :Abdul Ghafoor, 96, 102
Akhund Sahib, 102,103, 216, 220
Akmaluddin, 163
Alamgir, 91, 123, 144, 157, 196, 199, 213, 214
Alamgir's ascension, 38, 143, 177
Alamgir's coronation, 26,177
Alamgir's rule, 144
Alakh Khan *alias* Juna Shah Muhammed bin Tughlaq, 106
Alakhana, 198, 201, 206
Alauddin Khilji, 202
Alawal Khan, 43, 67, 68
Alexander, 198, 200, 201
Alexander the Great, 27, 206
Alexander's invasion, 201
alhaam, 32
Alif, 43, 160, 175, 220
Ali Khan, 198, 201, 206
Ali Naqi, 96, 97, 98
Allahabad, 85, 165, 168, 248, 249
Allah Din, 250
Allama Abdul Karim, 24
Al-Farabi, 137
Ali Hajveri Data Gunj Bux, 135, 141
Amanullah, 20
Amar Baaz, 244
Ameers,63,64, 66, 82, 87, 89
Ameer Din, 28
Ameer Ghazi Mahallry, 89
Amir Masood, 51
Amritsar, 22, 27, 69, 229
Amumi Haqiqi, 251
Anagram, 100, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 184, 188, 206
Anagrams, 173, 176
animals, 13, 116, 138, 142, 145, 148, 155, 196
Ambala, 60, 72, 79
Anthropology, 224, 236
Aniridia-Wilms tumor

Marfat.com

Syndrome, 239
Apleys, 213
Arabian Ancestry, 127
Aril, 85
Aristotle, 137
Arrain, 34, 35, 54, 93, 120, 121, 125
Ashrafis, 97, 143, 147, 151
Asawal, 136
Askari, 56, 61
Ashes, 220
Asur Kalanemi, 151
Aurangzeb Alamgir, 53, 122, 128, 143, 153, 157
Aurangzeb Alamgir's rule,36
Autobiography, 211, 214
Ayaz, 71
Ayesha, 134
Azam Humayun, 10, 45, 46, 62, 72, 78, 79, 80
Azam Shah, 158
Aziz Khan, 44

B

"Bengal Parrot", 245
"Bhatti Var", 71
Baatan, 32
Baatni, 166
Baba Behgwant Daas Beragi, 208
Baba Farid Shakkar Gunj, 35, 163, 167
Baba Imam Sahib, 106, 156
Baba Mahi Shah, 35
Baba Nanak, 218, 219, 220
Babar, 44, 46, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 86
Bachan Pal, 198, 201, 206
Badal Khan, 66
Badiuz Zaman, 142, 143, 148, 151
Badshahi Road, 118
Baghdad, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 99, 125, 126, 168, 217, 248, 249, 251, 252
Bagum Raj Mahal, 155
Bahadur Khan, 199, 209
Bahadur Shah,143,154, 157
Bahadur Shah I,143,157, 158
Bahadur Shah II, 157, 158
Bahadur Sen, 198, 200
Bahauddin, 180
Bahawal Shah, 179, 181
Bahlolpur,198, 202, 205
Bahlul Daryae, 140
Bahlul Lodi, 38, 45, 46, 49, 54, 81, 82, 198, 202, 205, 219, 220
Baho, 139
Bajwara, 46, 82
Bakhtawar, 153
Bakhtawar Khan, 128
Bakhtawar Khwaja, 156
Bala Koh (Nerul), 70
Bala Kot, 62, 64
Bala Bangash, 53, 70
Ban bariala, 213
Bandrabin, 156
Bangash Afghans, 69, 70
banian, 129
baoli, 199, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 214, 216, 222
baolis, 91, 221
Barandari, 210

Marfat.com

Barah, 134
Baraatis, 217
Barbak Shah, 46
Barnala, 126
Basmati, 196
Battle, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 70, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 94, 122, 158, 209, 215
Battle of Belgram, 81, 85, 86
Battle of Chousa, 81, 85
Battle of Ganges, 85
Battle of Qanooj, 45, 46, 85
Bayat, 24, 106, 168
begging, 96, 97, 109, 223, 226, 227, 230, 232, 234, 240,
Begum Bai, 117, 118, 143, 154
Begumpura Mosque, 143, 155
Behar Khan, 58
Behaul Haq Multani, 179
Behta, 142, 150, 151
Belas, 201
Belgrade, 240
Benares, 85
Bengal, 62,81,82, 83, 84, 245
Berlamjeet Goad, 86
Berlin, 224, 236
Beyana, 89
Bhai Piyara, 218, 219
Bhang, 219
Bhat (Jehlum) River, 87
Bhatiaras, 92
Bhatti Rajputs, 71
Bhauddin Zakariya Multani, 163
Bhawan (Behawan) Shah, 31, 38
Bhawan Shah, 10, 31, 34, 38, 42, 121, 125, 131, 132, 133, 135, 143, 157, 169, 171, 172, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 246
Bhera, 86
Bhimber Nala, 190, 214
Bhole, 190
Bhidi, 125
Bhidi Shah Rehman (Rehma), 125
Bhudhera, 97
Bihar, 46, 84, 87, 215
Bijli Shah (Buj Shah), 48, 50, 51
Biographical, 133, 160
Bir Khan Ghakhar, 77
Bitter water, 138, 140
Bombay, 136, 243
brain, 236,237, 238, 239, 243
bricks, 65, 107, 109, 110, 148, 149, 150, 197, 221
bride, 217, 218
bridegroom, 217
Bridge, 25, 26, 61, 85, 86, 114, 116, 142, 143, 148, 149, 150, 151, 158, 186, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 203, 204, 208
Britain, 242
British Museum, 159
British Raj, 159, 214, 215

Marfat.com

brotherzada (nephew), 111
Bu (abu) al-fazal, 34
Budapest (Hungary), 240
Buddha, 199, 210
Bukhara, 137
Bukhtiar Khan, 91
Bulleh Shah, 35, 125
Bun Bajwa, 105
Burkis, 134
Burma, 157
Bussy Khan, 51
Buta, 150
Butiaris, 213

C

cake, 154
Cakes, 200, 213
Calcutta, 22
Caliph al-Mamun Rashid, 137
Caliphs, 10, 104, 120, 252
Calligrapher,21, 22, 157, 192
Captain A. C. Elliott, 26
Captain Davies, 205
Captain H. Mackenzie, 206
Captain waterfield, 205
Captives, 40, 42, 44, 54, 63, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80, 94
Captivity of Ghakhars, 72
Caracas (Venezuela), 240
Caste of Shah Daulah, 120, 128
Chaar Baghe Punjab, 27
chabutrah, 150, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191
Chachazad bhai, 216
Chagaan caste, 49
Chaj Doab, 202, 209
Chak caste, 49
Chak Omar, 188
Chak Yusaf, 130
Chakla Gujrat, 205, 213
Chamberlain, 146, 243
Cambridge history, 158, 255
Chandogas, 195
Chandogya, 195
Charles Huegel, 200
Chasht, 170
Chatta khan, 66
Chattar Singh, 117, 118
Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain, 216
Chaudhry Alahdin, 126
Chaudhry Fateh Muhammad, 199, 207
Chellianwala, 69
chemical agents, 237
chenar, 85
childhood, 27, 41, 93, 94, 136, 242
chillah, 107
Chillan, 34
Chishti, 152, 163
chishtia silsila, 166, 167
chakla, 101, 205, 213
Chochak khan, 44
Chokandi, 213
Chotta (little) Khwas Khan, 83
Chousa, 81, 85

Marfat.com

Chowinda Bajwa, 105
Chowk Pakistan, 199, 210
Christian quarter, 205
chromosomal disorders, 237
chromosome abnormalities, 238, 239
Chronicles of Gujrat, 9, 26, 100, 206
Chronogram, 172, .174, 175, 177, 203
chronograms, 173
Chuha, 13, 226 228, 232, 234, 241, 242
Chuhas, 9, 10, 13, 39, 158, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247
Circular Road, 191, 211
City of Gujrat, 114, 115, 138 139, 190, 198, 201, 208, 218, 228
Congenital, 229, 237, 238
Construction, 25, 71, 87, 100, 107, 116, 148, 149, 150, 184, 188, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199, 203, 207, 210, 211, 214, 221
Constructions, 116, 138, 193,
Contradiction, 100, 111, 244
Contraptions, 10, 52, 145, 224, 233, 234, 240, 247
Conversion, 15, 160, 161, 169, 203, 213
Coronation, 40, 143, 158, 200, 211,
Cost, 87, 152, 161, 186, 187, 199, 207, 208, 221
cousin brother, 164, 216, 251
Cow-dung, 200, 213
Cox, 242, 243
Cranial, 237, 238
Craniosynostosis, 238
cri du chat syndrome, 239
Cunningham, 201, 206
cytomegalovirus (CMV), 238

D

Dadkan, 196
Daik Nala , 148
Daily Mail, 235
Daily Times, 236
Dalil al-Sadiquin, 21
Dalaq (Faqir's coat), 29, 111, 112, 128, 183
Damdama Sahib, 210
Dangly, 52, 58, 61, 65, 71, 76, 95
Dara Shikoh, 122, 123, 142, 148, 153, 193
Darbakhtah, 142, 145
Darbar, 27, 58, 69, 70, 116, 147, 188
Dargah, 192, 231
Daroghah, 76
Darsul Qur'an, 218
Daryae,138, 139, 140, 219
Dastarkhan, 156
Daula Roy, 36
Daulat, 31, 36, 38
Daulat Khan, 38
Dawlat Khan Lodi, 46, 56, 59
Daulat Raam, 38
Daulat Shah, 38

Marfat.com

Dawn, 144, 235, 236
Dayal Singh Trust Library, 32, 33, 251
Deccan, 123, 126, 158
Deer, 142, 145
Dehni Roy, 101
Dek Nullah, 26, 142
Delhi, 10, 44, 45, 50, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 84, 86, 90, 91, 94, 95, 99, 118, 119, 200, 205, 215, 221, 243
Deos, 149
Deputy Commissioner, 26, 27, 133, 206
Dervesh Khan Janjua, 51, 58, 77
Deudi, 105
Devices, 234, 235, 239, 240
Devka Nadi, 193, 195
Dewan Amar Nath, 212
Dhaki Darwaza, 211
Dhankot, 79
Dharmshala, 210
Dhobi, 125
Dhod, 143
Dianat Roy, 202, 211
Dik, 148, 150, 151, 193, 195, 196
Dik (Degh Nala), 114, 116
Dik bridge, 151
Dinga, 205
Dirim, 170
Doola, 9, 28, 29, 30, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 54, 55, 72, 77, 78, 96, 98, 99, 102, 104, 107, 121, 124, 127, 135, 136, 147, 170, 175
Doola Shahi, 216, 220
Doolah, 9, 31, 37, 38, 104, 107, 111, 135
Doolas, 12, 29, 36, 37, 93
Doolahs, 12, 31, 37, 93
drugs, 237
Durkah Mal, 100

E

Edward's syndrome, 239
Eimanabad, 25, 193, 195, 197
Engineer, 100, 133, 222, 244
Engineer Saint of Gujrat, 133
Environmental insults, 239
Esa Khan Niazi, 90
Europe, 136
Eusuf, 244
Expiry, 9, 12, 29, 31, 33, 42, 52, 56, 65, 122, 143, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174,175, 176, 177, 180, 184, 212, 249
Exploitation, 230, 232, 235, 236

F

Fable, 216
faqarul'affiat, 250
faqir, 39, 43, 54, 68, 111, 112, 115, 127, 139, 145, 146, 151, 163, 182, 190, 218, 227, 234, 250
Faqir Shah Jahangir, 186
Faqirs, 67, 115, 127, 129, 146, 147, 150, 156, 157, 216,

Marfat.com

220, 246, 247
Faqir's coat, 109
Faqirullah Qadri's book, 140
faqiry life, 43, 56
Far'ahtul Nazereen,120, 128, 176, 177
Fariduddin Muzaffar Sher Shah, 84
Farghana, 61
Farid Khan, 45, 46, 81, 82
Fateha, 170
Fatehpur Sikri, 86
Faujdar, 142, 148, 196
Fawarah Chowk, 160, 162
Fazal Hussain, 130
Fazal Shah, 39, 179.
Feroze Shah Tughlaq, 104, 106
Ferozeul Lughaat, 34
Ferzand Ali, 21, 24
Fetal alcohol syndrome, 239
Fever, 169, 170
Finger, 110, 160
Fingers, 104, 108, 109
First Battle of Panipat, 45, 46
flood, 138, 140, 142, 190, 191, 193, 196
Foetus, 237
Folk-lore, 158
Footage, 240
fort, 60, 61, 71, 87, 88, 91, 100, 107, 109, 198, 199, 202, 203, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214
Fort Kalinjar, 61
Fort Muloat, 60
France, 136, 240

G

"Garhi Shah Doolah", 125
"Garhi", 84
"Gunj Bux", 241
Ganesh, 151
Ganesh Daas Wadera, 96, 101
Ganges, 81, 85, 86
Ganges River, 84
General Ayub Khan, 130
Germany, 136
Ghairat Khan Mughal, 69
Ghakhar, 41, 44, 51, 54, 60, 62, 65, 67, 69, 72, 76, 91, 92, 213
Ghakhar Dynasty, 48, 73
Ghakhar Shah, 48, 50, 51
Ghakhars, 27, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 87, 88, 92, 94, 208
Ghazi Khan, 40, 42, 44, 53, 56, 59, 72, 74, 75, 80, 92, 94
Ghazna, 198, 200
Ghaznavids, 166
Ghazni, 48, 49, 50 , 202
Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, 106
Ghulam, 71, 82, 100, 107, 111
Ghulam Ahmed, 188
Ghulam Hussain, 133
Ghulam Qadar, 28
Ghulamuddin Khurasani, 163
Glossary of Tribes and Castes, 132

Marfat.com

Gola, 29, 38, 96, 99, 107
golden crests, 142, 145
gora (Englishman), 136
Grand Trunk Road, 64, 197, 214, 221
Great Pir (Hazrat Abdul Qadar Jilani R. A.), 126, 165
Gujarat, 10, 32, 37, 135, 136, 248, 249, 251, 252
Gujrat Akbarabad, 199
Gujjar, 54, 93, 100, 111, 120, 121, 128, 134, 199, 205, 206, 207
Gujjar Khan, 71
Gujjar Mal, 101
Gujjar Singh, 199, 208, 209, 212
Gujjars, 121, 134, 198, 202, 203, 205, 210
Gujranwala, 23, 51, 114, 116, 120, 128, 130, 133, 142, 148, 190, 193, 195, 196, 209
Gujrat Fort, 96, 100, 208, 209, 212
Gujrat *Khurd*, 153
Gujrat link, 114
Gujrat-i-Shah Daula, 133
Gilanwala, 191
Gulshane Punjab, 27
gunpowder, 63, 87
Gurjara, 198, 201, 206
Gyujar, 130

H

"Har", 71
haal, 167
Hafeefa, 42
Hafiz Ghulam Ahmed, 25, 187
Hafiz Ghulam Hussain, 33, 252
Haibat Khan, 45, 46
Haibat Khan Kakkar, 123
Haibat Khan Niazi, 62, 87
Haji Habib-ul-la, 221, 222
Hajj, 162
Hakam, 67
Hakim, 22, 33
Hakim (herbal doctor) Muhammad Nabi Qadiyyani, 33
Hakim Abdul Rahim Jamil, 130
Hakim Jilani, 243
Hakim Muhammad Saeed, 186, 187, 191
Hakim Rukn Kashi, 152
Hameed Shah, 250
Hameeda Bano, 87
Hameeda Shah Doola, 36
Hamud Khan, 51
Haneefa, 10, 42,179,182, 184
Haquiqat Gulzare Sabri, 164
Har Kern, 156
haraam, 67
Hazrat Ali, 135,163, 164, 249, 251
Hassan Abdaal, 124, 133, 157, 169, 171, 177
Hathi Khan, 51, 52, 56, 57, 58, 59, 77
Hawaul Musta'an, 23
Hayat Bux, 39,179, 181, 182

Marfat.com

Hayat o T 'leemaat, 28
Hazrat Abdul Qadar Ghause Azam Jilani, 33
Hazrat Miraan Yaya, 21
Hazrat Muhammad Sadek Kashmiri, 22
Hazrat Shah Daula, 30, 31, 33, 102, 108, 132, 165, 168, 207, 235, 244
Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae Gujrati (Punjabi), 33
Hazrat Shah Daula Daryae Sahib Gunj Bux, 30
Hazrat Shah Doolae Daryae Gujrati, 23
Hazrat Shah Monga Wali, 195
Hazrat Shah Muhammad Qasim Shah Daula Daryae Gujrati, 33
Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani, 10, 33, 120, 125, 127, 252
Hazrat Sheikh Shah Daula Daryae Sahib, 30
Hazrat Sheikh Shah Daula Daryae Sahib Gunj Bux, 30
Hazrat Sultan Bahu, 33
Hazrat Sultanul Arefeen, 34
Heer Ranjah, 51
Heera, 100
Heera Mandi, 192
Heera Nand, 169, 171
Hellan, 69
helmets, 145, 233, 235, 236
Herdaas (Heera), 101
heredity, 237
Herpes simplex, 233
Hindal, 87
Hindal Mirza, 84
Hindu, 19, 27, 82, 98, 99, 101, 136, 147, 150, 151, 201, 202
Hindus, 67, 96, 97, 102, 114, 116, 129, 160, 161, 200, 201
Hindu Lalah, 96, 97, 98
Hindu Raja, 118, 198, 201
Hindustan, 45, 46, 48, 50, 56, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 87, 89, 95, 99, 120, 143, 157, 168, 170, 200, 201, 223, 224, 248, 249, 250
Hindustani, 24
Hoori Begum, 142, 143, 148, 151, 193, 196
Hujra, 105
hulva, 219
Huma, 225
Humayun, 40, 42, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 75, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94, 144, 212, 216, 221, 222
Humzaad, 24
Hussein Khan, 35

I

Ibne Sina, 137
Ibrahim Khan, 45, 46
Identification, 104, 105
Ilyas Khan, 53
Imam, 34, 113, 194
Imam Ahmad Ghazali, 137
Imam Aliul Haq, 104, 106,

Marfat.com

113, 156, 169, 194
Imam Bukhari, 137
Imam Hambal, 137
Imam Sahib, 106, 156
Imam Shah, 120, 125, 131, 134, 187
Imamae Sabz, 249
India, 10, 24, 32, 37, 45, 46, 82, 96, 99, 121, 125, 126, 135, 136, 137, 143, 157, 158, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 201, 202, 203, 215, 219, 225, 230 248, 249, 251, 252
Indian Medical Gazette, 227
Indian Subcontinent, 38, 47, 127
Infanticide, 117, 119
inns, 244
Invasion, 27, 57, 83, 198, 200, 201
Iqbal Khan, 79
Iran, 10, 50, 65, 166, 243, 249
Irradiation, 233, 237, 238
Isha, 106
Islam Shah, 56, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 78, 81, 88, 215
Islam Shah (Salim Shah), 56, 62
Islam Shahio, 213
Islam Shahis, 92
Islamic Sur (Afghan) Dynasty, 82
Izud Bux, 39, 179, 181
Izzat Khan, 40, 42, 44, 57, 70

J

Jabbair (Jabeer) Khan, 66
Jagir, 59, 62, 67, 81, 82, 88, 90, 208
Jahanara, 152, 153
Jahanara Begum, 143, 152, 153
Jahangir, 15, 38, 43, 53, 54, 57, 69, 70, 87, 104, 105, 106, 119, 123, 133, 142, 144, 145, 146, 158, 159, 172, 175. 176, 177, 186, 190, 198, 203, 210, 211, 212, 214, 218, 223, 224, 225
Jahangir's ascension, 142
Jahangir's reign, 36, 107, 113, 144
Jahangir's Tuzke Jahangiri, 223
Jahangir's rule, 10, 142
Jail of Gujrat, 162
Jaipal, 48, 50
Jalal Khan, 57, 69, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88
Jalal Khan Jalwani, 89, 90
Jalalabad, 50
Jalalpur Jattan, 22, 23, 218
Jalaluddin Akbar, 66
Jalhotra, 150
Jallianwala; 69
Jam Tamachi, 154
Jamal Khan, 81, 82
Jamia Shahi, 193, 197
Jamia Shahi Qil'adar, 197
Jammu, 21, 27, 36, 51, 56, 64, 65, 100, 101, 107, 108,

Marfat.com

111, 224, 117, 195, 224, 247
Janjuas, 56, 57, 77
Jats, 198, 202, 203, 205, 207, 210
Jaunpur, 46, 81, 82, 83
Jhelum, 51, 73, 82, 83, 86, 87, 94, 95, 213, 214, 215
Jilan, 10, 248, 249
Jodhpur, 83, 92
Joghrai, 144
Jograh, 130
Johanson-Bilzzard Syndrome, 239
Judicial verdict, 121, 130
Jug, 64, 65
Jullundhar, 22, 66, 134
Junaidey, 163, 165
Jurrah, 250

K

'Khazina-tul-Asfia', 133, 134
"Kurjan Nagri", 198, 200
K. E. Wilson Johnston, 227
Kaam Bux, 39, 179, 181
Kabiruddin Daryae Doolah *alias* Shah Daula, 216, 218
Kabiruddin Gujrati, 126
Kabul, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 59, 66, 69, 91, 153, 202, 214, 221, 229
Kabul city, 48, 49
Kabuli Gate, 208, 211
Kabul Fort, 66
Kabul Khan, 48, 49
Kaekabad, 49
kaffees, 35
Kahar, 67
Kaka Mal, 100, 102, 207, 208
Kala Gujran, 53
Kalanur, 41, 43, 54, 59, 60, 66, 172, 218, 220
Kalinjar, 61, 81, 83, 87, 88
Kalinjar Fort, 81
Kaloo Kathry *alias* Baydi Khurkah, 219
Kamal Khan, 43, 44, 52, 53, 56, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 77
Kamran, 56, 61
Kaneez, 156
Karachi, 126
Karamaat, 15, 20, 21, 24, 248, 226, 250
Karamat Nama, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 37, 132, 149, 171, 184, 185, 220
Karamat Nama Khurd, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 94, 136, 224
Karamat Nama Piray Kharabaat, 23
Karamat Namas, 24, 25, 27, 28, 220
Karamat Nama Klaan, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 136, 162, 177, 182, 183, 224, 244
Karamat Shah Doola, 36
Karim Bux, 39, 179, 181
Kashmir, 21, 24, 27, 48, 49, 50, 71, 80, 117, 118, 144, 148, 154, 161, 179, 180, 185,

Marfat.com

195, 196, 202, 203, 211, 224, 225, 229, 247, 248, 250
Kasur, 34, 35
Katabah al Wa'hdat, 251
Kathiawar, 10, 32, 37, 99, 136, 248, 249
Kathri, 101
Kauris, 145
Kashaf, 32, 120, 126
Kashaful Kaboor, 225
Keenjhar Lake, 143, 154
Kema, 96, 97
Kernal, 135, 164
Keswal tribe, 58
Khakhars, 63
Khakrobe, 189
Khalifa Maan Singh *alias* Khannah, 19
Khalifa Sahibzada Mehboob Alam, 126
Khalsa College, 27
Khan Bahadur Murtaza Khan, 171
Khan Zaman, 67
Khanqah Hazrat Shah Daula Sahib, 132
Kharabati, 21,22, 23, 24, 163, 168, 173, 182
Kharian Tehsil, 131
Khateeb, 160, 162
Khatris, 202
Khwaja Sanaullah Kharabati, 163, 168
Khem Kern, 31, 36, 37, 96, 99, 101, 102
Khema Budhra Sialkoti, 25
Khema Wadera, 38, 96, 97, 98
Khil'at, 66, 69
Khalifa Amanullah, 20
Khulasat-al-Asrar, 21
Khumeeri, 171
Khurasan, 50, 59, 61, 137, 170
Khurkah, 220, 251
Khurkahs, 220
Khushab, 51, 58, 86, 87
Khwaja Muhammad Gauharuddin Ahmed, 225
Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, 33, 163, 166
Khwaja Shah Daula Suhrawardy Gujrati, 196
Khwas Khan, 56, 58, 63, 72 73, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 211, 213, 214, 215
Khwaspur, 83, 90, 91, 199, 200, 203, 212, 213, 214, 215
King Kaekaus, 49
King Kayan, 57
King-Makers, 134
Kmayun, 90
Knowledge of alphabet, 160
Koh Balghat, 87
Kohat, 51
Kohe Suleiman, 46
Kohistan, 36, 57, 87
Kohistan Daula, 36
Kore, 84
Kotwal, 156
Krishna, 151
Kulah, 165, 249, 251
Kuli Khan, 70

Marfat.com

Kumboh, 196

L

"Lalah Haider", 192
Lahore, 6, 14, 22, 25, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35, 48, 50, 59, 61, 65, 66, 71, 78, 115, 118, 135, 141, 142, 144, 145, 151, 157, 158, 159, 176, 186, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 211, 224, 225, 229, 237, 240, 244
Lakhan Gobati, 208
Lalah, 96, 97, 98
Lalamusa, 90, 91
Lamghan, 48, 50
Langer-giedion Syndrome, 239
Lehkan Khan, 66
Little finger, 107, 110
Lodi Afghan, 40, 42, 124
Lodi Afghans, 133
Lodi dynasty, 37, 45, 78, 99
Lodi ancestry, 73, 99
Lodi Pathan, 74
Lodi Pathans, 74
Lodi Sultanate, 45
Lodi Tribe, 45
London, 13,159
LSD, 237

M

"Mukhbir-ul-Wasilin",133
Ma'rajul Walayat, 123, 177
Maan Singh, 19, 20, 213
Maankot, 79
Machis, 213
Madan Shah, 50
Maeda, 171
Mah Bano, 156
Maharaja Gulab Singh, 101
Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, 27, 101, 212
Maharani, 223, 230
Major Jervis, 214
Majzoob, 106
Makhiala, 65
Makhzane Afghani, 80, 92, 120, 121, 122
Makhzane Tarikhe Punjab, 244
Maktoob Nataab Kurbatul Wahdat, 168
Malik Bair Khan, 51
Malik Behram Lodi, 45
Malik Kala, 45
Malik Muhammad, 45
Malik Pelu Khan, 49, 51
Malik Sultan Shah, 45
Malik Tataar Khan, 51
Mana Khokhar, 139
Mandi, 65, 192
Mangowal, 23, 218, 219
Manohar, 49
Manzals, 211
Manzil, 62
Maraqbah, 124, 177
Marrar Daas, 97, 101, 101
Masjid Loharan, 160, 162
Masjid Shah Daulah, 25
Masood, 35, 51, 126, 197
massala, 150
Massala choona, 149
Maulana Abdur Rehman Jammi, 129

Marfat.com

Maulana Illamuddin, 35
Maulvi Ghulam Ahmed, 186, 187
Maulvi Muhammad Hussain, 130
Maulvi Ahmed Shah, 132
mausoleum, 13, 28, 34, 35, 36, 42, 103, 106, 113, 118, 135, 152, 170, 174, 187, 188, 190, 193, 226, 252
Mauza Sangohi, 99
Mawla, 29, 112, 140, 170
mazaar, 164, 182
Mazare Sharif, 165
Mazdoor, 36
Meetings with the Mughal Royalty, 17, 142
Mehdi, 234
Mehta Baaj, 100
Mehta Cheetah, 101
Mehta Kaka Mal, 96, 100, 101, 199, 207
Mehta Keman, 96, 97
Mehta Khetham Chand Bdehrah, 101
Mehta Kiwan, 96, 97
metal devices, 234
Mian Khaki Shah, 35
Miàn Khalid, 240
Mian Mir, 163
Mian Mahmud Akhtar Aseer, 117, 118
Mian Munawwar Shah, 39, 179, 181
Mian Sadek, 240
Mian Salik, 240
Miani Mallahan, 169, 170
micro-cephalics, 232, 233, 236, 240, 242, 243, 244
micro-cephalism, 237
micro-cephalous, 9, 11, 13, 138, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241
Micro-cephaly, 224, 232, 233, 237, 238, 239, 242, 243
Miller-Dieker syndrome, 239
Mir'atul A'alm, 120
Miraan, 33
Miraan Faazal Gujrati, 31, 37, 160, 161
Mirasi, 64, 65
Mirpur, 211, 256
Mirza Askari, 61
Mirza Azam Beg, 132
Mirza Badi Usman, 196
Mirza Badi Uzman, 148
Mirza Zaffar Ali, 132
misri, 147
Moakkal, 148
Mochis, 92
Mohallah Bakar Qasaban, 205
Mohallah Jattan, 205
Mohallah Kakezaian, 205
Mohallah Kanun Goyan, 205
Mohallah Mashkian, 205
Mohallah Ahu Miser, 104, 106
Mohd Shah, 131
Mohilla Pathan, 134
Moinuddin Chishti, 166, 167
Mojededd Alif Saani, 128
Moku; 39, 104, 107
Mongols, 202

Marfat.com

Moodi Shah, 39
Mool Raj, 100
Mosby's Medical Encyclopaedia C. D., 237
Moscow (Russia), 240
Mosque, 34, 43, 106, 143, 155, 160, 162, 191, 197, 211, 214, 215
Mosques, 25, 39, 114, 116, 133, 190, 195, 197, 199, 204, 244
Mu'azzam, 143, 154, 157, 158
Mubarak Mohiuddin, 155
Mufti Abid Khan *Saddarul Sadoor*, 172
Mufti Azizullah Quereshi, 33
Mughal Dynasty, 56
Mughal Empire, 45, 47
Muhammad Aslam Pasruri, 128
Muhammad Din, 131
Muhammad Hussain, 130,
Muhammad Saeed Khan, 53
Muhammad Shafi, 43, 160
Muhammad Shah Doola, 31, 34, 36
Multan, 45, 86, 87, 104, 105 229
Mumara Khan (Mubara or Mawara Khan), 69
Mumtaz Mahal, 118, 143, 152
Munawwaria, 163, 168
Mungo (Mango, Mongo, Muko, Mukho), 28
Munisul Arvah, 152
Munsif, 132
Muraad Bux, 38
Murad, 153
Mureed, 19, 29, 35, 102, 124, 164, 165, 251
Mureeds, 22, 35, 36, 103, 106, 126, 240
murshid, 12, 21, 22, 105, 112, 166, 167, 171, 232
Murtaza Khan, 171
Musaffar, 115
Mushhad, 135
Muslim Bazaar, 24
Muttra, 209
Muzaffar Shah, 131, 136

N

naans, 171
Nadir Shah, 199, 208
nafs, 168
Nagore, 69
namaz, 43, 106, 162
Nangay Shah, 240
Nankana Sahib, 219
Nantes, 240
Naqashbandi, 163
Nasar Uddaulah Anwer, 23, 241
Naseeruddin Humayun, 60
Nataab, 32
Nawab Ibrahim, 156
Nawab Khan, 216
Nawab Mohd Khan, 134
Nawab of Bahawalpur, 159
Nawab Qadri, 23
Nawab Shah Qadri, 23
nazar, 154

Marfat.com

Nazar Khan, 53
Neelab, 56, 61, 71
Nerul, 70
Neurological Disorder, 237
New York, 241
New Zealand, 145
Niamat Khatun, 10, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 94, 95, 96, 134
Niazis, 79, 80
nibaat, 147
Nikkah, 67, 77, 117, 118
Nirmal, 100
Nisa Khanum, 152
Nizam Khan, 45, 46, 65, 81, 82
Nizam Lodi, 45
Nizamuddin Auliya's, 152
Noor Jahan Begum, 146
Northern India, 45, 46
Noshahi, *silsila*, 20, 33
Notes by the editor, Indian Antiquary, 246
Nullah, 26, 116, 142, 148, 186, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 204, 208, 211
Nullah of Shah Jahangir, 190

O

Oklahoma (USA), 240
Omar Khan *alias Pakral*, 69
Omardrazi, 168

P

"Pirs," 39
"Pathahar", 71
"Pooth" (back), 71
Pabbi, 213
Paho, 139, 181
Paintings, *fresco*, 193, 195
Pakistan, 12, 34, 35, 36, 37, 96, 104, 105, 130, 154, 164, 167, 199, 210, 219, 232, 234, 240, 241, 242, 252
Pakistan Consulate, 241
Pakistan Times, 242
Pakpattan, 35, 167
Palankeens (Palanquins), 67
Palky, 148, 149
Panipat, 60, 99, 121, 135, 164
Paraphernalia, 142, 148,193
Parbat, 57
Pargana, 25, 49, 53, 70, 95, 198, 200, 203, 205, 210
Paris, 27, 224, 236
Parkinson's disease, 126
Parwana, 221
Patau syndrome, 239
Pathan, 54, 93, 120, 121, 128, 130, 134, 199, 209, 221
Patharah, 196
Pathas (Potohar), 95
Patriarch, 48, 49, 100
Pedigrees, 129
perfumeries, 196
perfume casket, 148
Peshawar, 48, 50, 53, 176, 196
Pesh-imam, 25
Pheasant, 153
Pherwala, 53, 70, 73, 76, 95
Pherwalah, 67

Marfat.com

Philosopher's stone,145, 146
Phirhala (Pherwala), 95
Pilao, 145
Pind Aziz, 33
Pindi, 95
Pir Bhawan Shah, 10, 21, 43, 120, 125, 160, 179, 184, 186
Pir Fazal Shah *alias* Baba Mimber, 192
Pir Ghulam Haider, 192
Pir Hakim Shah, 130
Pir Hoondal Shah, 154
Pir Muhammad, 34, 192
Pir Muhammad Gujrati, 192
Pir Najaf Shah, 21, 185
Pir Panjal, 224
Piray Baghdadi, 24
Pirllag, 85
Pirzadgan, 130, 131, 132
PKU, 239
Poetry, 21, 143, 152, 165
Poonam, 100
Poonch, 51, 224, 247
Popehar, 71
Posteeṇ, 59
Pote, 71
Pothohar (Potohar), 50
Potohar, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52,. 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 78, 94, 95
Prefix, 30, 31, 120, 125, 127, 129, 207
Pregnancy, 237, 239
President Ayub Khan, 135
Prof. Kirpal Singh, 27
Prof. Nasar Uddaulah, 23, 241
Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), 127, 166
Pul Shah Daulah, 151, 193, 195, 197
Punch (Poonch), 247
Punjab, 9, 12, 15, 19, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34, 37, 50, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 79, 99, 125, 126, 136, 143, 174, 187, 193, 200, 201, 203, 209, 219, 224, 227, 228, 230, 237
Punjab Museum, 159
Punjab Notes and Queries, 227
Punjab University, 28, 237
Punjab University Library, 28
Punjabi forces, 78, 79
Purab Country, 248, 249

Q

Qanooj, 45, 46, 85, 86
Qanoongoyan, 111
Qanûngo (Qanoongo), 26
Qasbah, 112, 113, 196
Qawwali, 163, 167, 177
Qawwalis, 124
Qawwals, 124
Qazi Abdul Muftah Gujrati, 31, 37
Qazi Mahmud Daryae, 141
Qazi Sahib, 96, 102, 103, 126, 188, 250
Qazi Sahib of Awan Sharif, 96, 102, 250
Qazi Sheikh Abdul Fattah,

Marfat.com

161
Qazi Sultan Mahmud, 32, 126, 127, 187, 189, 191
Qil'adar, 193, 197
Quereshi, 120, 121, 127, 134
Qur'an, 34, 43, 91, 106, 143, 152, 160, 204, 218
Qureshi, 128, 130, 133, 134

R

"Rat Children", 224, 235
"Rats of Shah Daula", 223, 225
radiation, 233, 237, 238
Rae Bandrabin, 156
Rae Paetoo *alias* Bal, 69
Rae Pathora (Prithvi Raj), 70
Raiza Taj Gunj, 152
Raj bai, 117, 118
Raj Jaśodan, 154
Raj Mahal, 117, 118, 155
Raj or Begum Bai, 117, 118
Raja Bade Sen, 198, 200
Raja Behram, 100
Raja Chattar Singh, 17, 117, 118
Raja Daulatmand's, 204
Raja Gulab Singh, 27,101
Raja Jahandad Khan, 52
Raja Jaipal, 50
Raja Kabir Bhan, 85
Raja of Jammu, 56, 64
Raja Rasalu, 200, 206
Raja Saliyahan, 200
Rajour, 117, 154
Rajputs, 71, 117
Rampur family, 134
Rangoon, 157
Rani Gujran, 201, 206
Rani wala Bagh, 168
Raniwal Sayyidan, 21, 23
Ranjah, 51
Rattan Shah, 50
rauri,145
Rawat, 64
Rebellion of Khwas Khan, 81, 89
Rehmat Ali, 216, 217
Rennes, 240
revenue record, 127, 179,182
Rewan, 88
Rhodes, 187
rise, 121, 210, 212
rishis, 195
River Chenab, 25, 58, 59, 60, 76, 86, 140, 156, 169, 170, 189, 190, 197, 198, 201, 202, 204, 205, 208
River Dujla, 217
River Ganges, 84, 85
River Neelab (Sindh), 56, 61
River Ravi, 86
River Sava, 240
River Sindh, 51, 57, 59, 65, 70, 86
River Sutlej, 66
River Yamuna, 85, 158
Robe, 68, 146, 147
rodents, 236
Rohi Afghans, 45, 46
Rohri, 87
Rohtak, 86
Rohtas, 51, 59, 62, 64, 76, 82, 87, 94, 200, 203, 215

Marfat.com

roohani, 32
Roop Chund, 101
Roopowal, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185
Roy Bhai di Talvandi, 219
Royal Serai, 213
Rozae Qayumia, 120, 128

S

"Shah Basant", 210
"Siyat-al-muta-Akhirin", 133
Sa'di, 212
Sabhala (sahala), 95
Sabucktgeen, 48, 49, 50
Sadaat, 38, 211
Saddarul Sadoor, 43, 160, 172
Sade Chak, 191
Saeed Khan, 53
Saeed Musa Hunmbli, 248
Saeed Musa Jangi Doost, 165
Saerul Salookul Mulakul, 31, 32, 33, 34
Saffron, 243
Sahib Anwaar Auliya Allah, 140
Sahib Khan, 81, 82, 83, 91
Sahib Nama, 13, 27
Sahiwal, 167
Sahu, 100
Saidan Sarmast, 31, 37, 104, 106, 120, 193, 194
Saidan Sikander, 114, 115
Saidu Sharif, 102, 103
Sain Blaqui Shah Abu al-Khaer, 35
Sain Daas, 100
Sakhi, 91, 97, 139
Sakhi Khwas Khan, 91, 213
Salim Khan, 66
Salim Shah, 56, 58, 62, 63, 72, 78, 79, 80,81, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92
Salim Shahio, 213
Salim Shahis, 92
Salt Range, 57, 58
Samarkand, 22
Sambhal, 215
San José (Costa Rica, Central America), 240
Sangrohi, 99
Santiago De Chile (Chile), 240
Sanskrit, 71
Sarang, 58, 76, 78
Sarangals, 53, 70
Sardar Sahib Singh, 199, 209
Sarhad Walayat Afghana, 248, 250
Sarmast Suhrawardy, 105
Sayyid Abdul Ghafoor Shah, 22, 163
Sayyid Ahmed Rafa'ee, 253
Sayyid Ali *alias* Shah Sayyidan, 105
Sayyid dynasty, 45
Sayyid Hassan Peshawari, 176
Sayyid Kabiruddin Shah Daulah Gujrati, 31, 252
Sayyid Khan, 43, 53, 61, 64
Sayyid Mohsin Tirmizi, 130
Sayyid Muhammad Ganami Qalander, 163
Sayyid Nasser Mast, 36, 124,

Marfat.com

164
Sayyid Wahab, 163
Sayyidna Sarmast, 96, 97
Seckel syndrome, 239
Serai, 92, 187, 200, 203, 213, 214
Serai Alamgir, 199, 213, 214
Serai kachi, 197
Serai Khwas Khan, 199, 212, 213
serai of Khwaspur, 91
serais, 91, 114, 116, 133, 159, 197
Shadman Khan, 40, 44, 52, 57, 70
Shah Abdul Wahab Nuri, 163
Shah Abu Omar Quereshi bin Marzooq, 252
Shah Alam, 128
Shah Alam II, 177
Shah Daula Gujrati, 33, 40, 42, 98, 99, 129
Shah Daulah Daryae, 9, 12, 15, 22, 31, 180, 181, 188,207
Shah Daulah Gujrati, 28, 30, 31, 41, 54, 77, 94, 121, 128,
Shah Daulah Nullah, 116, 189, 191
Shah Doola Gujrati, 37, 41, 98, 104, 105
Shah Doolah Daryae (order Owaisia), 163
Shah Doolah *faqir*, 111, 112
Shah Daula, 13, 21, 26, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 53, 54, 75, 78, 94, 99, 103, 107, 108, 121, 124, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 145, 147, 149, 157, 160, 164, 165, 173, 175, 177, 178, 197, 204, 207, 216, 217, 218, 220, 226, 229, 231, 233, 241, 243, 244, 251
Shah Daulah, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 52, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 105, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 169, 172, 173, 176, 179, 181, 182, 185, 186, 188, 191, 193, 195, 197, 200, 208, 218, 219, 220, 224, 225, 233, 239, 240, 244
Shah Doola, 23, 24, 28, 29, 37, 38, 39, 54, 94, 97, 99, 107, 124, 135, 136, 164, 166, 173, 175, 182, 226, 248
Shah Doolah, 19, 20, 29, 38, 111, 112, 120, 128, 144, 173, 174, 176, 179, 183, 193, 234, 241, 248, 249
Shah Dulla, 232
Shah Farid, 127
Shah Habib Gilani, 252
Shah Hussain Lahori, 125
Shah Ilahi Bux Qadri Fazli Jullundhary *alias* Pir Ilahi Bux, 35
Shah Inayat, 34, 35

Marfat.com

Shah Inayat Qadri, 34, 35
Shah Inayat Qadri Shattary, 34
Shah Jahan, 10, 33, 53, 105, 117, 118, 123, 133, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 151, 152, 158, 193, 197, 199, 211, 224, 247
Shah Jahan Nama, 158, 211, 223
Shah Jahangir, 191
Shah Jamaal of Ghakhar Cheema, 105
Shah Kabir, 164
Shah kabiruddin, 166
Shah Kema Wadera, 96, 97
Shah Monga, 43, 104, 105, 106, 163, 164, 165
Shah Mulook, 105
Shah Munawwar Sahib Allahabadi, 165
Shah Munawwar Ali, 248, 249
Shah Munawwar Ali Allahabadi, 163, 168
Shah Murad Qadri, 19,174
Shah Nama, 22
Shah Qasim, 32, 34, 252
Shah Qasim *alias* Bshah Doolah Behri, 32, 36, 251
Shah Rehman, 125
Shah Saddaruddin Arif, 164
Shah Saidan Sarmast, 9, 12, 25, 36, 72, 77, 93, 96, 97, 99, 104, 105, 109, 125, 139, 160, 179
Shah Saifuddin Abdul Wahab, 248
Shah Shujah, 157
Shah Yazid of Raoke, 105
Shah Zaman, 199, 209
Shahabuddin Ghouri, 70
Shahdara, 51, 142, 143, 144, 156
Shijra, 175
Shankar Daas, 100
Sharfuddin Bu Ali Qalandar, 164
Sharif Kunjahi, 24, 25, 187
Shattary, 35
Sheikh Abdul Haq, 122
Sheikh Abdul karim Qanoongo, 100
Sheikh Abdullah, 188
Sheikh Abu Ali Kaatab, 165
Sheikh abu Saeed bin Shibli, 252
Sheikh Ahmed bin Mubarak Baghdadi, 252
Sheikh Ahmed Ghazali, 165
Sheikh Ali Ahmed, 101
Sheikh Amanullah, 19
Sheikh Arif, 143, 151
Sheikh Azmatullah, 101
Sheikh Bahawal Haq Multani Suhrawardy, 165, 166
Sheikh Bahauddin Saani, 179, 180
Sheikh Bashirullah, 101
Sheikh Doola, 30, 37, 40, 41, 42, 75, 96, 124, 153, 162, 170, 172
Sheikh Elahi, 83, 92
Sheikh Farid, 127

Marfat.com

Sheikh Fariduddin Masood Gunj Shakkar, 35
Sheikh Hafeezullah, 101
Sheikh Hayat, 252
Sheikh Imamuddin, 122
Sheikh Ismail, 164
Sheikh Ismail Quereshi, 164
Sheikh Kabir al-Mashtahar, 122
Sheikh Krori, 101
Sheikh Mahmud Gujrati, 199, 204, 212
Sheikh Mohiyuddin Abu Muhammad Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, 251
Sheikh Mowafaq-ul-din, Almuqadsi, 253
Sheikh Muhammad Faazal, 122
Sheikh Muhammadul Wany, 252
Sheikh Niamatullah, 101
Sheikh Nisaaj Toosi, 165
Sheikh Noor, 122
Sheikh Qudratullah, 101
Sheikh Rehmatullah, 101
Sheikh S'adi, 19, 20
Sheikh Sadaqa Baghdadi, 252
Sheikh Saddaruddin Quveeni, 253
Sheikh Sardar Muhammad, 240
Sheikh Shabbiruddin (Sheharuddin), 165
Sheikh Shahab Bukhtiar, 122
Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardy, 164
Sheikh Shamusuddin Ali Hudad bin Omar Baghdadi, 253
Sheikh Usman, 165
Sheikh Yousaf, 164, 165, 166
Sheikhupura, 151, 219
Sher Khan, 56, 61, 83, 84
Sher Khan Sur, 62
Sher Shah Suri, 42, 45, 56, 58, 61, 63, 73, 81, 82, 197, 222
Sherbat, 146
Sheshianwala Gate, 199, 210
Shias, 134
Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, 137
Shijrae Chishtia, 173
Shiv Dayal, 101
Shorekot, 31, 34
Shrine, 10, 13, 39, 113, 121, 125, 130, 131, 132, 135, 167, 185, 189, 200, 224, 226, 228, 232, 235, 242, 243, 246
Shrines, 163, 167, 235, 244
Shujaat, 62
Sialkoti, 25, 111, 164
Sikander Lodi, 42, 45, 81, 82
Sikh, 27, 199, 208, 209, 212
Sikhs, 209, 210, 219
Silsila Chishtia, 166
Silsila (order) of Shah Daulah, 163
Silsila (order) Owaisia, 22
Silsila Qadria Munawwaria, 168

Marfat.com

Silsilae Tarreeqat, 163
Silsilas, 22, 166
silsila suhrawardia, 164, 165, 166
Sindh, 61, 86, 106, 144, 154, 255
Sir Richard Temple, 27
Siraj Ahmed, 220
Sirajul Fuqrah, 220
Sirhind, 50, 66, 86
Sistaan, 221
Skate, 46
Skulls, 234
Slave, 31, 37, 54, 92, 96, 97, 102, 213, 214, 234
Smith-Lemli-opitz syndrome, 239
Society, 16, 224, 236
Soddara Ferry, 133
Sodhra, 197
Sohlwardi, 163
Sohni Mahinwal, 208
South America, 115, 268
Spiritual enlightenment, 12, 25, 55, 93, 106, 109, 112, 172, 178
Spiritual *silsila*, 163
Srinagar, 21
Statue, 210
Suffix, 125, 138, 141, 172
Suffix Daryae, 138, 140
Sufi, 13, 22, 33, 127, 163, 166, 234
Sufism, 163, 166, 167
Sufis, 127, 133, 166, 235
Sultan Adam (Ameer Sultan), 67
Sultan Adam Khan, 44, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67
Sultan Adil *alias* Mubaraz Khan Udli, 65
Sultan Adil Nizam Khan Sikander Lodi, 45, 46
Sultan Ajmeer Khan, 52, 69
Sultan Alawal Khan, 56, 67
Sultan Altamash, 84
Sultan Bahlul Lodi, 45, 46
Sultan Charat Singh, 199
Sultan Farakh Khan, 49
Sultan Ibrahim Shah, 60, 61
Sultan Jalal Khan, 69, 70
Sultan Kaab, 49
Sultan Kabul (Kabal) Khan, 48, 49
Sultan Kaed Khan, 48
Sultan Mahmud, 48, 50, 51, 71, 83, 120, 200
Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, 50, 51, 71
Sultan Mowara Khan, 52
Sultan Muzaffar Shah, 136
Sultan Nasiruddin Sabucktgeen, 49
Sultan Rustam Khan, 49
Sultan Salim, 40, 42, 75, 94
Sultan Sarang, 10, 40, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 72, 73, 76, 77, 94
Sultan Sarang Khan, 49, 52
Sultan Sarang Khan Ghakhar, 10, 40, 42, 43, 53
Sultan Sayyid Khan, 53
Sultan Shadman Ghakhar, 42
Sultan Shadman Khan, 52,

Marfat.com

56, 69
Sultan Sher Shah Suri, 45, 58, 62, 94
Sunbal, 90
Sunblah, 79
Sunder Daas, 100
Sunni scholars, 137
Sur tribe, 45, 46
Swat, 96, 102, 216, 220
Swinder Daas, 100
Syden Shah Sahib, 164
'Syed' Ali Hajveri Data Gunj Bux, 135

T

"Tarikh-i-Gujrat", 132
"Topa", 207
ta'vidth, 152
tabarrak, 147
Tabeebs, 60
Taj Khan, 90
Taj Khan Krani, 90
Tajuddin, 118
Takbeer, 234
Tal Jalal Ghakhar, 153
Talagang, 58
Talib Amuli's, 152
Talochan Shah, 50
Tangah, 21
Tappa, 208
Tarchak, 58
Tarikh Arraian, 14, 34
Tarikhe Sher Shahi, 91
Tariq Masood, 197
Tasbih, 167
Tayab Mureed Kungal, 163
Tazkeratul Fuqrah, 220
Tazkeratul Waseleen, 22, 23
Tehman Roy, 100
Tehsil Bazaar, 104, 106
Tehsil Kharian, 130
Thalidomide, 237
Thana, 214
Thatta, 106
Thomas Fuller, 242
Tibbe Jilani, 243
Tibbe Yousfi, 33
Tibet, 48, 49
Tilla Joggian, 51
Tirmizi, 120, 128
Tohfatul Abrar, 174
Tohfatul Arwah, 251
Tomb, 152, 161, 188, 191
Toot, 170
Topa Adam, 207
Tosha-khana, 96, 99
Touran, 50
toxoplasmosis, 237, 238
Transition, 19, 113, 169, 175
traveler, 115, 200
trisomy, 239
Tughlaq dynasty, 106
Tumman (Tehman), 101
Tunba, 219
Turkestan, 61, 137
Tus, 137
Tuzke Jahangiri, 158, 211, 223

U

Uch, 86, 87
Udanagar, 198, 201, 208
Udenagri, 198, 200, 201
Ulema, 127

Marfat.com

Umaraas, 88, 89, 90
Umarkot, 81, 87, 144, 221
Undanagar, 198, 201
Upanishads, 194
Urs, 163, 167, 226
uterus, 243

V

Van Merzheyevsky, 236
Varaichanwala, 199, 207
Venezuela, 115, 240, 241
Verdict of Tirmizi, 120, 128
Verma, 201
Village Awan, 126
Village Tahir, 126, 250

W

Walayat Afghana, 248, 250
Wali, 36, 166, 195
Waqf, 130
Waqiaat-i-Jahangiri, 203
Waridars, 130
Wazir Khan, 202
Wazirabad, 143,151,197, 213
Wedding Procession,216,218
West circular Road, 211
West Pakistan, 130
Wholf-Hirschhorn Syndromes, 239
William Finch, 199, 203

Y

Yadgar, 90
Yadgar Mirza, 87

Z

zaahri, 166
Zaffar Nama, 212
Zagreb, 240
Zaheeruddin Babar, 56, 57, 99
Zahoor Akhtar, 76
Zamindar, 150
Zarahposh faqirs, 146
Zarrin kalghis, 145
Zehra, 100
Ziauddin Abdulqahe Suhrawardy, 164

****

Marfat.com

AUTHOR INDEX

A

Abu al-fazal, 44, 58
Afgan, 233
Afzal, 216
Akram, 111
Akram and Javaid, 196
Anantham, 232
Asif, 38, 97, 98, 99
Aubdi, 121, 123, 124, 177,

B

Babar, 44, 46, 57
Baig, 9, 14, 44, 121, 124, 125, 144, 176, 182, 186, 193, 200, 201, 208, 211, 223, 224, 225
Bhandari, 10, 14, 25, 98, 174, 195, 207, 249
Bhatty, 12, 107, 111, 124, 140, 163, 173, 174, 182, 187, 224

C

Chaudhry, 28
Chaudhry, A., 14, 105, 106, 121, 125, 230
Chaudhry, N., 10, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 34, 42, 44, 74, 98, 140, 165, 171, 172, 174, 176, 180, 182, 188, 188, 189, 191, 219, 249
Chiragh Qadri, 19

D

Dalrymple, 235
De Robertis & De Robertis, 239
Dehlvi, 10, 229, 249
Dunichand, 43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 59, 64, 69

E

Elliott, 9, 26, 28, 39, 41, 73, 74, 75, 94, 98, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 121, 140, 145, 149, 161, 163, 175, 176, 183, 188, 189, 194, 201, 202, 207, 209, 212, 220, 221, 224, 226

F

Faqir, 111, 112, 121, 196,

Marfat.com

229
Ferishta, 44, 45, 46, 57, 58, 79, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90
Ferzowk, 36
Firdousi, 22
Forster, 203
Fucqry, 39, 174, 230

G

Galpin, 13, 234, 240

H

Haervy, 79, 83, 121, 122
Hamid, 33
Hasan, K., 106, 194
Hasan, S. M., 168
Huegel, 212, 213, 225

I

Ibbetson, *et. al.*, 41, 43, 44, 45, 94, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 121, 140, 145, 149, 175, 183, 224, 227
Irshad, 173, 242, 243, 244
Islam, 118, 125, 137, 232, 234, 250

J

Janjhi, 144

K

Karamatullah, 24, 101, 206
Khan, I., 204
Khan, M. W., 36, 41, 115, 158, 173
Khan, S. A., 152, 195, 204
Khan, Y., 218
Kharabati, 23, 24, 163, 173, 182
Khokhar, 124
Kunjahi, 10, 14, 19, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44, 46, 53, 62, 64, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 83, 90, 98, 107, 111, 112, 121, 127, 128, 140, 164, 172, 174, 177, 182, 183, 188, 211, 212, 233

L

Lahori, S., 12, 14, 29, 35, 54, 97, 102, 107, 111, 124, 140, 163, 166, 173, 182, 183, 187, 194, 224, 225, 226
Lahori, Z., 15

M

Mojadeddi, 35, 121, 124, 174, 175, 224
Mufti, R., 10, 36, 161, 174, 183, 184, 229, 250
Mughal, 200, 202
Myshine, 236

N

Nadvi, 44, 62, 225
Najaf, P. S., 21
Nasir, 233
Nath, 159
Niaż, A., 195
Niaz, R., 97, 195

Marfat.com

O

Empty

P

Pasruri, 128, 164, 176, 177
Piracha, 154
Piray Kharabaat, 22, 23, 28

Q

Qadri, C., 9, 12, 14, 19, 25, 26, 28, 29, 37, 41, 42, 44, 53, 70, 73, 75, 93, 94, 107, 111, 113, 127, 136, 161, 162, 168, 169, 172, 174, 183, 223, 225
Qadri, M., 168
Qanoongo, 44, 46, 47, 82,83, 84, 85, 86, 87
Qiladari, 12, 19, 20, 28, 32, 37, 41, 42, 100, 101, 160, 161, 162, 172, 174, 182, 183, 184, 187, 220, 242

R

Raam (Roy), M., 9, 12, 14, 15, 20, 28, 29, 41, 42, 54, 93, 98, 101, 138, 139, 149, 160, 162, 171, 174, 180, 184, 218, 220, 225
Rahi, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 57, 58, 66, 68, 83, 88, 91
Rampuri, 57, 87, 203, 224, 225
Rashid, S., 196, 197
Rauf, 39, 41, 95, 107, 110, 111, 121, 124, 175
Rehman & Wescoat, 39, 41, 94, 140, 144, 146, 151, 156, 175, 191, 201, 202, 203, 214, 224, 242
Rizvi, 23, 161, 184, 188, 249
Rogers, 203, 210

S

Sabri, 10, 14, 32, 136, 248
Saleh Kunjahi, 24
Sayyid Sharif Hussain Sharafat, 20
Shah, N., 19
Shahab, 173, 177, 178
Shali, 233
Sheikh Karamatullah, 24, 26
Siddiqui, 212, 213
Slatch, 23, 28, 161, 164, 171, 173, 174, 176, 177, 183, 184, 187, 225

T

Tariq, 43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 64, 74
Tasbihi, 21, 163

U

Empty

V

Empty

W

Wadera, 9, 14, 27, 38, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 184, 207, 208, 225

Marfat.com

Wahid, 235
Williamson, 91, 121, 205, 222, 228

X

Empty

Y

Yarjang, 102, 108, 125, 126, 164, 165, 174

Z

Zaidi, 25, 174, 207

****

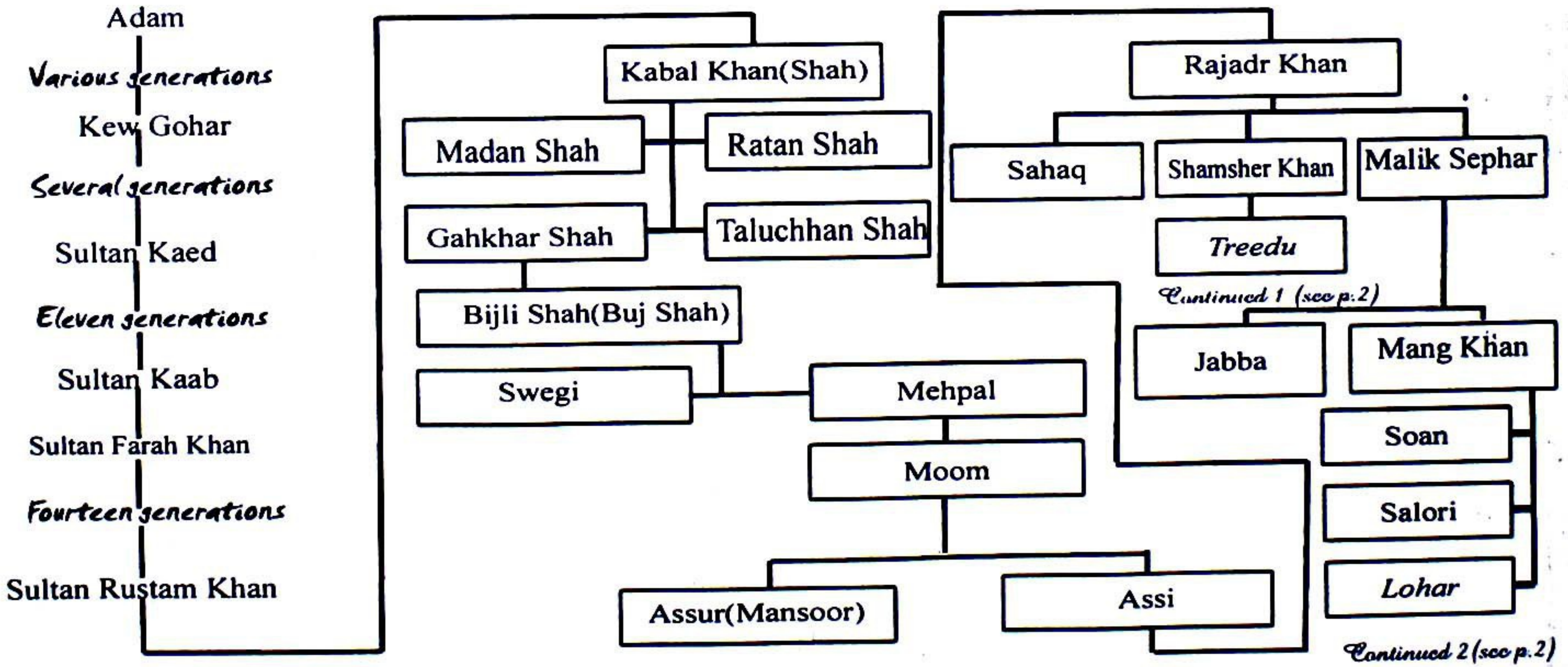
P. S. Dr Arif Naushahi's untitled, hand-written, article (Islamabad, August 2000, Pp 17), related to Shah Doola Daryae Gujrati, received too late, through the courtesy of Dr. Munir Slatch, Rawalpindi, to be discussed properly in the body text as the present book had been already composed in its finished form. In the same way Prof. Muhammad Iqbal Mojadeddi's brief note entitled "Shah Doolah Daryae Gujrati" (Lahore: Ziaul Qur'an Publications, undated, *Maqamaate M'soomia,* Vol. I, Pp 88-89), sent by Sayyid Arif Mehmud Mehjoor Rizvi, Gujrat, could not be taken into account.

P. P. S. The Services of Pir Sayyid Zaka Uddaula, my nephew, and that of Mirza Sajjad Ahmed *Sajjad* are greatly appreciated for going through the MS especially for helping with the Tables of *shijras* (genealogical maps).

Marfat.com

TABLE I

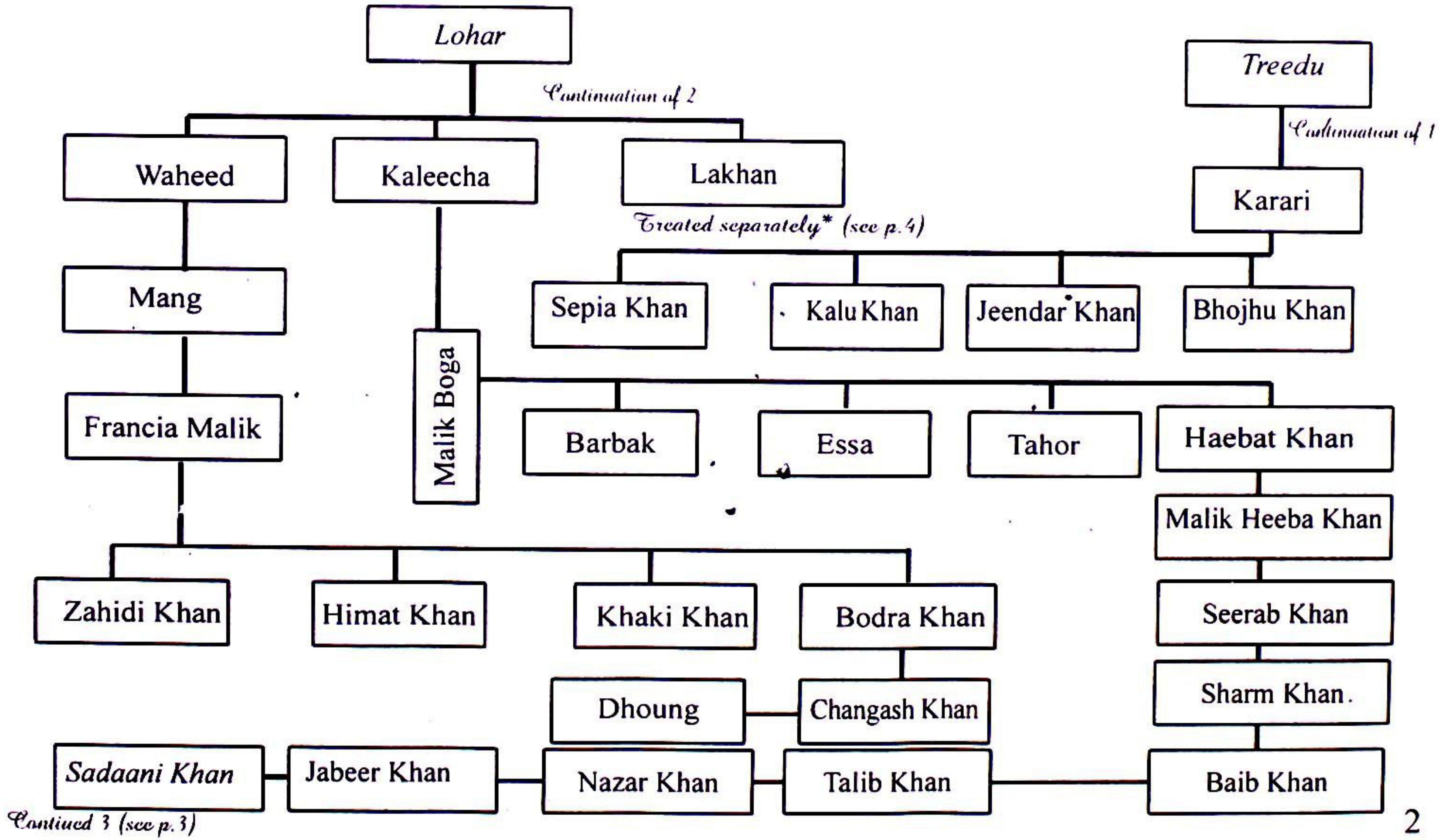
(Genealogy of Ghakhars Modified from Dunichand, 1725; Qanoongo,1996;Rahi, 1994; Tariq, 1956)

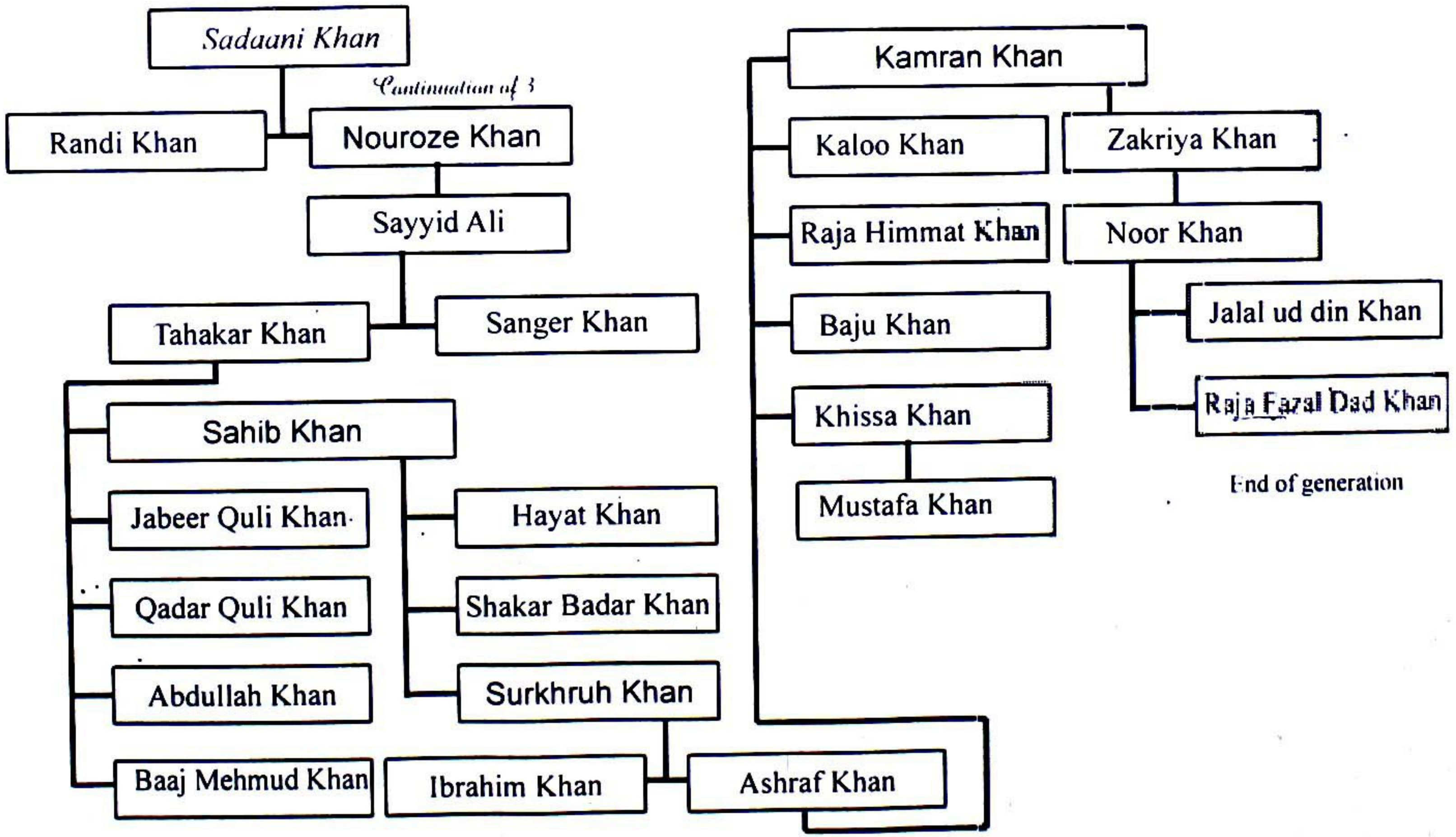


Italicized names within boxes indicate continuation of generations

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

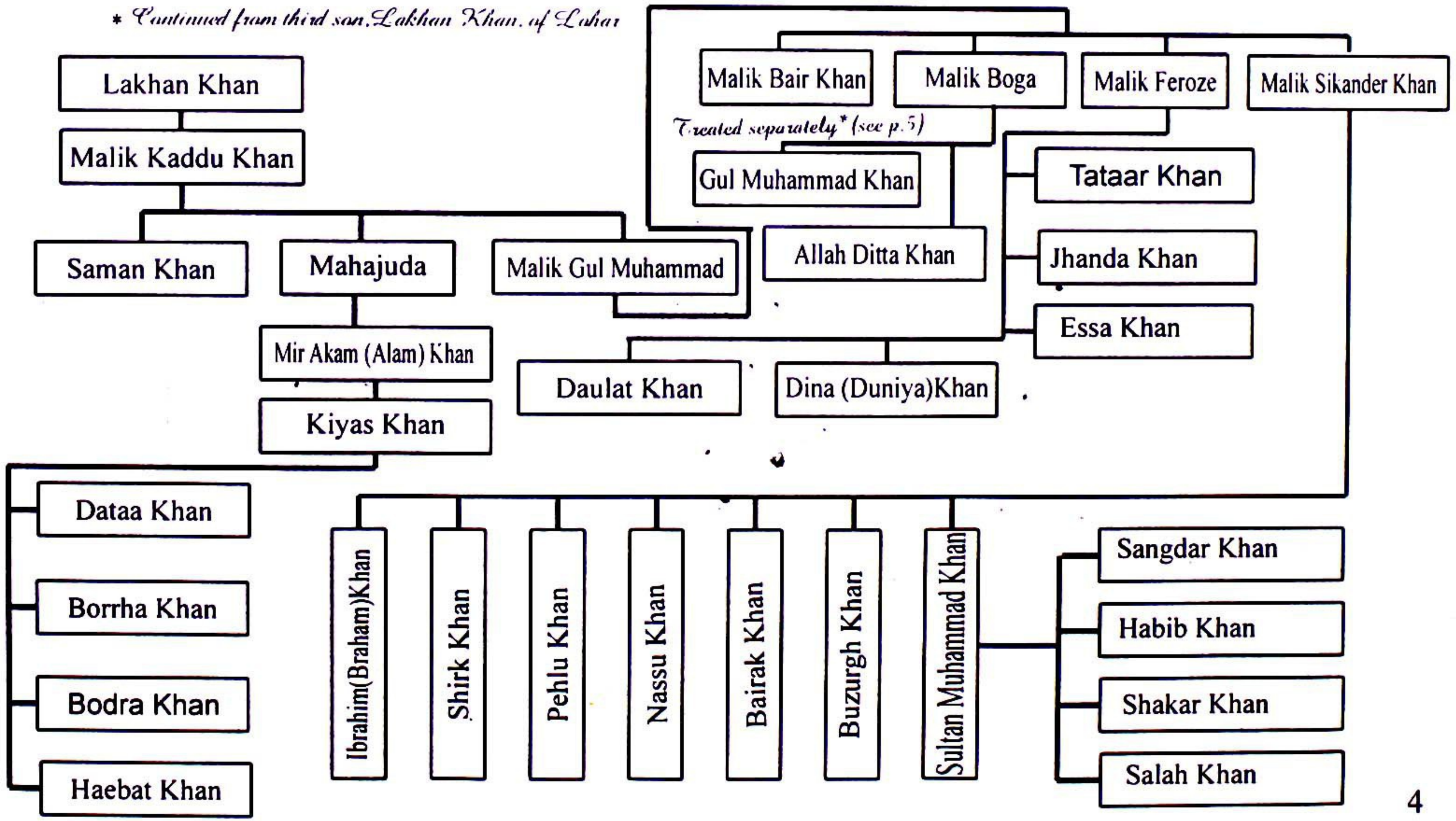

Lohar
Continuation of 2
Waheed
Kaleecha
Lakhan
Treated separately* (see p. 4)
Treedu
Continuation of 1
Karari
Mang
Francia Malik
Malik Boga
Barbak
Essa
Tahor
Sepia Khan
Kalu Khan
Jeendar Khan
Bhojhu Khan
Haebat Khan
Malik Heeba Khan
Seerab Khan
Sharm Khan.
Baib Khan
Zahidi Khan
Himat Khan
Khaki Khan
Bodra Khan
Dhoung
Changash Khan
Sadaani Khan
Jabeer Khan
Nazar Khan
Talib Khan
Continued 3 (see p. 3)



End of generation

Marfat.com

Marfat.com


* Continued from third son, Lakhan Khan, of Lohar
Lakhan Khan
Malik Kaddu Khan
Saman Khan
Mahajuda
Malik Gul Muhammad
Mir Akam (Alam) Khan
Kiyas Khan
Dataa Khan
Borrha Khan
Bodra Khan
Haebat Khan
Malik Bair Khan
Malik Boga
Malik Feroze
Malik Sikander Khan
Treated separately* (see p. 5)
Gul Muhammad Khan
Allah Ditta Khan
Tataar Khan
Jhanda Khan
Essa Khan
Daulat Khan
Dina (Duniya)Khan
Ibrahim(Braham)Khan
Shirk Khan
Pehlu Khan
Nassu Khan
Bairak Khan
Buzurgh Khan
Sultan Muhammad Khan
Sangdar Khan
Habib Khan
Shakar Khan
Salah Khan

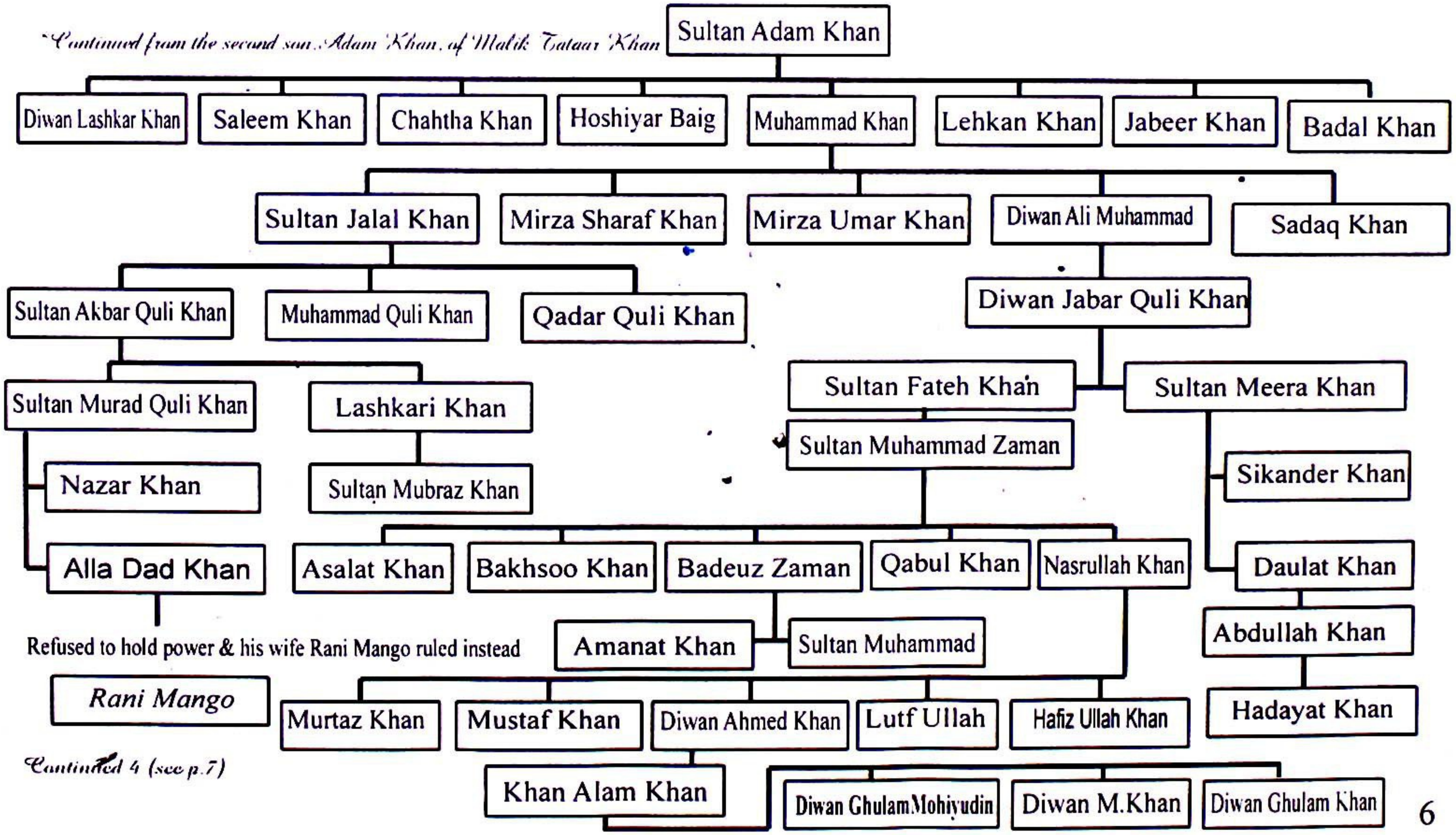
*Continued from fourth son Malik Bair Khan, of Malik Gul Muhammad

- **Malik Bair Khan**
  - **Malik Pelu**
    - **Hammad or Hamud Khan (Hathi Khan)**
      - **Mawla Khan**
      - **Bodra Khan**
  - **Malik Ahmed**
  - **Malik Johad(Choud)**
    - **Kaneyah**
    - **Lal Khan**
  - **Malik Tataar Khan**
    - **Sultan Sarang**
      - **Alwal Khan (adopted *fakiri* life)**
      - **Sultan Sayyid Khan**
        - **Nazar Khan**
          - **Kamal Khan**
          - **Ilyas Khan**
          - **Khizar Khan**
            - **Ghazi Khan**
              - **Saeed Khan**
                - **Hassan Baig**
                - Nine generations
                - **Jalal Khan**
        - **Fateh Umar Khan**
        - **Yaar Muhammad Khan**
        - **Musafar Khan**
        - **Jaan Muhammad Khan**
        - **Fateh Khan**
          - **Muhammad Ali**
          - **Sher Khan**
            - **Ali Ghour Khan**
          - **Sayyid Muhammad Khan**
        - **Shahoo Khan**
        - **Na'at Khan**
      - **Ghazi Khan**
      - **Aziz Khan**
    - **Adam Khan**
      - Treated separately* (see p.6)
  - **Malik Jaster Khan**
  - **Malik Pamb (Naip)**
  - **Malik Kaneyah**
    - **Sultanul Mulk (Malik Pahari)**
      - **Sultan Kamal Khan**
        - **Abdal Khan**
        - **Chochak Khan**
      - **Sultan Mowara Khan**
        - **Sultan Ajmeer Khan**
          - **Sultan Shadman Khan**
    - **Khanul Mulk**

Marfat.com

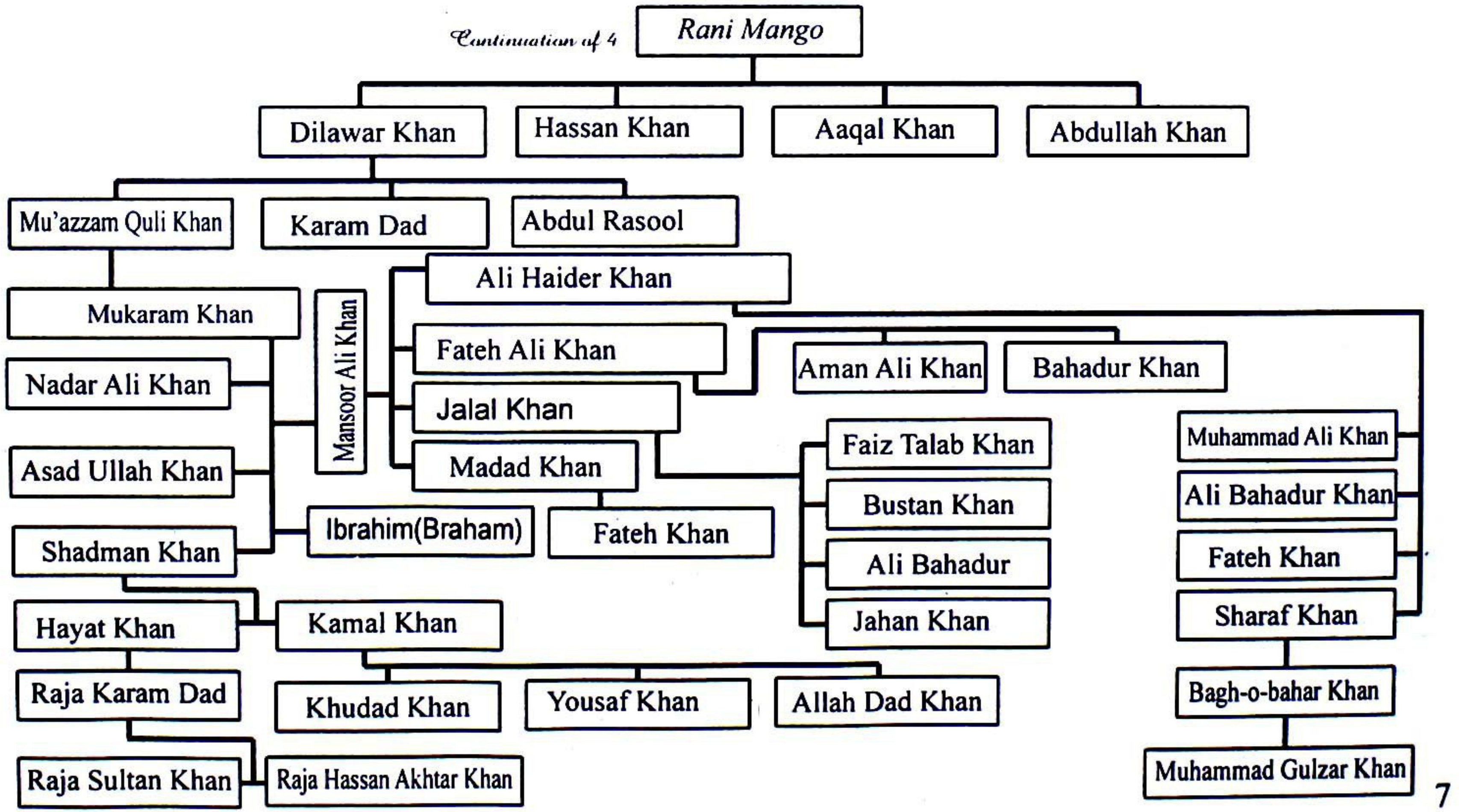
Marfat.com

Continued from the second son Adam Khan, of Malik Tataar Khan



Continued 4 (see p.7)

Continuation of 4



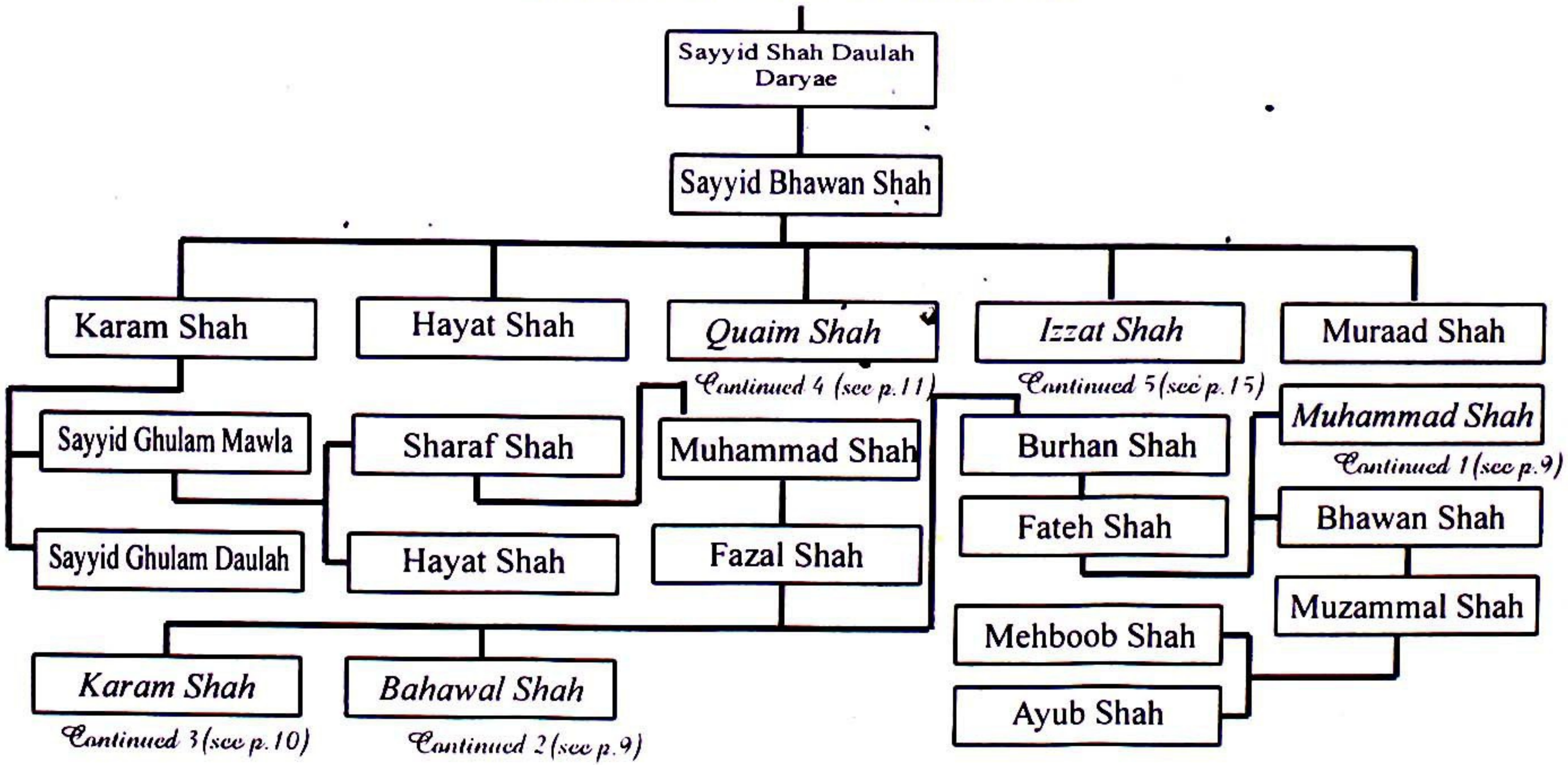
Marfat.com

Marfat.com

Table II

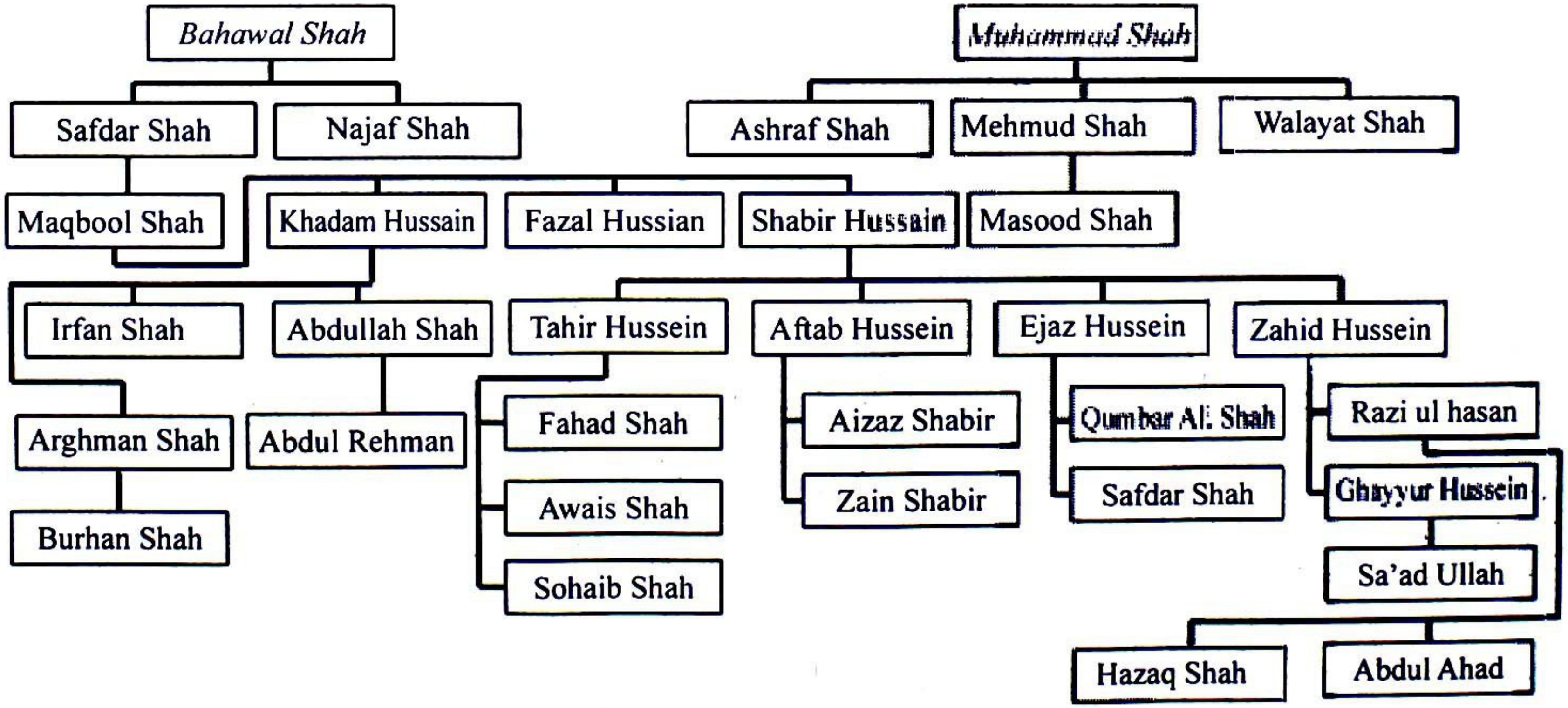
(Partly Based on Nasir, 1996)

Antecedents Unknown

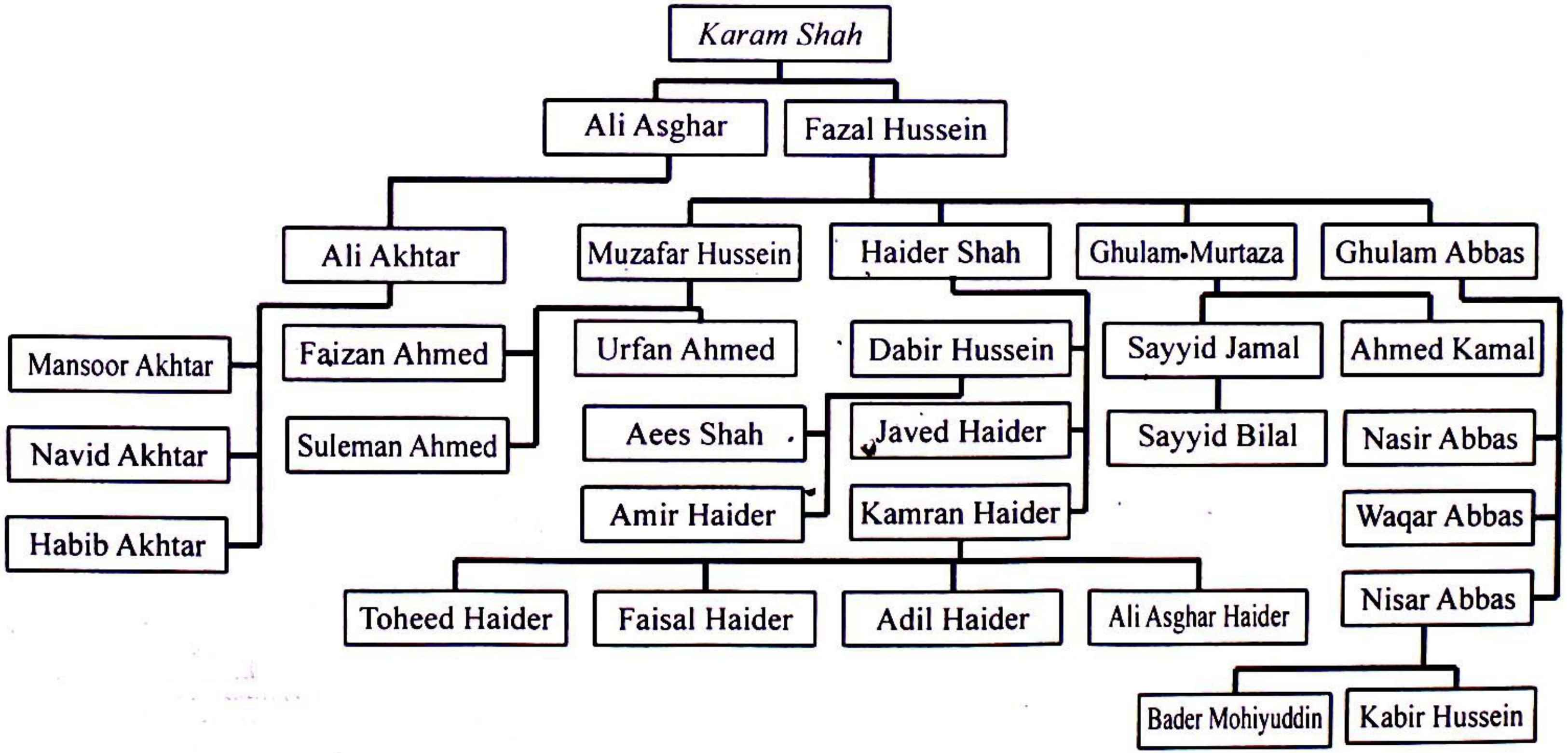


Continuation of 2

Continuation of 1

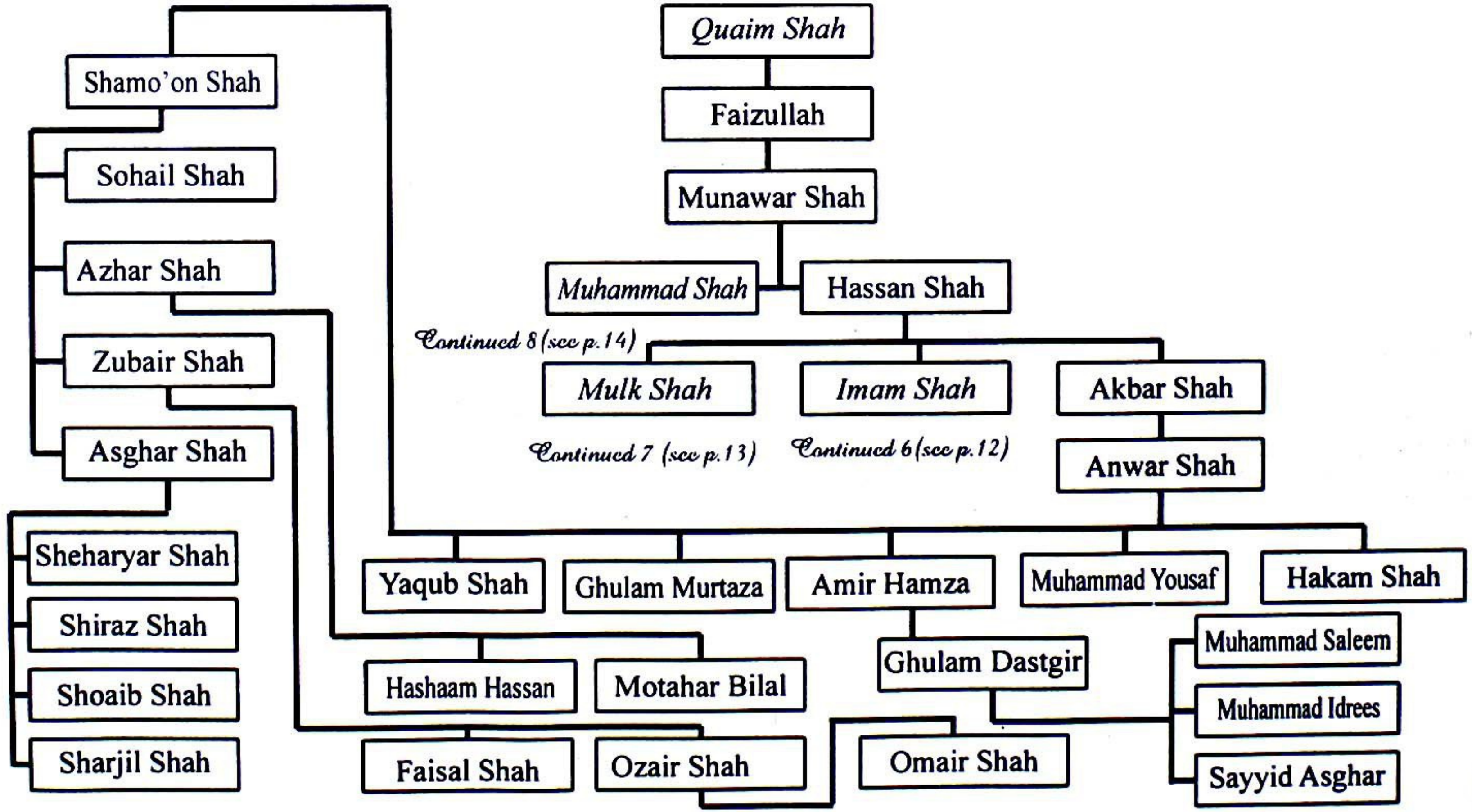


Marfat.com


Karam Shah
Ali Asghar
Fazal Hussein
Ali Akhtar
Muzafar Hussein
Haider Shah
Ghulam-Murtaza
Ghulam Abbas
Mansoor Akhtar
Faizan Ahmed
Urfan Ahmed
Dabir Hussein
Sayyid Jamal
Ahmed Kamal
Navid Akhtar
Suleman Ahmed
Aees Shah
Javed Haider
Sayyid Bilal
Nasir Abbas
Habib Akhtar
Amir Haider
Kamran Haider
Waqar Abbas
Toheed Haider
Faisal Haider
Adil Haider
Ali Asghar Haider
Nisar Abbas
Bader Mohiyuddin
Kabir Hussein

Marfat.com

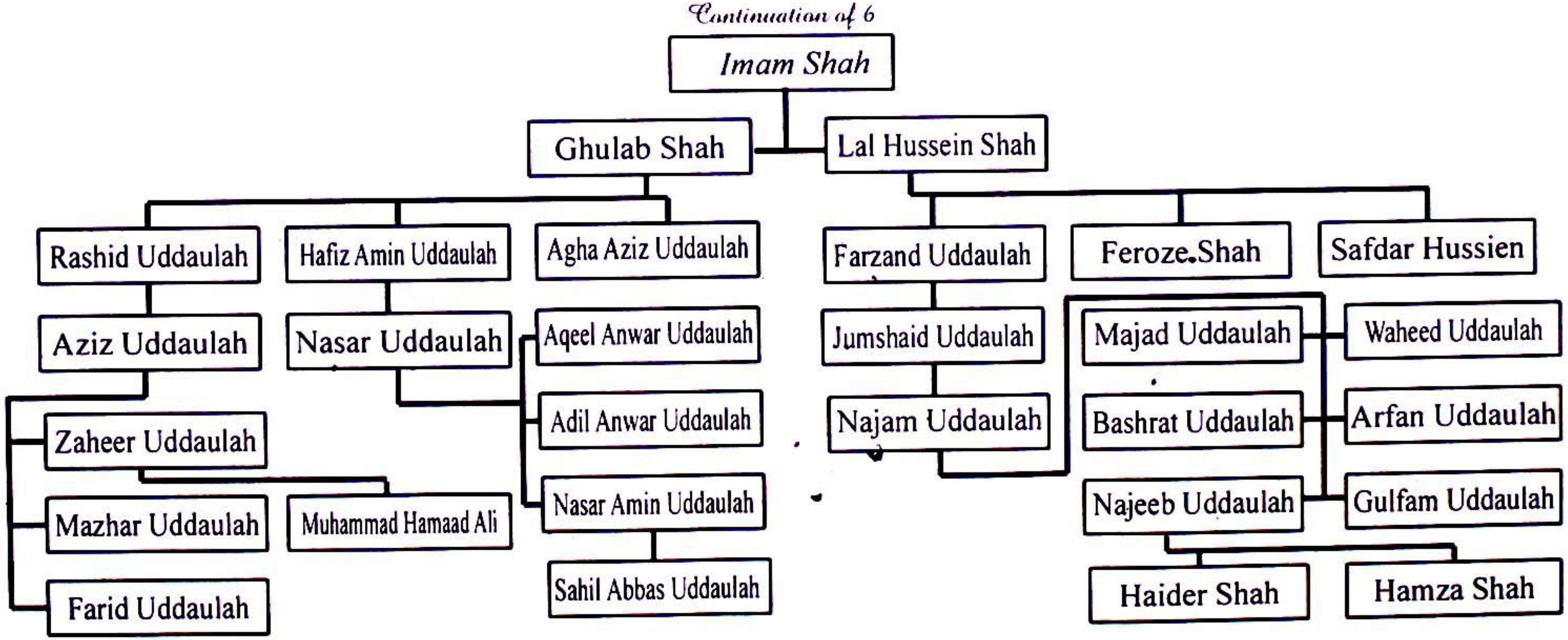
Continuation of 4

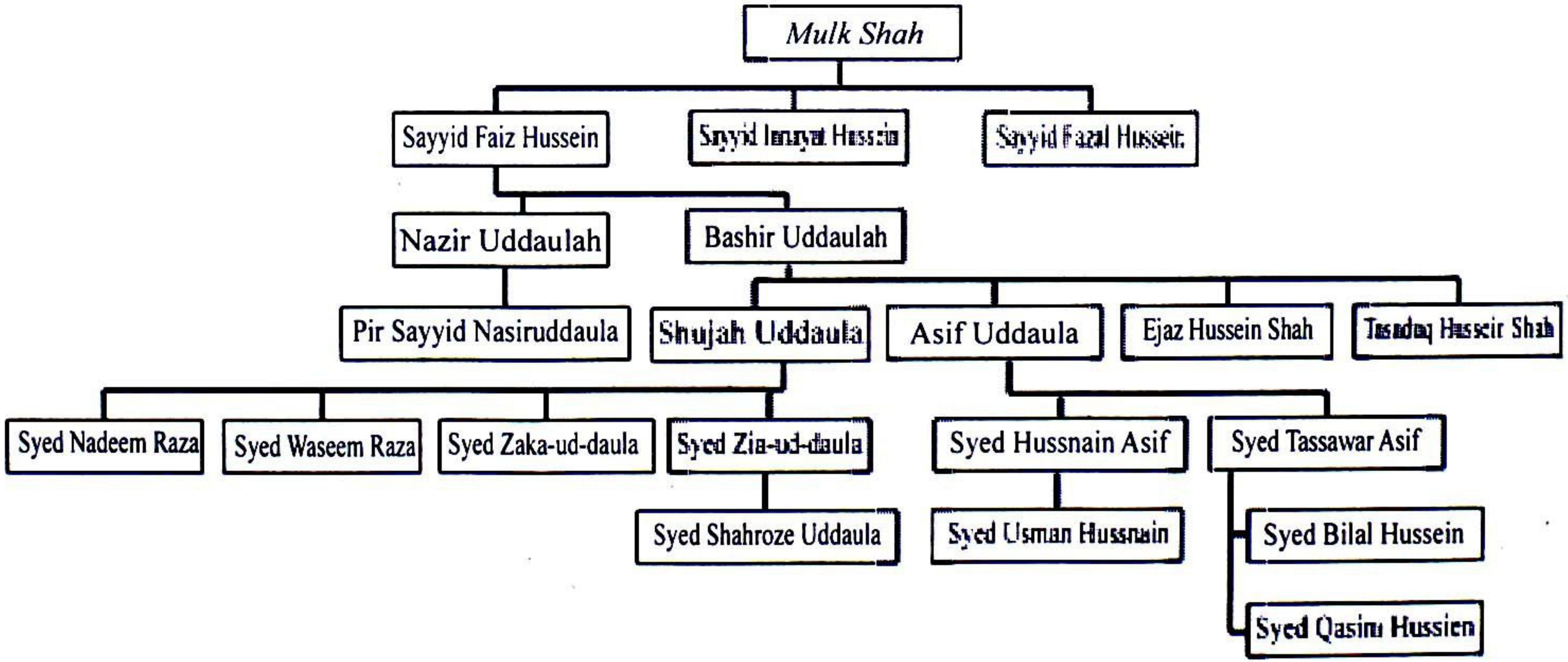


Marfat.com

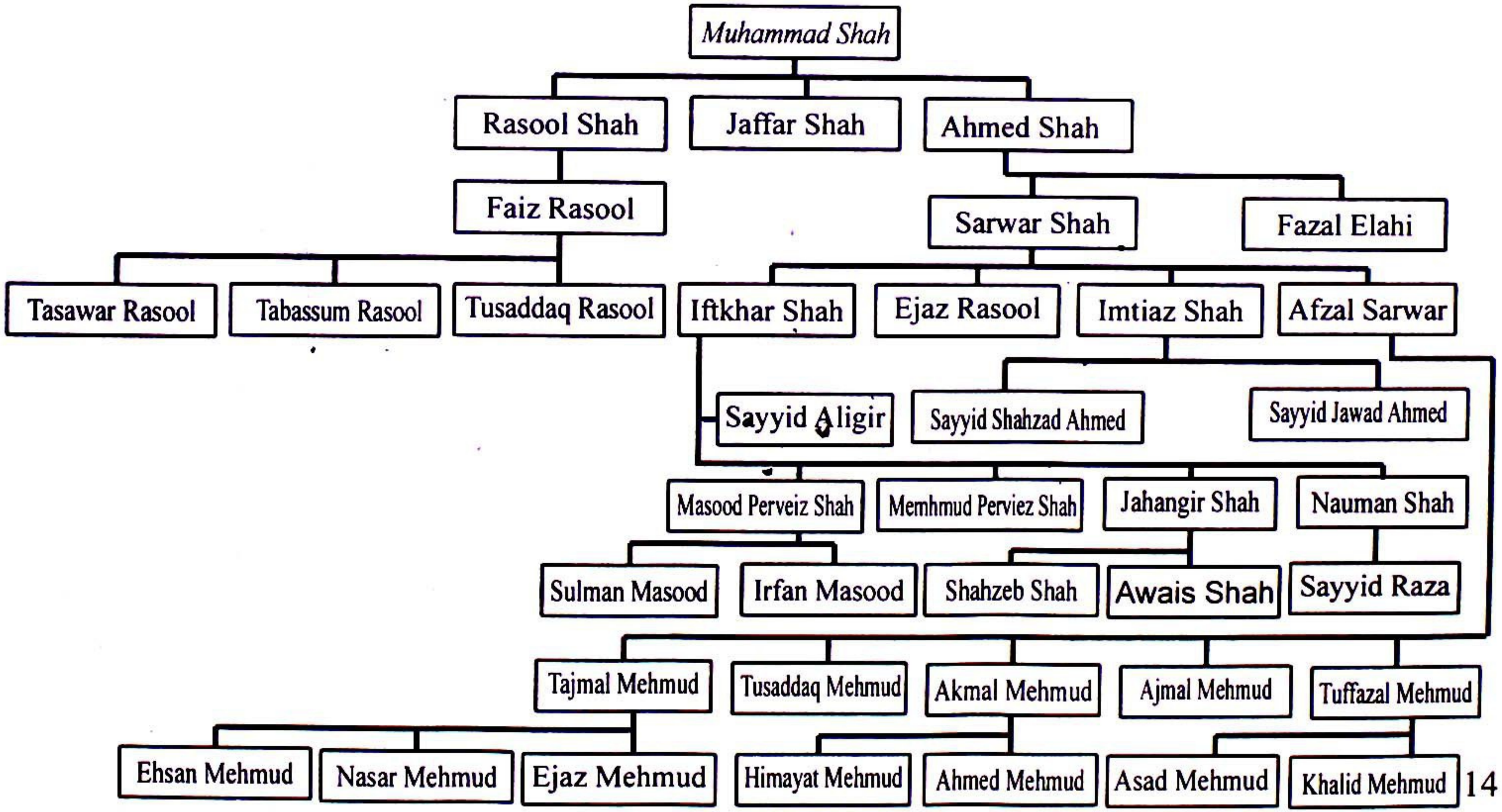
Marfat.com

Continuation of 6



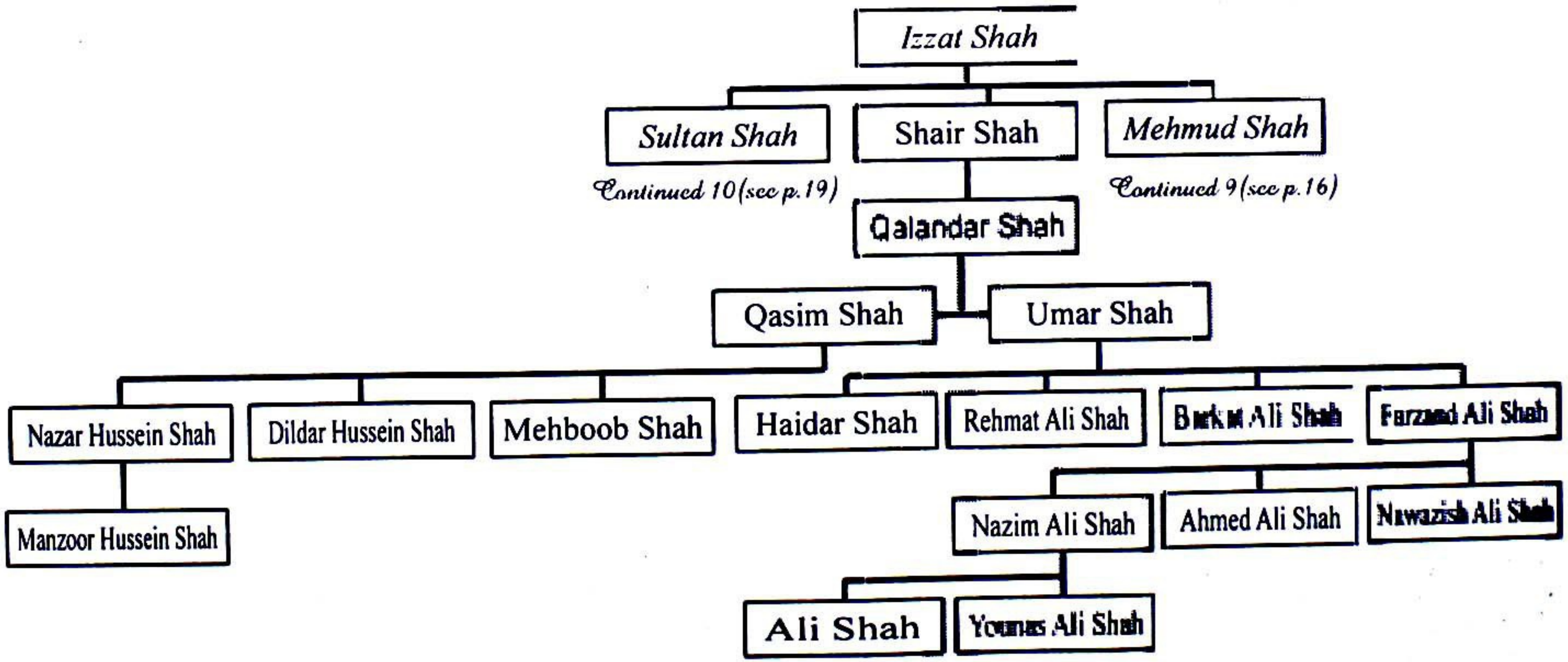

Mulk Shah
Sayyid Faiz Hussein
Sayyid Inayat Hussain
Sayyid Fazal Hussein
Nazir Uddaulah
Bashir Uddaulah
Pir Sayyid Nasiruddaula
Shujah Uddaula
Asif Uddaula
Ejaz Hussein Shah
Tasadaq Hussain Shah
Syed Nadeem Raza
Syed Waseem Raza
Syed Zaka-ud-daula
Syed Zia-ud-daula
Syed Hussnain Asif
Syed Tassawar Asif
Syed Shahroze Uddaula
Syed Usman Hussnain
Syed Bilal Hussein
Syed Qasim Hussien

Marfat.com


Muhammad Shah
Rasool Shah
Jaffar Shah
Ahmed Shah
Faiz Rasool
Sarwar Shah
Fazal Elahi
Tasawar Rasool
Tabassum Rasool
Tusaddaq Rasool
Iftkhar Shah
Ejaz Rasool
Imtiaz Shah
Afzal Sarwar
Sayyid Aligir
Sayyid Shahzad Ahmed
Sayyid Jawad Ahmed
Masood Perveiz Shah
Memhmud Perviez Shah
Jahangir Shah
Nauman Shah
Sulman Masood
Irfan Masood
Shahzeb Shah
Awais Shah
Sayyid Raza
Tajmal Mehmud
Tusaddaq Mehmud
Akmal Mehmud
Ajmal Mehmud
Tuffazal Mehmud
Ehsan Mehmud
Nasar Mehmud
Ejaz Mehmud
Himayat Mehmud
Ahmed Mehmud
Asad Mehmud
Khalid Mehmud

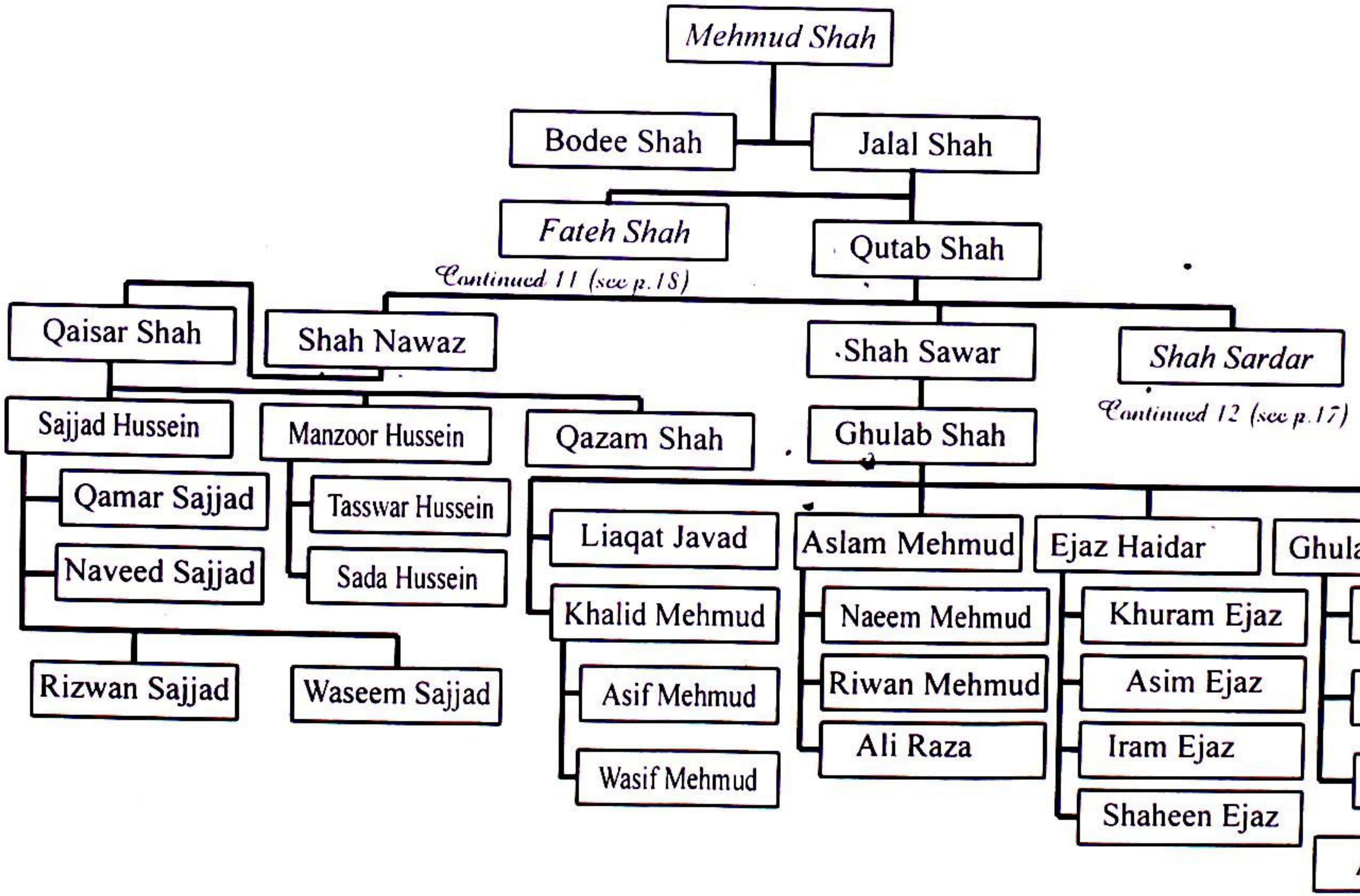
Marfat.com

Continuation of 5

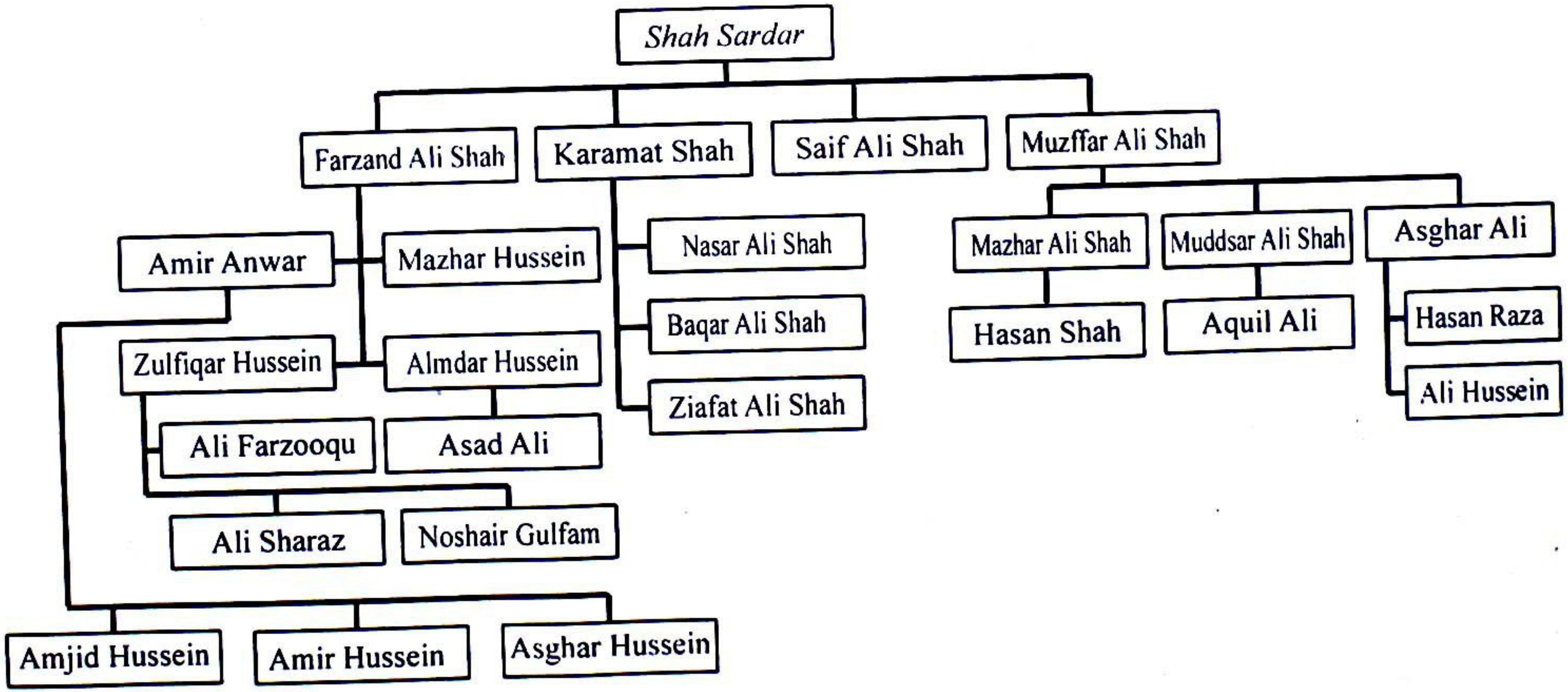


Marfat.com

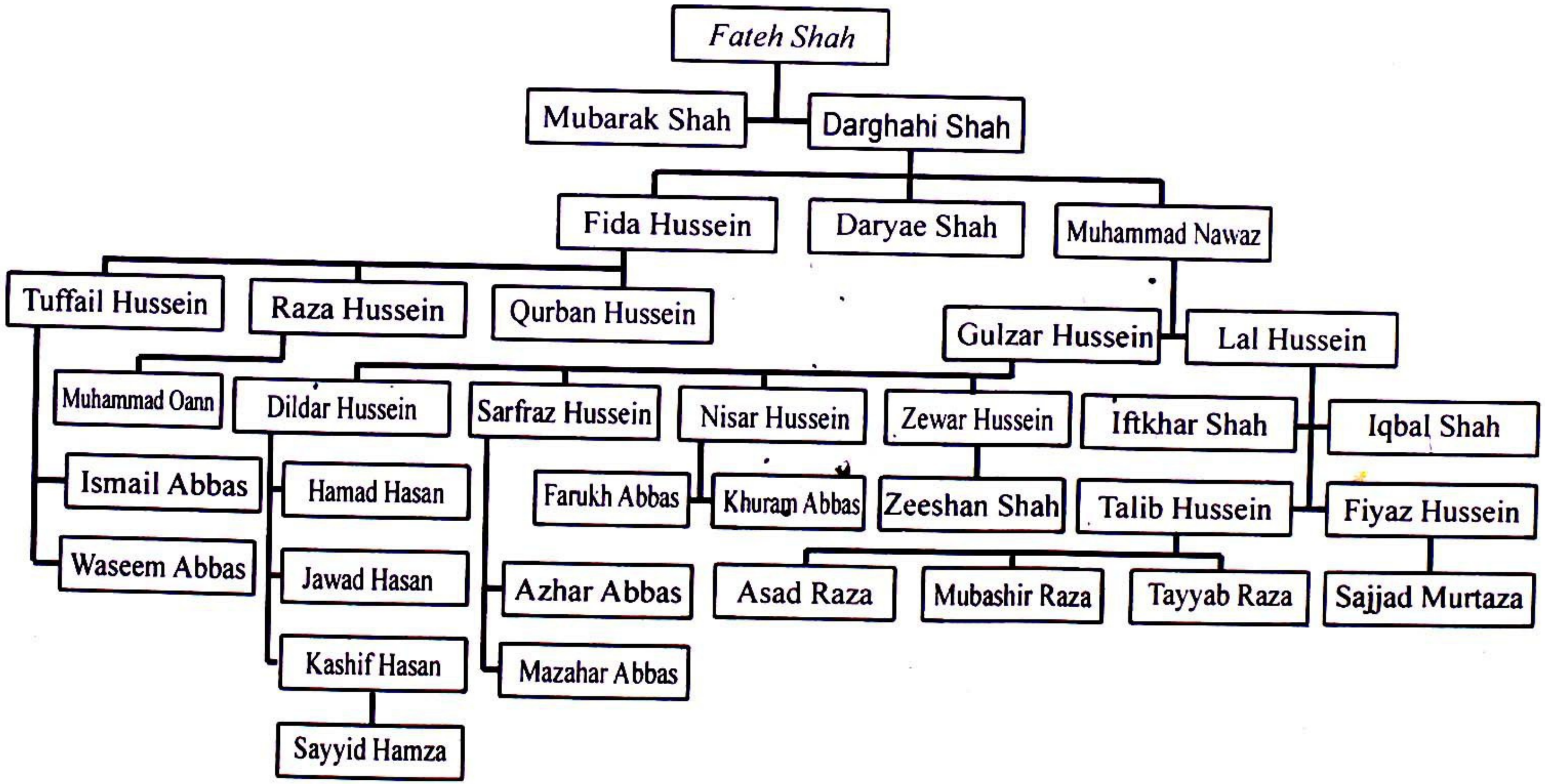
Continuation of 9



Marfat.com

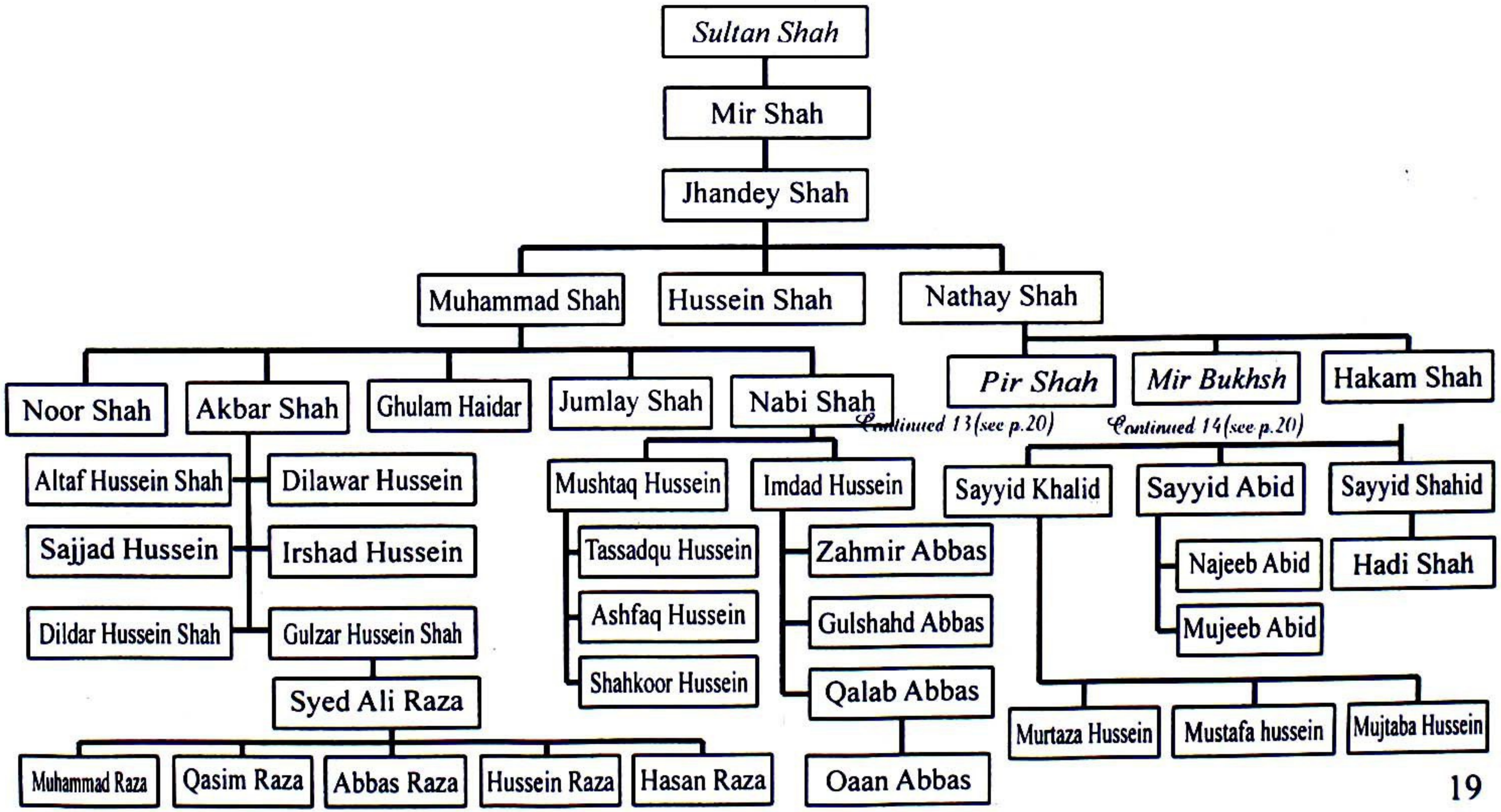

Shah Sardar
Farzand Ali Shah
Karamat Shah
Saif Ali Shah
Muzffar Ali Shah
Amir Anwar
Mazhar Hussein
Nasar Ali Shah
Baqar Ali Shah
Ziafat Ali Shah
Mazhar Ali Shah
Muddsar Ali Shah
Asghar Ali
Hasan Raza
Ali Hussein
Hasan Shah
Aquil Ali
Zulfiqar Hussein
Almdar Hussein
Ali Farzooqu
Asad Ali
Ali Sharaz
Noshair Gulfam
Amjid Hussein
Amir Hussein
Asghar Hussein

Marfat.com


Fateh Shah
Mubarak Shah
Darghahi Shah
Fida Hussein
Daryae Shah
Muhammad Nawaz
Tuffail Hussein
Raza Hussein
Qurban Hussein
Gulzar Hussein
Lal Hussein
Muhammad Oann
Dildar Hussein
Sarfraz Hussein
Nisar Hussein
Zewar Hussein
Iftkhar Shah
Iqbal Shah
Ismail Abbas
Hamad Hasan
Farukh Abbas
Khuram Abbas
Zeeshan Shah
Talib Hussein
Fiyaz Hussein
Waseem Abbas
Jawad Hasan
Azhar Abbas
Asad Raza
Mubashir Raza
Tayyab Raza
Sajjad Murtaza
Kashif Hasan
Mazahar Abbas
Sayyid Hamza

Marfat.com

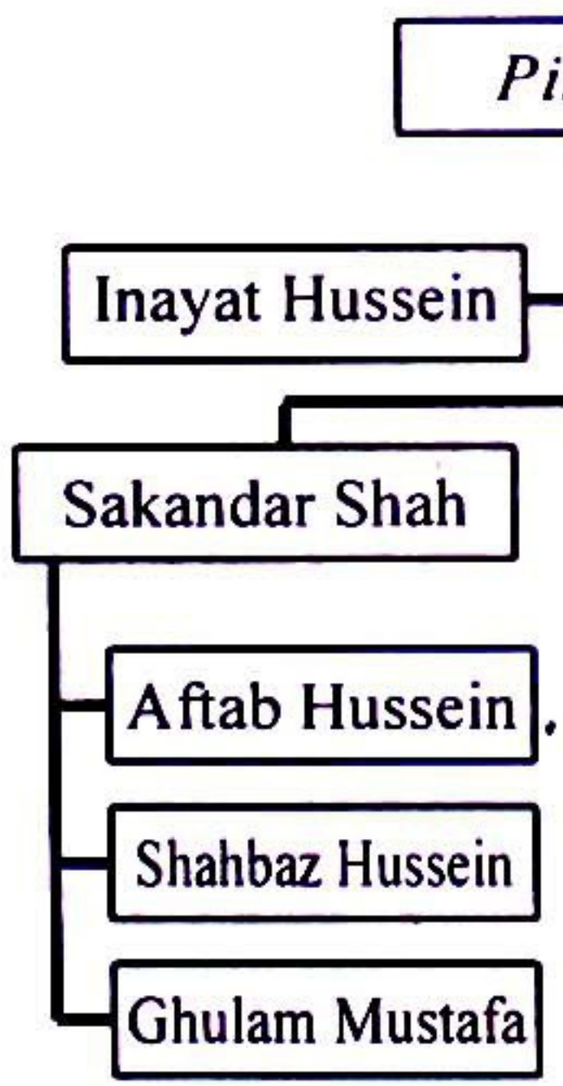
Continuation of 10



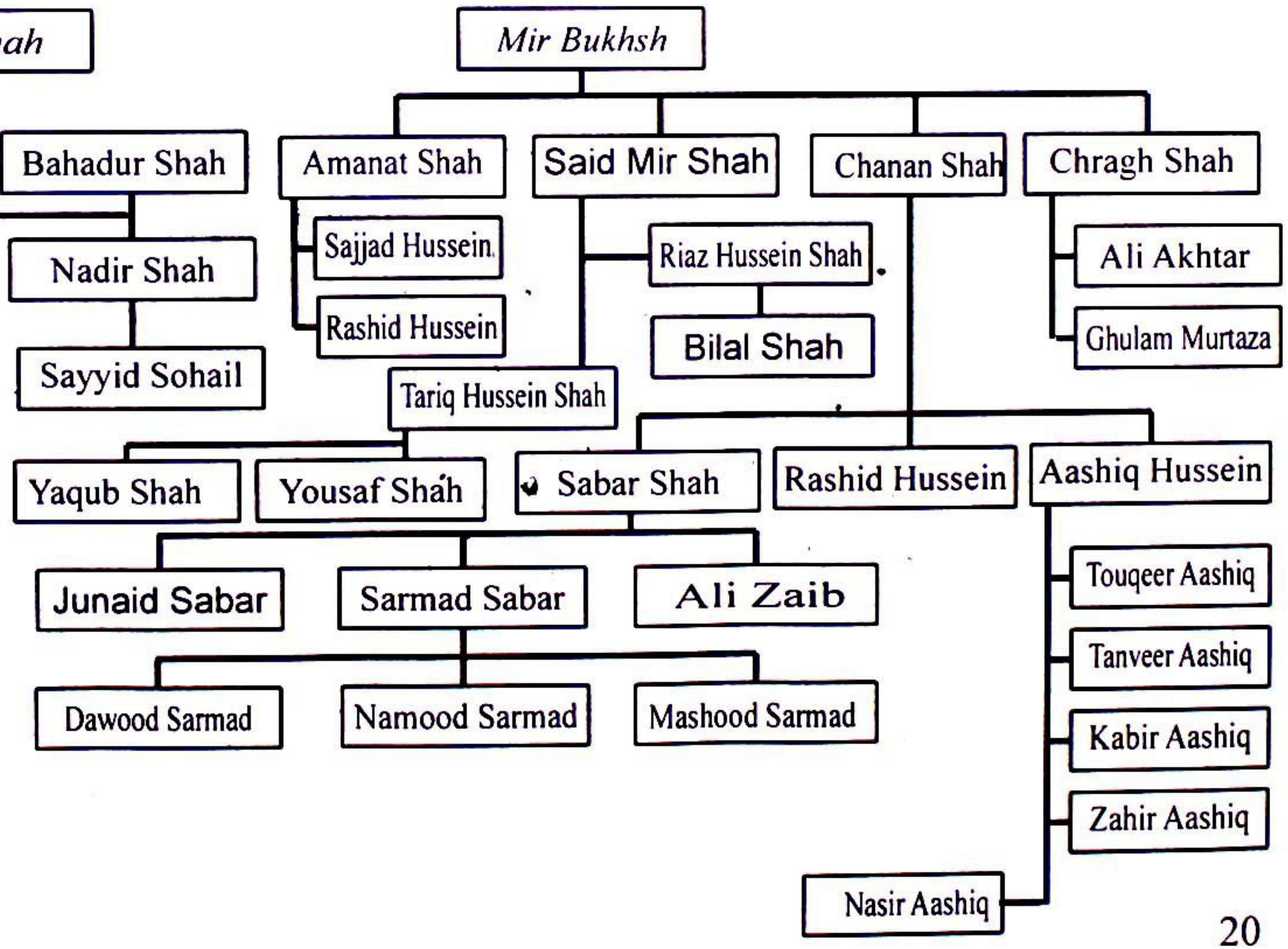
Marfat.com

Marfat.com

Continuation of 13



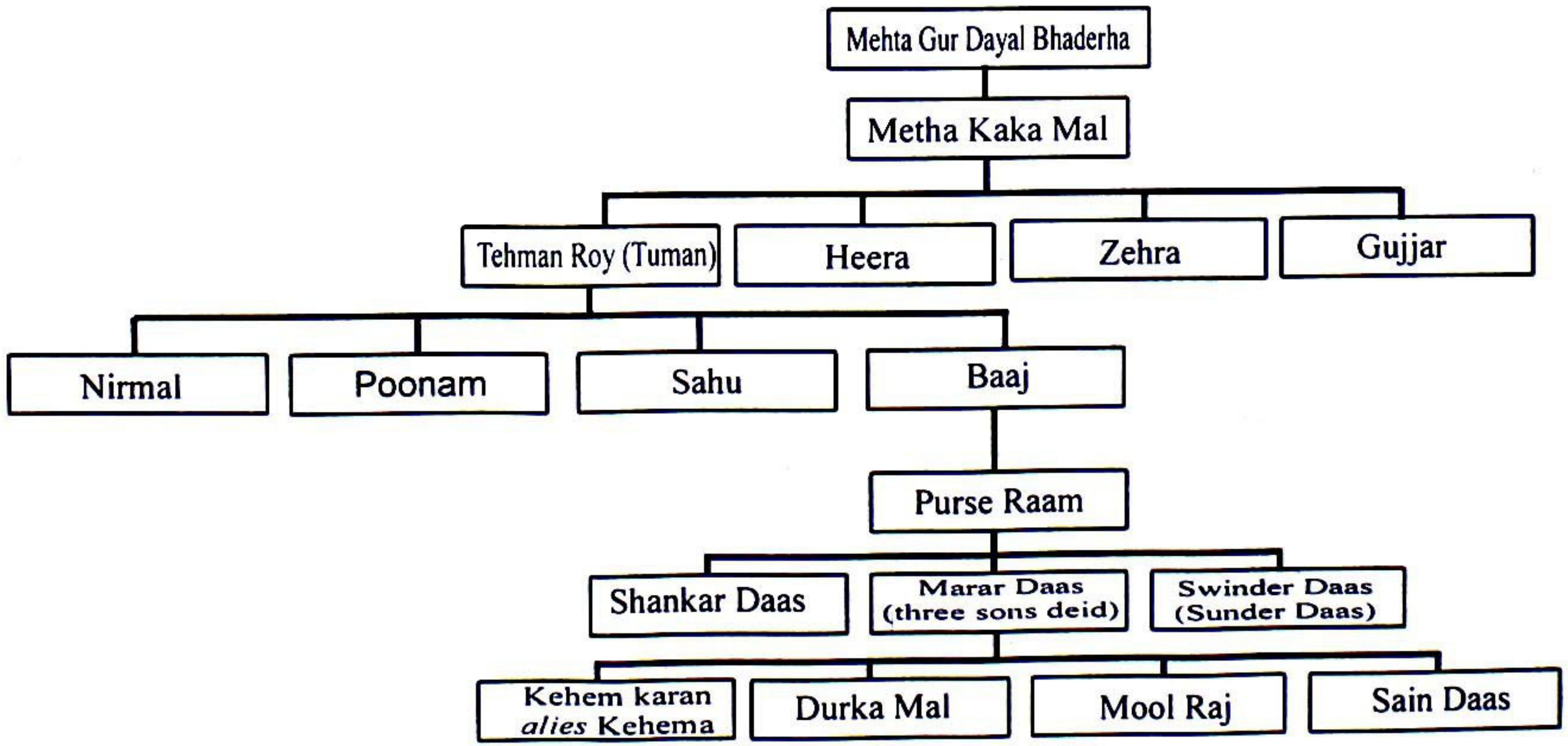
Continuation of 14



Note: Qiladari. 1983 adds six generations with Mehta Cheetah after Tumman.

Table III

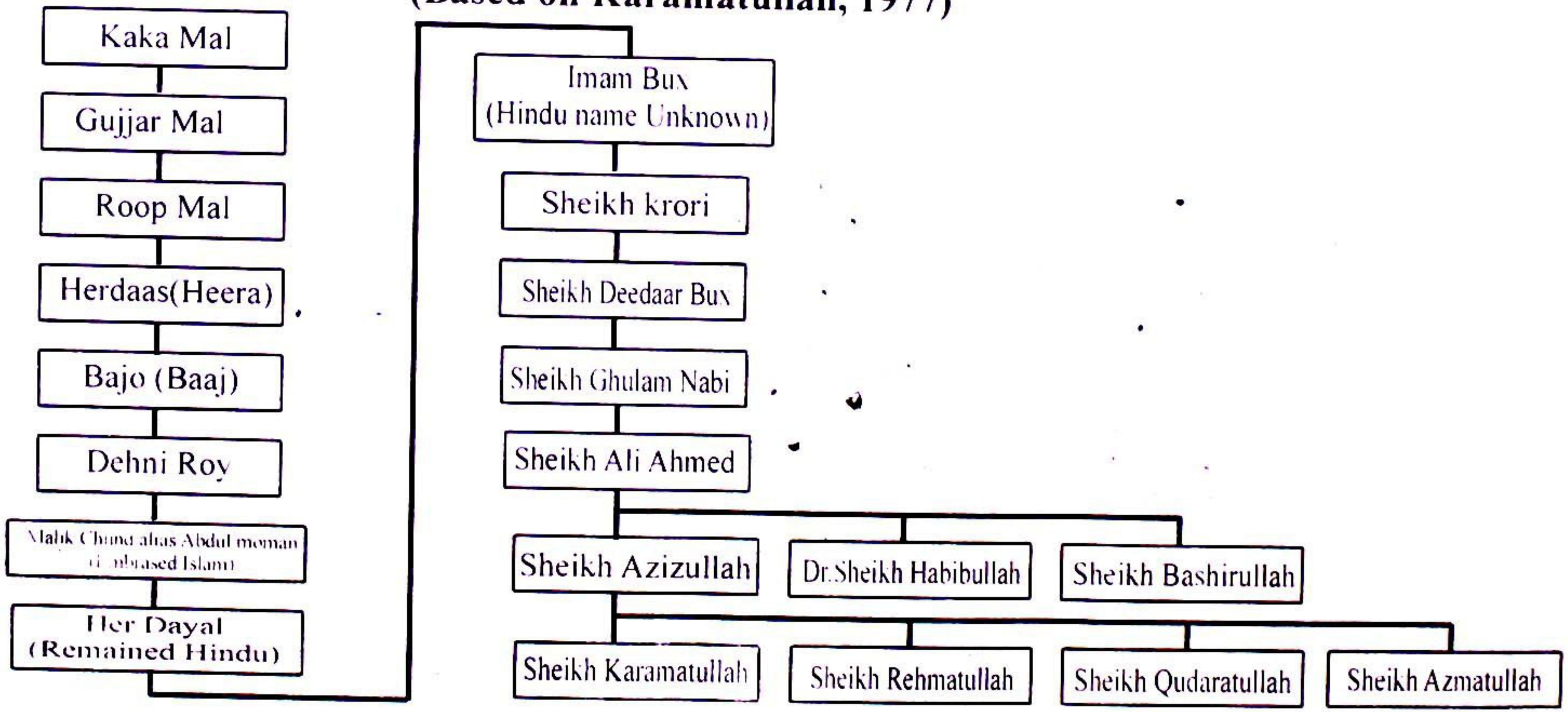
Genealogy of Kehem Karan
(Based on Wadera, 1849; Qiladari, 1983)



Marfat.com

Table IV

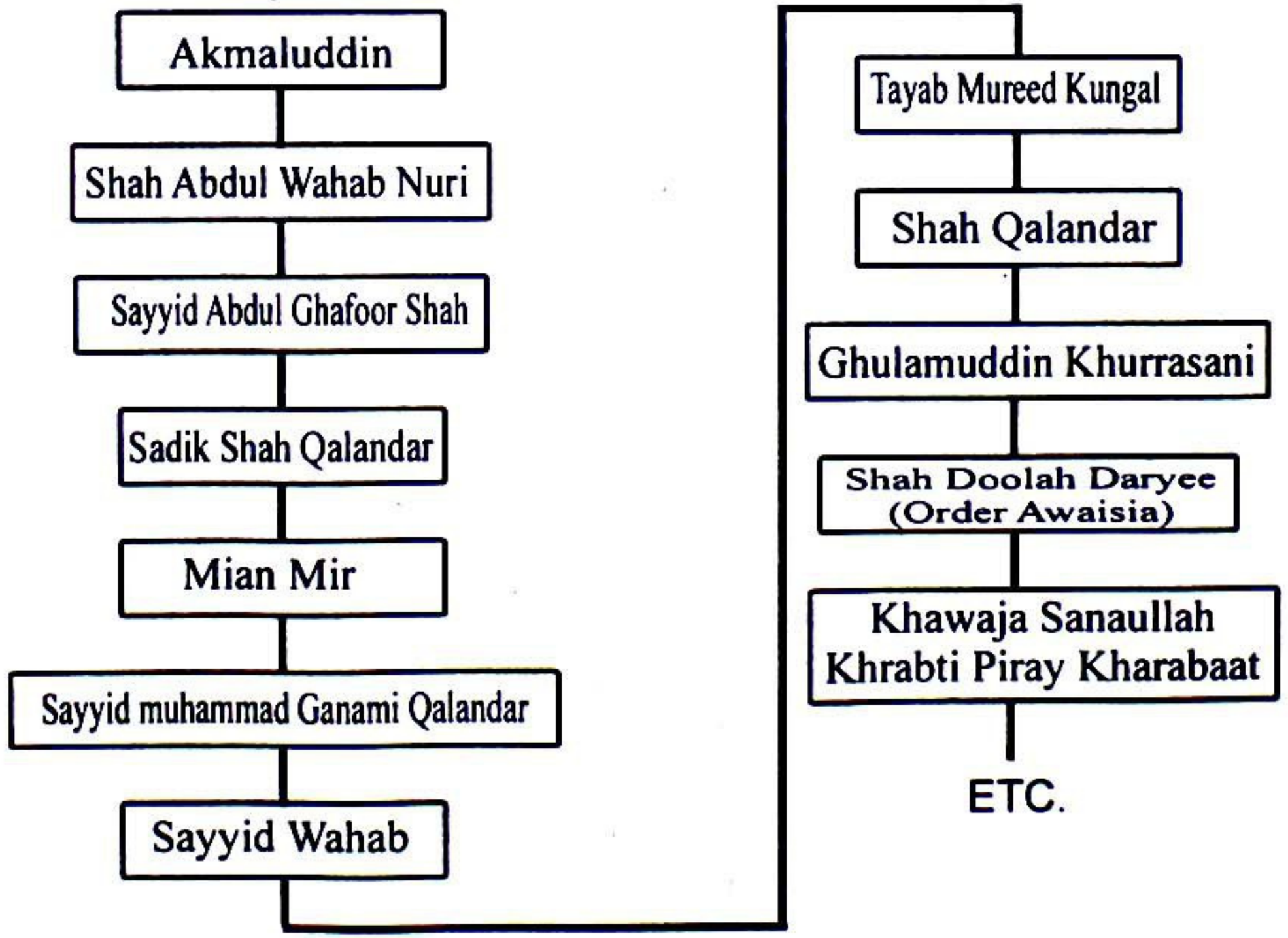
Genealogy of Mehta Kaka Mal
(Based on Karamatullah, 1977)



Marfat.com

Table V

Religious Order Owaisia of Shah Daulah Daryae
(Based on Kharabati, 1862-1863 *in* Tasbihi, 1972)



Marfat.com

Marfat.com

Table VI

Religious Order Chishtia of Shah Daulah Daryae
(Based on Lahori, 1902)

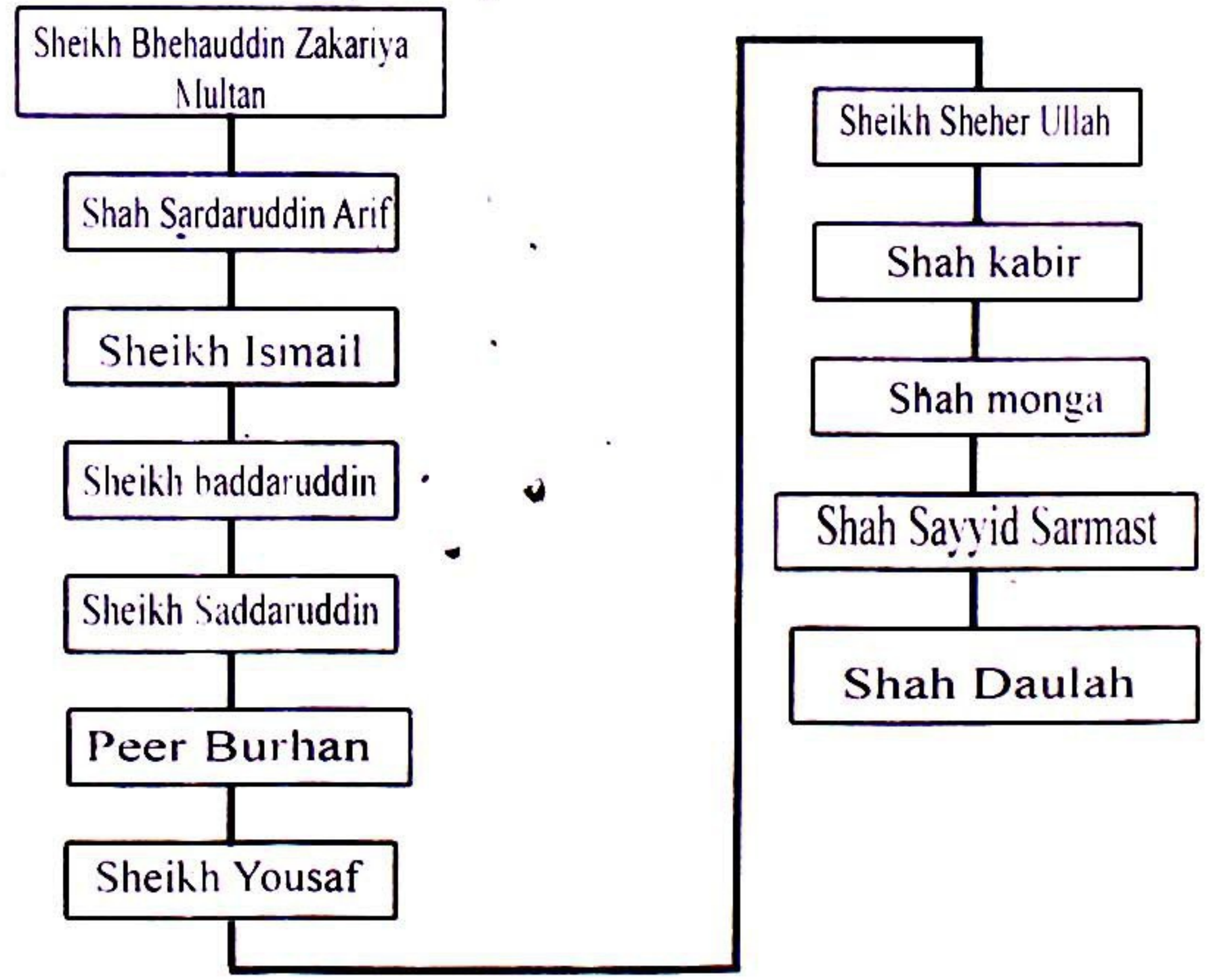
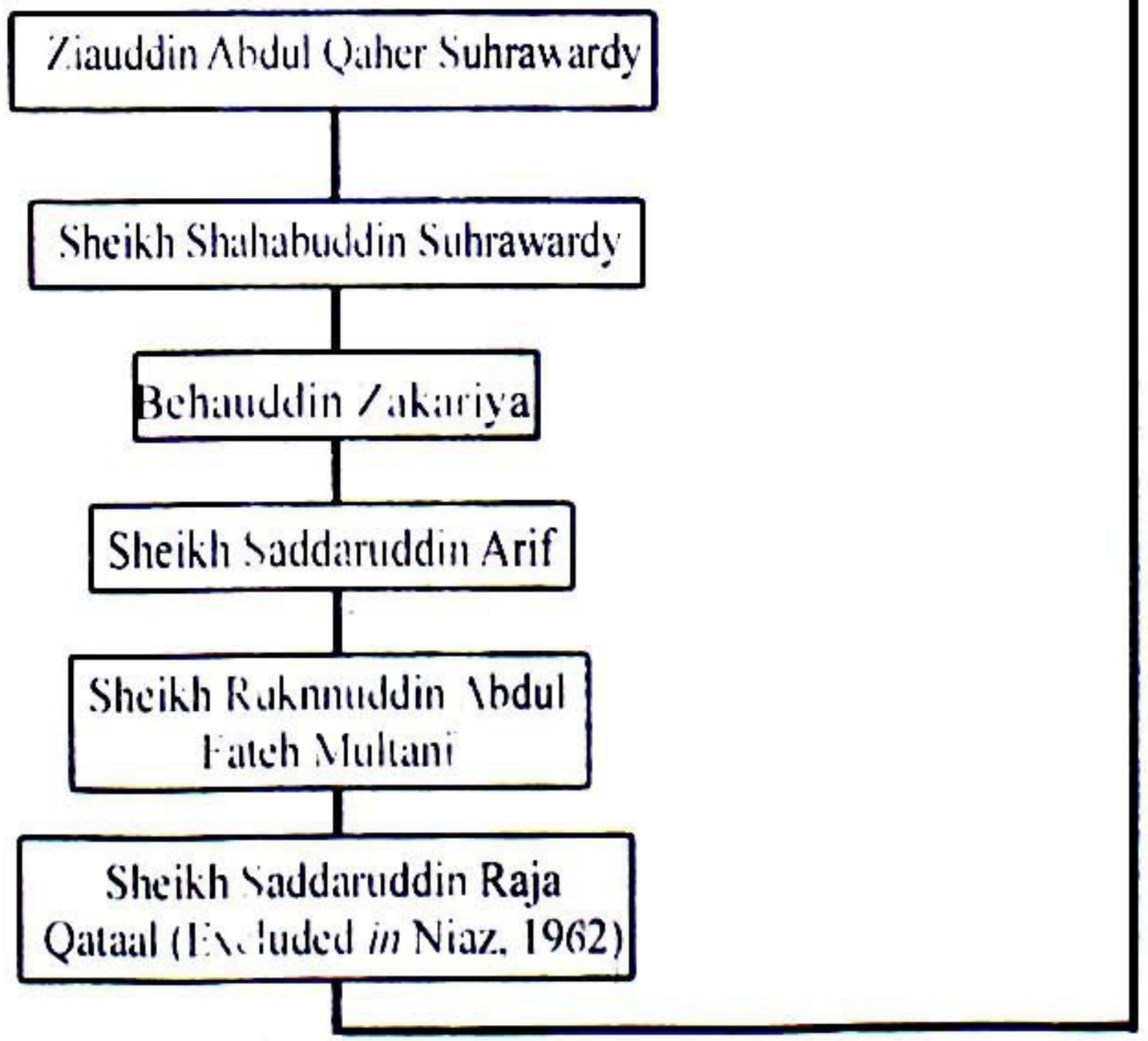


Table VII

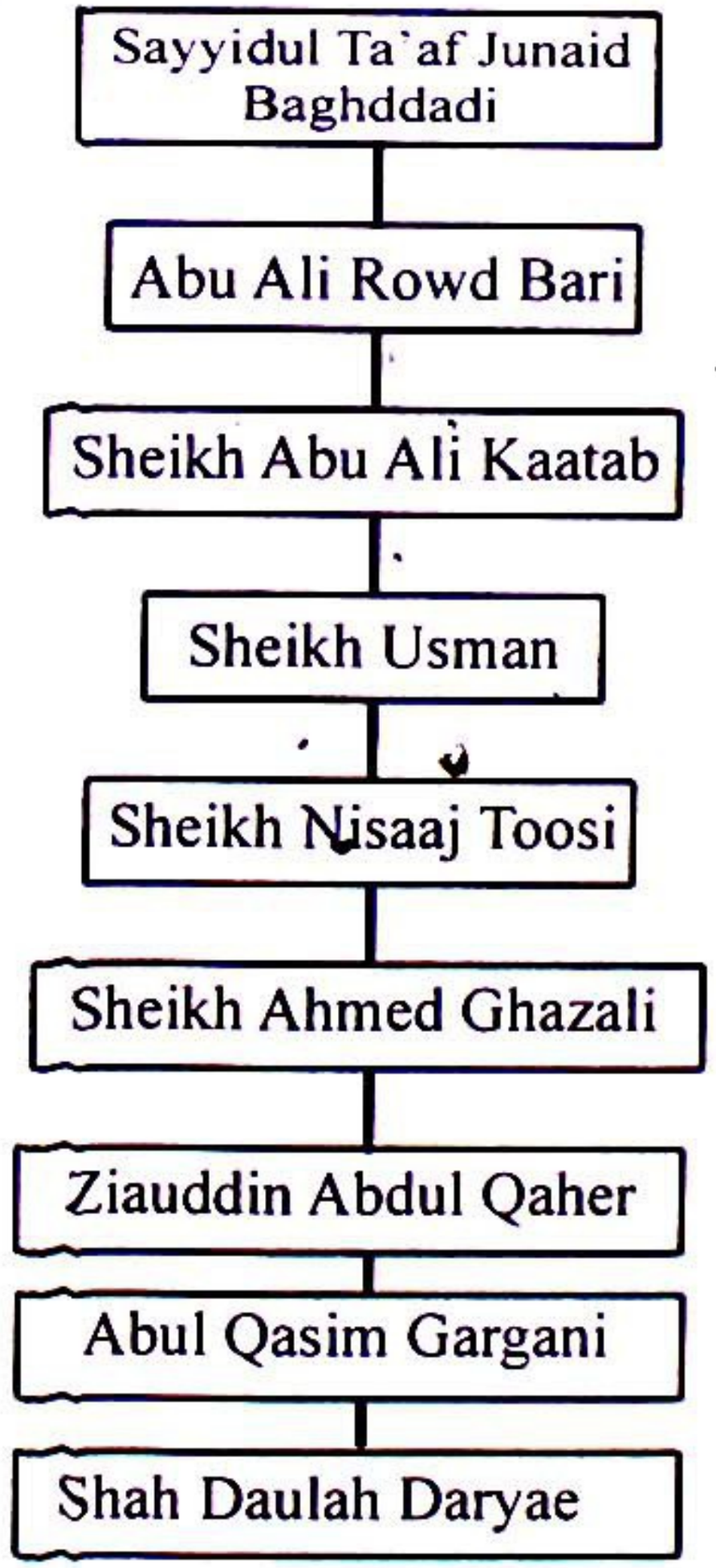
Religious Order Suhrawardi of Shah Daulah Daryae
(Based on Chaudhry, 1970, ref. Pasruri's book *Farahtul Nazereen*; Pasruri *in* Kunjahi, 1985; Slatch, 1996)



Marfat.com

Table VIII

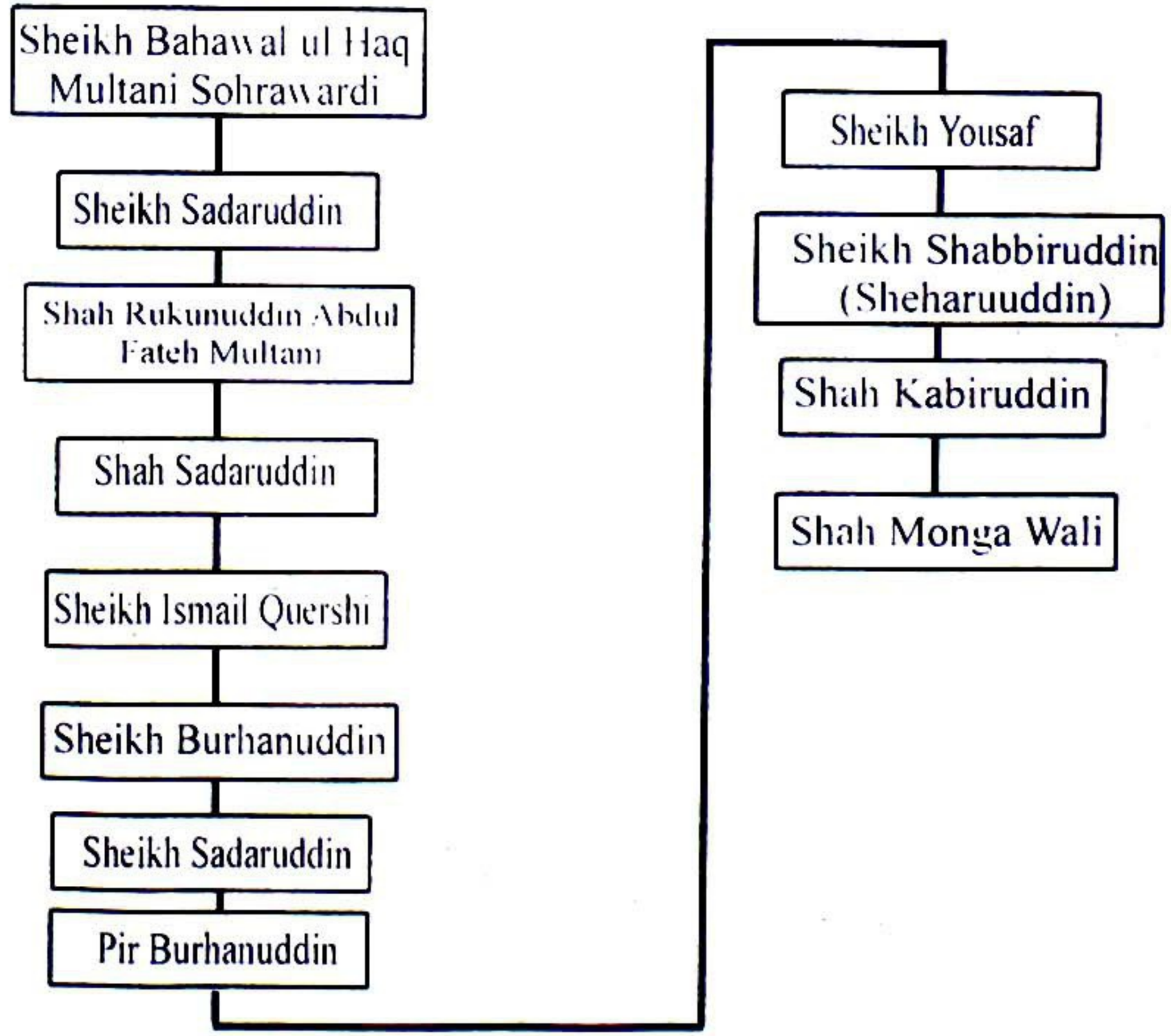
Religious Order Suhrawardy and Junaidey of Shah Daulah Daryae
(Based on Chaudhry, 1970)



Marfat.com

Table IX

Religious Order Suhrawardia. of Shah Monga
(Based on Niaz. 1992)



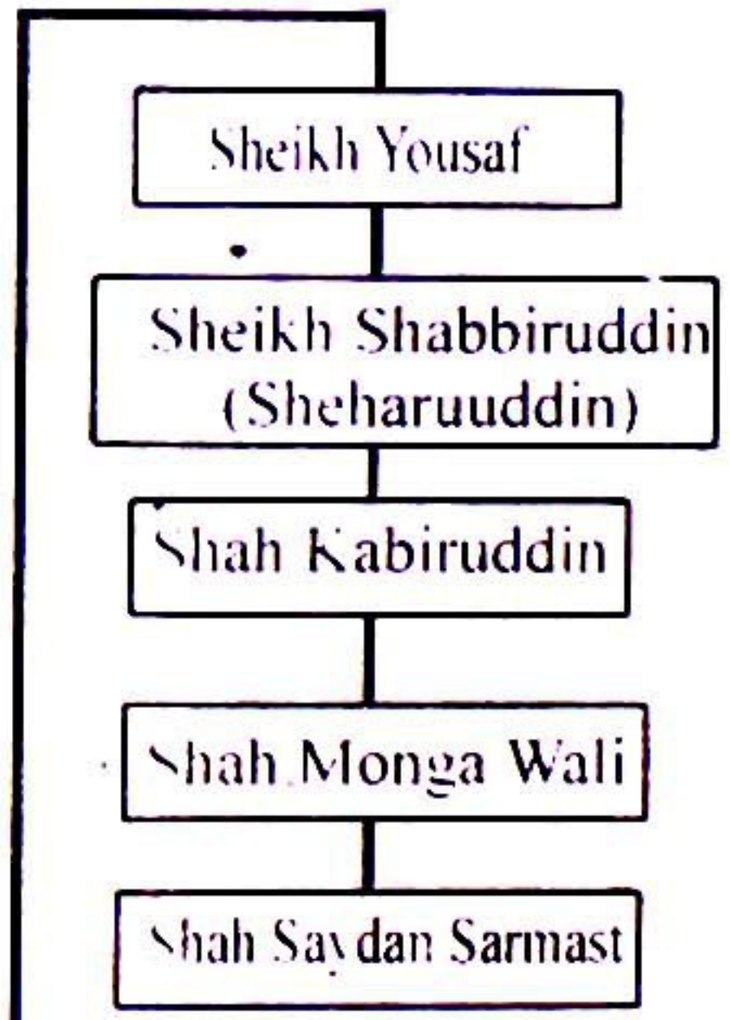
Marfat.com

Table X

Religious Order Suhrawardia of Shah Saydan Sarmast
(Based on Niaz, 1992)





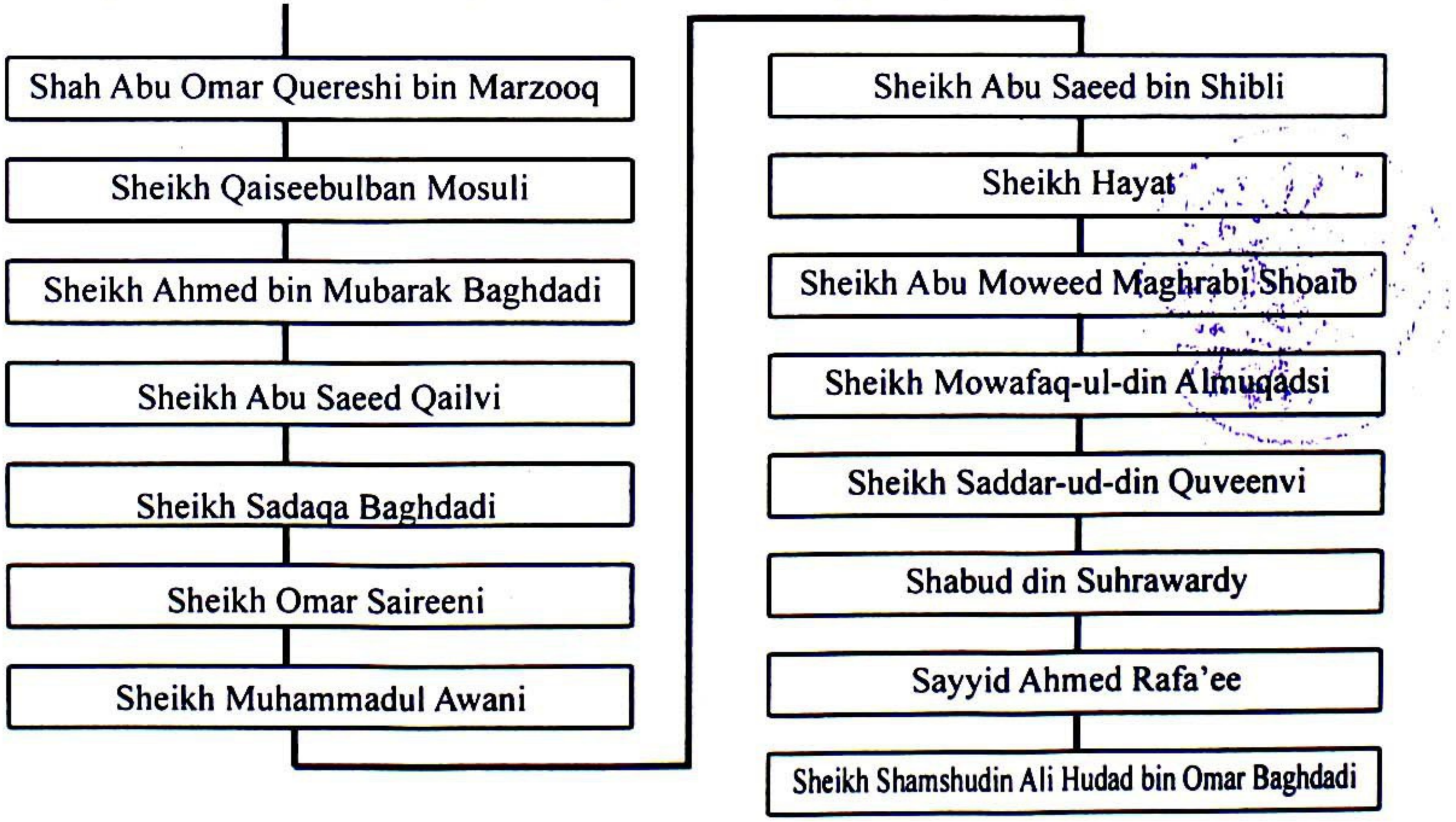


Marfat.com

Table XI

Names Of the Caliphs of Hadrat Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (R. A.)

(Based on Mufti, 1967; Chaudhry, N.,1970)



Marfat.com

Prof. Dr. Pir Nasir



Born February 7, 1930, Garhi Shah Daula, Gujrat (Punjab), Pakistan, of established Pakistani family with feudal and religious credentials, descendants of the reverend saint-engineer Hadrat Shah Daulah Daryae, Gujrati Punjabi, Pir Nasiruddaula, known in scientific and some humanistic publications simply as P. Nasir, grew to be an exceptional scholar and young adventurer. Naturally, the question arises about the abbreviated form, P. Nasir, of his actual name. It all began when he opted for further studies abroad. Although, while in Pakistan, he knew about the significance of the 'first' or the 'given' names and the 'last' 'Christian', 'family' or the 'surnames,' yet he encountered a practical 'nomenclature' impediment in England. It is of common knowledge that 'Pir' is not the first name, but a religious prefix. 'Nasiruddaula' was too tongue twisting to be taken for the last name. Consequently, Pir became the first and Nasir the last name not only for the paperwork but also for the routine usage.

His mother, Zubeda Khanum, was married to Pir Naziruddaula, who was known far and wide for his sprawling residence named as 'Sabri Kuttiya,' which was the famous hangout of musicians, dancers, classical singers, etc. Poor Zubeda Khanum, known as "Aunti Ji" was a portrait of tragedy brought about by the inhuman treatment of her in-laws. They made her life so unbearable that she was forced to leave her home and came back to live with her mother and brothers. It was there where she gave birth to P. Nasir.

Pir Nasir was brought up in his maternal uncles' *Diwan Khana,* in particular his maternal grand mother and one of the uncles Hakim Pir Rashiduddaula, known to him as Abbaji (father), dotted on him. Pir Nasir rolled in abundance so much so that he never had to suffer for want of toys, clothes, stationery, books, tutors, maids or any thing else he fancied. He simply had to ask for it and was complied with.

It was the shock of his life when his high school headmaster asked t him to fill in the forms for entering the matriculation examination. Pir Nasir wrote the name of his father as Hakim Pir Rashiduddaula, but the headmaster corrected it as Pir Naziruddaula. This led to a sort of heated argument between them, enough to make him cry. He came running home all tears and complained against the headmaster's contention to his mother that made her cry rather inconsolably. Just at that moment "Abbaji" (maternal uncle *op. cit.*) materialized and tearfully unfolded the reality to him that the headmaster was right all along the line.

After a distinguished academic career in Pakistan, during which he was awarded a Gold Medal in M. Sc. (Zoology) from the Government College, Lahore, he proceeded to the UK, where he completed his Ph. D. in Parasitology at the Birmingham University, Birmingham, in a record two and a half-year's time in 1958. For a short time, he continued as a post-doctoral research fellow at the same university. Thereafter he proceeded to the USA where he also worked as a post-doctoral research fellow. He returned to Pakistan in 1962 to serve his fatherland. However, he was painfully disappointed only to land a non-scientific job as an Officer on Special Duty. During a nine-month stay in Pakistan, hectic efforts notwithstanding he failed to find a suitable opening. Eventually, he revived his contacts abroad and three opportunities unfolded in Vancouver (Canada), Perth (Australia) and Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela (South America). He opted for the latter not only due to new horizons but also unlimited research facilities were promised. Finally he spent twenty-seven years teaching and working on research projects in Venezuela, where he retired as a full professor of Parasitology in 1987. He then returned to his roots in Gujrat in 1990.

Formerly

Profesor Titular (Full Professor) of Parasitology, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, South America.
US Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, USA.
Caroline Harold Post-doctoral Research Fellow, University of Birmingham, UK.

Executive posts

Secretario Ejecutivo, Consejo de Investigación, Rectorado, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, South America.
Director de Bibliotécas, Rectorado, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, South America.

Elected Office

Miembro de Junta Superior Universitaria, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, South America.

Honours

Gold medallist, Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan, for standing first in M. Sc., 1954
Orden 27 de Junio, República de Venezuela, 1973
Orden Francisco de Miranda, República de Venezuela, 1977
Honor al Mérito, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, 1975
Medalla de 21 *de Noviembre,* highest honour of Universidad de Oriente, bestowed upon Distinguished Professors, 1988
Honorary Fellow Zoological Society of Pakistan (FZSP), 2004

ISBN 969-8268-06-5

Continued on inside back flap

Marfat.com