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SUFISM IN KASHMIR FROM THE
FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

by

Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi

This thesis is submitted
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in The Australian National University.

October 1972
This thesis was written by the undersigned as a research scholar of the Department of Asian Civilizations at The Australian National University.
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**Preface**

The histories of Medieval Kashmir, like those of many other parts of the subcontinent, mainly deal with courts and political developments. No attempt has yet been made to give a connected account of the religious developments and the ideological tensions in the Valley. The accounts of the introduction of Islam and Sufism into Kashmir are shrouded in myth and legend. Modern scholars, who deal primarily with political history of Kashmir, make occasional references to its saints, but their accounts are uncritical and generally based upon the later hagiological material.

The present work seeks to unravel the tangled skein of legends concerning the Şūfīs of Kashmir and to present a connected study of the Şūfī orders from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Both the Şūfī orders introduced by the Irānian immigrants and the eclectic Rishi order which emerged locally have for the first time been examined and analysed in detail.

The present study indicates that the contribution of the Irānian Şūfīs who came to Kashmir was not merely in the realm of proselytisation; they also made an important contribution to the Persianisation of Kashmiri culture. Our study also brings to light the most interesting phenomena of the harmonization of Islamic mysticism with indigenous Buddhist and Śaivite practices in Kashmir.

The work draws primarily upon Şūfī and hagiological texts in Persian by Kashmirī authors. The general works on Sufism and such important historical sources as the Rājatarāṅgīnī and the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī have also
been utilized. Our endeavour has been to make as critical and judicious a use of available sources as possible. In using contemporary works, due allowance has been made for the attitudes and personal prejudices of the authors, while in the case of the later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legends and superstitions have woven around the real figures of the Şüfî saints. Some important legends have been summarised with a view to showing the gullibility of the hagiologists and the character of the material that is available.

Before concluding I wish to acknowledge my thanks to the Australian National University for granting me a research scholarship and other necessary facilities. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr S.A.A. Rizvi, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging it with the warmest thanks. Professor A.L. Basham has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation for the keen interest he has shown in my work despite his other heavy responsibilities. For assistance and encouragement I would also like to thank Professor Saiyid Ḥusain Naṣr, Vice Chancellor, University of Tehrān, Dr G.S. Chhabra, Mr Z.L. Jalla of the Department of History, University of Jammu, Mr M.A. Rafiqi of the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, Miss Mary Hutchinson of the Department of Asian Civilizations, Australian National University, Dr D.J. Prentice, Department of Indonesian, to my friend Mr M.A.B.H. Walter, of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, and to my fellow research students Messrs J.N. Tiwari and V.J.A. Flynn.

My thanks are also due to the officials of the Menzies Library of the Australian National University, particularly those of the Asian
Studies and reference sections. I am obliged to Professor O.H.K. Spate, Director, Research School of Pacific Studies and Mr H.E. Gunther of the Department of Human Geography, who helped me to draw the map of Kashmir. I am also thankful to Mrs Jocelyn Bergin, who typed the thesis. Finally I would like to thank my wife for her sympathy and patience.
# List of Abbreviations

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R.M.Az. Risāla-i-Mashāribu’l-Azwāq
R.N. Bābā Naṣīb, Rishī-Nāmā
R.Nm. Bahāu’d-Dīn Mattū, Rish-i-Nāmā
R.S.M. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkilḥal
R.Tj. Jonarāja, Rājatarangīṇī
R.Tk. Kalhana, Rājatarangīṇī
R.Ts. Shrīvara, Rājatarangīṇī
R.Z. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Zikrīya

Sultāns Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan, Kashmīr under the Sultāns

T.A. Niẓāmu’d-Dīn Aḥmad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī
T.Az. Muḥammad A’zam, Tārīkh-i-A’zamī
T.H. Pīr Ḥasan, Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan
T.K. Muḥītu’d-Dīn Miskīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr
T.Ka. Nārāyan Kaul Ḥājī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Kh. Ḥasan bin 'Alī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Kk. Bīrbal Kachrū, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Km. Ḥaidar Malik, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Ks. Saiyid 'Alī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
Z.M. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Zakhīratu’l-Mulūk
Transliteration

We have followed Steingass's Persian and English Dictionary, except for the following changes and additions. The term ‘Ṣūfīsm’ has been accepted as an English term and is used without diacritical marks.

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Sanskrit anusvāra
Additional Note

The revised version of this thesis complies with the requirements imposed by the examiners under the Ph.D. rules of the Australian National University. No attempt has been made to go beyond the suggestions they made.

The necessary alterations have been effected by providing a detailed introduction (pages xi-lvi), in which the principal matters raised are discussed. Some other matters have been dealt with by inserting additional pages into the text; these have been noted in their place in the list of contents.

I was directed to "give consideration to the theory of Molé and Meier that Zakhiratu-l-Muluk is the Persian translation of an original Arabic work by Najm al-Din Kubra". I had not dealt with this question, because neither I nor my supervisor knew that those scholars entertained any such theory. Later, I was told that Professor Adams believed that Molé had recently published an edition of Zakhiratu'l Mulûk in Persia. By this time, I had returned to Kashmîr; unfortunately, my father's sudden death prevented my seeking the leave of the Government of India to travel again, and it is notorious that publications from certain countries are impossible to obtain in India - not to speak of Kashmîr. A friend, however, travelling in Persia between March and May 1972, was good enough to search for Molé's edition of Zakhiratu'l Mulûk; nobody had heard of it, and he was quite unable to find a copy.
In June, Professor Adams kindly resolved the mystery: he had meant to say, that Molé had published a Persian text of Risāla-i Deh Qā'ida; a brief tract, and quite another thing from Zakhūatu’l Mulūk.

Whether or not this work was originally written in Arabic by Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā, or in Persian by Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, is a question of small consequence for the general theme of this thesis. What is important is the use Saiyid ‘Alī made of that work: whether he wrote it or not, one’s conclusion upon Saiyid ‘Alī’s religious thought cannot be seriously affected. The work stands well within the corpus of Sūfī tradition. Whether Najmu’d-Dīn wrote it remains unproven; Saiyid ‘Alī adopted its sentiments and opinions entirely, and propounded it as his own; his disciples accepted it as their master’s work. For the purposes of a thesis upon Sufism in Kashmir, of which the thought and teaching of Saiyid ‘Alī, important though they be, can form only a part, the question of the origin of this particular treatise is quite secondary.

Other matters have, I trust, been given the attention and the prominence which they deserve.
Alterations Suggested by the Examiners
as extracted from their various reports

"Major"

1. Try to 'draw out and make plain some of the themes of Kashmiri Sufism, in relation to the history and development of Sufism in other parts of the Islamic world and of Islam as a whole'.

2. In the introductory chapter give a brief survey of previous scholarship in the field.

3. Insert, somewhere near the beginning, a full discussion of the nature of the documents from which the factual information has been drawn and of the problems which arise in using materials of this sort. Are they all of the same degree of reliability? What are the dangers and difficulties arising from the use of documents of this kind?

4. Give consideration to the theory of Molé and Meier that Zakhiratu-l-Muluk is the Persian translation of an original Arabic work by Najm al-Din Kubra.

5. Note the following articles, which should be read and their contents given due consideration, in so far as they affect the theme of the thesis:


Less important

1. More might be said about mutual influences of Bhakti and Sufism; also about relations between Shi'a and Sufism, especially as concerns the Kubrawiyya order. The 'social dimension and institutional aspects of Kashmir Sufism' might be considered more deeply.

2. Can you suggest social and religious causes for the differences between the Rishis and other Kashmir Sufis?

3. 'Some judgements like that of "broad-mindedness" of Sayyid Amīn (p.169) based on the verses quoted there are somewhat superficial; those kinds of statements were a sort of literary topos in all sufi poets, even if not broadminded, and are not in themselves a proof of broad-mindedness.'

4. 'A minor criticism refers to the transliteration, that in some case reveals a defective knowledge of Arabic: why, e.g., (pp.53, 86 and elsewhere) qalūb for qulūb (plural, of gālb), tujār for tujjār (p.24), madrasatu'L-Dārū'sh-shifā (p.27) ghašliya for ghusliya (p.37) etc.? The locality Khatlan should be Khuttalān, the name of the Iranian scholar, often quoted, is Ali Asghar Hikmat and not Asghar Ali Hikmat etc."

5. Further study might be made of the transmission of traditions. For instance on p.312 seven works relating to Saiyid 'Ali Hamadānī are analysed. How are these works interrelated? Does one derive its information from the other?

6. In the conclusion more might be said about 'the historical processes in train during the period covered'.

7. Discuss the Mss catalogues used and give a rationale for the selection of Mss, indicating those which had been used by earlier authors.

8. 'The bibliography should distinguish clearly between printed and manuscript sources'.

9. 'The thesis should be provided with an index'.


Review of sources and a brief survey of previous scholarship in the field

Delivering the Sir 'Abdu'l-lāh Suhrawardī Lecture for 1942, Professor A.J. Arberry observed:

It would seem that there are few subjects on which so little has been written, in comparison with the wealth of sources available. Hand in hand with the purely literary work will go considerable archaeological research into the history of the shrines of the Muslim saints. Numerous outstanding personalities deserve separate treatment on the most generous and painstaking scale: for instance, Farīḍ al-Dīn Ganj-ī Shakar, Nigām al-Dīn Auliya, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh, Bahā al-Dīn Multānī, Ahmad-i Yaḥya Munyarī, and Muḥammad Gisūdarāz. Naturally, also each of the main Sufi orders could be made the subject of a monograph.¹

Since 1942 some important monographs on Indian Sufism and Şūfīs have been written; the unpublished history of the Chishti and Suhrawardī orders by Professor Nuru'l Hasan, approved for the degree of doctor of Philosophy of Oxford University in 1948, is a pioneer work on the subject. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's papers on Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dīhlawī, published in Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, and his critical analysis of the spurious Chishti mystic "Records of the Sultanate Period", published in Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, is a useful guide to scholars working in the field.

¹ An Introduction to the History of Sufism, p.66.
Many works on Indian Sufis and religious movements have recently been published but no connected work on the history of Sufism in Kashmir has, however, been written by any scholar. The contributions of some of the Sufis and holy men of Kashmir have been discussed incidentally by a number of scholars who have written about political history of Kashmir. None of these historians has cared to take a comprehensive view of the subject. Their accounts of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī are based on pious legends.

Of the historical works which refer to the Sufis, the following are noteworthy.

1. The Valley of Kashmir by Lawrence, published in 1895, is a general history of Kashmir. Its Chapter XI (pp.284-301) gives a general description of the various religious systems of Kashmir. In describing the religious practices and beliefs of the Muslims of his time, Lawrence briefly refers to Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī and some other saints of Kashmir.

The author uncritically accepts legends such as Saiyid 'Alī’s confrontation with Tīmūr leading to his migration to Kashmir.

2. Kashīr, by Dr G.M.D. Sufi, is a history in two volumes of Kashmir from ancient times to the present day, published in 1949. In Chapter III "The Spread of Islam in Kashīr"", Sufi seems to be more interested

1 Cf. The Valley of Kashmir, p.292.
in glorifying the contributions of Sufis to the history of Kashmir than in presenting an accurate historical account.¹

Secondly, his account is generally based on later works such as Tārīkh-i-Aʿẓamī and Tārīkh-i-Kabīr; in certain cases modern Kashmirī writers such as Muḥammadu'd-Dīn Fauq (d. 1945) are accepted as independent authorities.²

His defence of Sultān Sikandar's iconoclastic activities is apologetic.³ In many places his narrative is weighed down with material of doubtful relevance.⁴

However, the work is important, as in the beginning it contains valuable and detailed information about the manuscript copies of medieval Kashmirī literature in the various libraries of the world.

3. Kashmir under the Sultāns, by Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, published in 1959, is a history of the Sultāns of Kashmir. His account of Saiyid 'Alī's life and activities is generally based on A.A. Ḥikmat's article "Les voyages d'un Mystique persan de Hamadān au Kashmir",⁵ whose main source was in turn Sufi's Kashīr. Like Dr Sufi,⁶ Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, too, has been carried away by legends.

¹ Cf. p.81 ff.
³ Cf. Ibid., I, p.148 ff. See also infra, p.132, n.4.
⁵ Journal Asiatique, CCXL, 1952.
For example, Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan seems to uncritically accept the story that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī visited Kashmir three times, and that the Saiyid’s main reason for migration from Hamadan to Kashmir was some alleged dispute between him and Timūr.

Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan does not investigate the causes of the differences between Saiyid Hisārī and Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī, and does not analyse their impact on Sultān Sikandar’s later policy. He mentions these important incidents only in passing.

Many statements of Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan are irreconcilable. For example, in one place (p.224) he states "Unlike Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shamsu’d-Dīn, he [Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn] preferred a life of retirement, and was accustomed to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayer". But elsewhere (p.235), while describing the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī, he observes: "His work was continued by his disciples and his son Muḥammad Hamadānī, and by Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī and his disciples".

4. History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, by Dr R.K. Parmu, is substantially his thesis approved for the doctorate degree by Allahabad University in 1948, but not published until 1969. Dr Parmu has made very serious mistakes in his account of some of the Ṣūfīs he describes. For example, he claims that Saiyid 'Alī was influenced by the founder of the Naqashbandī order and later became the leader of that order (p.102). No
authority is quoted for this statement. But obviously it has been borrowed, without acknowledgement, from The Word of Lalla, ¹ by R.C. Temple, who himself was not adequately acquainted with the Sufi literature.

Similarly, while he uncritically accepts Jonarāja's statement regarding Rinchana being refused initiation into Hinduism, ² Parmu accepts Rinchana's conversion to Islam on the authority of a legend: "By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happened that Rinchana's eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Muslim Fakir, so he became a Muslim and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin". ³

The alleged missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī are grossly exaggerated in this work. ⁴

Parmu reproduces, with an English translation, an interesting document held in the Khānqāḥ-i-Mu'allā, Saiyid 'Alī's shrine at Srinagar, entitled Waqf-Nāma, ⁵ which throws light on the working of a Kashmirī khānqāh in the fourteenth century. The document seems to have been borrowed from the Futūhāt-i-Kubraviya, ⁶ and its authenticity still remains to be established.

¹ P.2. See also infra, pp.308-309.
² History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, p.79.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Cf. ibid., pp.101-106.
⁵ Ibid., pp.467-475.
⁶ Pf. 63b-64b.
In recent years, several European scholars such as Meier, Molé and Teufel, have discussed Saiyid 'Ali Hamadānī in articles and monographs. Their works introduce some important treatises by the Saiyid to French and German readers for the first time. They throw some light on Saiyid 'Alī's activities before coming to Kashmir, but make no additions to the existing knowledge of the Saiyid's career in Kashmir.

Fritz Meier, for example, in his article "Die Welt der Urbilder bei Ali Hamadani", gives only a brief account of Saiyid 'Alī's life, and makes a casual reference to his visit to Kashmir. The author mainly concentrates on the translation of Risāla-i-Manāmiya, a treatise by the Saiyid on the interpretation of dreams. The author does not mention any other treatises by Saiyid 'Alī, except the Zakhīratu‘l-Mulūk, which he describes as the Saiyid's principal work.

M. Molé has written the following four articles:


---

2. Ibid., p.141.


4. Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire.


In the article in the Farhang-i Irân-Zamîn, Molé has edited the Risâla-i-Dah Qa'idâ of Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî. He has utilized only manuscripts available in Irân and has ignored copies in Indian libraries. Molé states that the treatise is the Persian translation of an Arabic work by Najamu'd-Dîn Kubrâ.¹

The author makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alî's visit to Kashmîr. Without quoting any authority, Molé states that the Saiyid took refuge in Kashmîr because of persecution by Tîmûr.²

The second article, in the Sarkiyat-i-Mecmuasi, reproduces the Risâla-i-Futuhîya (Futuvvatiyya'si). Like his edition of the Risâla-i-Dah Qa'idâ, this also does not take notice of the manuscripts of the work available in Indian libraries. The article makes no serious analysis of Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî's teachings as a whole.

The third article deals with Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî, and the continuation of his traditions by Saiyid Muhammad Nürbakhsh. The

¹ Meier also contributes to this view (Der Islam, XXIV, 1937, p.15 ff.). See infra, p.340a (Addenda) about the authorship of the treatise.
² P.40.
traditions concerning Saiyid Muhammad Nūrbakhsh in Iran and India are very complex, and Mole has oversimplified the issues. Since the Nūrbakhsh movement is not the subject matter of this thesis, comments on the subject are reserved for a future occasion.

The main theme of Mole's last article is to trace the Shi'I leanings among the Kubravīya saints of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. Mole has failed to examine the history of the development of the Shi'I movement in Iran and has simplified the many entangled problems of Shi'ism on the basis of its theoretical principles, which in actual practice had developed considerable differences by the period under discussion. He does not differentiate between the conditions prevailing in Khurasān and those in other parts of Iran and Iraq. The impact of the rising tide of Isma'īlīsm, which menaced Sunni orthodoxy in Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's days, is not very relevant to the Iṣnā Ashārīya Shi'I movement of the fifteenth century.

Mole's biographical notes on Saiyid 'Alī are drawn mostly from the Khulasatu'l-Manāqib of Ja'far Badakhshi. Ḥikmat's article, referred to earlier, is also quoted as a source. The author does not pretend to deal with the Saiyid's visit to Kashmir in this article.

Among the works of Saiyid 'Alī which Mole mentions are: Chihil-Maqāmat-i-Šūfiya, Risāla-i-Futwātiya, Risāla-i-Aurādiya, Kitābu'l-I'tiqādiya, Risāla-i-Zikriya and Zakhiratu'l Mulūk.¹

¹ p.111.
The author rightly remarks that Saiyid 'Alî's thoughts were generally influenced by the teachings of Ibn 'Arabî. In the present study, parallels in the teachings of the two saints have been given wherever available.

Teufel has recently published an abridged translation of the Khulasatull-Manaqib of Ja'far Badakhshî into German (Leiden, 1962). In the introductory chapter the author traces the life of Saiyid 'Alî on the basis of the Khulasatull-Manaqib, Mastûrat, Târikh-i-A'jamî and Sufi's Kashîr. He mentions two visits of Saiyid 'Alî to Kashmir (in 781/1379, and 786/1384), whereas Sufi and other modern scholars mention three. But Teufel offers no justification for his decision to allot only two visits to the Saiyid; nor does he give any reference to or comment on the Saiyid's activities in Kashmir. His statement that "The house of Shâh Mir went over to Islam in 720/1320" is supported neither by medieval nor by modern scholars.

However, the author has realistically rejected the story of Saiyid 'Alî's confrontation with Tîmûr.

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1 Ibid.
2 Pp.32-33.
3 Cf. Kashîr, I, pp.86-87; Suljâns, pp.55-56.
4 P.32.
5 P.29. See also infra, pp.41-43.
He has also briefly described some of the biographies of Saiyid 'Alī, including the *Masturāt.* Before commencing the translation of the *Khulasatu'l-Manaqib*, he gives a detailed list of the works of Saiyid 'Alī in different libraries in Europe, Turkey and Iran. He takes no notice, however, of the works of the Saiyid available in Indian libraries, in Kashmir for instance, and at Rāmpur.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, S.M. Stern (p.392) regrettably repeats traditional and uncritical material about Saiyid 'Alī's journeys to Kashmir which vitiate the value of his conclusions. Like other modern scholars, Stern believes that Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmir three times. He also alleges that the Saiyid was accompanied to Kashmir by 700 Saiyids. Teufel (p.33) interprets this surprising statement to mean that the news of the influence and powers that Saiyid 'Alī had attained in Kashmir induced other Saiyids, to the number of 700, to flow into the Valley.

Modern Irānī scholars have also discussed Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī in their general histories of Sufism, written in Persian. They generally give details of Saiyid 'Alī's spiritual ancestry and catalogue some of his works. They are mainly interested in glorifying the Saiyid's importance as an Irānī.

1 Pp.9-18.
3 Stern claims that the Saiyid first visited Kashmir in 774/1372 during the reign of Sulṭān Shihābū'd-Dīn. This assumption, which is supported by none of the sources except Hasan and Miskīn, is incorrect, as we have attempted to show. Cf. infra, pp.44-45.
4 A good work, for instance is *Uṣūl-i-Taswuf* by Iḥsānū'llāh 'Ali (Tehran 1379/1959-60), pp.282-311.
However, a more sober article entitled "Les voyages d'un Mystique persan de Hamadān au Kashmir" was contributed by A.A. Ḥikmat, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952. This article, as already mentioned, is important because it has been a source for Indian as well as European scholars. A.A. Ḥikmat's main source for Saiyid 'Alī's career in Kashmir being Kashīr, the article needs no further comment.

Another prominent saint of Kashmir who has received some attention from modern scholars is Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī. Temple, who edited and translated the Sayings of Lallā into English, has described him, and also Saiyid 'Alī, in his introductory chapter (pp.1-14). But some of his conclusions, such as Nūru’d-Dīn being senior to Lallā, are unproven.

Pandit Anand Kaul wrote a long article, "A Life of Nand Rīshī", in *the Indian Antiquary*, but it uncritically reproduces traditional and legendary material. The author, for example, accepts the stories of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn's life as a thief on the basis of too literal an interpretation of some of the Shaikh's sayings.

To write a scientific history of Sufism either in general or in a particular area, a modern scholar has to work through a vast mass of published and unpublished works. The most authentic is the literature written by eminent Sūfīs themselves about their doctrines, theories and practices. These works, mostly unpublished, contain sermons and discourses intended to point a moral and glorify the Sūfī doctrines.

1 V.58, 1929; V.59, 1930.
2 Cf. V.58, pp.196-198.
In their enthusiasm to prove the correctness of their doctrines and practices, they do not hesitate to rely on apocryphal ḥadīṣes and legendary accounts and anecdotes of the prophets and the apostles. This has resulted in the emergence of a corpus of ḥadīṣes, accepted by Ṣūfīs, although most of them are spurious.

However, this literature gives the basic framework and structure of Sufism in Kashmir, as it does in the case of the histories of other countries, and reveals the minds of their authors and their readers.

The second category of authors on Sufism were immediate disciples of Ṣūfīs. They took down notes of the discourses of great masters, and later on wrote connected accounts of these sermons. Sometimes the notes were submitted to the master for correction and approval. Although this literature seems to be authentic, it is not free from the defects mentioned in the first category. However, it gives a better idea of time and place, even if not dated, because the account of the discourses is set against some historical background.

The third category is biographical accounts of Ṣūfīs drawn upon by the above two types of literature. Many biographers of the saints were trained traditionalists, and they applied the canons used in examining the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad to the traditions of various Ṣūfīs. Some of these biographers have omitted the apocryphal and spurious material, so giving their work a greater degree of credibility. Biographers who were only credulous believers, however, in the miracles and supernatural powers of the saints, revelled in describing fantastic
legends and anecdotes about the Sufis. They were interested only in glorifying the achievements of their masters, and found ready material in spurious discourses and writings, ascribed to the great masters.

This sort of forgery was common in all Islamic countries and in each century, and such material presents a real difficulty to the objective modern scholar, who cannot afford to ignore it in forming a historical judgement.

The fourth source of information about the Sufis are the political chronicles. They describe some of the leading Sufis who either wielded influence at the court or clashed with the ruling class and the elite over religious issues. Unlike hagiologers of the saints, they were not generally concerned with the glorification of the Sufis; but as their main source of information was unauthentic literature, they also have incorporated legendary material in their works.

The Sufi literature of Kashmir contains all the above types of material.

The works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī do not say anything about his personal life, but mainly deal with mystic beliefs and practices, and also throw light on his political ideas. Likewise, Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings do not tell us anything about his life, but they are important as they throw light on his religious beliefs and on aspects of medieval Kashmiri society. Attempts have been made to construct biographical details on the basis of these sayings of the Shaikhs. But like the sayings of Kabīr and Nānak, the sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn were intended to draw moral
conclusions, and present aspects of ethical behaviour in different situations. Unless corroborated by authentic contemporary sources, it would not be fair to construct any biographical detail on the basis of these sayings.

Some writings of Saiyid 'Ali and sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn have been ascribed to other Ṣūfīs, while some writings of other Ṣūfīs have been ascribed to the former. It is therefore essential that no conclusions should be based on the unauthentic writings of the great masters.

Similarly, the works of Bābā Davud Khākī and Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfī help us to determine their religious ideas and their attitude towards the Shī'ī sect, which by their time was strongly established in Kashmir.

Of the works of the disciples of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadānī, the only one available is the Khulasatu Manāqib (begun in 787/1385), by Ja'far Badakhshī. It is a compendium of the anecdotes which he had heard his master relate. Some anecdotes and legends are drawn from other sources. The work includes the verses of the Saiyid and some other Ṣūfīs such as 'Aṭṭār and Sa'dī. It also quotes hadīṣes said to have been recounted by the Saiyid from time to time. It mentions Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's Fawātiḥu Jamāl,² and Saiyid 'Alī's Zakhīratu' Mulūk³ and Ṣarīdāt.⁴

1 Cf. infra, p. 186.
3 Ibid., p. 537.
4 Ibid., p. 559.
The *Khulāṣatu’l-Manāqib* tends to show that Saiyid 'Alī had a very high opinion of his own achievements as a saint. For instance, he is made to claim that his devotional exercises were on a par with those of Imām Zainu’l-ʿAbidīn, son of Imām Ḥusain. It also suggests that Saiyid 'Alī thought that his contemporaries had failed to recognise the true worth of himself and his works.

The biographical references in the *Khulāṣatu’l-Manāqib* are not many, and deal mainly with the Saiyid’s activities in Khuttalān, Badakhshān and Hamadān. The work, surprisingly, makes no reference to Saiyid 'Alī’s visit to Kashmīr.

Although the anecdotes and legends ascribed to Saiyid 'Alī are dubious, the biographical references are valuable and clearly reveal his personality.

The *Khulāṣatu’l Manāqib* has recently been translated into German by Teufel (Leiden, 1962). He seems to have used the following manuscripts: Berlin (Pertsch) Nos. 6, 8; Oxford (Ethé) No. 1889.

Both the manuscripts are undated. Teufel appears to have had no knowledge of the manuscripts in the Rizā Library, Rāmpur, and the Oriental Research Department at Srinagar, used in the present thesis. His translation, although useful, would have been still better if he had consulted other known manuscripts before completing his text.

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1 Ibid., p.472.
2 Ibid.
3 See supra, pp.VII–VIII.
Another biography of Saiyid 'Alī is the Mastūrāt by one Ḥaidar, completed in 1136/1723.¹ It makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmir, but it mainly draws upon the Khulāṣatu’l-Manāqib, with excursions in the realms of myth. The legends added by Ḥaidar are intended to glorify the achievements of Saiyid 'Alī. It is alleged that the Saiyid claimed that the Prophet had ordered him to visit Kashmir to convert the people there to Islam.²

This shows that before 350 years had elapsed, the legends about Saiyid 'Alī had developed in the direction of making him a great missionary. These accretions were further elaborated by subsequent scholars such as Wahhāb, Ḥasan and Miskīn,³ who transformed Saiyid 'Alī into a legendary figure.

The Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Saiyid 'Alī,⁴ although a political chronicle, devotes more space to the saints of Kashmir including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Muḥammad, Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī and his disciples. It is the only Persian chronicle available which was written during the period under review. The author, who flourished in the sixteenth century, witnessed many historical and religious conflicts such as the Shi'ī-Sunnī controversies

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¹ See infra, p.337 for the date and authorship of the work.
² F.420a.
³ The authors of F.K., T.H., and T.K., respectively.
⁴ See infra, pp.345-347, for the date and the detailed analysis of the work.
during Mīrzā Ḥaidar’s time. But he does not throw any light on the causes of tension and conflict between the two Muslim communities. However, he tries to prove that the Sunnī Ṣūfīs were able to minimise Shī'ī influence in Kashmir.

Although his account of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī is brief, it shows that the Kubravīyas in Kashmir were divided among themselves on the issue of treatment of non-Muslims.

Unlike the later writers, the author does not attribute Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī’s migration to Kashmir to Tīmūr’s persecution, but states that before coming the Saiyid had sent two of his cousins to Kashmir to explore the religious and political atmosphere there.

His account of the Rishīs is also brief and legendary. No biographical account of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī is attempted, but much space is devoted to a description of his miraculous powers. The same style is followed for the description of the Shaikh’s followers, Bāmu’d-Dīn, Zainu’d-Dīn and Naṣīru’d-Dīn. But his account of Mīr Muḥammad’s encounter with Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn is of great importance. It helps us to determine the attitudes of the two saints on petty issues such as abstaining from marriage and eating meat. During his narrative the author mentions two sources no

1 See infra, p.345.
2 F.10b.
3 F.1a.
longer extant: ¹ Tārikh-i-Qāzi by Qāzi Ibrāhīm, and an untitled work of Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravi saint of Kashmir.²

The later hagiologists draw upon the Tārikh-i-Kashmir of Saiyid 'Alī profusely, but they also continue to add legendary anecdotes in order to make the achievements of the Šufis more impressive. For example, Saiyid 'Alī refers to the encounter of Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn with Bāmu’d-Dīn, before the latter's conversion,³ but unlike later hagiologists (Naṣīb the author of Rishi-Nama⁴ and Wahhāb the author of Futūhat-i-Kubravi)⁵ Saiyid 'Alī does not state that the Shaikh had slung the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow over his shoulders when he visited Bāmu’d-Dīn. Such embroideries by later hagiologists seem to have been made to show the Shaikh as an orthodox and narrow-minded Muslim.

It is not difficult to exclude the legendary material from the Tārikh-i-Kashmir of Saiyid 'Alī, as the author puts the religious events in their proper historical setting.

The source next in importance for our study is the Rishi-Nama by Naṣīb, completed in 1041/1631. It is an important source of information for the lives and activities of the Rishi saints. There is hardly any later hagiological work which does not quote it.

¹ Ff. 7a, 34b.
² See infra, p.125, for his biography.
³ F,32a-b.
⁴ Ff. 254b-55a.
⁵ Ff. 92b-93a.
The author says in the introduction that the reason for its composition was to glorify the deeds of the saints of the past. Thus, as he is a hagiologist, we cannot expect from Nasīb any historical acumen in analysing personalities such as Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn and Bāmu’d-Dīn.

Much of Nasīb's account is legendary. The legends described by him are frequently coloured with romantic touches. They generally ascribe all conversions, such as those of Bāmu’d-Dīn, Zainu’d-Dīn and Latīfu’d-Dīn, to the supernatural powers of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn. They also try to prove that the Shaikh was a great missionary of Islam.¹

However, the sayings of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn recorded by Nasīb help us in determining the teachings of the Shaikh, and present him as a holy man of few pretensions.

Nasīb also refers to the anti-Shī’ī activities of Mīrzā Ḥaidar and of Shaikh Ḥamza. But his account in this respect is biased. The author's dislike of the Shī’ī's is quite clear from the fact that he frequently calls them "miserable" and "wretched". He quotes some anecdotes in order to show that Sūfīs such as Shaikh Ḥamza, through their supernatural powers, used to pick out the Shī’ī's from among any gathering, which enabled them to crush Shī’ī sacrilegious activities.

However, when his account is critically analysed and legendary material is removed, he comes out as a truthful narrator. For example, he says that in pre-Islamic days there lived three Rishīs, whose ages

¹ See infra, p.213 ff.
he determines according to their deeds. The story seems to be a Hindu mythological tale, but when examined it can be recognised that the Rishi way of life was practised by the Hindu ascetics of Kashmir; a fact to which Mishkātī, the author of Asrāru’l-Abrār, clearly refers when he says that Nūru’d-Dīn renewed the ancient traditions of the Rishīs, though ignoring their monastic life and Brahmanic beliefs.

Another biography of the Rishīs, also entitled the Rishi Nāma, is by Bahāu’d-Dīn Mattū (d.1248/1832). Mattū’s vehicle of expression being poetry, he gives limitless flight to his imagination and colours the legends with allegory and metaphor.

The work shows that with the passage of time the tapestry of Rishi myths and legends was further elaborated through imaginary events. In order to show the supernatural powers of the Ṣūfīs, for which the pious of later generations remembered them, stories were invented such as that telling of the Sultan Sikandar sending a courtesan to Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn to test his spirituality.

Among the general biographies, the most noteworthy are Asrāru’l-Abrār, Futūḥat-i-Kubraviya, Khawāriqu’s-Sālikīn, and Ṭārīkh-i-Hasan. They draw mainly upon the earlier traditions and confirm anecdotes according to their own taste and belief. The later sources, such as Ṭārīkh-i-Hasan, are

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1 See infra, p.180.
2 See infra, p.180.
3 See infra, p.180, n.1.
detailed, and the latter is regarded by some modern scholars as a compendium of historical knowledge about Kashmir, but it is in fact very uncritical and unreliable.

The *Asrāru’l-Abbrār* of Mishkātī, completed in 1063/1653, contains biographical accounts of all the important saints of Kashmir. Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and his disciples are described briefly, and more attention is paid to the Rishīs. Like the *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid ‘Alī, this book highly extols the missionary activities of Mir Muḥammad, and Sultān Sikandar’s anti-Hindu measures.

Mishkātī corroborates Naṣīb, and often quotes him as the source of his information. But in certain places, as we have seen earlier, his information is definitely more revealing than the information supplied by Naṣīb. He also quotes some of the sayings of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn which do not appear in Naṣīb’s *Rishī-Nāma* and which he says he collected from various sources; which, however, he does not mention. He is the first authority to ascribe Nūru’d-Dīn’s conversion to Lalla.

Where Mishkātī finds evidence conflicting, he quotes his source and leaves the reader to form his own conclusions.

*Khawāriqu’s-Sālikīn*, by Mullā bin ‘Abdu’s Šabūr, completed in 1109/1698, gives a brief account of all the prominent Šūfīs of Kashmir.

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2. See supra, p.xxx.
Important personalities such as Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and Mīr Muḥammad are often dismissed in few lines. The work describes Ṣūfīs under the three categories - Saiyids, Rishīs and Mashā'ikh of Kashmir - and therefore is defective in chronology. But for some events the author is nearer the truth than even some earlier authorities. For example, the circumstances of Zainu'd-Dīn and Latīfu'd-Dīn's conversion is free from legend in his treatment; other sources sacrifice reality to pretty conjecture.¹ However, the author wrongly states that every Saiyid who migrated to Kashmir came from Persia (wilāyat).

The Futūḥāt-i-Kubrāviya by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, completed in 1162/1749, contains a biographical account of almost all the Kubrāvi and Rishī saints of Kashmir. It supplements the information recorded by earlier authorities such as Naṣīb, Mishkātī and others. However, the new additions provided by the author are not always reliable and most of them are of legendary nature. For example the story of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's confrontation with Timūr, as described by him, is legendary and has no historical significance.²

Wahhāb's evaluation of the Kubrāviya saints is exaggerated and prejudiced. According to him, when Mīr Muḥammad visited Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, the latter accepted him as his preceptor. The earlier sources who have recorded the meeting of the two saints say nothing about this.³ The

¹ See infra, p.217.
² See infra, p.42, n.6.
³ See infra, p.190.
study of the biographies of the Mīr and the Shaikh reveal that they belong to two different paths.¹

It is easy to discern and detect the subjective element in his narrative. It becomes clear that he was mainly concerned with the glorification of the Kubrāviyas, and did not wish to accept the separate identity of the Rishī order.

In presenting the story of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥīṣārī, Wahhāb takes sides with the former, and does not make an objective assessment of the situation.²

Wahhāb is the first authority to reproduce in full (in his work Futūḥat-i-Kubrāviya) the Waṣīyat-Nāmā of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, which he had written for his son, Mīr Muḥammad, and also the first to use the Waqf-Nāmā of the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srinagar. As pointed out earlier³ the authenticity of these documents is uncertain. However, the latter helps us to form some idea of the working of the Khānqāh.

Again, Wahhāb is the first authority to refer to the letter which Mīr Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Īrāqī, the founder of the Isnā ‘Asharī Shī‘ī sect in Kashmir, is said to have written to Shaikh Fatḥu’l-lāh, a Kubrāvi saint of Kashmir, and the latter’s reply.⁴ Such bits of information are

¹ See infra, p.191.
² See infra, p.135.
³ See supra, p.xxvii.
⁴ See infra, p.292.
revealing and valuable as they throw some light on the conflict between Sufis and the Shi'i's.

Among the biographers of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Wahhāb is the only authority to record the sixteen treatises by the Saiyid, and he pointedly refers to the *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk.*

The *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan,* by Pīr Ḥasan (d.1898) is a mine of information about the political, religious and cultural life of Kashmir. The list of sources given by Ḥasan includes many works which are now unknown and untraceable.

The author adds a large number of anecdotes and legends which are not found in the earlier works. He has also tried to fill in the gaps by incorporating some unauthenticated facts which were floating down in the stream of time. The sayings and the verses of various Sufis, such as Saiyid Muḥammad Amīn and Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, have also been recorded. The sayings of the Shaikh are reproduced in the Kashmirī language of the time, whereas they have been rendered into Persian in the works of Naṣīb and Mishkātī.

Although we cannot rely upon the new information supplied by Ḥasan without examining its credibility very thoroughly, we may extract much new material to reconsider our judgements.

The three other works which deserve our attention are: *Dastūr'us-Sālikīn,* by Bābū Dāwud Khāki (completed in 962/1555), *Chillatu'l-'Arifīn,* by Khāṣṣāja Išāq Qārī' (completed in 982/1575), and *Ḥidayatu'l-Mukhlisīn,*

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1 See infra, p.50, n.8.
by Ḥaidar Tulmūlī (completed in 997/1589). They are biographies of Shaikh Ḥamza, a prominent Suhrawardī saint of Kashmir.¹

All three authors were direct disciples of Shaikh Ḥamza, but their works are not of equal importance. Both Qārī' and Ḥaidar generally base their accounts on the Dastūr's-Sālikīn of Khākī, who was more intimately associated with Shaikh Ḥamza, and had better access to information about him.

All three works are overlaid with legendary material, and offer a remarkable catalogue of the miracles of their hero. Thus we are told that how the Shaikh's power healed the sick and dying in the face of the failure of medical knowledge.

However, the sayings of Shaikh Ḥamza recorded by them are almost identical. These sayings are very valuable, because they help us to determine the authenticity of the anecdotal material given by them and other scholars in the biography of the Shaikh.

The political chronicles of Kashmir, both in Sanskrit and Persian, also contain valuable information about the leading Sufīs of that country. The most outstanding among them are the versions of the Rājatarangini by Jonarāja and Shrīvara, both in Sanskrit, the Bahāristān-i-Shāhī (anonymous), the Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Ḥasan bin 'Alī, and the Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Ḥaidar Malik, all in Persian.

Jonarāja, who flourished during Sultān Zain'ul-'Abīdīn's time (1420-70), gives an important account of the establishment of Muslim

¹ Cf. infra, pp.26-30 for his biography.
rule in Kashmir and Mir Muhammad's influence over Sultan Sikandar. He also throws light on the attitude of Sultan Sikandar and Zainu'l-Abidin towards the Sufis. His passing reference to Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's harassment by the orthodox Muslims is very informative.\(^1\)

Being contemporary, Jonaraja's account is reliable. However, sometimes he is carried away by his prejudices. For example, his story that Rinchana, originally a Buddhist, was refused initiation into Hinduism is concocted.\(^2\)

Shrivara, the pupil of Jonaraja, continued the account of Muslim rule in Kashmir from 1459 to 1486. He throws light on the activities of the Baihaqi Saiyids. However, his most useful and interesting contribution is his account of the cultural conquest of Kashmir by the Iranian immigrants.

The Persian chronicles mentioned above were all written after the fall of Kashmir to the Mughals. Describing the importance of these works, Muhibbu'l-Hassan remarks: "In spite of this [that they were composed after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir] they are very important and must be regarded as original sources, because their authors had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, and wrote either from personal observation or utilized the accounts of

1 Cf. infra, pp.133-134.
2 Cf. infra, p.211.
3 Cf. infra, p.11.
earlier authorities [for example the works of Mullā Aḥamad and Mullā Nādirī] which are not known to exist". ¹

Although it is not certain that the author of the Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī, who wrote the work in 1615, passed his childhood and youth in the times of the later Shāh Mīrs (1339-1561) and the Chaks (1561-87), as Muḥibbu′l-Ḥasan says, the Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī and other later works such as these of Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik are very important historical sources of the period. The freedom of expression which the authors enjoyed under Akbar and Jahāṅgir did not prevent them from voicing their nostalgic feelings for the chaotic but perhaps freer past.

Both Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik closely follow the Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī. The events which took place during the early Muslim rule in Kashmir described by all three authorities are identical. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century we notice some differences in their narratives.

The account they give of the Sūfīs is more or less free of legends. In fact they act as correctives to the wrong impression created by the hagiological literature, for example when it suggests that Saiyid 'Alī wielded great influence over Sulṭān Qūṭbu'd-Dīn of Kashmir. But it is from these political chronicles that we come to know that the Saiyid and the Sulṭān were basically in disagreement with each other on many issues.²

¹ Sultāns, p.5.
² Cf. infra, p.49.
It is to be noted that those modern scholars who claim to have used these chronicles do not refer to the conflict between the Saiyid and the Sultan.\(^1\)

The statements of all these Persian chronicles about various religious conflicts are generally impartial, but they do not fail to criticise the anti-Shi'i activities of Mirzā Ḥaidar, or Ya'qūb Shāh's intolerant attitude towards the Sunnis.

Among the later historians who have supplied valuable information about the Sūfīs of Kashmir, Muḥammad Aʿzam particularly deserves to be noted. Aʿzam's work, Ṭarīkh-i-Aʿzamī (completed in 1160/1747) was published at Lahore in 1303/1885. The author generally corroborates the accounts of the Ṭarīkh-i-Kashmir by Saiyid 'Alī, the Rishi-Nāma by Naṣīb, and Mishkātī's Asrāru'l-Abrār. Little legendary material is given.

Muḥammad Aʿzamī is the first to recognise the Sanskrit origin of the word rishi.\(^2\) The Ṭarīkh-i-Aʿzamī also contains some of the verses of Sūfīs not recorded in earlier sources. However, it over-estimates the role of some of the Sūfīs in the Mughal Conquest of Kashmir.\(^3\) Almost all modern scholars who have written about Kashmir have drawn heavily upon this work.

Some other chronicles, such as the Gauhar-i-'Ālam by Muḥammad Aslām (completed in 1200/1785), the Ṭarīkh-i-Kashmir by Birbal Kachrū (completed

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\(^1\) For example, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan's Kashmir under the Sultāns and Parmu's History of Muslim rule in Kashmir.

\(^2\) Cf. infra, p.179.

\(^3\) Cf. infra, pp.159 and 302 ff.
in 1252/1835), and the Tārīkh-i-Kabīr by Muḥīyu’d-Dīn Miskīn (completed in 1321/1903), have also been used but only where corroborative or confirmative evidence is available from other sources.¹

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to make a fairly extensive and critical use of all sources available. In using contemporary works, due allowance has been made for the attitudes and personal prejudices of the authors, while with later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven around the real figures of the Ṣūfī saints.

Throughout the thesis we have attempted to justify by reasonable argument our reliance on a particular source, wherever there has been a conflict of evidence or a contradiction.

The important legends have been summarised with a view to showing the gullibility of the hagiologists and the character of material that is available. Comparisons have been given, wherever available, from non-Kashmirī sources, in order to show how the same types of legend and tradition flourished in other parts of the Muslim world.

In Appendix D we have given seven tables setting out the life and activities of the leading Ṣūfīs of Kashmir as described in the various sources, in order to provide at a glance a view of all the traditions and the nature of their continuity, from whatever source. This technique is based on Macleod's Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion (Oxford 1968), in

¹ A detailed description of the primary sources used in the present thesis is given in Appendix F.
which the author analyses the anecdotes in the Sikh Janam Sakhis on the same lines as we have used for the anecdotes in the present thesis.

The term 'saint', in this study, is used in a general sense to refer to the Ṣūfīs and the Hindu ascetics called Sant and Sidh. We realise that in the Christian context a corrupt saint is a contradiction in terms, but this usage has long been common in the subcontinent, and we retain it for the sake of convenience. Except where otherwise indicated all dates are A.D. In the translation of Kashmirī verses and prose passages, the emphasis has been on producing an accurate translation into English rather than fluency of style.
Themes of Kashmirī Sufism in relation to the general history and development of Sufism

It is neither proper nor possible to deal here extensively with the development and growth of Sufism outside Kashmir. But we should make a very brief reference to it to provide a background for our exposition of Kashmirī Sufism.

Much has been said, both by traditional Muslim scholars and modern scholars of Sufism on the derivation of the word 'Sūfī'. Different opinions were put forward and its derivation was sought by some from safā (purify), ašāb-i-suffā (people of the bench) and even from the

1 Most of the Sūfī scholars favour the theory that the word 'Sūfī' is derived from safā. Others connected it with saff-i-awal. But Qushairī and some others believe that none of these explanations satisfy the requirements of etymology.

However, Hujwīrī (Kashf, p.34) says that, "The name has no derivation answering to etymological requirements, inasmuch as Sufism is too exalted to have any genus from which it might be derived; for the derivation of one thing from another demands homogeneity (mujānasat)"; (Kashf, p.34).

Abū Naṣr al-Sarraj is of the opinion that the word 'Sūfī' was derived from suf (wool), for woollen raiment was the habit of the prophets and the badge of the saints; Nicholson, art., "Sūfīs", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, p.12; L. Massignon, art., "Taṣawwuf", Encyclopaedia of Islam (Shorter), pp.579-80. See also Arberry, The Doctrine of the Sūfis, chapter entitled "How the Sufis account for their being called Sufis"; Kashf, p.30 ff.

Greek _sophia_ (wisdom). Some masters even suggested that 'Ṣūfī' is a word too exalted to be derived from anything.\(^1\)

However, it is now generally recognised that the term was derived from Ṣūf (wool) and was applied to those Muslim holy men who wore woollen garments and devoted themselves to a life of self-renunciation, living in poverty and giving their time to prayer and meditation, who were thus called Ṣūfīs.\(^2\)

Introducing Sufism and the Ṣūfīs in _The Mystics of Islam_, Professor R.A. Nicholson rightly says:\(^3\)

The Ṣūfīs are not a sect, they have no dogmatic system, the ṭarīqās or paths by which they seek God "are in number as the souls of men" and vary infinitely, though a family likeness may be traced in them all. Descriptions of such a protean phenomenon must differ widely from one another, and the impression produced in each case will depend on the choice of materials and the prominence given to this or that aspect of the many sided myth.

Although the Prophet discouraged monkish austerity\(^4\) and escapism, the Ṣūfīs interpret some verses of the Qur'ān\(^5\) and the

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\(^1\) Cf. _Kashf_, p.34.

\(^2\) The derivation of the word Ṣūf appears to be correct and the expression sound from the etymological point of view. Nöldeke (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, XLVIII, p.45) has show conclusively that the name was derived from Ṣūf; Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam (Shorter), p.579. See also Arberry, _Sufism_, p.35; Margaret Smith, _Readings from the Mystics of Islam_, pp.2-3; Nicholson, _The Mystics of Islam_, p.3.

\(^3\) P.27.

\(^4\) Ibid., p.5.

\(^5\) Cf. Qur'ān, 2:24, 182; 29:19; 50:15; 51:20, 21. Ṣūfī commentaries on the Qur'ān were written by, among others, 'Abdu'l-
traditions of Muḥammad in such a way as to prove that Sufism is the reality and essence of Islam.

The political, economic, social and personal factors that led to the birth and growth of Sufism were multifarious. 2

Firstly the basis of Sufism may be sought in the human aspiration to a personal direct approach to, and a more intense experience of, the Supreme Being and the religious truth. A strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any formal approach to the Ultimate Reality.

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Among the few well known Western scholars who have conceded the Quranic origin of Sufism, one can name Margoliouth and especially Massignon and Corbin; whereas most other famous scholars, like Horten, Nicholson, Asin Palacios, Zaehner and Arberry have posed a Hindu, Neoplatonic, Christian, or Zoroastrian origin for Sufism.

Massignon, in his monumental work Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane (p.84), says: "It is from the Qur'ān, constantly recited, meditated, practised, that Islamic mysticism proceeds, in its origin and in its development. Based on the frequent re-reading and recitation of a text considered as sacred, Islamic mysticism derived therefrom its distinctive characteristics"; cited by Arberry, An Introduction to the History of Sufism, p.49.


2 Cf. Margaret Smith, Readings from the Mystics of Islam, p.1; Nicholson, The Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp.7-9; The Mystics of Islam, p.4 ff.; see also, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, p.11.
Secondly, Sufism represents a reaction against over-intellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. People who yearned for a direct and natural approach towards Islam turned mainly to its spiritual and devotional aspects.

Thirdly, the spiritual movement in Islam was the result of an inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices which followed after the Umayyads came to power.  

To these may also be added the circumstances that gave rise to tensions and conflicts in Kufa and Basra, where Islamic mysticism is believed to have started.

Sufism in general is not a theoretical and formalist approach to religion but demands devotion to God, love, and renunciation in order to reach the goal generally described by the Sufis as fana and baqa.

Broadly speaking there were three distinct stages in the development and growth of the mystic movement in Islam – the periods of the quietists, the mystic thinkers, and the silsilas.

During the period of the quietists the mystic movement had an individual basis. People such as Abu Zarr Ghifari and Hasan

\[1\] Cf. Arberry, Sufism, pp.32-33.

\[2\] Cf. Ibid., p.35; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XII, p.11; Encyclopaedia of Islam (Shorter), p.580.

\[3\] For the definition of the terms see infra, pp.61-63.

\[4\] A companion of the Prophet, who died in al-Rabaza in the neighbourhood of Medina, whither he had retired in the year 32 or 33/653. It is principally on account of his ascetic tendencies that he became, in the later traditions of the Sufis and Shi'Is, who relate many stories about him, a model for pious Muslims; Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, pp.114-15.
Basri,¹ dissatisfied with the political and economic development of the expanding Arab Empire of the first century of Islam, cut themselves off from worldly attachments and preferred seclusion. Then with the Sufis such as Rabi'a (713 or 717-801)² the element of love was introduced into Sufism. God was not worshipped now to seek gains in the next world but for His Love alone. "I have served Him", Rabi'a is reported to have said, "only for the love of Him and out of desire for Him".

By the time of Muḥāsabī (781-857)³ some literature on Sufism had emerged, to give it a theoretical basis. The Risāla of Qushairī gives the broad framework of Sufism.⁴ With it Sufism enters into its second

¹ He was born in 21/642 and later he settled in Basra. "He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islam. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Sufis see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often, as do the orthodox Sunnis. "He died on 1 Rajab, 110/10 October, 728. Encyclopaedia of Islam (N), II, p.273.

² The "saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiology" is highly respected for her inculcating penitence, gratitude, holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (tawakkul) upon God. When in a dream the Prophet asked her whether she loved him, her reply was: "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught or loving any save Him". Cf. Margaret Smith, Rabia the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam.

³ He was born at Basra and educated at Baghdad, where he gained a thorough knowledge of theology and philosophy, as well as of Sufism. He is the author of some of the earliest works on Sufism. He is also well known for his method of examining the conscience; Margaret Smith, Readings from the Mystics of Islam, p.14.

⁴ Cf. Arberry, Sufism, p.74; Revelation and Reason in Islam, p.108.
stage of development. It seeks to defend itself from the onslaught of the 'ulamā and other critics of its system. Sufism found a new impetus with the works of Ghazālī whose prestige as an ālim enhanced respect for Sufism among orthodox Muslims. Ghazālī's Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn in Arabic, and his Kīmiyā'i-Sa'ādat in Persian settled many controversies about Reality, the nature of Being and other controversial topics.

Ibn 'Arabī (1165-1240), who defined Wahdatu'l-Wujūd (Unity of Being) in his monumental Fūsūs al-Hikam, gave a new basis to Sūfī thought which had far-reaching practical influence.

By the eleventh century A.D. the Sūfīs had organised themselves on the pattern of the Christian mystics and Buddhist monks. Their monasteries,

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1 Ibid., p.74; ibid., chapter III; The Mystics of Islam, pp.24-25.
2 He emphasized that Reality is one and indivisible. The creative power of God acts through His servant who is a locus (mahāl) on which this power is focussed. He says: "The believer praises the God who is in his form of belief and with whom he has connected himself, and to praise the work is to praise the maker of it; its excellence or imperfection belongs to its maker. For this reason he blames the beliefs of others, which he would not do if he were just. Beyond doubt, the worshipper of this particular God shows ignorance when he criticizes others on account of their beliefs. If he understood the saying of Junayd, 'The colour of the water is the colour of the vessel containing it', he would not interfere with the beliefs of others, but would perceive God in every form and in every belief. He has opinion, not knowledge: therefore God said, 'I am in My servant's opinion of Me', i.e., 'I do not manifest Myself to him save in the form of his belief'. God is absolute or restricted, as He pleases; and the God of religious beliefs is subject to limitation, for He is the God who is contained in the heart of His servant. But the absolute God is not contained by anything, for He is the being of all things and the Being of Himself, and a thing is not said either to contain itself or not to contain itself"; Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p.159. For a detailed study on the subject see A.E. Afifi, The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyiddin-Ibnul 'Arabī, and Henry Corbin, L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī.
known as khānqāhs, became the centre of the spiritual activities of the Ṣūfīs, who in earlier centuries had lived a solitary and unorganized life.

The origin of the khānqāh or monastery in Sufism is not precisely known, but the traditions ascribed to the great mystic Shaikh Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-Khair\(^1\) tend to show that the rules of khānqāh life had evolved by this time. He laid down the following rules for the khānqāhs:\(^2\)

- Let them keep their garments clean and themselves always pure.
- Let them not sit in the mosque or in any holy place for the sake of gossiping.
- In the first instance let them perform their prayers in common.
- Let them pray much at night.
- At dawn let them ask forgiveness of God and call unto Him.
- In the morning let them read as much of the Koran as they can, and let them not talk until the sun has risen.
- Between evening prayers and bedtime prayers let them occupy themselves with repeating some litany (wirdī ʿu dhikrī).
- Let them welcome the poor and needy and all who join their company, and let them bear patiently the trouble of (waiting upon) them.
- Let them not eat anything save in participation with one another.
- Let them not absent themselves without receiving permission from one another.
- Furthermore, let them spend their hours of leisure in one of three things: either in the study of theology or in some devotional exercise (wirdī) or in bringing comfort to some one. Whosoever loves this community and helps them as much as he can is a sharer in their merit and future recompense.

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\(^1\) He was born at Mayhana, in Khurāsān, on 1 Muharram, 357/7 December, 967. Abu Sa'īd learnt the rudiments of Islamic education and Sufism from Abu Sa'īd Ayyārī and Abu'l-Qāsim Bishrī Yāsīn, both of Mayhana. Abu Sa'īd is known as the author of many mystical quatrains. He was a great teacher and preacher of Sufism. He died at his native place on 4 Sha'bān, 440/12 January, 1049; Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism.

\(^2\) Ibid., p.46.
The third and most important phase of the development of Sufism was the organization of the Şūfīs into Silsilas. Although the early Şūfīs led a life of renunciation, giving themselves up to devotion and meditation and prayer, they also spent time in offering spiritual guidance, either alone or in groups, to those who sought it. The orders of the Şūfīs described in Hujwīrī’s Kashfu’l-Mahjūb seem to have emerged into new orders with prominent figures such as Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī (1078-1166), Shaikh Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā (1145-1221) and Shaikh Shihābu’d-Dīn Suhrawardī (1144-1234) at their head. The works of these Şūfīs, who became the founders of the new orders which developed in their names, became the main textbooks for their disciples. 'Awārifu’l-Ma‘ārif, written by Shaikh Shihābu’d-Dīn Suhrawardī, is a most comprehensive work and was widely read and drawn upon for guidance by the Şūfīs.

The development of khanqāhs and silsilas is marked by the evolution of Şūfī practices such as relations between pir (preceptor) and murīd (disciple) and rules for guiding the disciples. Each silsila evolved

1 Concerning the Şūfī orders, see the article on "Tarīka" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, by Massignon, and the classic work of O. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les Confrèries religieuses musulmanes. See also Arberry, Sufism, p.84 ff.
2 Hujwīrī mentions twelve of them which were named after their founders; Kashf, pp.130, 176-266.
3 See infra, p.172.
4 See infra, pp.35-36.
5 See infra, p.20.
its own broad framework for imparting guidance and a code of behaviour for the disciples. Although this imposed considerable rigidity upon Sufism, it generally prevented individual Sufis from becoming victims of charlatans and their practices.

Although the rise and dominance of the Mongols over Central Asia and Persia gave a rude shock to the Islamic world, Sufism came to the rescue and fortified men's moral courage and prepared them to face the calamities befalling them.¹

Their main instrument of expression was poetry, which could be interpreted allegorically in a variety of ways without offending anyone. 'Attār (traditionally 1119-1230) and Rūmī (1207-1273) were the best preceptors of their time. They encouraged peaceful co-existence, exalted the virtues of amity and love, and spoke of the brotherhood of all mankind rather than of Muslims alone. Of Rūmī's great work, Masnawi, it is rightly said that it is "The Qur'ān in Persian" (hast Qur'ān dar zabūn-i-Pahlavī).²

The Islamization of the Ilkhanid Mongols, however, encouraged the Muslims living under their rule to imagine that they were once again the chosen people of God and destined to dominate the world. Both the 'ulama

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² Cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p.6.
and the Sufis set themselves the task of purifying Islam from the accretions which they considered unauthorised by the holy law.\footnote{Cf. ibid., p.37 ff.}

The most outstanding Sufi personality of this time was Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī (d.736/1336).\footnote{See infra, pp.38-39.} He strongly opposed the doctrine of \textit{Wahdatu'Il-Wujūd} of Ibn-i 'Arabi.\footnote{Cf. Chihil-Majlis, f.164a-b. See also Molé, op.cit., p.82; Rizvi, op.cit., p.37; H. Landolt, Simnānī on \textit{Wahdat al-Wujūd} in \textit{Wisdom of Persia} Series IV, edited by Mehdi Mohaghegh and Toshiko Izutsu (Tehran 1971), pp.91-112; E.I., I., pp.346-47.} 'Ala'u'd-Daula, who had served the Ilkhan Arghūn (1284-1291) for some time, lamented later that he had given up Government service, because he believed that he could have served God better by serving the ruler.\footnote{See infra, p.38.} According to him, the duty of a Sufi was to preach,\footnote{Ibid.} and he claimed to have defeated the Buddhists in every religious discussion he held with them.\footnote{Cf. Rizvi, op.cit., p.42.}

'Ala'u'd-Daula's teachings had a serious impact on the thinking of a section of the Sufis and changed the tone of their writings.\footnote{Infra, pp.75-77.} Some of these holy men set aside the idea of universal brotherhood in favour of the narrower Islamic brotherhood, styled \textit{futawwā};\footnote{Infra, pp.75-77.} they unearthed and
refurbished Islamic legends tending to enhance the early glories of Islam, or widen yet further the contacts allegedly had by the Prophet with men from all over the world, with a view to suggesting that it was mere perverse obstinancy which prevented nations whose representatives had already had the honour of conversation with the Prophet from accepting Islam. With this in mind, they propagated the legend of Bābā Ratan, an alleged Indian who, prompted by a dream, travelled to Arabia and received the honour of conversion at Mecca from the Prophet's own hand. They urged the importance of dreams upon the faithful, as a method of communication of the divine will from heaven to mankind.

Śūfīs and the background of the Bhakti

At the same time, in India, the well known tales of controversies between Śūfīs and Yogis began to emerge. The archetype seems to be the levitation of the Yogi, as a proof of his supernatural power; the Śūfī flings his slipper and brings him down; the superior spiritual power of the Śūfī is thus proved. Spurious biographies of saints, and compilations purporting to reproduce their conversations, also begin to appear; the influence of this literary genre, which multiplied in the fifteenth century, has not yet ceased to work in some quarters.

3 See infra, pp.47, 215.
However, the Indian Śūfī literature of this period seems favourably impressed by the description of the Unity of Being given by the Nāth Yogis.\(^1\) Several anecdotes related by eminent Śūfīs, such as Shaikh 'Āḥmad 'Abdu'l Ḥaq of Rudaulī (d.1434), suggest that Yogis had ethical qualities far superior to those possessed by many Śūfīs.\(^2\) Those Śūfīs who wrote Hindi verses began to adopt Nāth Panthī styles of expression and even Nāth Panthī themes.\(^3\)

This interaction created a favourable climate for the development of the Sant literature in Hindawī, or the regional dialects of India, which is in effect the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Bhaktī movement in northern India, and which shows the mutual influence of Hindu Saints and Indian Śūfīs. It would therefore be wrong to emphasise any particular person's role in promoting this or that particular development in the popular devotional development literature of northern India before the time of Kabīr (1440-1518). Similarly, it is impossible adequately to estimate the degree of any individual's influence, even in the case of Kabīr and Nānak (1469-1538),\(^4\) over both of whom grave differences of opinion persist to this day.

\(^1\) Cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, "Śūfīs and Nātha Yogīs in Mediaeval Northern India (XII to VI Centuries)", The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, VII, 1970, p.130. See also Rushd-Namā, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.VIII.

\(^2\) Cf. ibid., See also The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, VII, p.127.

\(^3\) Ibid., pp.128, 129.

Ideological Framework of Kashmirī Śūfīs and its main Themes

Sufism reached Kashmir after it had entered the last and most important phase of its history—the organization of khanqāhs and silsilas. Almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir (720/1320), Sufism was introduced there. But real and continuous Śūfī activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Henceforward Śūfīs of outstanding personality, like Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Ṣīr Muḥammad, Saiyid Jamālu’d-Dīn Bukhārī and Saiyid Ismā’īl Shāmī, began to enter Kashmir in quick succession.

Although in their organizational and devotional practices they differed from each other, their ideological framework was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabī, and they seem to have taken little notice of Shaikh 'Ala’u’d-Daula’s criticism of Wahdatu’l-Wujūd. It seems that the traditions of Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā were too strong for Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī to break by carving out a line of action based on Shaikh 'Ala’u’d-Daula Simnānī’s opposition of Wahdatu’l-Wujūd.

However, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and other Śūfīs who came to Kashmir were deeply impressed with the teachings of Shaikh 'Ala’u’d-Daula Simnānī upon the missionary activities which he expected Śūfīs to perform.

1 See for his biography and teachings, infra, p.39 ff.
2 See for his biography, infra, p.129 ff.
3 See for his biography, infra, pp.25-26.
4 See for his biography, infra, p.175.
The period when Sufis from Persia and Central Asia began to pour into Kashmir synchronized with the development of an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishi order,¹ which encouraged a life of peaceful co-existence with all human beings. This divided Sufism in Kashmir into two different broad trends; the orthodox trend was generally followed by the Sufis who migrated from Persia and Central Asia, while the Rishis, mostly native, practised a broadly based system of co-existence.

The orthodox attracted the intellectual element; fortified by their superior ability in the literary arts, they served the rulers, whether at court or in the administrative branches. Their main concern appears to have been to help the administration, and make it an instrument in propagating Islam.

Sufis and the Shi'is

The orthodox approach of the Sufis as regards conformity with the Sunni traditions is reflected somewhat in their struggle against Shi'ism, which was first introduced in Kashmir towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.² In the early centuries of Islam the development of both Sufism and Shi'ism took place in parallel streams. Both were the victims of persecution by the orthodox elements attached to the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid courts. Both regarded 'Alī, the fourth Caliph, as the leader of their respective systems.

¹ See infra, chapters VI and VII.
² See infra, p.288 ff.
Shī'īs recognised 'Alī as their first Imām and the rightful successor of the prophet Muḥammad, declaring the first three successors of Muḥammad to be usurpers. The Ṣūfīs generally traced their silsilas from 'Alī down to their own times.¹

The Ismā'īlī activities in twelfth and thirteenth century Persia had disturbed all Ṣūfīs, including Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā.² But this had not made them unsympathetic to the Isna 'Asharī Shī'ī's who were not concerned with the political activities of the Ismā'īlīs'. But the Ṣūfīs were generally hostile to some of the Isna 'Asharī Shī'ī activities, particularly those reviling the first three caliphs and the Prophet's beloved wife 'A'isha.³ In Kashmir, too, many Kubravi and Suhrawardī saints made strenuous efforts to support the Sunnī cause, which the dominance of Shī'īs in politics in the second half of the sixteenth century had undermined.

Range of Orthodox Ṣūfī and Rishi Activities

The ramifications of the orthodox mind assumed diverse forms. They were reflected in efforts to sustain the contour of the structure of doctrinal Islam. Such activities ranged from building mosques, constructing educational institutions, attitudes of respect and patronage for learned

¹ Cf. Mole, Revue des Études Islamiques, XXIX, 1961, p.72; Encyclopaedia of Islam (Shorter), p.582.
² See Mole, op.cit., for Shī'ī leanings among some leading Kubraviya saints.
³ Cf. ibid., pp.103-4.
divines to systematic inculcation of the virtues, norms and observances of Islam.

The Rishīs' inspiration, on the other hand, was almost wholly popular. They preached love of mankind, and did not concern themselves with Islamic missionary activities or the establishment of madrasas, and kept themselves aloof from the ruling classes. In fact, whether consciously or unconsciously, they stressed values associated with the liberal and generous attitudes of Rūmī. They added elements such as the mortification of the individual soul and hard ascetic exercises borrowed from the Yogis, coupled with hatred of worldly life. They did not claim any Sufic ancestry and did not hesitate to borrow the ideas and practices of the Hindu ascetics, especially those of the Saivites of Kashmir, with their emphasis on individual salvation and indifference to the fate of others.

The mystical ideas represented in the sayings and practices of the Rishīs make a significant study. From the whole mass of their sayings and practices emanate notions that are characteristically familiar ones in the corresponding local framework. There is a clear attempt by the Rishīs to introduce locally known mystical techniques and formulas.
CHAPTER I

The Advent of Islam in Kashmir

Long before the first Muslim Sultanate, known as the Shah Mir dynasty, was established in Kashmir, Muslims had settled there. The process started as early as the eighth century and was accelerated after the Shah Mir dynasty was established in 1339.

However, the Muslim invaders, first Arabs and then Turks, on many occasions, invaded Kashmir but failed to conquer it. In 713, when Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab general, occupied Multan he marched against "the frontiers of Kashmir, called Panj Nahiyat". But the threat to Kashmir was removed for the time being as Muhammad was recalled by the Caliph Walid I (705-715) to his court.

Later Hisham bin Amru'l-Taghlibi, the Arab governor of Sind, some time after 140/757-58, made an attempt to conquer the Valley of Kashmir.

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2 See infra, pp.16 ff..
3 Chach-Nama, p.192. In some copies it is "Panj Mahiyat" (cf. Chach-Nama, Eng.tr. H.M. Elliot, History of India, I, p.144), which according to Elliot is situated near the upper course of the river Jehlum, just after it debouches into the plains. Ibid., I, p.144, n.3.
5 Cf. Elliot, op.cit., I, p.444.
But thanks to the protection offered by the mountain ramparts to that country, he failed to penetrate into the Valley.  

Although the mountains proved barriers to would-be conquerors, they did not prevent adventurers and refugees from entering Kashmir. 'Ali ibn Ḥamīd Kūfī, for example, states that Muḥammad Alāfī, an Arab mercenary who had served Dāhir (d.712), sought refuge in Kashmir. The ruler of Kashmir Candrāpiḍa, received him well and bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbār. After Alāfī's death, his estate was inherited by one Jehm, who, according to Kūfī, built many mosques there; this means that a sizeable number of Muslims had by that time migrated to Kashmir.

In the early eleventh century, when the Turks invaded India, the Hindu rule of Kashmir was once again threatened, by the Muslim invader Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (998-1030). Maḥmūd on two occasions, in 1014 and 1016, invaded

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1 The Arab historian Balāzurī (op.cit., p.446), however, claims that Hishām conquered the Valley. But this is supported by none of the Kashmirī sources. There is no other evidence that an Arab army ever entered Kashmir. What seems correct is that Hishām conquered the upper plains which frequently were attached to the Kingdom of Kashmir.

2 Chaḥ-Nāma, pp.55-6.

3 Ibid., p.160.


5 Chaḥ-Nāma, p.160.
Kashmīr, but his efforts to penetrate into the Valley were defied by the strong fortresses of Loharkot\(^1\) and a timely snowfall.\(^2\)

However, according to the statement of Abū’l-Fażl Baihaqī,\(^3\) Maḥmūd while in pursuit of Narojaipāl (Trilocanpāl), who had received military assistance from Samgrāmrāja,\(^4\) the ruler of Kashmīr (1003-1028), plundered one of the valleys to the south of Kashmīr\(^5\) and converted a large number of people there to Islam.

Kalhana, the author of the Rajataranginī, who has also described this invasion of Maḥmūd, does not speak of any conversion. But from the interest which Maḥmūd exhibited in having non-Muslims converted to Islam, the statement of Baihaqī, although probably an exaggeration, should not be taken as entirely untrue.

It is also likely that, finding it difficult to cross the mountains to the plains of India, some of the soldiers of Maḥmūd might have stayed behind.

\(^1\) Loharkot or 'Lohkot' (cf. Abū’l-Fażl, Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī, I, p.270), is according to Stein (cf. R.Tk., II, p.299), in the modern Loharin (in the Punch Valley). Through Loharin the path leads to Tosmaidān pass, which since earlier times had formed one of the most-frequented routes from the western Panjāb to Kashmīr.

\(^2\) Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī, I, pp.270, 350-1.

\(^3\) Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī, I, pp.270, 350.

\(^4\) R.Tk., Eng. tr. M.A. Stein, I, pp.270-1. See also Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī, I, p.270.

\(^5\) Stein identifies this place with "Tohī" in Punch, near the border of present Kashmīr Valley. Cf. R.Tk., I, p.271n.
and settled in Kashmir. As it is after these Turkic invasions that Kalhana for the first time, in describing the reign of Harṣa (1089-1111), refers to the presence of Turkic Muslim soldiers in Kashmir.

Later we find that Bhiksācara (1120-1121) employed Turkic mercenaries to fight against Sussala, whom he had earlier dethroned. Likewise Jayasiṃha (1128-1149) used Muslim soldiers to crush rebellious chiefs.

From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir. He says:

The people of the province [Kashmir] do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher.

The Hindu rulers of Kashmir seem to have been munificent and hospitable to these Muslim soldiers of fortune, who continued pouring into Kashmir down to the establishment of Muslim rule there. It was one of these

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1 In 1016, after his second fruitless attempt to enter the Valley, Māhmūd lost his way for some days on the return journey to Ghazna because of a heavy snowfall. Many of his soldiers lost their lives in the blizzard and he himself had a narrow escape from death; cf. Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī, I, pp.350-1.
2 Cf. B.Tk., I, p.357.
3 Ibid., II, p.70.
5 Ibid., II, pp.174-5.
6 H. Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, I, p.167.
7 Cf. B.Tk., I, p.357.
adventurers, Shāh Mīr, who established the first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir.

The Kashmirī and the Mughal historians recount different legends about the ancestry of Shāh Mīr. According to Jonarāja, Shāh Mīr was the descendant of Pārtha (Arjuna) of Mahābhārata fame. Abū’l-Fażīl, Nizāmu’d-Dīn and Firishta also state that Shāh Mīr traced his descent to Arjuna). The basis of their account in Jonarāja’s Rājtarāngini, which was translated into Persian by Mulla ’Abdu’l-Qādir Badaūnī, at Akbar’s orders.

It is likely that either Jonarāja, in order to glorify the family of his patron (Sultān Zainu’l-Abidīn, a lineal descendant of Shāh Mīr) or Shāh Mīr after coming to the throne, worked out an apocryphal genealogy connecting himself with the legendary heroes of the past. This was a common practice with rulers and dignitaries of those days. Even Sultān Ghiyāsu’d-Dīn Balban (1266-1286) claimed to have descended from the Sāsānid rulers of Persia.

According to some Persian chronicles of Kashmir, Shāh Mīr was a descendant of the rulers of Swāt. It is most probable that Shāh Mīr’s

1 Muhībbu’l-Hasan wrongly says that Jonarāja is silent on Shāh Mīr’s ancestry (Sultāns, p.43, n.1). Jonarāja gives Shāh Mīr’s ancestry as follows: Pārtha, his son Babhrūvāhana, his scion Kurashāha (probably Khyur Shāh), his son Tahārāla (Tahīr), his son Shāh Mīr. R.Tj., Eng.tr., J.C. Dutt (Kings of Kashmir, p.15.


Nizāmu’d-Dīn and Firishta give Shāh Mīr’s ancestry as: Shāh Mīr son of Tahīr Āl, son of Karshāshāb, son of Nekrūz who was a descendant of Arjun.


4 B.S., f.9b; T.Km., f.91b; N.A., f.31b; T.Az., p.27.
ancestors were of Turkic or Persian origin and had migrated to Swāt, where they enjoyed political power for some time.

Shāh Mīr arrived in Kashmir in 1313, along with his family, during the reign of Sūhadeva (1301-1320), whose service he entered.\(^1\) Sūhadeva granted him the village of Davor-Kunail, in the district of Bārāmūla,\(^2\) for his maintenance.\(^3\) In subsequent years, by his tact and ability, Shāh Mīr rose to prominence and became one of the important personalities of the time.\(^4\) After the death of Udayanadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, he was able to assume the kingship himself and thus laid the foundation of permanent Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Dissensions among the ruling classes and foreign invasions were the two main factors which contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. Because of the long period of weak reigns and internal troubles the Lavanyas and Dāmaras (the local chiefs) had become the most powerful element in the Valley.\(^5\) The strongholds of the lands of Kashmir

\(^1\) R.Tj., p.15; B.S., f.9b; T.Az., p.27; T.H., Urdu, tr. M. Ibrāhīm, II, p.143.
\(^2\) B.S., f.10a. It is not possible to identify the village Davor-Kunail. But Bārāmūla, the ancient "Varāhmūla", however, is thirty-four miles to the west of Srīnagar.
\(^3\) B.S., f.10a. See also R.Tj., p.15.
\(^4\) Ibid., p.15.
\(^5\) Cf. R.Tk., II, pp.304 ff., for the growth and activities of this class of people in Kashmir.
had become hereditary possessions in the families of these chiefs. They continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong centralized government.

Suhadeva, who came to the throne in 1301, seems to have played these chiefs one against the other and thereby was able to establish his authority over the whole of Kashmir. But at the same time he alienated the Brahman, the traditional official class, by imposing taxes on them.

Meanwhile in 1320, Zuljun or Zulqadr Khan, at the head of a large army invaded Kashmir. The sources are not unanimous about the origin of Zuljun. According to Jonaraja he was a "commander of the army of the great King Karmmasena". It is not possible to identify the king Karmmasena. Elsewhere,

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1 Long before we find that Lalitadity (early 8th century) had warned his successors not to leave enough land with these chiefs and to punish them even if they would give no offence. For, if they should keep more wealth, they would become within no time formidable and strong enough to disobey the king; cf. R.Tk., I, p.154.
3 Cf. R.Tj., p.15.
4 Ibid., p.16.
6 T.Ka., f.55a; T.Az., p.27; G.A., f.99a; T.H., II, p.144.
7 R.Tj., p.16.
however, Janarāja calls Zuljū "the king of the mlechchhas", which means he was a Muslim.  

Abū'1-Fazl is of the opinion that Zuljū was the "chief commander" of the ruler of Qandahār. Whereas Niẓāmu’d-Dīn and Firishta call him the Mīr-Bakhsh (pay-master general) of Qandahār. 

Qandahār, at this time, was in the possession of the Kurt ruler Ghiyāsu’d-Dīn, who was himself a tributary to the Ḥilkhâns of Persia. It is unlikely that he would have sent an army to Kashmir, as he was himself by this time threatened by the invasion of prince Yasūr. 

The Persian chronicles of Kashmir assert that Zalju was a Mongol from Turkistān. This view seems to be correct. The Mongols not only repeatedly invaded Kashmir, previous to this time, but if we believe Rashīdu’d-Dīn, they even succeeded in temporarily subjugating the country. 

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1 Ibid., p.60. 
2 Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan, while accepting that Zuljū was a Mongol, rejects that he was a Muslim on the grounds that by that time only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam (Sultāns, p.34). But in fact by that time many Mongols including Ḥilkhān Tegūdar, Naurūz and Ghazān Khān along with his court had accepted Islam. Even if only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam by that time, that does not mean that Zuljū was not a Muslim. 
6 Ibid., pp.590-1. 
7 B.S., f.10b; T.Km., f.77b; T.Kh., ff.92b-93a; N.A., f.14a; T.Kk., f.79a. 
8 Tarīkhhu’l-Hind, p.22. See also Howorth, op.cit., III, pp.184-5.
The chiefs did not come to the aid of Sūhādeva, and he was left alone to face the invader. He tried to save his kingdom by paying a large sum of money to the Mongols, to withdraw from the country. But this had the contrary effect of increasing Zuljū's appetite for loot and plunder. Sūhādeva himself fled to Kishtwār, leaving the people at the mercy of the invader.

The Mongols flogged, plundered and enslaved the people, burnt down buildings and destroyed crops. After a stay of eight months, Zuljū left the Valley through Banihāl pass, where he perished along with his prisoners in a heavy snowfall. Famine was the natural consequence of the wholesale destruction of the stores of grain and of standing crops by the invading army.

Zuljū's invasion proved a turning point in the history of Kashmir and contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule there; for Rinchana

1
R.Tj., p.16.

2
The ancient "Kasthavata" is to the south-east of Kashmir.

3
B.S., f.11a; T.,Kh., f.93a; T.,Ka., f.55a; N.A., f.14b; T.,Az., p.27; G.A., f.99b; T.,Kk., f.79a-b; T.,H., II, p.144.

4
R.Tj., p.17; B.S., f.11a; T.,Kh., f.93a; T.,Ka., f.55a-b; N.A., ff.14b-15a; T.,Az., pp.27-8; T.,Kk, f.80a; T.,H., II, p.144.

5
B.S., f.11b.

6
9,200 ft. above the sea. This is the lowest depression in the chain of mountains which surround Kashmir on the south.

7
B.S., f.11b-12a; T.,Kh., f.94a; N.A., f.15b; T.,Az., p.28; T.,Kk., f.80a; T.,H., II, pp.144-5.

8
R.Tj., p.17; B.S., f.11b.
rose to power in its aftermath. He was originally from Ladākh where his father had been chief until he was killed by his enemies.  

Rinchana, also fearing an attack on his life, sought refuge in Kashmir. There he was employed by Rāmchandra, Sūhadeva's commander-in-chief, who had shut himself up in the fort of Lar during Zuljū's invasion. After Zuljū's departure, Rāmchandra tried to establish his own authority, but Rinchana treacherously had him murdered and his family imprisoned and seized power himself. Later he freed Rawanchandra and Kota Rani, the son and daughter of Rāmchandra, and bestowed the territory of Lar on Rawanchandra and himself married Kota Rani.  

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1 R.T.j., p.16; B.S., f.10b; T.Km., f.77b; T.Kh., f.96a; A.Ab., f.50a-b; T.Ka., f.55a; N.A., f.14a; T.Kk., f.80a; G.A., f.101b.

2 R.T.j., p.16; T.Ka., f.55a.

3 R.T.j., pp.16-7; B.S., f.10b; T.Km., f.77b; T.Kh., f.96a; A.Ab., f.50b; T.Ka., f.55a; N.A., f.14a; G.A., f.101b.

4 B.S., f.10b; T.Km., f.77b; T.Ka., f.55a; N.A., f.14a; T.H., II, p.45.

5 R.T.j., p.18; B.S., f.9b; T.Az., p.27.

6 Lar is the ancient "Lahara". The route to Ladākh and thence to Central Asia passes through this district which comprises the whole of the valley drained by the river Sind and its tributaries. Cf. R.Tk., II, p.486.

7 T.Az., p.27. See also R.T.j., p.18.

8 B.S., f.12a; T.Km., f.79b; T.Kh., f.92b; see also R.T.j., pp.17-8

9 R.T.j., p.18; B.S., ff.12b-13a; T.Km., f.80a-b; T.Kh., f.96a; T.Ka., f.56a; N.A., f.15b; T.Az., p.28; G.A., f.101,a-b; T.Kk., f.80a; T.H., II, p.146.

10 Ibid..
The elevation of Rinchana from the position of a refugee to that of a sovereign clearly shows the anarchy and discord which prevailed in Kashmir at that time. Rinchana, however, proved an able ruler and restored peace and prosperity to the country.¹

The most important event of his reign was his conversion to Islam, which is variously recorded. According to Jonarāja, Rinchana wanted to become a Hindu, but the Brahman Devasvāmī refused to initiate him into Hinduism, on the grounds that he was a "Bhotta" (Tibetan Buddhist).²

The story seems to have been invented by Jonarāja out of bitterness that Rinchana had accepted Islam. In fact if Rinchana wished to become a Hindu, there should have been no difficulty for him, especially when he was a king. Even if Devasvāmī had refused to initiate Rinchana into Hinduism, he could have asked some other Brahman to do so. Long before Rinchana, Mihirakula of the White Hun stock is said to have been converted to Hinduism in Kashmir.³ Moreover, conversion from Buddhism to Hinduism or vice versa was not a new thing.

According to a popular version of the story, supported by most of the medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmir, Rinchana had accepted Islam because of "Divine grace".⁴ It is said that after Rinchana came to the throne, he

¹ Cf. R.Tj., p.21.
² Ibid., p.21.
⁴ B.S., p.15a; T.Km., p.83a; A.Ab., p.45a; N.A., p.16b; T.Az., p.29; T.H., III, p.4; T.K., p.6.
held discussions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain the "Truth", but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the first person whom he should see the next morning. That person was Saiyid Sharafu’d-Dīn, a Suhrawardī saint, who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchana immediately went to him, and, after enquiring about his religion, accepted Islam.

On the face of it, the story appears to have been concocted in order to glorify Islam and to establish the miraculous powers of Saiyid Sharafu’d-Dīn. It seems unconvincing that Rinchana, with his inquisitive mind, should have accepted Islam in this way.

What seems more probable is that Rinchana's conversion to Islam was prompted by political reasons. In the absence of co-operation from the Hindus, support for Rinchana's newly acquired kingdom could be had only from the Muslims in Kashmir. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Shāh Mīr, who in Jonarāja's words was: "a lion among men", persuaded Rinchana to accept Islam. Abū’l-Fażl, the Mughal historian, who made a careful study of the history of Kashmir, confirms the fact that Rinchana accepted Islam because of his deep intimacy and association with Shāh Mīr, whom he appointed his minister.

1 See for his biography infra, ch.II, p.21.
2 B.S., f.15a-b; T.Km., f.83a-b; T.Kh., ff.99a-100b; A.Ab., f.45a; N.A., ff.16b-17a; T.Az., pp.29-30. Hasan and Minkīn do not refer to the discussion which Rinchana is said to have held with Hindu and Buddhist priests.
3 R.Tj., p.27.
The penetration of Islam into the neighbouring countries of Kashmir, especially the re-establishment of Islam in Persia by Ghazan Khan in 1295, which was followed by the persecution of Buddhists and other non-Muslims, might have also influenced Rinchana’s decision to embrace Islam, particularly when Kashmir had so recently been invaded by the Mongols.

Thus Rinchana’s conversion to Islam must be seen in the wider context, and not just as the result of either the Hindu refusal to take him into their fold or of a chance meeting with Saiyid Sharafu’d-Din. Rinchana or Sadru’d-Din, the Muslim name which he adopted, died in 1323, and soon after his death Hindu rule was once again established in Kashmir. His son Haidar, who was a minor, was not declared the

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1 In India Muslim rule had been firmly established some thirty years before Rinchana’s accession to the throne by Shihabu’d-Din Muhammed Ghorī. Kabul had been subdued (some time between 786 and 813), during Ma’umunu’l-Rashid’s governorship of Khurasan and its ruler had later accepted Islam; Futuhu’l-Buldān, p.402.
2 Rashīdu’d-Dīn, Jamiu’l-Tawārīkh, II, pp.900 ff..
3 Cf. ibid., II, pp.983-4; Tārikh-i-Mubārak-i-Ghāzānī, pp.168-9.
4 See supra, pp.7-8.
5 Some modern scholars accept the view of Jonaraja that Rinchana was not accepted by Hindus into their fold. Cf. Walter, "Islam in Kashmir", Muslim World, IV, 1914, p.340; Srikanth Kaul, Rājatarangini of Jonaraja, Introduction, p.72.
7 Cf. R.Tj., p.23.
8 Ibid., p.23; B.S., f.16a.
king,\(^1\) instead Koṭā Rānī with the consent of Shāh Mīr\(^2\) recalled Udayanadeva,\(^3\) the brother of Sūhadeva, and made him king.\(^4\) Udayanadeva eventually married Koṭā Rānī\(^5\) and in order to please Shāh Mīr he bestowed the territory of Kramarājya\(^6\) and other districts on the latter's two sons 'Alī Sher and Jamshed.\(^7\)

According to Jonarāja, royalty was debased when it passed from Rinchana to Udayanadeva.\(^8\) Udayanadeva did not prove himself a competent ruler. He spent most of his time "in bathing, in penance, and in prayer",\(^9\) and paid very little attention to the administration.

Meanwhile Kashmir was once again threatened by a foreign invasion. According to Jonarāja the invader was "Achala",\(^10\) whom "the lord of

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1. Ibid., pp.23-4; ibid., f.16b.
2. Cf. ibid., p.24; ibid., f.16b.
3. He had fled to Swāt during Zuljū's invasion. B.S., f.16b.
4. R.Tj., p.24; B.S., f.16b.
5. R.Tj., p.24; B.S., f.16b.
6. The Valley of Kashmir has from early times been divided into two great parts - "Kramarājya" and Maḍavarājya" (cf. R.Tk., II, p.436). "Kramarājya" the modern Karmāz is that part which is to the west and south-west of Srīnagar.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p.25. Persian chronicles call him "Urdil" or "Urwin". T.Kh., f.89b; T.Ka., f.58b; T.Az., p.32; G.A., f.107b; T.H., II, p.150.
Mugdhapura" supported. It is not possible to identify the latter. The Persian chronicles assert that it was an army of the Turks (lashkar-i-turk). Modern scholars have not identified the Turks of Persian chronicles, but it seems that they were Mongols who had previously invaded the Valley more than once.

However, Udayanadeva fled to Ladakh, leaving Kotā Rānī to face the invader. With the help of Shāh Mīr and Bhikṣṇā, a Hindu noble, she repulsed the enemy. After the enemy withdrew, Udayanadeva returned and regained the throne, but his cowardly flight had greatly impaired his prestige.

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1 R.T.j., p.25.
2 B.S., f.17a; T.Kh., f.89b; T.Ka., f.58b; T.Az., p.32; G.A., f.107; T.H., II, p.15.
3 Cf. Şufī, Kāshīr, I, p.128; Muḥibbu’l-Ḥāsan, Sultāns, p.41.
4 Cf. Tārīkh u’l-Hind, p.22. See also Howorth, History of the Mongols, III, pp.184-5.
5 R.T.j., p.25; B.S., f.17a; T.Ka., f.58b; G.A., f.107b.
6 The Persian chronicles call him "Pacha Baṭ Kākapūrī".
7 B.S., f.17a; T.Kh., ff.84b-85a; T.Ka., f.56b; N.A., f.20b; T.Az., p.32; G.A., f.107b; T.H., II, p.150.

Jonarāja gives contradictory statements. At one place he says that "Achala" sent his army back as Kotā Rānī and others promised him that after doing so, he would be declared the king, but was later imprisoned; (R.T.j., p.25). Later he states that "Achala", like "Dalcha" (Zaljū), devasted the whole country. R.T.j., p.26.
8 R.T.j., p.25; B.S., f.17a; T.Ka., f.58b; G.A., f.107b.
His relations with Shāh Mīr also did not remain cordial. Udayanadeva began to suspect the loyalty of Shāh Mīr, who, because of the heroic stand against the invader, had become exceedingly popular with the people. This had made him politically ambitious and, as Jonarāja says, he "did not deem the king even as grass".

Shāh Mīr, in order to strengthen his position, had already taken steps to win over the leading chiefs of the country to his side. He bestowed on them his daughter and grand-daughters in marriage, and made large gifts to them. Thus he was waiting for an opportunity to assume the kingship himself.

The opportunity came soon, when Koṭā Rānī, after the death of Udayanadeva in 1338, took the reins of government in her own hands.
Realising how ambitious Shāh Mīr was, she raised Bhikṣaṇa to prominence as a counterpoise to him, and transferred the capital from Srīnagar, where Shāh Mīr had considerable following, to Andarkot.

The rise of Bhikṣaṇa to power was an open challenge to Shāh Mīr. However, he did not make his feelings public, but feigned illness, and "caused it to be known that his end was near". Koṭā Rānī sent Bhikṣaṇa, apparently, to see Shāh Mīr, but in fact to find out the real facts. Shāh Mīr took the advantage of the opportunity and removed his political rival by assassinating him in his own house.

Later Shāh Mīr sent a proposal of marriage to Koṭā Rānī. She rejected it, perhaps thinking it beneath her dignity to marry a man who had been in her service. Shāh Mīr then, with the help of the chiefs, successfully

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1 According to Jonarāja, Koṭā Rānī out of fear of Shāh Mīr had even concealed the death of her husband for four days; R.Tj., p.28.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p.31; B.S., f.17b. Andarkot is seventeen miles north of Srīnagar, on the left bank of the river Jehlum.
4 "Fire manifests itself by heat and smoke", writes Jonarāja, "but no sign of anger manifested itself in that wise man [Shāh Mīr]". R.Tj., p.29.
5 Ibid., p.29.
6 R.Tj., p.29.
7 Ibid. See also B.S., f.17b.
8 R.Tj., p.31; B.S., f.17b.
beseiged the fort of Andarkot. Koṭā Rānī surrendered and accepted Shāh Mīr's marriage proposal.¹

Shāh Mīr suspected her loyalty, as she had married him under pressure. He therefore imprisoned her² and ascended the throne himself in 1339,³ under the title of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dīn.⁴

Shāh Mīr's coup firmly established the Muslim rule in Kashmir. The details of the administrative machinery created by Shāh Mīr are not known. What Jonarāja says of his reign is that he "assuaged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its condition".⁵

Revolutionary changes in the administration were not possible at that time. The Muslim community of Kashmir was in a minority, with no foreign contact or foreign support. The power remained as before in the hands of the Hindu chiefs, with whose help Shāh Mīr had established himself on the throne.

However, Shāh Mīr, in order to increase the number of his supporters and to check the ambitious chiefs, who were the main cause of confusion and disorder in the regimes preceding him, patronised⁶ the families of the

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¹ Ibid., pp.31-2; ibid., f.17b.
² R.Tj., p.32.
³ Cf. ibid., p.32. Abū'1-Paẓl gives Shāh Mīr's date of accession as 742/1341-2, A.A., II, p.185.
⁴ R.Tj., p.32; B.S., f.18a; T.Az., p.33.
⁵ R.Tj., p.32.
Chaks and Magres who were of indigenous origin. Jonarāja says that Shah Mīr made gifts to certain chiefs. It seems that Shah Mīr assigned iqṭā's to his supporters on the pattern of the Turkic Sultāns of Delhi.

The administration was modelled on the system prevalent in other Muslim countries, only after a large number of Muslim saints and scholars from Persia and Central Asia had migrated to Kashmir. There were men of talent among them who could rule the government on the lines of the Saljūqī Sultāns of Persia and the Turkic Sultāns of Delhi.

1 The Chaks, under their leader Lankar Chak, had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistān during the reign of Sūhadeva. B.S., f.10a-b; N.A., f.22b; T.H., II, p.143.

2 Cf. T.Ks., ff.7a-b; 8b. See also, W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.306.

3 R.Tj., p.22.

4 The system of iqṭā's emerged in the 10th century and crystallized by the time of the Saljūqs. Nizāmu'1-Mulk, in his Siyāsat-Nāma, gives a detailed description of the iqṭā's. They were broadly of two types, the military iqṭā's and administrative iqṭā's. The military iqṭā's were only the assignment of the revenue and not of the proprietary rights or administrative powers. In return, the holders of such iqṭā's were required to recruit the army, which was to be paid from the revenue realised from the iqṭā's, for the military need of the country. See for full details, J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, V, pp.81-4, 198-9, 231-9, 518-21.
The Suhrawardī Order

Among the well known Ṣūfī orders, the first to be introduced in Kashmir, in the early fourteenth century, was the Suhrawardīya order. It was originally founded by Shaikh Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Abū'l-Najīb Suhrawardi (d. 1167), the author of the Adabu'l-Murīdīn.¹ It was, however, his nephew and successor, Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Abū Ḥafs 'Umar bin 'Abdu'llāh (1144-1234), who made the order popular. He was an outstanding scholar; of his works the most celebrated is the 'Avarifu'l-Ma'ārif,² which like the Kashfu'l-Mahjūb of Ḥujwīrī, served as a manual to the Indian Ṣūfīs for many centuries.

One of the lesser known disciples of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn was Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Fārsī,⁴ who in his turn initiated Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn⁵ into

¹ N.U., p.269.
² His other works include Kashfu'l-Nasā'īh al-Imāniya wa Kashfu'l Fazā'īh al-Yūnāniya, which has been directed against the study of Greek philosophy. Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, p.506.
³ It was first published at Cairo in 1888 on the margin of Ihya of Ghazālī.
⁴ Scholars such as Jāmī and Muḥammad Amin Rāzī give no account of Ni'matu'llāh. Only the Kashmiri scholars mention him in their works. See below, n.5.
⁵ N.A., f.17a; G.A., f.101a; T.H., III, p.4; T.K., p.4. The author of B.S., and Ḥasan bin 'Alī and A'Zamī call him Bābā Bulbul (f.15a; T.Kh., f.100a; T.Az., p.301). Mishkātī calls him Saiyid Abdu'l-Rahmān and Kachrū, Khalīl Shāh; A.Ab., f.44a; T.Kk., f.81a.
Suhrawardī order. Saiyid Sharafu’d-Dīn was the first to introduce the Suhrawardī order into Kashmir. He was originally from Turkistān, but, as directed by his preceptor, he embarked upon a long journey and travelling through Central Asia and Persia he arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sūhadeva.

Saiyid Sharafu’d-Dīn is one of the most celebrated saints of Kashmir, where he is known as Bulbul Shāh. He is greatly remembered there for having converted Rinchana and his brother-in-law, Hāwanchandra, to Islam. Rinchana seems to have held him in great esteem. He not only granted the revenues of certain villages to Bulbul Shāh for his maintenance, but also built a khānqāh for him near his own palace. A langar (alms-house) also appears to have been attached to the khānqāh. Bulbul Shāh died in

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1. B.S., f.15a-b; N.A., f.17a; T.Az., p.30; G.A., f.101b. Mishkāti and Ḥasan assert that Saiyid Sharafu’d-Dīn was a direct disciple of Shaikh Shihabu’d-Dīn Suhrawardī (A.Ab., f.44a; T.H., III, p.4). This seems unlikely as there is a difference of almost one hundred years between the death of the Shaikh and that of the Saiyid.

2. A.Ab., f.44a; T.K., p.6.


4. A.Ab., f.45a; T.Az., p.30; T.H., III, p.4.

5. See supra, Ch.I, pp.11-2.

6. B.S., f.16a; T.Km., f.84a; T.Kh., f.102a; A.Ab., f.50a; N.A., f.17b; T.Az., p.30; T.H., II, p.149; T.K., p.7.

7. B.S., f.15b; T.Kh., f.101a; N.A., f.18a-b; T.Az., p.30; T.H., II, p.149.

8. B.S., f.15b; T.Kh., f.101a; A.Ab., f.45b; N.A., f.18b; T.Az., p.30; T.H., II, p.149.
727/1326 and was buried in his khanqah, now called Bulbul-Langar, in Srinagar.

With the death of Bulbul Shāh the Suhrawardī order appears to have declined in Kashmir. None of the sources record anything about his disciples. The silence of the sources does not, however, necessarily mean that the khanqah of Bulbul Shāh was neglected or deserted, though it seems that he left no disciple outstanding enough to be worth mentioning, and there may have been some decline in its activities.

It was during the reign of Sultan Zainu*l-'Abidīn (1420-70) that another Suhrawardī saint, Saiyid Muḥammad Isfahānī, arrived in Kashmir. The Sultan received him warmly and gave him a state grant for his maintenance.

Saiyid Muḥammad was the disciple of Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī of Uch, popularly called Makhdūm Jahāniyān (1308-84). Unlike his preceptor,
Saiyid Muhammad preferred to live a life of retirement. He first took up residence in Srinagar, but when his fame spread and people flocked around him to seek his blessings, he left the city and retired to the village of Khanpur. He spent the rest of his life there, applying himself to the most austere spiritual exercises, and came to be known as janbāz (one who stakes his life). Nothing is known about the date of his death or about his disciples.

The next Suhrawardī saint of some eminence was Saiyid Ahmad Kirmanī. He was originally from Kirman and before coming to Kashmir had migrated to India, probably to Uch or Multān, where a large number of Suhrawardīs lived. Like Saiyid Muhammad Isfahānī, he too belonged to the chain of teachers following Makhdūm Jahāniyān and was initiated into the order by one Saiyid Miyān.

Saiyid Ahmad arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Nāzuk Shāh, who built a khānqah for him at Narwur, in Srinagar, and assigned an annual grant from the state revenue for the maintenance of his langar.

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1 A.Ab., f.103b; T.Az., p.54; F.Q., f.201a; T.H., III, p.40; T.K., p.37. Khanpur or Khānpūr is in the modern district of Baramula.
2 T.Ks., f.29a; A.Ab., f.103a; T.Az., p.54; F.Q., f.200b; T.H., III, p.40; T.K., p.37.
3 K.S., f.182a; T.Az., p.102; T.H., III, p.54; T.K., p.48.
4 A.Ab., f.186a. Mullā wrongly says that Saiyid Ahmad was a direct disciple of Makhdūm Jahāniyān (K.S., f.182a), who died in 1384.
6 T.H., III, p.55; T.K., p.49.
By this time the Shīʿī sect had been firmly established in Kashmir. Saiyid Ṣayyid plunging into discussion with the Shīʿīs and made all possible efforts to denounce them and undermine their influence. After his death, Saiyid Ṣayyid was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Bahau'd-Dīn, in Srinagar.

Among his disciple is mentioned Bābā Mas'ūd, popularly known in Kashmir as "Narwur Šāhīb". He was originally a big merchant and was recognised as a malikūt-tujār (lit. prince of merchants). After coming into contact with Saiyid Ṣayyid, he gave up his worldly life and began to live like a Ṣūfī.

Like his preceptor, Bābā Mas'ūd was an inveterate enemy of the Shīʿīs. He is believed to have converted many Shīʿīs to the Sunnī sect. When he died, he was buried in the khānqāh of his spiritual master, at Narwur in Srinagar.

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1 See infra, Ch.VIII, pp.289 ff..
2 Cf. A.Ab., f.186a-b; T.Az., pp.102-3; T.H., III, pp.54-5; T.K., pp.48-9. It is said that a prince who had fled from Kashmir met Saiyid Ṣayyid in India and asked for his prayers to help him gain his throne. Saiyid Ṣayyid did pray for him, after receiving the prince's assurance that should he recover his throne he would abolish all "Shīʿī innovations".
3 T.Az., p.103; T.H., III, p.55; T.K., p.49.
4 T.H., III, p.245. See also A.Ab., f.192b.
5 A.Ab., ff.192b-193a; T.H., III, p.244.
6 A.Ab., f.193b.
7 T.H., III, p.245.
Another important Suhrawardī saint, whose chain of disciples in Kashmir was destined to flourish for a long time, was Saiyid Jamālū’d-Dīn Bukhari. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥājī ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb Dehlavi, who belonged to the Ṣūfī chain of Makhdūm Jahāniyān.

Saiyid Jamālū’d-Dīn arrived in Kashmir somewhere in the first half of the sixteenth century, and took up his residence in the khānqāh of Malik Ahmad Yattū. A large number of people were attracted to him, among them the celebrated saint Shaikh Ḥamza.

Saiyid Jamālū’d-Dīn urged his disciples to keep themselves aloof of ‘ulamā-i-zāhirī (externalist scholars), who, according to him, learnt books mechanically and did not understand the mysteries of the spiritual path. Like many other Ṣūfīs, he laid great stress on the recital of zikr and on leading a life of ascetic solitude.

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1 Mullā at one place calls him Jalālū’d-Dīn and at another place Jamālū’d-Dīn; cf. K.S., ff.142b, 143a.
3 D.S., p.65; R.N., f.348a; A.Ab., f.117a; K.S., f.143a; T.H., III, p.56; T.K., p.47. This khānqāh was built by Malik Ahmad Yattū, the wazīr of Sultan Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).
4 D.S., pp.65, 67; R.N., f.348a; A.Ab., f.117a; K.S., f.143a; T.Az., p.82; T.H., III, p.56; T.K., p.47.
5 D.S., p.67.
6 Ibid., pp.66, 67.
The Saiyid did not stay for long in Kashmir, leaving for Delhi after only six months. Through his disciple Shaikh Hamza, however, he left an indelible mark on the Sufism of Kashmir, and endowed the Sahrawardi Order with stability and firmness.

Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, popular known in Kashmir as "Maḥbūbu'l-ʿAlam" ("Beloved of the world"), was born in 900/1494, at Tijr, in the modern district of Bārāmūla. His father ʿUṣmān Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'īl Kubravī, at Srinagar.

Shaikh Hamza obtained his early education at this seminary, where Shaikh Fathu'llāh, the son of Shaikh Ismā'īl, personally taught him for

2 T.H., III, p.201; T.K., p.149.
3 D.S., p.44; C.A., f.83a; R.N., f.366b; A.Ab., f.120b; K.S., f.143a; T.Az., p.44; Khazīnatu’l-Asfiyā, II, p.86; F.Q., f.202b; T.H., III, p.201; T.K., p.149.
4 See infra, ch. IV for his biography.
5 D.S., p.44; T.H., III, p.201.
6 D.S., pp.44-5; C.A., f.65b; R.N., f.367a-b; A.Ab., f.122b; K.S., f.143a; T.H., III, p.201; T.K., p.149. It is said that one morning Shaikh Hamza, while still a boy, was going as usual to his teacher in his village, and he met his friends who persuaded him to play truant and join them in their play. Later when the Shaikh went back home, his father asked him what lesson he had read that day. The Shaikh admitted that he had not been to his teacher and was severely punished, because of which he fell seriously ill. However, when he recovered, his grandfather, Zaitū Raina, brought him to the city and enrolled him there at Shaikh Ismā'īl's institution.
7 See infra, ch. IV for his biography.
one year. 1 He learnt the Qur’an and its commentary from Maulānā Darwesh of the same institution. 2 From Maulānā Lutfu’llāh, who was a teacher at the Madrasatu’l-Daru’sh-Shifa, founded by Sūltān Ḥasan Shāh, he studied books on fiqh and some works of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. 3

When Saiyid Jamālu’d-Dīn Bukhārī arrived in Kashmir, Shaikh Ḥamza became his disciple and received initiation into the Suhrawardī order. 4 Saiyid Jamālu’d-Dīn, before his departure from Kashmir, gave the Shaikh the silsila-nāmā and ijāzat-nāmā, documents authorising him to enrol disciples into the Suhrawardī order. 5

Shaikh Ḥamza carved out a path in Sufism different from that of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. 6 Like the mystics of Bāyazīd Bīstāmī (d. 874) and Manṣūr Hallāj (d. 913), he was transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called sukr. Like Bāyazīd he cried out "Subhāni! Mā a’zama sha’nī" ("Glory be to me! How great is my Majesty!"). When asked to explain his utterance the Shaikh replied: "One who makes such a statement gets identified with the Essence". 7

1 D.S., p.45; C.A., f.74b; R.N., f.367b; T.H., III, p.201; T.K., p.149.
2 Ibid., p.45; ibid., f.74b; ibid., f.381b; ibid., p.202; ibid., p.149.
3 Ibid., p.63; ibid., f.74b; ibid., f.381b; ibid., p.202; ibid., p.149.
4 For life and works of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī see infra, ch.III, and Index A.
6 See infra, ch.III for Saiyid ‘Alī’s teachings.
7 C.A., f.60b.
Shaikh Hamza considered the zikr to be a medicine for the ailments of the heart.\(^1\) For long periods of time he recited zikr incessantly, and he urged his disciples to do the same.\(^2\) Solitude, he explained, did not mean only that one should confine oneself to a cell but also that one's heart and mind should be controlled in order to concentrate upon God.\(^3\) It is said that once Baba Dawud Khākī, one of his disciples who had retired to seclusion, stood in need of clarification of some point. He wrote his problem upon a piece of paper and left it at the window for the servant to take to the Shaikh. On receiving Khākī's note, Shaikh Hamza was highly displeased with him and remarked that his doubts emerged from the lack of concentration and distraction of heart and mind.\(^4\)

Following the path of the Suhrawardīs,\(^5\) Shaikh Hamza strongly disapproved of sama\(^1\) (mystical music).\(^6\) Once he was going to say his prayers, and happened to hear sama\(^1\); he thereupon immediately performed his ablutions afresh because he had heard the "forbidden practice".\(^7\)

Shaikh Hamza lived at a very crucial period of Kashmir history. He saw the downfall of the Shah Mīr dynasty and the rise of the Chaks, most of whom

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\(^1\) D.S., p.66; C.A., f.57a-b; H.M., ff.8b, 120b; R.N., f.401a.
\(^2\) C.A., f.12; R.N., f.398b.
\(^5\) Cf. 'Āwarifū'l-Ma'ārif, II, pp.202 ff.
\(^6\) D.S., p.219; R.N., f.372a.
\(^7\) D.S., p.219.
were Shi'is. The internecine conflicts between the Shi'is and Sunnis vitiated the religious climate of the country.\(^1\) The Shaikh's preceptors, such as Shaikh Fathu'llah, were inveterate enemies of the Shi'is. Later he came into contact with Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani,\(^2\) another strong opponent of them.

Thus partly under their influence and partly because of his own conviction,\(^3\) Shaikh Hamza became a strong supporter of the Sunni sect. He waged an incessant ideological battle against the Shi'is, and is said to have converted some of them to the Sunni faith.\(^4\)

His hostilities against the Shi'is aroused the enmity of Sultan Gahzi Chak (1561-63), who was an orthodox Shi'i.\(^5\) He ordered the Shaikh to leave the city, whereupon he went to the village of Biru and returned only after the end of Gahzi's rule.\(^6\)

Shaikh Hamza lived for eighty four years and breathed his last on 24 Safar, 984/23 May, 1576.\(^7\) He was buried on the slope of Koh-i-Maran in

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1 See infra, pp.289 ff.
2 D.S., p.174; C.A., f.41b; A.Ab., f.131a.
3 Cf. D.S., p.216; B.N., ff.396a-b, 397a; A.Ab., ff.128a-b, 133a-b.
4 D.S., pp.151, 218.
5 Cf. T.Ks., f.30a-b; A.Ab., f.138b; N.A., f.76a; T.Az., p.91; T.H., II, p.236. See also infra, p.295.
6 A.Ab., f.138b; T.H., II, p.236. See also C.A., ff.77b-78b; H.M., f.127a-b.
Srīnagar, where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation. His shrine even to this day is an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for many Kashmirī Muslims.

Among the disciples of Shaikh Ḥamza are mentioned Bābā Dāwud Khākī, Maulānā Shamsu’d-Dīn Pāl, Khvāja Ishaq Qārī, Khvāja Hasan Qārī and Bābā Ḥaidar Tulmūlī. Of these the most distinguished was Bābā Dāwud Khākī. He hailed from the well known Gana’ī family of Kashmir, and used "Khākī" as his pen-name.

While still young, Bābā Dāwud lost his parents, but he continued his education by earning his livelihood as a scribe, a craft in which his father, Hasan Gana’ī, had been famous. He received his education from two well known teachers of the time, Mullā Başīr and Mullā Rażiu’d-Dīn.

After completing his education Bābā Dāwud served for some time as a tutor to the royal family; but under the influence of Shaikh Ḥamza, he gave up worldly life and devoted himself wholeheartedly to Ṣūfī practices. For

many years he waited on his preceptor as a humble servant. Impressed with his devotion and spiritual progress, Shaikh Hamza appointed him as his khalīfa.

Bābā Dawud was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. He wrote a number of works, among which the better known are: Risāla-i-Ghaslīya, Rishi-Nāma or Qasīdu'l-Amīya, Wirdu'l-Murīdīn and Dastūru's-Sālikīn.

In the Risāla-i-Ghaslīya, he explains the virtues and benefits of cleanliness. The Rishi-Nāma recounts the biographies of some of the Kashmirī saints and their miracles. The Wirdu'l-Murīdīn is a treatise of 440 verses. In it Bābā Dawud glorifies the spiritual achievements and supernatural feats of his preceptor, Shaikh Hamza.

The most important and voluminous of his works is Dastūru's-Sālikīn. It is a commentary upon the Wirdu'l-Murīdīn, and gives interesting glimpses of the life and teachings of Shaikh Hamza and of his own. The bulk of the work, however, consists of the sayings of the Prophet, his companions and prominent Sufīs. The sayings are based on well known Sufī works such as Iḥyā'Ulūm al-Dīn, Kashfu'l-Mahjub, 'Awārifu'l Ma'ārif and Nafahatu'l-Uns.

2 It is said that because of the menial work which he used to perform for the Shaikh, people would pass bitterly sarcastic remarks about him. C.A., f.50b; R.N., f.337a-b; T.H., III, p.215.
3 Ibid.
4 The first, third and fourth were published at Srinagar in 1356/1937, and the second is in the possession of the Research Department, Srinagar.
5 Cf. D.S., pp.5, 7, 8, 10, 27, 30, 92 etc..
The work makes copious references to the treatises of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and incorporates his Risāla-Dah Qā'idā in full. Baba Dawud held independent views on several controversial issues and practices of the Šūfīs. For instance he approved of sama', which the Suhrāwardīs in general and Shaikh Hamza in particular had denounced as a forbidden practice. Baba Dawud urged that sama' stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by the Šūfī masters.

Similarly he laid great stress on Khilwat dar anjuman and hosh dar dam, two of the eleven principles of the Naqshbandi order, and urged the seeker after truth to follow them. Further, he upheld zikr-i-khaft (inward remembrance of God) as against zikr-i-jahr (outward remembrance of God), and believed that the latter was meant for beginners alone.

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2 Cf. D.S., pp.154 ff..
3 Ibid., p.220.
4 Ability to enjoy solitude even while in an assembly. Here the aim is that even while living in the midst of worldly people one should be able to contemplate God.
5 Awareness while breathing. Not a breath may be inhaled or exhaled in the state of forgetfulness of the Divine presence.
7 D.S., pp.24-5.
9 D.S., pp.100 and 140.
His attitude towards the renouncement of the world, however, accorded with the Suhrawardi doctrines. Like the Suhrawardīs, he believed that the renouncement of the world did not mean that one should go naked or wear only a lungota (the narrow strip of cloth which the poor wear about the waist). Renunciation in fact demanded nothing but sincerity on the part of the devotee; wealth in itself was no obstacle to the mystical path.

Regarding the necessity of pir (preceptor) for the person on the path to God, Bābā Dāwud approved the traditional Ṣūfī view that if one has no pir his guide is Satan. The pir, he maintained, is the deputy (nā'ib) and khalīfa of the Prophet. Hence the disciple should not try to find out the shortcomings of his preceptor.

Bābā Dāwud's attitude towards the Shi'īs remained the same as that of his Shaikh. Throughout his work Dastūru's-Sālikīn, his hostility and antipathy towards the Shi'ī sect is prominently displayed. The topic will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

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1 Shaikh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā (1182-1262), the pioneer saint of the Suhrawardi order in India, was famous for the large fortune he had amassed. When questioned about his fortune, Bahā'u'd-Dīn replied: "A serpent can harm only one who does not know afsūn (incantations)". Hamīd bin Faẓlū'llāh, Siyāru'1-'Arīfīn, p.14. See also, Ḥasan Sījzī, Fawā'īdu'l-Fa'ūd, pp.236-7.
2 D.S., p.187.
3 Ibid., pp.2-4.
4 Ibid., p.5.
5 Ibid., p.103.
6 See infra, ch.VIII, p.296.
He breathed his last on 3 Safar, 994/24 January, 1586,¹ and is buried near the tomb of his spiritual master.

CHAPTER III

The Kubravi Order - A

Among the Sufi orders introduced in Kashmir the Kubraviya order gained the most widespread popularity there. It was founded by Ahmad bin 'Umaru'l-Khayq, popularly called Najmu'd-Di Kobra, born in Khvarazm, in 540/1145. He had spent most of his youth in travelling to various Islamic countries. During one of his sojourns at Khurasan, he came in contact with Shaikh Isma'il Qasri, a disciple of Shaikh Abu'l-Najib Suhrawardi. After some time Shaikh Isma'il advised him to go to Shaikh 'Ammar Yasir, who initiated him into Sufism, and in his turn sent Najmu'd-Di to Shaikh Ruzbihan, for further education. Impressed with the spiritual progress of Najmu'd-Di, Shaikh Ruzbihan sent him back to Shaikh 'Ammar Yasir, who ultimately asked Najmu'd-Di to settle in his native

1 "Kobra" is an abbreviation of his title "Tammatu'l-Kobra", which was given to him by his friends, in the days of his student life, on account of his victories in debates with his adversaries; N.U., p.270; AmIn Ahmad Razi, Haft-Iqlim, III, p.317; Qazi Nurullah Shustari, Majalisu'l-Muminin, p.286.

2 Cf. N.U., pp.270 ff.. See also Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, p.823.


4 He was one of the followers of Shaikh Abul-Najib; N.U., p.269.

5 He too was a disciple of Shaikh Abul-Najib and had settled in Egypt; N.U., p.269.
place, Khwarazm. In accordance with the direction of his preceptor, Najmu’Dīn made Khwarazm the centre of his activities.¹

Najmu’Dīn soon became an outstanding personality of his time. He was a prolific writer and his works² came to be recognised as standard text-books of advanced SuFīc theories. "The SuFī writings of Nadīm al-Dīn", writes Berthels, "form a transition from the older SuFīsm of the first theorists (the Nīshāpūr school of the Xth-XIth centuries) to the later SuFīsm of Ibn al-‘Arabī and his successors".³

During the lifetime of Najmu’Dīn, Central Asia and Persia were in turmoil. Chingiz Khān (1206-1227) had started his career of rapine and conquest. Khwarazm was also sacked by the Mongol army. Chingiz Khān, however, offered protection to Najmu’Dīn, but he declined the offer.⁴ He eventually perished along with thousands of others in 1221,⁵ during a battle with the Mongols.⁶

² Berthels wrongly says that Najmu’Dīn’s first teacher was Shaikh Rūzbihān and later went to ‘Ammār Yāsīr and then to Ismā’īl Ǧaṣrī, who asked him to settle at Khwarazm (Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, p.823). In fact the sources on which Berthels has based his information (N.U.; Haft-Iqlīm, Majalisu’l-Mu’minīn) do not support this.
³ See Encyclopaedia of Islam, III,p.823, for his works.
⁴ Ibid.
The teachings of the Kubraviya order were spread widely in various parts of the Muslim world, especially in Central Asia and Persia, by the disciples of Najmu'd-Dīn. 1 The most eminent among them were, 2 Majadu'd-Dīn Baghādādī 3 (d. in between 609/1209 and 616/1219), Rażū'u'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d.642/1244), Sa'du'd-Dīn Ḥamawī (d.650/1253), Najmu'd-Dīn Rażī (d.654/1256), and Bābā Kamālu'd-Dīn of Jand. All of them, according to Jamī, were incomparable in the world of the Ṣūfīs. 4

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, who introduced the Kubraviya order in Kashmir, was linked with that order through Rażū'u'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā. Rażū'u'd-Dīn, after travelling to a number of Islamic countries, had settled in Turkistān, in the Khānjāh of Shaikh Ahmad Yasū. 5 He came in contact with Najmu'd-Dīn at Khwārazm and became his disciple. 6

Among the principal disciples of Rażū'u'd-Dīn was Shaikh Ahmad Jauzqānī (d.669/1270), an eminent Ṣūfī of his time. He in his turn initiated Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Rahmān Isfara'īnī (born in 639/1241) in the Kubraviya order. 7

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2 Cf. N.U., pp.273 ff..
3 He was the preceptor of the celebrated Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d.1220 or 1230); N.U., p.391.
4 N.U., p.274.
5 Yassi is a place in Turkistān and Shaikh Ahmad, who is said to have been a descendant of Muḥammed ibn Ḥanafī, son of the Caliph 'Alī, is buried there. His tomb exists at Yassi under the name of "Hazrat-i-Turkistān"; cf. G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.485-6.
7 N.U., p.283.
Shaikh Isfara'ini, who was also a well known Şüfi, attracted a large number of disciples, the most distinguished among whom was Ruknu'd-Dîn Abû'l-Makârîm, generally known as 'Alâ'u'd-Daula Simnânî (659-736/1261-1336).

'Alâ'u'd-Daula Simnânî was an erudite scholar and a prolific writer. During his youth he had served Īlkhan Arghun (683-690/1284-1291), under whom his father, Malik Sharafrud-Dîn, and uncle, Malik Jalâlu'd-Dîn, held offices of distinction. However, after some time, under a fit of mystical ecstasy, he gave up the Mongol service and devoted himself entirely to God.

He strongly rejected the idea that a Şüfi should not possess wealth. He quoted many examples of his predecessors such as Majadu'd-Dîn Baghdâdî, who had accumulated vast wealth while yet pursuing the mystic path. Again he did not approve of the quiet and withdrawn ascetic life. He believed that the duty of a Şüfi was to preach his faith.

Among the Şûfîs, who were trained in his khânqâh, there arose a number of scholars and mystics. Shaikh Abû'l-Ma'âlî Sharafrud-Dîn Mahmûd bin 'Abdullâh Muzdaqânî also belonged to that galaxy of scholars and Şûfîs.

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1 He himself is reported to have claimed that he had blackened one thousand jâbûq (sheets) for the sake of Sufism; cf. Daulat Shâh Samarqandî, Tâzkiyat'l-Shu'ra, p. 280.
2 Chihil-Majlis, f. 173a; Tazkiratu'l-Shu'ra, p. 280; N. U., p. 284.
3 Chihil-Majlis, f. 191b; N. U., p. 280; F. K., f. 48a.
4 Chihil-Majlis, f. 173a; Tazkiratu'l-Shu'ra, p. 280. The latter wrongly gives his uncle's name as Malik Sharafrud-Dîn.
5 Chihil-Majlis, f. 158b, 173a, 193a; Tazkiratu'l-Shu'ra, p. 280.
who were trained in 'Alā'u'd-Daula's ḥānqāh. Unfortunately for us the details of the life and activities of Shaikh Muzdaqānī are not known. But he remains the most prominent among the followers of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī, because of his disciple, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, whom he initiated in the Kubra'īya order.

The Life of Saiyid 'Alī

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, popularly known in Kashmir as "Shāh-i-Hamadān" (the lord of Hamadan), was born at Hamadan on 12 Rajab, 714/22 October, 1314. He was a member of the family of the Alawi Saiyids of that town, claiming descent from 'Alī the fourth Caliph. His father Saiyid Shihābu'd-Dīn is said to have been a ḥākim (governor) of Hamadan and appears to have shown little interest in the education of his son. This responsibility fell on his maternal uncle 'Alā'u'd-Daula, a saint of considerable piety and

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1 K.M., p.450; F.K., f.54a.
2 What we are told is that he had great spiritual power and that he never married; K.M., p.456; F.K., f.54a.
3 F.K., f.54a; T.H., III, p.11; T.K., p.10.
5 K.M., p.441; Mastūrāt, f.348b; F.K., f.54b; T.H., III, p.11; T.K., p.10.
6 K.M., p.441; F.K., f.54b; T.H., III, p.11.
devotion. Some modern scholars wrongly identify him with the celebrated 'Ala‘u‘d-Daula Simnānī.  

At a very young age Saiyid 'Ali memorised the whole Qur‘ān. When he was only twelve years old his maternal uncle introduced him to Shaikh Muzdaqānī, who, after teaching him the elementary principles of Sufism, sent him to Taqīu‘d-Dīn 'Alī Dūstī, another disciple of 'Ala‘u‘d-Daula Simnānī. Saiyid 'Ali remained with his new teacher for about two years, and after his death he returned to Shaikh Muzdaqānī, who put the finishing touches to his education.

According to Abdu‘l-Wahhāb, Saiyid 'Ali also received guidance from 'Ala‘u‘d-Daula Simnānī. Ja‘far Badakhshī also supports this and says that Saiyid 'Ali had collected some four hundred traditions of the Prophet.

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1 K.M., p.441; F.K., f.54b; T.H., III, p.11; T.K., p.11.
2 Cf. Şūfī, Kashīr, I, p.85.
3 K.M., p.441; F.K., f.54b; T.H., III, p.11; T.K., pp.10-1.
4 K.M., p.451; F.K., f.54b.
5 K.M., p.451; A.Ab., f.10a; Mastūrāt, f.350b; F.K., f.54b; T.H., III, p.12. Miskīn wrongly says that the Saiyid first went to Taqīu‘d-Dīn 'Alī Dūstī; T.K., p.11.
6 F.K., f.55a.
7 Jāmī calls him Nafī‘u‘d-Dīn; N.U., p.290.
9 F.K., f.55a.
10 N.U., p.290; A.Ab., f.10b; Mastūrāt, f.355b; F.K., f.55a; T.H., III, p.12.
11 F.K., f.55a.
(ahādīṣ) from various prominent saints of his time, including 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.¹

When 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī died, Saiyid 'Alī was about twenty-two years old. It is not therefore unlikely that he came in contact with the great saint and his own preceptor Shaikh Muzdaqānī may have recommended him to his teacher.

Like most of his predecessors, Saiyid 'Alī travelled very extensively² and is said to have performed the pilgrimage twelve times.³ His most important journey, however, was his visit to Kashmir, which is said to have been caused by the cruelty of Tīmūr (1335-1405) towards the 'Alawi Saiyids of Hamadān. Asghar 'Alī Hikmat⁴ and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan,⁵ two modern scholars, suggest that when Tīmūr for the third time invaded Persia and 'Irāq, in 1383, he expelled the powerful 'Alawi Saiyids from there, and Saiyid 'Alī left Hamadān and took refuge in Kashmir.⁶

² Cf. Haft-iqlīm, II, p.539; A.Ab., f.10b; P.K., f.55b.
³ K.M., pp.561, 574.
⁵ Sultāns, p.56. Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan has based his argument on the information of Hikmat, who himself does not cite any source for this.
⁶ According to a popular legend Tīmūr once invited Saiyid 'Alī to his palace to test his spiritual power. When the Saiyid came, the arrangements for sitting had been made in such a way that qibla would be behind him. It is said that the Saiyid had never sat like that in his life. But when Saiyid 'Alī sat down the palace rotated and he faced the qibla. After the meal was served, Tīmūr asked Saiyid 'Alī whether he had taken lawful or unlawful food.
The Şüfîs in general and the Kubravîyas in particular travelled extensively in the various parts of the Muslim world. After the conversion of Ghazân Khân through a Şüfî, Şadru’d-Dîn  Hạmavî (d.722/1322),¹ the Persian Şüfîs, especially the followers of 'Ala’u’d-Daula Simnânî, began to take great interest in missionary activities.

Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî and his companions were not the only ones to leave Persia. Many other Şüfîs, who were trained at the khângâh of 'Ala’u’d-Daula Simnânî, left their native towns and travelled as far as Gulbarga in south India.² Mîr Saiyid Ashraf Jahângîr Simnânî (d.1405), who had travelled for some time in the company of Saiyid 'Alî, also came to India and settled there at Kichaucha, in Faizâbâd (east of Lucknow).³

There is ample evidence to show that Timûr was not hostile to the Saiyids⁴ and he cannot be believed to have provoked Saiyid 'Alî to leave

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¹ Jâmi’u'l-Tawârîkh, II, pp.903–4; Tarikh-i-Mubârak Ghâzân, pp.79–80.
² Cf. Lâjahîf-i-Ashrafî, f.216a, cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p.55.
³ Akhbâru’l Akhyâr, p.166.
⁴ "I [Timûr] ordered that on all occasions of ceremony, the Syeds (Saiyids) ... and learned body, should be seated on my right hand .... I however took care that the Syeds were never to be treated with contempt or abused, and forbade their ever being bound or put to death ....". Malfûzât-i-Timûrî, Eng.Tr., Stewart (Memoirs of Timûr), p.14. See also Nâzamû’d-Dîn Şâmî, Zafar-Nâmâ, I, p.104.
his native place. Saiyid 'Alī and his associates must have been attracted to Kashmir because Muslim rule was newly established there and offered considerable opportunities for popularising Islam. According to Ja'far Badakhshi, Saiyid 'Alī had been ordered by Shaikh Muzdaqānī to travel and preach the truth to the people.¹ Saiyid 'Alī himself is said to have remarked that wherever he went, God the most powerful commanded him to travel and preach to the people.²

Moreover, Saiyid 'Alī did not come to Kashmir alone. He was accompanied by a large number of Saiyids, all of whom did not belong to the family of 'Alawi Saiyids. Lastly, some ten years before Tīmūr is said to have expelled the 'Alawi Saiyids from Hamadan, Saiyid 'Alī had sent two of his cousins, Saiyid Tāju’d-Dīn and Saiyid Husain, to Kashmir to explore the religious atmosphere of that country.³

The report must have been encouraging,⁴ as Saiyid 'Alī arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Quṭbu’d-Dīn (1373-1389).⁵ The Sultan

¹ K.M., pp.560-1; see also F.K., f.55b.
² K.M., p.573. According to the author of the Mastūrat (f.420a), the Prophet once appeared to Saiyid 'Alī in a dream and asked him to go to Kashmir and convert people there to Islam.
⁴ Cf. T.Ks., f.2b.
⁵ Mirzā Ḥaidar, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Eng.Tr., E.D. Ross, pp.432-3; A.A., II, p.185; T.Ks., f.2b; B.S., f.23a; T.Km., f.91a; N.A., f.35a; T.Az., p.57.
received him warmly and the Saiyid took up his residence at 'Alā’u’d-Dīnpura, in Srīnagar. ¹

The chronology of Saiyid 'Alī’s visit to Kashmir is confusing and it is sometimes impossible to reconcile the accounts of the various sources. According to two later authorities, Hasan ² and Miskīn, ³ Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmir three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84. Neither of them mention any activity of Saiyid 'Alī’s first two visits. According to a legend, Saiyid 'Alī is said to have travelled three times all over the world, ⁴ and Hasan and Miskīn seem to have based their account on this story. Such modern scholars as Muḥī’u’d-Dīn Șūfī, ⁵ and Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan ⁶ agree with them, both relying on Miskīn.

Miskīn’s statements are, however, not free from doubt. For example he suggests that Saiyid 'Alī’s first visit took place in 1372 and at the same time he says that Qutbu’d-Dīn was the ruler of that country. ⁷ Qutbu’d-Dīn came to the throne in 1373 ⁸ and not in 1372. Again Miskīn

¹ T.Ks., f.3b; T.Az., p.36; F.K., f.58b. 'Alā’u’d-Dīnpura is now called Khānqāh-i-Mu’alla.
⁵ Kashīr, I, pp.86-7.
⁶ Sultāns, pp.55-6.
⁷ T.K., p.12.
⁸ B.Tj., p.47.
maintains that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kāshmir for the third time in 785/1383-84 and he remarks that Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī⁴ was four years old at that time.² Elsewhere he gives the Rishī’s date of birth as 779/1377-78.³ This would mean that the Saiyid arrived in Kāshmir for the third time in 783/1381-82.

The early sources are unanimous in saying that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kāshmir only once. However, they also do not agree among themselves about the date of his arrival there.

Both Mirzā Hāidar⁴ (d.1551) and Abū’l-Fażl⁵ mention only one visit of Saiyid 'Alī to Kāshmir, which took place in the reign of Sultān Qutbu’d-Dīn.

According to Saiyid 'Alī, the author of Tārīkh-i-Kāshmir, the Saiyid arrived in the Valley in 786/1384-85.⁶ At the same time he quotes a chronogram (maqdam sharīf bajū), by one Saiyid Muḥammad Khāwarī, which gives Saiyid 'Alī's date of arrival in Kāshmir as 785/1383-84.⁷ The two dates are

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1. See infra, ch.VI for his biography.
6. f.2a.
7. T.Ks., f.3a. On the margin of this work (f.3a), the copyist wrongly calculates the date of Saiyid 'Alī's arrival as 783/1381-82, from the chronogram. Elsewhere, on the margin (f.12a) there appear the two following dates:
   A. Saiyid 'Alī's arrival in Kāshmir, 783/1381-82.
   B. Saiyid 'Alī's death, 786/1384-85.
not reconcilable. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī died in 786/1385; therefore both the dates 785/1383-84, and 786/1384-85 are incorrect.  

Other authorities, Bahārstān-i-Shāhī, Ḥaidar Malik, and Rafī'u'd-Dīn Ahmad, give 783/1381, as the date of Saiyid 'Alī's arrival to Kashmir. This seems to be reasonable, as Saiyid 'Alī travelled extensively in the Valley and he must have spent a good deal of time there.

Saiyid 'Alī's proselytising activities in Kashmir, are highly extolled by both medieval and modern scholars. But none of them give any details of the method adopted by him in his work.

One anecdote, common in all sources, reveals that Saiyid 'Alī resorted to miracles to obtain converts. It is said that the Brahman of Kāl-i-mandār,

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1 See infra, p. 50.
2 It is difficult to accept too the year 741/1340-41, which is given by the author of Mastūrāt (ff. 347b-48a), who also records only one visit of the Saiyid to the Valley. He states himself elsewhere (ff. 421b-22a), that after leaving the Valley the Saiyid died in 786/1384-85. This would mean that Saiyid 'Alī stayed in Kashmir for about 45 years, which is supported by none of the sources.
3 F.23a.
4 T.Km., f.91a.
5 N.A., f.35a.
7 Cf. R.C. Temple, The word of Lallā, p.2; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, Sultāns, pp. 56, 235.
8 T.Ks., ff.3a-4b; F.K., f.58b; T.H., III, p.15; T.K., pp.13-4. See also Mastūrāt, f.421a.
9 Now called Khānqāḥ-i-Mu'allā.
in Srinagar was the most famous ascetic of Kashmir in those days. Saiyid 'Ali, on hearing of his virtues, decided to visit him and to convert him to Islam. The Brahman, trying to impress the Saiyid, claimed that he could fly into the sky and at once demonstrated this feat.

Saiyid 'Ali thereupon ordered one of his followers, Saiyid Kabir, to teach the Brahman a lesson. Saiyid Kabir ordered his shoes to chase the Brahman and to bring him down by beating him on the head. The shoes performed exactly what was ordered. The miracle convinced the Brahman of Saiyid 'Ali's superiority and he, along with his followers, accepted Islam.

This miracle is similar to one which a yogi is said to have performed in the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The Sufi malfuzat of the fourteenth century also record similar encounters between the Sufis and the yogis. But the performance of miracles was no part of the activities of the Sufis. They rejected the supernatural powers of the yogis with scorn, calling it istidrāj ("conferring of benefits by God on obstinate sinners").

There is no doubt, however, that Islam in Kashmir received great impetus because of Saiyid 'Ali and his followers. Saiyid 'Ali, accompanied by his disciples, travelled widely in the Valley. He left his deputies at

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1 See infra, p.115 for his biography.
3 Cf. Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād, pp.57-8.
a number of places, which were great Hindu centres of those days, such as Pompur, Avantipura and Vijabror. These followers of Saiyid 'Alī established *khānqāhs*, and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centres of preaching and proselytisation.

In order to glorify Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, some sources assert that because of the absence of Muslim scholars in the country at that time, Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn used to follow certain practices in contravention of Islamic teachings. But this claim is not reconcilable with the facts, as we know that the Saiyid himself held discussions with some Muslim scholars in Kashmir, who understood an extremely difficult and philosophical work such as the *Futūḥat-i-Makkiya* of Ibn 'Arabī.

It is true that the *ulamā* were not available in large number, but it is incorrect to believe that Kashmir at that time was devoid of Muslim scholars and that Islamic teachings were introduced only because of Saiyid 'Alī and his followers.

In fact if Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn visited Hindu shrines, celebrated their festivals and dressed himself after the Hindu fashion, it was for political reasons. The great majority of his subjects were non-Muslim and

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1. T.Ks., ff.4b, 5a-b; B.S., f.23b; T.Kh., f.109a; A.Ab., f.19b; See also T.Km., f.91a; T.Az., p.36.
2. T.Ks., f.6a-b; F.K., f.71a; T.Az., p.39.
3. T.Ks., f.5a-b; B.S., f.23b; T.Km., f.91a; T.Kh., f.109a-b; A.Ab., f.19b; T.Az., p.36.
   According to Jonarāja, Sulṭān Qutbu'd-Dīn, in order to avert famines, once performed a *vajna*; R.Tj., p.53.
the government officers, as the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī points out, were mushriks (idolators, i.e., Hindus); no doubt it was to maintain good relations with his subjects that he followed their customs and manners.

It was because of this policy of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn that Saiyid 'Alī's relations with him did not remain cordial. There was a conflict between them, arising from their different attitudes towards the non-Muslims. Saiyid 'Alī's uncompromising stand against non-Muslims made it impossible for him to be reconciled with the policies of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn.

Dissatisfied with the Sultan's response to his teachings, Saiyid 'Alī decided to leave Kashmir. The author of Bahāristān-i-Shāhī, supported by two other authorities, says: "When Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn did not glorify (raunaq) Islam and implement the sharī'a as Saiyid 'Alī wished, he therefore decided not to stay any more in this country, and left via Bārāmūla, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage".

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1 T.Ks., f.5a.
2 Qutbu'd-Dīn's grandfather, Shāh Mīr, before him had even married his daughter and grand-daughters to Hindu chiefs for political reasons; see supra, Ch.I.
3 Cf. B.S., f.25a; T.Km., f.93a; T.Kh., ff.109b-110a.
4 In his Z.M. (pp.117-8), Saiyid 'Alī advises a Muslim ruler to impose twenty humiliating conditions on his non-Muslim subjects and in return the non-Muslims are guaranteed nothing; see also infra, pp.107-9.
5 T.Km., f.93a; T.Kh., ff.109b-110a.
6 F.25a.
On reaching Kunār, Saiyid 'Alī was urged by its chief, to stay there for a few days. There he fell ill and died on 6 Zu'l-Hijja, 786/19 January 1385, at the age of 73. His body was carried to Khatlān, now in Russian Tajkistān and was buried there on 25 Jumādū'1-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385.

Religious and Political Thought of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī was a prolific writer. According to three of his biographers, he was the author of 170 works. But none of them, except Wahhāb who lists sixteen of his treatises, gives their titles.

1 In the vicinity of Pakhlī, north-west of Kashmir.
2 According to Ja'far Badakhshī, the name of the chief was Sultān Khīzr (K.M., p.580). But A'zamī and Miskīn give his name as Sultān Muḥammad; T.Az., p.37; T.K., pp.14-5.
3 Amīn Ahmad Rāzī wrongly says that Saiyid 'Alī died at Kābul; Haft Iqlīm, II, p.539.
4 K.M., p.580; B.S., f.25a; A.Ab., f.19b; T.Az., p.37; T.H., III, pp.16-7; T.K., p.15.
5 Kolāb, see A. Kolpakov, "Khatīra-i-Qadīmtarīn dar Kolāb" (Ancient Monument of Kolāb), in the Tajik periodical, Khaqīqat-i-Kolāb, 15 August, 1947, for the details about the mausoleum of Saiyid 'Alī at Khatlān.
6 K.M., p.580. A'zami, however, says that he was buried on 5 Jumādū'1-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385 (T.Az., p.37). But Ja'far Badakhshī being contemporary, is more reliable and moreover he had attended the funeral prayer when the Saiyid was buried at Khatlān; cf. K.M., p.580.
7 Mastūrāt, f.373a; F.K., f.57b; T.H., III, p.12.
8 Wahhāb (F.K., f.57b) claims that of the 170 works written by the Saiyid, he had seen about 50, but mentions only the following: Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, Ma'rīfatu'l-Zuhd, Halu'l-Faṣūṣ, Majma'u'l-Āḥadīs, Minhāju'l-Ārifīn, Mir'atu'l-Tai'bin, Masḥariqu'l-Anwar, Sharḥ-i-Asmā'i-Ḥusnā, Risāla-i-Talqīniya, Ādābu'l-Murīdīn, Risāla-i-Faqīriya, Risāla-i-Khawṭiriya, Risāla-i-Dah Qa'idā, Risāla-i-Manaqīb, Sairu'l-Talibīn, and Asrāru'l-Naqī.
However, various libraries in India, Irān and Europe have a number of treatises written by Saiyid 'Alī in their collections. In India the Rizā Library, Rāmpur and the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar have the largest number of these. In Irān the Kitāb Khāna Millī of Tehrān, the library of Mashhad and the Malik Library, Tehrān, have manuscript copies of several treatises of Saiyid 'Alī. In England works of Saiyid 'Alī are to be found in the India Office Library and in the British Museum. A collection of Saiyid 'Alī's works is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A consolidated list of the available works of Saiyid 'Alī is given in the Appendix A.

None of the works of Saiyid 'Alī, however, has so far been published, except the Zakhrāratu’l-Mulūk. Other than this, all his known works are very short, consisting of a few folios each. These short treatises, although not specifically mentioned as such, seem to be nothing short of letters, as their style and rambling character of their teachings show.

This technique was invented by Imām Qushairī (d. 465/1072), who preferred to write short treatises on different topics of Sufism in the form of letters. His celebrated Risāla, although a large work, is in the form of a letter addressed to his contemporary Šūfīs. Later on some other Šūfīs also followed the same technique and many of their treatises are in the form of letters.

1 This was published at Amritsar in 1321/1903 and has also appeared in an Urdu translation under the title of Minhāju’s-Sulūk (Lahore, 1334/1915). It was also translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrich Carl Rosenmüller in 1825 and into French by C. Solvent in 1829; vide, Šūfī, Kashīr, I, p.90.
There is only one collection of letters written by Saiyid 'Alī. This is known as Risāla-i-Maktūbāt. It consists of eight letters, but the names of the persons to whom they were addressed are not generally given. Whether written to nobles and rulers, as were the letters of other Ṣūfīs such as Shaikh Sharafu'd-Dīn Yaḥyā Munyārī of Bihār and Shaikh 'Abdu'1-Quddūs Ganghō; or addressed to the author's disciples, the letters and treatises of Saiyid 'Alī are intended to serve as the basis of his teachings.

Some works of Saiyid 'Alī, which describe Sufism, give only the elementary stages of the Ṣūfī path, while others deal with the more advanced stages of the discipline. Their styles therefore differ one from the other. Thus the elementary works, when read along with the advanced ones, seem to contradict the latter. For example, in one treatise the Saiyid says that love of God emerges from the human will, while in another he writes that it depends upon gnosis (ma'rifa). The treatise emphasising irādat or will deals with the elementary principles of Sufism, while the one devoted to ma'rifa embodies the advanced stage of spiritual attainment.

1 Charles Rieu has mentioned Maktūbāt-i-Amīrīya (Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, II, f.836b, Add.16840, ff.219a-223b), as being a separate work by Saiyid 'Alī. But an examination reveals that this is merely a copy of a letter included in the Risāla-i-Maktūbāt (Add. 16840, ff.162a-165b).
2 Cf. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p.49.
3 Cf. ibid., p.244.
4 R.Z., f.282b.
5 R.M.Az., f.237a.
The style of Saiyid 'Alī is not different from that of other Şūfī writers of those days. He substantiates his teachings with quotations from the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad. Occasionally he quotes anecdotes of the pre-Islamic prophets and eminent religious authorities of early Islam in order to draw morals from them. Verses are also frequently quoted.

He generally asserts his beliefs without entering into controversial discussions, drawing mainly upon those Şūfīs who followed the teachings of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (d. 298/910), and he quotes mainly from the works of Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) such as Ḥiyā’ ʿUlūm al-Dīn and Kīmiyā'-i-Saʿādat. He does not quote Ash'arī (260-324/873-935) directly but derives his teachings from secondary sources.

Şūfic Thoughts

Saiyid 'Alī was both an 'ālim (scholastic thinker) and a Şūfī. As an 'ālim he addresses the 'amma'-i-khalq (common people) and expects them to obey the laws prescribed by the Ash'arite system of Sunni theology. As a Şūfī he gives an inner and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers after Truth, the arbāb-i-qalūb (lit. men of heart), and şidīqān (truthful ones).

While describing the nature of the Godhead Saiyid 'Alī consistently maintains his two-fold approach, one that of the 'ālim and the other that of the Şūfī. As an 'ālim he holds that Creator and creatures are two different realities. God is One, eternal and self-existent Being. He is
neither matter nor substance. He has no form, nothing is like unto Him, whatsoever one conceives of Him, God the most high is beyond that.¹

Likewise the Saiyid accepts the eternity of the attributes of God. His attributes, he says, are uncreated, without beginning or end. All Divine revelations are His word and do not stand in need of a mouth in order to be uttered, or of letters in order to be written; their meaning is uncreated.²

But as a Şūfī he maintains the wisāl or mystical union is possible between the Creator and created. And this, he says, can be achieved only through the highest degree of ma'rifa, the ma'rifa-i-mushāhada (gnosis based on contemplation).³

The 'ulama too speak about the ma'rifa, but to them it means "right cognition ('ilm) of God".⁴ As an 'ālim Saiyid 'Alī subscribes to this view, but he maintains that this type of ma'rifa is of the lowest degree, possessed by common people, who acknowledge that God is unique and everything in the world is His handiwork.⁵

¹ Z.M., pp.6-7; R.I., f.244a.
² Ibid., p.8; ibid., f.244a-b.
³ R.S.M., f.269a.
⁴ "Theologians, lawyers, and other classes of men give the name of gnosis (ma'rifat) to right cognition ('ilm) of God", says Hujwīrī, "but the Şūfī Shaykhs call right feeling (ḥāl) by that name". Kashf., Eng.Tr., R.A. Nicholson, p.267.
⁵ R.S.M., f.269a.
Above them, the Saiyid continues, are 'ulamā-i-rusūm (the traditional 'ālims), who possess ma'rifa-i-istidālī (gnosis based on reason). They prove the existence of God on the basis of their worldly knowledge and wisdom.¹

The highest degree of gnosis is ma'rifa-i-mushāhada, which Saiyid 'Alī defines in his capacity as a Ṣūfī. Here the aspirant is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the nature, attributes and works of God. It is achieved, Saiyid 'Alī points out, when the heart is purged of evil. Those who possess this type of ma'rifa have plunged themselves in the mysteries of God in the hope of wisāl.²

The ma'rifa-i-mushāhada, Saiyid 'Alī believes is obtained through Divine revelation (wahy) and Divine inspiration (ilhām).³ The Divine revelation obviously is granted to the prophets and Divine inspiration to the saints. But Hujwīrī, an eleventh century Ṣūfī scholar, rejects the theory that gnosis is the result of ilhām and says: "gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion".⁴

However, Saiyid 'Alī divides the recipients of Divine inspiration into three categories. The first, he says, is composed of those whose gnosis is based on mystical ecstasy (shathī). He is obviously thinking

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Kashf., p.271.
of the Ṣūfīs like Bāyazīd Baṣṭamī and Maḥṣūr al-Ḥallāj. To the second category belong majūb, who are perplexed in the bādiya-i-haimān (lit. desert of thirst). The third is composed of those who are in the stage of haarat (amazement); as Shibli (d. 334/945) is said to have remarked: "Gnosis is continual amazement (haarat)."

Like other Ṣūfī writers, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that ma'rīfah leads to the love of God. The love of God, he writes, emerges from gnosis and the greater the gnosis the more perfect is the love of God. Man's love of God, he insists, is the supreme end of the life of human beings. Those who believe that love cannot exist between man and God are imperfect Ṣūfīs. The unique distinction bestowed upon man by God is that angels were ordered to prostrate themselves before Adam. This took place because man alone was capable of attaining the love of God.

1 Literally means "attracted". The term is used by the Ṣūfīs for a person who is attracted by Divine grace and has little or no control over his actions.
2 R.S.M., f.269a.
3 Kashf., p.275.
4 Cf. Ihya, IV, p.288.
5 R.M.Az., f.237a.
7 Cf. Qur'ān, 2:34; 7:11.
Long before Saiyid 'Alī, Sūfīs had accepted love as the ideal relationship between man and God, tracing it back to the Qur'ān\(^1\) and the sayings of the Prophet.\(^2\) In order to justify that none but God is worthy of love, the Sūfīs divided love into different categories,\(^3\) concluding that since those things for which one feels love originate from God, He alone is to be loved.\(^4\)

Saiyid 'Alī ascribes the inclination for love to five reasons:\(^5\) mahabbat-i-nafs (love of the self), mahabbat-i-muḥsin (love of a benefactor), mahabbat-i-sāḥib-i-kamāl (love of a perfect man), mahabbat-i-jamīl (love for the beautiful), and mahabbat-i-ta'āruf-i-rūḥānī (love based on spiritual relationship).

The love of the self is innate in mankind. He wants to preserve his own existence and strives for gains in life and avoids loss. This love for the existence of self is often canalized to the love of the Creator, Who bestows life and existence on every one.

The love for the benefactor emerges from the benefits that the man derives from him. But those who are able to recognise that the highest

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1 Cf. ibid., 5:54; 2:65.
2 Cf. Kashf., pp.304-5; Ihya, IV, pp.286 ff..
3 Ghazālī attributes impulsion to love to four causes: love of the self, love of a benefactor, love for beauty and love based on affinity between two souls; cf. Ihya, IV, pp.289 ff..
4 Cf. ibid.
5 R.M.Az., f.237a.
benefactor is God, cease to think of worldly benefactors and concentrate on God, thereby strengthening their bonds of love with the Almighty.

The love for perfect men emerges from the feelings of reverence to attributes such as knowledge, munificence and piety, with which they are endowed. These ethical virtues invariably make a deep impact on everyone. The respect for virtues and attributes may also lead people to the love of God, Who is the embodiment of all known and unknown attributes.

The love for beauty is the source of infatuation for everything that is beautiful and attractive; it gives pleasure and produces excitement; for example, a beautiful woman is an object of attraction for all. The love for beauty is also instrumental in directing the mind of man, engrossed in earthly love, to the love of that Highest Being Who is the repository of all beauty.

The love based on spiritual relationship has no worldly source. It is the result of God's own gift and is predestined. He bestows spiritual love on one whom He chooses, without any other cause or reason.

Thus the causes which infuse love into man are combined in their highest perfection in God, so He alone is worthy of love. Since man's love

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1 He pleads on the basis of a tradition recorded by Ahmad bin Hanbal (780-855), that Allah is Beauty and He loves beauty (cf. Wensinck, Concordance de La Tradition Musulmane, I, p.373). Beauty, the Saiyid says, is the eternal attribute of God, and the word 'beauty' can be attributed to none but God. Real beauty is One and with it nothing can be associated. Wherever and in whatever form beauty is seen, it is the reflection of the eternal Beauty; R.M.Az., f.236a-b.

for God is the result of ma'rifah, all lovers cannot be endowed with the same degree of love. They differ in the intensity of their love, in proportion to their ma'rifah. Therefore Saiyid 'Alî divides the lovers of God into four categories: a'am (most common), 'am (common), khâṣ (select ones), and akhas (highest among the select).^1

According to Saiyid 'Alî's scheme these four classes of people belong to four different (spiritual) worlds, in proportion to their spiritual attainments.

The most common ones, Saiyid 'Alî writes, are the talibân, the beginners. Their experience belongs to the world of the senses, which in ordinary Sûfî parlance is known as ālam-i-nâsût or the human world, but which the Saiyid calls ālam-i-shahâdat (the visible world). Here the seeker after Truth operates through his senses. But as he rises higher in the realm of the Sûfî experience and overpowers his carnal self, he becomes a sâlik (devotee) and enters the world of ghâ'ib wa misâl (invisible and of similitude), where he experiences some aspects of Divine beauty and action.  

The select are muqarrabân, those near to God, who belong to the world of malakût ("psychic substance"). Here the heart of the traveller on the spiritual path begins to experience the reflection of the Divine beauty and obtains some awareness of its truth.

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1. Ibid., f.237b.
2. Ibid.
The Sīdīgān, the highest among the elect, belong to the world of jabarūt ("spiritual existence"). Here the Ṣūfī begins to view the Divine beauty in its entirety. When one attains this stage, Saiyid 'Alī says, his love undergoes no change, because the lover at this point is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves fanā (annihilation in God).\(^1\)

In another treatise, Kashfu'1-Ḥaqā'iq, Saiyid 'Alī defines the highest form of the Ṣūfī development as one where he experiences tajallī-zāt or the self manifestation of the Essence.\(^2\)

To attain this spiritual end or mystical experience, the Saiyid gives another scheme, a mystical journey, divided into four worlds, mulk ("the visible world"), malakūt ("the world of psychic substance"), jabarūt ("the world of spiritual existence"), and lāhūt (divinity), which the traveller on the spiritual path has to cover.\(^3\)

In the world of mulk, the Saiyid says, the seeker does not experience anything of great importance. Whatever occurs to him in this stage is worldly in its nature. But when the noble spirit (shāhbāz-i-rūḥ) of the seeker soars higher, he begins to travel in the world of malakūt, where he perceives lights of various colours (anwārāt-i-muta'lauwin) and manifestations of Divine actions, which he has not experienced in the mulk.

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\(^1\) R.M.Az., f.237b. See infra pp.61-3 for the definition of fanā.

\(^2\) K.H., f.232a.

\(^3\) Ibid.
When he passes beyond this world 'the august bird' (the seeker) who possesses exalted spiritual will, flies in the space of jabarūt. Here he becomes ready to receive the manifestation of the Divine qualities and to be associated with Divine virtues. The various coloured lights which appear to him in the malakūt are transformed into a single colour. When the seeker makes enough progress he enters the world of lāhūt where he receives the manifestation of the Divine essence and achieves fana. 1

Of all the Sūfī terms the most controversial is fana (annihilation or passing away). Saiyid Ṭālī does not give any explanation of the term. However, Hujwīrī says that Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz (d. between 279/892 and 286/899) was first to invent the terms fana and baqā (subsistence). 2 Hujwīrī quotes the following definition of fana as given by Kharrāz: "Annihilation [fana] is annihilation of consciousness of manhood ('ubūdiyyat), and subsistence [baqā] is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (ilāhiyyat)". 3

Collating the various definitions of fana given by Sūfī scholars who preceded Hujwīrī, he sums up: "annihilation comes to a man through vision of the majesty of God and through the revelation of Divine omnipotence to his heart, so that in the overwhelming sense of His majesty this world and the next world are obliterated from his mind, and 'states' and 'stations' appear contemptible in the sight of his aspiring thought, and

1 K.H., f.232b.
2 Kashf., p.242. See also A.J. Arberry, Muslim Saints and Mystics, p.219.
3 Kashf., p.245.
what is shown to him of miraculous grace vanishes into nothing: he becomes
dead to reason and passion alike, dead even to annihilation itself; and in
that annihilation of annihilation his tongue proclaims God, and his mind
and body are humble and abased, as in the beginning when Adam's posterity
were drawn forth from his loins without admixture of evil and took the
pledge of servantship to God (Kor. VII, 171).¹

This is the definition which was propounded by Junaid, who believed in
the doctrine of sahý (sobriety).² But according to Býayazíd, who indulged
in sukr (ecstatic drunkenness or intoxication), fana amounts to shedding
one's ego "as snakes their skin". In this state man loses his self
consciousness and begins to make remarks such as "Glory be to me. How great
is My majesty!"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee";
"I am the Throne and the Footstool"; "I saw the Kaba walking round me"; and
so on.³

The third view was set forth by Ibn 'Arabî, who believed in the unity
of Being. According to him in the state of fana the Sûfî loses sight of
the creature and witnesses only the Absolute. Thus the people who witness

¹ Kashf., p.246.
² Cf. A. Kâdr, Al-Junayd, pp.81 ff.
³ H. Ritter's article on Býayazíd in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition),
I, pp.162-3.
the Absolute in the creatures and the creatures in the Absolute are believed to have attained the stage of fana and baqa in Ibn 'Arabi's terminology.¹

Saiyid 'Alī devotes an entire treatise, entitled Risāla-i-Dah Qā'idā, to the contemplative life. The ways to God, he writes, are as numerous as men themselves, but they can be consolidated into three different paths.² The first is the rāh-i-arbāb-i-mu'amlāt (the path of those who observe only external rules of the religion). This road is traversed by common Muslims, who perform only the obligatory duties prescribed by the religion and is a means for their salvation. But visāl-i-haqīqi (real union), Saiyid 'Alī points out, cannot be obtained by performing such external devotion.³

The second road is that of arbāb-i-mujāhada (those who undergo self mortification) and is traversed by the abrār, the righteous ones of the community, also called by the Saiyid the muqtaṣidān (those who follow the middle path). The basic principle of this path is to wean the nafs from evil.⁴

The third path is followed by the sā'irān-i-hażrat-i-samdiat (travellers to the court of the Most High). This is the most perfect and the noblest of

² R.D.Q., f.134a.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
all the paths, and is based on "killing one's own will", as the Prophet has said: "Die before you die".\(^1\) Those who traverse this path attach themselves to the Eternal and soar high in the space of  \(\text{lähūt}\),\(^2\) the last stage of the mystic journey.

To attain this highest path, Saiyid 'Alī, in common with other Šūfī authors,\(^3\) prescribes the following ten rules:\(^4\)

1. Tauba
2. Zuhūd
3. Tawakkul
4. Qanā'at
5. 'Uzlat
6. Zikr
7. Tawājjuh
8. Sābr
9. Muraqaba
10. Rīzā

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1 This is attributed by the Šūfīs to the Prophet as evidence in support of their claim to have inherited his "esoteric doctrine"; cf. Nicholson, Rūmī Poet and Mystic, p.131n.

2 R.D.Q., f.134a-b.

3 Cf. Al-Sarrāj, Kitābu'l-Luma'; Ghazālī, Ḳhyā; Suhrawardī, 'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif. However, they were not always uniform in the number. For example, Al-Sarrāj gives only seven stages (cf. Kitābu'l-Luma', pp.43 ff.). Ghazālī and Suhrawardī both give ten stages; cf. Ḳhyā, IV, pp.3 ff.; 'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif, IV, pp.335 ff..

4 R.D.Q., f.134b.
Tauba means to "return" and in Şüfî terminology it stands for repentance. The Şüfîs are divided among themselves on the nature of the tauba. According to Zu'l-Nun Mişrî (d.246/861), tauba for ordinary men is to repent of their sins and for Şüfîs it means to repent of their "heedlessness". Abû Ḥafṣ Hadâd (d.265/879) believes that repentance is God's gift and cannot be acquired by human effort.

Saiyid 'Alî believes that tauba is an act by which man can return to God, and prescribes two ways to do so. The one is when one dies, but it is involuntary, as one has no control over death. The other is by making a conscious effort, giving up voluntarily all those things which keep one away from God. Thus for the seeker after Truth all thoughts of the visible and the invisible world are sins.

Zuhd or renunciation demands the voluntary abandonment even of permitted indulgence. Saiyid 'Alî's zuhd is even more puritanical. According to him not only should the world and worldly objects and honours be given up, but even the desire for these should be renounced.

Comparing this to the state when one dies and leaves behind all the desires, Saiyid 'Alî urges that the Şüfî who wishes to tread on the highest path must renounce even the desire for objects relating to the next world.

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1 Cf. Kashf., p.298.
2 Cf. ibid., p.299.
3 R.D.Q., f.135a.
Tawakkul or trust in God demands, the Saiyid writes, that the traveller on the spiritual path should entrust himself and all his ways and works to God in a spirit of complete and unqualified trust.\(^1\)

Qanā'at or resignation, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is an act of "stripping oneself of the garments of worldly and beastly desires". The seeker after Truth must accept only what is necessary to maintain his existence.\(^2\)

'Uzlat, literally means "retirement" or "seclusion". The Ṣūfīs hold two different opinions about the nature of 'uzlat. To some,\(^3\) it means complete retirement from the world and worldly people; while others\(^4\) believe that this type of solitude exposes the self to increasingly more Satanic suggestions. The latter advocate inner seclusion and what they call the enjoyment of solitude while in assembly.

Saiyid 'Alī does not reject or accept either of the above views. He divides 'uzlat in two stages. In the first stage, according to the Saiyid, the seeker must turn his back on mankind and keep himself away from the people. He must sever all ties, outward and inward, except relations with his guide, who purifies his heart and mind as the ghasāl (one who washes the corpse) washes the dead body. This type of 'uzlat, comparing the seeker

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\(^1\) Ibid., f.136a.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Cf. Kashf., p.103.
\(^4\) Cf. ibid., pp.72, 190 and 338.
to a patient, he says, serves the needs of parhez (lit. abstinence). As parhez removes all undesirable matters from the body of a sick man, the retirement from the world purifies and removes traces of "other than God" from his heart and mind.

In its higher aspect, the second stage of 'uzlat, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is to divert the senses from the forbidden to the lawful. In this state a person, although he lives among the people, is isolated and severed from the rest of mankind.¹

Zikr, the literal meaning of which is "recollection" or "remembrance", is used by the Sufis especially for remembrance or praise of God. Zikr, Saiyid 'Alī writes, is the conscious recollection of God, to the exclusion of all that is "other than God".² The most excellent zikr, the Saiyid believes, is la ilāha illā 'l-lāh ("there is no god but God").³ It is a spiritual medicine, he says, composed of both negative and positive elements. La ilāha is the negative element of the zikr, it purifies the self from evil such as jealousy, pride, greed and hypocrisy. Each of these evils, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is a chain for the soul, and sickness of the heart. La ilāha cuts off the chain and purifies the heart, which is the dwelling place of God.⁴

1 R.D.O., f.135a-b.
2 R.D.O., f.135b.
The affirmation illā 'l-lāh, the positive element, makes the heart healthy and protects it from evil dispositions. "It directs self to piety. The effulgence of the light of unity (nūr-i-wahdat) dispels the darkness of plurality, it makes the soul, the ruler, the deputy of God, manifest itself on the throne of firm belief in the Divine beauty and enables the body to brighten itself with the light of the guidance of that Beauty".  

When the zikr obtains complete domination over the heart of the zākir (one who recites zikr), "the vestiges of the imaginary existence of the zākir begin to search through the rays of the sun of wujūd (Being). The dust of the adversity of existence (of the zākir) and zikr are destroyed. The Beauty of the magkūr (object of meditation, God), manifests itself in the person of the zākir and confirms the Divine promise: "If you look towards Me, I shall look towards you". This is the highest stage or the goal for which the Sūfī strives. Here the zikr is obliterated and the beauty of the magkūr (God) manifests itself in the being of the zākir.  

In another treatise, entitled Risāla-i-Zikrīya, Saiyid 'Alī categorically rejects the zikr-i-jahr (zikr recited aloud or outwardly),

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1 Ibid., f.136a.  
2 "rusūm-i-wujūd-i-mauhūm-i-zākir".  
3 Qur’ān, 57:4.  
5 Ibid., f.136a.
and recommends only zikr-i-khaft (zikr recited silently or inwardly). On the basis of certain verses of the Qur'an and injunctions of hadīs, the Saiyid pleads that zikr-i-khaft is a superior way of reciting the name of God. It is more respectful and leads the seeker to God in a most befitting manner.

Tawajjuh, literally means "attention" or "concentration". The Śūfīs define the term as turning oneself devoutly to God in such a way that one loses one's self-consciousness in search of God. Saiyid 'Alī too says that tawajjuh means to turn to God entirely. When one is diverting one's attention to God, he writes, one's thoughts should be completely absorbed in Him, and should not be distracted by things other than God. Even if the stages attained by all the great saints (muqarraban) were told, he should not pay attention to them. The Saiyid, quoting Junaid, approvingly that if a true seeker treads on the path to God for thousands of years and shows negligence for a single moment, he loses all those blessings earned during a thousand odd years.

1 R.Z., f.286a.
2 Cf. 7:55; 49:2.
3 R.Z., f.286a.
4 "Concentration [tawajjuh]", says Abū Bakr Kallābhādī, "means that they [the Śūfīs] are absent from being present (in this world), and from regarding themselves as self-determining ...". Kitābu'l-Ta'aruf li Mazhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf, Eng.Tr. Arberry (The Doctrine of the Śūfīs), p.127.
5 R.D.Q., f.136b.
6 Ibid.
Sabr, which means "patience", is mentioned in the Qur’ān in many places and a patient man is highly praised. The Sūfīs too regard it as a noble stage on the path to God. According to Saiyid 'Alī patience is the basis of all worship. In the real sense of the term, he continues, it means to subdue one's carnal self, and to inculcate love for God's worship, and firmness in mujāhada. Through mortification the carnal self is purified. If all connections with worldly objects, which are attractive to everyone, are severed, the soul is brightened, but this can be achieved only through sabr.

Saiyid 'Alī considers a true Sūfī to be one who meets trials and affliction with a smiling face. In another treatise, Maqāmatu'1-Śūfīya, he writes: "Even if the Sūfī suffers from the calamities of both the visible and invisible worlds, he should not utter a sigh (in grief). And if he is subjected to the hardship of both worlds, he should accept them patiently".

Murāqaba, literally means "contemplation". In its real sense, Saiyid 'Alī says, it amounts to giving up all authority and activity over which the seeker has control. It is an instrument in the hands of Sūfīs, he goes on, through which they try to achieve their goal and concentrate on nothing else but God. Purifying their hearts and souls, they await the Divine grace.

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1 Qur'ān, 8:46; 11:11.
4 Maqāmatu'1 Śūfīya, f.275b.
They swim in the ocean of Divine unity and make themselves the moth of the lamp of Divine beauty. Their heart kindles through the light of Divine contemplation. They abandon the dark lane, which leads to an ephemeral goal, and travel on the wide lane of the Divine light.

The literal meaning of the term riḍā is "to be pleased". It is the last of the stages and denotes a condition in which the seeker is always pleased with whatever befalls him. Some Ṣūfīs believe it to be ḥāl (state) and some a maqām (stage).

Saiyid 'Alī, like Sarraj and Ghazālī, regards it as a maqām and says that it is the highest of all the stages. Riḍā, he writes, is that Ṣūfīs should stop taking interest in themselves in order to gain the satisfaction of the beloved (mahbūb, i.e., God). Whatever the Ṣūfīs wish to attain by their individual efforts, the Saiyid continues, is invariably of a mean and low order. But when they think no more of their own plans and entrust the

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1 R.D.Q., f.137a-b.
3 Maqām and ḥāl differ in their meaning. Maqām is that which one acquires oneself and ḥāl on the other hand represents a gift of Divine grace, over which one has no control. "Station [maqām]", says Hujwīrī, "belongs to the category of acts, 'state' [ḥāl] to the category of gifts"; Kashf., p.181.
4 According to Qushairī, the mystic scholars of Khurāsān hold that riḍā is a maqām, and the 'Irāqī school on the other hand took it to be a ḥāl (cf. A.J. Arberry, Sufism, p.77). But according to Hujwīrī the doctrine attributed by Qushairī to the Khurāsānīs was also held by the 'Irāqīs and vice versa; cf. Kashf., pp.176-7.
6 Cf. Ihya, IV, p.333.
great works to the Great One, they begin to receive limitless grace and start to shine with the Divine light and fly into the wide expanse of lāhūt.¹

The Sūfī scholars divided the saints into a hierarchy commensurate with their attainments and progress in the path of devotion to God. The hierarchy of the saints described by Hujwīrī is interlinked. On the basis of some Qur'ānic verses,² Hujwīrī asserts that the saints are the chosen ones of God, whom "He has specially distinguished by His friendship".³ However, he divides them broadly into two categories, "the governors of the universe" through whose blessings "the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth ...". Their number, he says, is four thousand and they are "concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state ...".⁴

The second category belong to those "who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine Court. There are three hundred, called Akhvār, and forty, called Abdāl, and seven, called Abrār, and four, called Awtād, and three, called Nuqābā, and one, called Qūtb or Gowth. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent".⁵

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² Cf. 2:257; 10:62.
³ Kashf., p. 212.
⁴ Ibid., p. 213.
⁵ Ibid., p. 214.
The categories made by Saiyid 'Alī are not so closely interlinked, but his description gives an understanding of his approach to Sufism. He divides the saints into the following two categories:

1. Muqtaṣidān (those who follow a moderate course).
2. Sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat (leaders of the ranks of sainthood).

Before proceeding to describe these categories, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that God created man in order to manifest His great mystery. He endowed man with reason and faith, so that he might select for himself the ideal path. But, the Saiyid points out, the overwhelming majority of men did not accept the guidance of their reason or faith and adopted paths which made them cruel, obstinate, stubborn and negligent. In fact they were misled by their carnal self and only a few were able to follow the right path of reason and faith. Those who deviated from the right path were not able to reach their goal, and did not fulfil the objective for which they were created. But the muqtaṣidān and sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat, he goes on to say, did comply with conditions which were responsible for their creation.

The muqtaṣidān are those, Saiyid 'Alī adds, who tread on the right path. They are the people who succeed in crushing the beastly elements in their nature, and seek to lead a pure and pious life. They overcome the difficulties and afflictions of the worldly life. This, he says, is a real jihād (effort, struggle), in the way to God. Those who fight this jihād,

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1. R.Z., f.280b.
2. Ibid., ff.280b–281a.
the Qur'ān addresses thus: "Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the Garden which you were promised".  

Above them is the category of sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat. They are the people who are not engrossed in the darkness of nāsūt, and have found a place in the wide expanse of lāhūt. They consume their moth-like imaginary existence with the light of the lamp of Divine Majesty. By annihilating their ephemeral existence they find an everlasting life with Divine Majesty.

In a different treatise called the Risāla-i-Futūhīya, Saiyid 'Alī mentions a category of the Şūfīs known as maqbulān (accepted ones), and further sub-divides them into two groups: muqarrabān and abrār.

The muqarrabān, he writes, are the travellers on the path of tarīqa and the soldiers of the battle field of haqīqa. They do not pollute their spirit with all that is transitory and do not bother themselves with the problems of space and time. They direct their energies and ideas to the Unattainable (God). They subdue their reason, control their carnal self and the lusts and desires of both worlds.

They withdraw themselves from all created beings, kill their consciousness and yearn for nothing but to find an everlasting existence

1 41:30.
2 R.Z., f.281a.
3 Ibid., f.281a-b.
4 R.F., f.257a.
5 Ibid., f.257a-b.
in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not concerned with the subtleties of the nature of 

wujūd or hair-splitting doctrines related to it and try to see God through God. They pass through the narrow world of 'ubūdīya (servitude) and fly into the world of huwīya (Divine essence). Sometimes the horse of their yearning gallops in the plains of Divine love; often it is melted in the plain of shuhūd (visible world), through the light of the sun of unity (ahdīya). The existence of created beings depends upon them. The light of their mysteries kindles the lamp of the assembly of all the spiritually minded.¹

The muqarrabān, as envisaged by Saiyid 'Alī, are no other than those whom Ibn 'Arabī calls "Perfect Men";² through them God manifests Himself to all created beings. Thus Saiyid 'Alī, without quoting Ibn 'Arabī direct, reiterates his ideas with a veneer of orthodoxy.

The abrār, the second group of maqbulān, are further sub-divided by Saiyid 'Alī into two classes:³

1. Those who are devoted to the service of mankind and are known as ahl-i-futūwat (bountiful).
2. Those who are so devoted to God that they have no concern with worldly people.

¹ R.F., f.257b.
² Cf. Corbin, Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī, pp.131 ff.
³ R.F., ff.257b-258a.
The second class of abrār is again sub-divided by the Saiyid into two: wālihān-i-tariqa (lit. astonished ones of the path of tariqa) or maslūb'ī-aql (bereft of reason); and zāhidān (ascetics) or zū'aql (endowed with reason).

The wālihān-i-tariqa are bewildered with Divine love, they have no control over their senses and reason, and they drown themselves in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not even able to perform the obligatory prayers. Such people, Saiyid 'Alī writes, should neither be followed nor rejected.

The Zahidan, guided by reason, are convinced that the world is contemptible and is full of deceit and evil. Realising that worldly goods are associated with thousands of calamities and misfortunes, they voluntarily give up all pleasures and enjoyment and spend their lives in acts of devotion of all kinds. Although they appear to be feeble, spiritually they are strong and prosperous.

The ahl-i-futūwat consist of those whose hearts are full of kindness and compassion for others. Their existence is the source of comfort for

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1 R.F., f.258a.
2 Ms.C., f.289a.
3 R.F., f.258a.
4 Ms.C., f.289a.
5 R.F., f.258a.
6 Ibid.
mankind. They spend their lives and wealth in treating their fellow-men kindly and generously.¹

Saiyid 'Alī quotes the sayings of various Şūfīs about the nature and qualities of ahl-i-futūwat. Hasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), he writes, has said that those who are the enemies of their carnal self belong to the ahl-i-futūwat. Fāṣil 'Abbās (Fuzail 'Iyāz, d.187/802), remarked that the ahl-i-futūwat are those who are kind and distribute their wealth to the people indiscriminately to friend and foe, or believer and non-believer. Yahyā ibn Maʿāz (d.258/871), believed that the ahl-i-futūwat have three virtues: they are pious, honest and loyal to their friends.²

However, Saiyid 'Alī, on the authority of the Caliph 'Alī, asserts that the main pillars of futūwat are four:³

1. To forgive despite power to wreak vengeance.
2. To exhibit patience in anger.
3. To wish well even to an enemy.
4. To prefer the needs of others to one's own.

One who has these four qualities and at the same time devotes himself to God, the Saiyid says, is called akhī (lit. brother).⁴ However, he adds that in the Şūfī parlance the term is used in three different senses: 'Ām

¹Ibid.
²Ibid., ff.255b-256a.
³Ibid., f.256b.
⁴Ibid., f.261a.
(common people), *khaš* (elect ones), and *akhaš* (choicest among the elect).¹

The common people use the term in its literal meaning. Those who have the same father or mother call one another brother. It is customary for them to call someone else brother, but in fact they never count him as such.²

To the category of *khaš* belong the 'ulamā and the excellent believers who are above hypocrisy and the usual customs. They use the term in its ideal meaning (*mašb-i-ḥaqīqī*) and in accordance with the Qur'ānic³ injunction "The believers are brethren", they take every Muslim as their brother.⁴

The *akhaš* include the *arbāb-i-qalūb* and *ahl-i-taḥqīq*, who use the term *akḥī* in its technical sense (*iṣṭlāḥī*). They call one of their disciples *akḥī* if they notice in him the qualities of *ahl-i-futūwat* and religious and spiritual knowledge.⁵ But, Saiyid 'Alī adds, such a person should not miss a single *sunna* of the Prophet and should have no regard for this world.⁶ At the same time he should mix with all people, but in spirit

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¹ Ibid., f.255a.
² Ibid.
³ 49:10.
⁴ R.F., f.255a.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., f.256a.
he should be away from them, busy in His adoration. He should be a man of laudable character, his manners full of virtue, respectful to his elders, an adviser to those of his own age, affectionate to those younger than himself, kind to the weak, generous to the poor, modest and humble to scholars, an enemy of the unjust, loving to those in distress, at war with his nafs, but at peace with people.

Such a person, Saiyid 'Ali points out, will eventually be appointed by the Shaikh (guide) as his khalīfa or successor and invested with a khirqa (cloak), which he calls khil'at-i-faqr (the robe of piety). The khirqa was a certificate indicating the perfection reached by its recipient. Saiyid 'Ali, like all other Sufis, writes that no one can travel on the path to God without the guidance of a preceptor who is duly authorised to initiate disciples. Knowledge acquired by personal effort is of no avail. Unless an individual acquires even an external knowledge under a teacher, his discourses cannot be accepted and his judgement cannot be trusted, although he may be quite intelligent and well-read. The same is the case, the Saiyid argues, with those who pursue the path of the tariqa. An individual might perform ascetic exercises and mortifications for

1 Ibid., f.256b.
2 Ibid., f.261a-b.
3 Ibid., f.255a.
4 Ghazālī held that one who has no pir to guide him will be led from the true path by Satan; cf. K.Sa., p.268.
5 Hujwīrī called such people "ignorant pretenders"; Kashf., p.17.
hundreds of years, but this would be of no use unless he serves a man expert in the ṭarīqa. Saiyid 'Alī writes that the Prophet Muḥammad imbued 'Alī, the commander of the faithful, with it and the chain of all living saints (guides) goes back to him. This is the secret of the ṭarīqa and the silsila.¹

In another treatise, called Risāla-i-Darweshīya, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that religious and spiritual guidance is a very specialised subject. Without the protection of a perfect and experienced person, he believes, no one can transcend the bondage and darkness of desires.² The essential realities of all devotions, he writes, are only known to the prophets, physicians of the faith, the saints, the holy ones of the path of the ṭarīqa and the 'ulamā.³ They are endowed with knowledge and teach the disciples according to their capacity and prescribe remedies suitable to the spiritual ailments and the diseases of heart. He illustrates his point through the example of worldly physicians and says that although the medicines might be innumerable, only a particular medicine is prescribed for a particular disease in accordance with the nature of the disease, which is known only to the physicians. The same is the case with the Sūfī path, although the forms of devotion are innumerable and all of them are true,

¹ R.F., f.255a.
² Ghazālī had already declared that the gains from the errors of the pīr were greater than what the disciple would gain on his own, even if he was right; cf. K.Sa., p.268.
³ R.Dr., f.249b.
the particular disease of the heart of a devotee can be cured only through a particular devotion. He reminds his readers that the remedies of the sickness of heart are known only to the prophets, saints, religious scholars and the physicians of the faith.\(^1\)

Saiyid 'Alī warns that the teachers for the acquisition of different types of religious knowledge should be selected with care, the reason being that a large number of scholars have emerged in all parts of the Islamic world who call their frivolous disputes kalām (scholastic theology). They think senseless logic and vain talk to be philosophy. They pursue knowledge in order to gain fame but in fact they are not acquainted with the realities of religion. They ignore the teachings of the Qur'ān and sunna and do not care for the subtle points of Divine knowledge, and thus they misguide people.\(^2\)

Because of such teachers, Saiyid 'Alī continues, people have deviated from the real path of religion and are indulging in heresy and infidelity. They are instruments for corrupting the open road to shari'a. Such people pose themselves as 'ālims and Sufis and in that garb they propagate kufr. The world is full of such people. Thus, he urges, that only those 'ālims should be selected for obtaining religious knowledge, who are not hypocrites but are endowed with piety and righteousness.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Ibid.
\(^2\) Ibid., f.251a-b.
\(^3\) Ibid., f.251b.
By making obedience to the Divine command and suppression of carnal desires a precondition of true Islam, Saiyid 'Alī raises the true 'alīm to the status of a Șūfī. Distinguishing between Īmān (faith) and Islam, he says that salvation is obtained through Īmān and religious and worldly prosperity are gained through Islam.  

Pillars of Islam

Most of Saiyid 'Alī's works, especially the Risāla-i-Iʿtiqādīya and sections in the Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, are devoted to the exposition of the pillars of Islam. In the very first pages of the Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, Saiyid 'Alī poses the question whether Islam is identical with Īmān. This question has remained a subject of hot controversy among Muslim scholars. Its material was provided by the Qur'ān and hadīs, both of which used

1 Ibid.
2 Īmān (faith), ṣalāt or namāz (prayer), ṣaʿum or roza (fast), zakāt and ṣadaqa (alms) and ḥajj (pilgrimage).

According to Ash'arī: "Islam is more extensive than faith, and ... the whole of Islam is not faith" (Ibn ʿan Uṣūlu'l-Diyāna, Eng.Tr., by R.J. McCarthy, The Theology of Al-Ash'arī, p.243). Again in Maqālātū'l-Islāmīyyin (Eng.Tr., R.J. McCarthy, op.cit., p.243), he asserts that Islam is other than faith.

Ghazālī like Hujwīrī (cf. Kashf., p.268), says that Īmān means acceptance of the beliefs and Islam, he says, is submission and surrender to God; cf. Nabih Āmīn Farīs, The Foundations of the Articles of Faith, p.100.

In verses 51:35-6, both the terms are used synonymously and in 49:41, as terms of different meaning.

Islam and Ḳāfīn as "different terms of different meaning, and as related terms the one being a part of the other". ¹

Saiyid 'Alī bases his theory on a well known Ḥadīṣ, which sets up a distinction between Ḳāfīn and Islam. It says Ḳāfīn consists in believing in God, His angels, His books, His prophets and predestination. Islam is the worship of God without associating anything with Him and the belief in the prophethood of Muḥammed. Islam urges its followers to say prayers (five times daily), to observe the fast (in the month of Ramażān), to pay the Zakāt, and to perform the pilgrimage. ²

From this Saiyid 'Alī concludes that Islam is not identical with Ḳāfīn. Ḳāfīn indicates the acceptance of the religion and Islam demands the performance of duties associated with the religion. ³ As an Ashʿarite, ⁴ he holds that Ḳāfīn is the attestation by heart of its principles, but perfect Ḳāfīn, he states, is that which secures one freedom from hell-fire and brings one near to God. ⁵

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¹ Faris, op.cit., p.100.
² Z.M., pp.3-4. This Ḥadīṣ itself occurs in different forms. Muḥammad bin Isma'īl al-Bukhārī reports it on the authority of Abū Ḥurairāh and Abū'1-Ḥusain on 'Umar's authority. In 'Umar's version Islam includes also the pilgrimage (cf. Fazlul-Karim, Al-Ḥadīṣ, I, pp.94-6). But this is omitted in Ḥurairāh's version (cf. M.'Alī, A Manual of Hadith, p.22). And the latter, in describing Ḳāfīn says that the Prophet has said: "in meeting with Him", instead of belief in "predestination" as reported by the former.
³ Z.M., pp.4-5.
⁴ Ashʿarī also maintains that faith is the attestation of its principles by heart; cf. Qushairī, Risāla, Urdu, Tr., Muḥammad Ḥusain, p.31.
⁵ Z.M., p.5.
One who affirms the principles of یمان in words alone and not with his heart, according to Saiyid 'Ali, is a munafiq (hypocrite) and he is worse than a kāfir (heretic). This is an extreme Șūfī view for both Ḏū Qurṣain and Ghazālī give the benefit of the doubt to such a person and accept him as a member of the Muslim community, on the grounds that no one except God and the person concerned know the reality of the innermost heart.

Those who affirm by tongue and attest by heart, the Saiyid continues, yet fail to act upon their beliefs, are fāsiq (reprobate), and are destined to remain in hell for a period commensurate with their sins. The period may extend from a moment to seventy thousand years.

Like all Muslim scholars Saiyid 'Ali lays great stress on ṣalāt or namāz (prayer). He pleads that it should hold precedence over all other

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1. Ibid.
2. The Murji'ites (a sect of Muslims who believe that the judgement of every true believer, who has been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the Resurrection), did not declare a person infidel, because of the fact that he was nominally a Muslim. Faris, The Foundations of the Articles of Faith, p.109, n.1.
3. According to Qushairī, it is by verbal profession that one can differentiate between a believer and a disbeliever. And for those who do not believe that یمان is simply a verbal profession it is difficult to make a difference between a believer and an unbeliever, cf. Risāla, p.30.
4. Ghazālī calls fāsiq one who, besides having inward adherence and verbal confession, also performs some of the acts prescribed by the religion; cf. Faris, op.cit., p.105.
5. Z.M., p.5.
acts of devotion. But the key to prayer, the Saiyid writes, is purification, which is of three kinds – firstly of the clothes and body, secondly of the nafs (lower-soul), and thirdly of the heart.

He who does not purify his body and clothes prior to prayer, the Saiyid asserts, is najs (unclean) according to the ahl-i sharī'a (the followers of the law, i.e., theologians). Obviously this concerns common Muslims. The other two kinds of purification can be achieved only by travellers on the spiritual path. The ahl-i tariqa (Ṣūfīs), the Saiyid says, consider those who do not purify their nafs as najs; and ahl-i kashf wa tahqīq (men who have received revelation, i.e., advanced Sufis) think that one is najs unless one purifies one’s heart from everything other than God.

Elsewhere, Saiyid 'Allī classifies the purification of the travellers of the spiritual path into three categories. The first, he says, are abrār, who cleanse all parts of their body from sin, the second are sālikān (devotees), who purify their nafs from evil and the third are sidīgān, who cleanse their hearts from everything except God.

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1 Ibid., p.20.
2 The Prophet is also reported to have said that the key to paradise is prayer and the key to prayer is purification; cf. M. 'Allī, A Manual of Hadith, p.42.
3 R.I., f.246a.
4 Ibid., f.246a.
5 Z.M., p.27.
Thus Saiyid 'Alī, like other Muslim scholars, holds purification to be a necessary preliminary to prayer. He is critical of the prayer offered by the common Muslims, who, in his opinion, do not understand the essence of prayer. They pray with lips alone and face the qibla mechanically.2

The real meaning of prayer, he goes on to say, can be understood only by arbāb-i-qalūb, who, while going to pray, banish all desires from their minds and purify their hearts from any thoughts but those of God.3 They face the real qibla, that is God. And when they recite subḥānaka allāhumma ("May you be exalted, 0 Almighty God"), they fly into the world of sanctity ('alam-i-taqaddus).4

Prayer, Saiyid 'Alī says, connects the creature with the Creator, and is a medium through which man can approach God.5 The real meaning of prayer, he writes, is munājat (invocation),6 which is impossible without

1 Cf. Qur'ān, 4:142.
2 R.M., f.163a; R.F., f.258b.
3 Jalā'ū'd-Dīn Tabrizī (one of the disciples of Shaikh Shiḥābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī) is reported to have said to the governor of Badaūn, Ḥāzī Jamā'ū'd-Dīn Ja'fri, that the prayer of the 'ulamā is different from that of the saints, who do not perform prayer unless they see 'arsh (lit. the throne of God), whereas the 'ulamā pray just by facing towards the Ka'ba; fawā'idu-Fu'āḍ, p.249.
4 R.M., f.163a-b; R.F., f.258b; Z.M., p.27.
5 Ibid., f.163b; ibid., f.259a; ibid., p.27.
6 R.F., f.259a.

Munājat is v.n. of najī, which means "secret discourse between two persons or parties" (cf. E.W. Lane, An Arabic English Lexicon, p.3028. See also pp.2764-5). The Prophet is reported to have said that when a person is engaged in prayer he is in intimate converse with his Lord; Bukhārī, Salaṭ, 39, cited by Constance E. Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p.11.
concentration. Indeed munājāt means mukhata'aba (conversation) and a true conversation can be held only by an 'ārif, who would have attained the degree of perfection.¹

Saiyid 'Alī asserts that fasting is compulsory for every Muslim, whether rich or poor, although the poor are relieved from the obligation of zakāt and hajj, two of the other five principles of Islam.²

Fasting he writes, includes six things as farz ("an ordinance of God") and seven as sunna ("what the Prophet did himself or what he told his followers to do").³ As a Sunnī 'alim, he insists that the fast must be broken immediately when the sun sets⁴ and not, like the Shī'īs, when it is completely dark.

The common Muslims, in his opinion, observe the fasting of the lowest degree, since they act upon the minimum external rules demanded by the religion.⁵ As a Şūfī, he believes that fasting is not only abstaining from eating and drinking from dawn to sunset, but purifying the carnal self (tazkiya-i-nafs). The merit of fasting, he writes, is that through it a man can control his passions and cultivate the habit of abstaining from evil. Fasting closes the door upon Satan. It kills the concupiscence of

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¹ R.F., f.259b; R.M., f.163a.
² Z.M., p.5; R.I., f.248b.
³ Ibid., f.248b.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Z.M., p.51.

Hujwīrī calls this type of fasting "child's play"; Kashf., p.322.
of nafs-i-ammāra (inordinate appetite), which is the enemy of one's faith; and subdues the passions and the sensual forces. Fasting purifies and illuminates the mirror of the heart and prepares it for mujāhada (self-mortification). The carnal-self, the Saiyid goes on, is always under attack from the devil. Only fasting can save it from the devil, and fasting will also restrain passions and sins.¹

However, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that even travellers on the path of God do not fulfil the conditions of the fast alike, and he divides them into two categories. To the first category belong the ṣidīqān and muqarrabān. They purify the heart and expel from it any thought other than that of God. They detach themselves from all worldly ties and consider it the greatest sin to think of either this world or the next.

The abrār, atqiya' (devout), and ṣulḥā (pious) belong to the second category. Besides following the basic precepts, prescribed by the religion, they abstain from all evil and falsehood. Even their eyes, ears, hands and feet observe the fast. They take special care to control their eyes which transmit sensations and feelings to other members of the body.²

Zakāt literally means "purification"; in Islam the term is used in the sense of a contribution of two and one half percent of certain categories

¹ Z.M., p.47.
² Ibid., p.51.
of property for the use of the poor and needy, as a means of purifying the remainder.\(^1\)

Like all Sufis Saiyid 'Alī divides devotion into two categories: badanī (relating to the body, i.e., prayer and fasting), and mālī (connected with wealth). Since the common people cannot adore God adequately through bodily devotion, the Saiyid writes, they must therefore seek His pleasure by spending their wealth on those of their fellow men who are poor and in distress.\(^2\)

As people find it difficult to part with their wealth, Saiyid 'Alī regards payment of zakāt as one of the most important tests of a believer's devotion.\(^3\) He recommends that it be paid at once on becoming due. Although he sees haste in other matters such as prayer, inadvisable,\(^4\) with zakāt it carries certain advantages. Not only does it show the willingness of the mu'ti (bestower) to fulfil the ordinance of Allāh, but prompt payment makes the mustahaq (deserving) cheerful, which is the worthiest of all good actions. And prompt payment also removes the temptation to prevent the loss of wealth.\(^5\)

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1 According to Al-Mawardi zakāt is due on all those things which produce income or which can be increased with one's efforts (Ahkāmu’s-Sultāniya, Urdu, tr., M. Ibrāhīm, p.171). And Hujwīrī maintains that zakāt should be paid even on jāh (dignity), because it is also a complete benefit: Kashf., p.314.

2 R.M., f.162b.

3 Z.M., pp.35-6.

4 Ibid., p.39.

5 Ibid.
The beneficiaries of zakāt, in Saiyid 'Alī's view, should possess any of the five following qualities: taqwā (piety), 'ilm (knowledge), 'iffat (chastity), zarūrat (need), and qurbat (kinship).¹

By taqwā, Saiyid 'Alī means piety, regularity in prayer and abstention from bid'at (innovations in matters of religion). To pay zakāt to ahl-i-taqwā, the Saiyid points out, is to free them from the necessity of earning their living and to help them to apply themselves wholly to God.²

To the second category belong those who seek 'ilm (knowledge), by which he means the knowledge which leads one to tauhīd and ma'rifa of God.³

The ahl-i-'iffat are those who endeavour to conceal their poverty from the mean and ignorant. They courageously face the hardships of life in silence. They maintain self-control for the sake of Allāh; so Saiyid 'Alī asserts that it is better to give one dirham to them than to give a hundred dirhams to dishonest beggars.⁴

The ahl-i-iztirār are those unfortunate brought low by the burden of huge families, illness and other calamities beyond their control. It is imperative, the Saiyid says, for officials and men of good fortune to pay them annually from the haqqu'il-lāh ("the right of God"), according to their needs.⁵

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¹ Ibid., p.43.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p.45.
⁴ Ibid., pp.45-6.
⁵ Ibid., p.46.
The fifth class, aqrāb, consists of relatives, neighbours and friends. To such of these as are deserving, the mu'tāf should give preference over all others.¹

Although the Qur'ān ² does not prohibit the open payment of zakāt, Saiyid 'Alī strongly recommends that it be paid secretly. By paying secretly, the Saiyid pleads, the bestower does not seek to advertise himself, but follows the injunction of the Prophet according to whom this method of payment is the most acceptable way of devotion to God. He who gives charity with the right hand and keeps the left unaware is going to be among those seven people who are blessed by God's mercy on the day of Judgement.³ However, the Saiyid says that holy men, who are free from hypocrisy, should give openly in order that the act might serve as a precedent to the hesitant.⁴

Saiyid 'Alī follows Ghazālī,⁵ in holding that the receiver of alms is the deputy of God. Thus whatever one gives in charity for the sake of Allāh should be pure. This, he writes, is also commanded by the Qur'ān: ⁶ "O you who believe! Give in charity of the good things you earn and of what

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¹ Ibid.
⁴ Z.M., p.40.
⁵ Cf. K.Sa., p.92.
⁶ 2:267.
We have brought forth for you out of earth, and do not aim at giving in charity what is bad". The Saiyid elaborates this point further by giving an example, borrowed from Ghazâlî. ¹ He says that every host ensures that nothing is served to his guest in a manner not permitted by the sharî'â, and then questions how one can serve anything impure to the mustahâq, who is the deputy of God. ²

Further, he says, that he who pays zakât does not in fact show any favour to the receiver, on the other hand he should be grateful to the receiver for helping him to fulfil the obligation. ³ For an example he quotes the Caliph 'Umar and 'Ayisha (a wife of the Prophet), who exhibited humility and gratitude to the mustahâq, when they paid alms to him. ⁴

As a Şûfî, Saiyid 'Alî goes deeper into the question of payment of zakât. He maintains that the relation between a believer and God is that of a lover and beloved; as the lover is the slave of what he loves, so is the believer of God. Wealth and the pleasures of material existence are of no concern to the lovers of God. ⁵

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¹ Cf. K.Sa., p.92.
³ Z.M., p.41.
⁴ Z.M., p.41. Al-Sarrâj while maintaining the same opinion says that the rich who pay the zakât to the poor are only restoring what really belongs to them; cf. Kitâbu'l-Luma', p.161.
⁵ Ibid., p.36.
Thus people endowed with the highest degree of love of God, whom the Saiyid calls blessed and truthful ones, never possess any wealth liable to zakāt. Relying upon the will of Allāh, they dispose of their entire possessions in charity and are therefore not obliged to pay the zakāt. They steadfastly believe in and follow the command of God: "You cannot attain to righteousness unless you spend what you love". They sacrifice the muḥbūb-i-fānī (the transitory beloved, i.e., wealth) for the sake of maḥbūb-i-haqīqī (the true beloved, i.e., God).

Saiyid 'Alī supports his argument with an anecdote relating to an eminent Šūfī, named Abū’l-Ḥasan Nūrī (d.295/907). On being asked to give his opinion about the payment of zakāt, Abū’l-Ḥasan replied that common Muslims pay two and a half percent but were a darwesh to control the whole world and give it up in gratitude for the benefits obtainable from a moment's ma’rifa, he would be still paying a very low price. Saiyid 'Alī adds that the Caliph Abū Bakr was such a man. When commanded by the Prophet he brought all that he possessed and on being asked what he had left for his family, he replied: "Allāh and His messenger".

To the middle category or mutawassitan, belong those people whose love for God is not so perfect. They give more than the prescribed amount in

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1 Qur’ān, 3:91.
2 Z.M., p.37.
3 Ibid., pp.36-7. Ghazālī also quotes the same anecdote (cf. K.Sa., p.93). But Hujwīrī (cf. Kashf., p.315) and Farīdu’d-Dīn ‘Attār (cf. Arberry, Muslim Saints and Mystics, pp.224-5), attribute it to Shibli.
charity, but retain sufficient for their maintenance. Those whose love for God is of the lowest category are the common Muslims. They pay no more than what is absolutely necessary.¹

**Hājī**, the pilgrimage to Mecca, completes the five basic principles of Islam. It is obligatory for those Muslims who are materially prosperous and physically able.² To the Ṣūfīs, the pilgrimage did not mean only a visit to the Ka'ba, but it was a source of "contemplation of God".³

Surprisingly, Saiyid 'Alī says very little about the hājī. Those Muslims, he writes, who have the means are bound to perform it.⁴ But he adds that if rulers or government officers find that their absence was likely to endanger the internal or external peace of the country, they were not bound to perform the pilgrimage.⁵

### Political Thought

Both the Ṣūfīs and the ʿālīms made strenuous efforts to reform the social and political ethos of the community. Even the Ṣūfīs of the first centuries of the Islamic era, who are known as quietists and ascetics,

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1 Z.M., p.37.
3 "Pilgrimage", writes Hujwīrī, "is an act of mortification (muḥāhadat) for the sake of obtaining contemplation (mushāhadat)"; *Kashf.*, p.329.
4 Z.M., p.5; R.I., f.248b.
5 Z.M., p.5.
reacted strongly against the evils which the Caliphs and their officers had injected into the body politic of Islam.  

Contemporary social and political conditions even compelled Ghazālī to write letters to nobles and wazīrs. His Ḥiyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn and Kīmiyāʾ-i-Saʿādat contain valuable material on the guidance of rulers. His Naṣīhatuʾl-Mulūk is a separate treatise on this subject. Ghazālī's letters and political works served as a model for the later Sufis, who chose to give counsel and advice to contemporary kings and governors.  

The Risāla-i-Maktūbat, a collection of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's letters, comprises several letters to rulers in which he gives them guidance on political matters. Three of these are addressed to Sultān Tughān Shāh, Sultān Ghiyāṣu’d-Dīn and Sultān 'Alīu’d-Dīn respectively. It is difficult to identify these, but Ghiyāṣu’d-Dīn and 'Alīu’d-Dīn seem to have been the

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1 Cf. Arberry, Muslim Saints and Mystics, pp.136, 141.
3 Cf. II, pp.121 ff..
4 Cf. pp.172 ff..
5 The work is believed to have been written for Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1105-1118); cf. Naṣīhatuʾl-Mulūk, Eng.Tr., Bagley, Introduction, pp.xvi-xvii.
6 Cf. The Cambridge History of Iran, V., p.209.
8 Cf. ibid., f.167b.
9 Cf. ibid., f.168b.
rulers of the principalities bordering Kashmir, somewhere near Pakhlī;¹ and Țughān Shāh may have ruled somewhere in Persia.

The most important work of Saiyid 'Alī on the subject is his Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk. In its introduction the Saiyid claims that he was requested by many rulers, nobles and government officers to write something for their guidance, but he could not find time to do so. Ultimately, at the request of a friend whose name he does not disclose, he decided to write it.²

The political literature written before the Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk³ may broadly be divided into two categories:

1. Works written by wazīrs and secretaries of rulers, who were responsible for running the administration.

2. Works written by the 'ulamā and Şūfīs, who approached the subject from theoretical and academic points of view.

The ministers and secretaries were government servants, and as such were concerned to present an academic justification of the rule of their masters and to elicit unqualifying obedience to their government, just or

¹ Pakhlī is to the north-west of Kashmir, now a part of West Pakistan. In medieval times its rulers generally paid tribute to Kashmir; cf. A.A., II, p.397.
³ The work is undated and refers to no personality or event which might provide a clue leading to the fixation of an approximate date. However, M. Bashīr asserts that it was written in 783/1380; cf. The Administration of Justice in Medieval India, p.39.
unjust. They concocted traditions in the name of the Prophet Muḥammad or had them invented by the 'ulamāʿ. ¹

The 'ulamāʿ and the Ṣūfīs, who examined the question from the academic and theoretical point of view, emphasized the need to submit to the shariʿa or the Divine law. They urged that the injunctions of shariʿa could not be set aside or abrogated by any ruler. In their works the shariʿa stands as a check on the autocratic power of the ruler. ²

However, even Ghazālī's academic approach was marked by inhibitions, because during his time Saljūq Sulṭāns were making singular contributions to the rehabilitation of the Sunni power against the onslaught of the Ismāʿīlīs. Without a strong government both the Sunni power and the Sunni community was bound to shatter to pieces.

Saʿīd ʿAlī was not concerned with justifying any Sultanate. His approach to the subject was independent. But he was not a political thinker, and his approach to political questions was that of an 'ālim concerned with the responsibilities of enforcing the lawful (amr-i-maʿrūf) and prohibiting the unlawful (nahī-munḵar). Therefore the implementation of his counsels, in the political conditions of the fourteenth century, was far from possible.

¹ Cf. the traditions such as, "Obey your rulers whatever may hap, for if they bid you do anything different to what I [the prophet] have taught you, they shall be punished for it and you will be rewarded for your obedience; and if they bid you do anything different to what I have taught you, the responsibility is theirs and you are quit of it" and "Whoso rebels against the ruler rebels against me"; Arnold, The Caliphate, p.48. See also pp.45-6.

² Cf. Ahkāmuʿs-Sultānīya, p.11.
Both in the *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt* and *Zakhīratuʿl-Mulūk*, he raises a just ruler to the position of the deputy or vice-gerent of God.\(^1\) God in the perfection of His wisdom, Saiyid ʿAlī writes, made it imperative that there should be among the people a just and perfectly righteous ruler, who would direct the activities of the progeny of Adam into right channels and strive to execute the decrees of the *sharīʿa* strictly.\(^2\)

A letter of Ḥasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), which Saiyid ʿAlī quotes in the *Zakhīratuʿl-Mulūk*, is very significant. Someone wrote to Ḥasan Baṣrī asking him the qualities of the Caliph ʿUmar, so that he might model his conduct upon the latter's. Ḥasan Baṣrī answered: "You are not living in ʿUmar's time and your followers are not like those of ʿUmar. However, if you do what ʿUmar did, you will be better than he".\(^3\) While advising the rulers to follow in ʿUmar's footsteps, Saiyid ʿAlī recognises the fact that "such Islam and such Muslims are not left that one can govern them after the manner of the pious Caliphs".

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1 Saiyid ʿAlī was not of course the first person to recognise a ruler as the deputy of or vice-gerent of God. Long before him this distinction was bestowed on Muslim rulers (cf. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p.50. See also, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, p.41). However, al-Mawardi considered the Caliph as the vice-gerent of the Prophet and not of God. According to him a deputy by definition represents one who is absent; because God is present always, therefore the Caliph cannot be the deputy of God. He quotes an anecdote of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, who once was called "khalīfaʿl-lāh" (deputy of God), and he objected to it saying, "I am khalīfa-rasulaʿl-lāh (deputy of the Prophet); Ahkāmu’s-Sulṭānīya, pp.31-2.

2 *R.M.*, f.167a; *Z.M.*, p.94.

3 Ibid., p.103.
Like all other Muslim theorists,\(^1\) Saiyid 'Alī believes that the implementation of the religious law depends upon the government. The strengthening of Islam and of faith and the annihilation of those who have deviated from the right path and are responsible for adding innovations to it, he says, depends upon the Sultāns and their officers.\(^2\) Thus force and authority should not be spared in the enforcement of religious law.\(^3\)

The execution of the decrees of the sharī'a and justice, the Saiyid holds, are the principal duties of a ruler. "When a ruler follows the path of justice and equity and strives to establish the Divine law and executes the decrees of religion", Saiyid 'Alī writes, "he is the chosen deputy (nā'ib) of God, and His shadow and vice-gerent (khalīfa) upon earth". But if he "turns away from the path of justice and equity, does not treat the servants of God (bandagan-i-haq) with compassion, follows his lusts and desires and is negligent in the enforcement of the Divine law, he is, indeed the deputy of the imposter (dajjāl) and the enemy of God and His Prophet and the vice-gerent of Satan".\(^4\)

In the Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, he quotes anecdote after anecdote of the prophets and the pious Caliphs full of morals for Sultāns and their high officers. Cruel rulers are warned that they will be subjected to very

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1 Cf. Ahkāmu’s-Sultāniya, p.32.  
2 R.Dr., f.251a.  
3 R.M., f.165a.  
4 Z.M., p.104.
severe punishment and incessant torture in the after-life for having betrayed the trust which God reposed in them.\textsuperscript{1} Again rulers are reminded that on the day of Judgement ordinary people would be questioned about their prayer, while the first question that would be put to them would be about their justice and bounty.\textsuperscript{2}

No ruler, however, Saiyid 'Ali says, can discharge his duty without fulfilling the following ten rules:\textsuperscript{3}

1. When a case is brought to him, he should place himself in the position of the subject and whatever he does not like to be done for himself, he should not order for others.

2. He should consider the act of satisfying the needs of the Muslims as the worthiest of all devotions.

3. In matters of food and dress he should follow the tradition of the pious Caliphs, and should not get used to eating delicious food and putting on elaborate garments.

4. He should be polite and should not be unnecessarily harsh. He should not be vexed with lengthy discussions and should not feel annoyed in talking to the poor and weak.

5. He should not hesitate to implement the religious law. Under every rule half of the people remain unhappy with their rulers, because two

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. ibid., p.94.
\textsuperscript{2} R.M., f.164a-b.
\textsuperscript{3} Z.M., pp.105-10.
contradictory interests cannot be reconciled. As it is not possible for a just ruler to please everybody, he should sacrifice his personal interests and should not care for the dissatisfaction of the people and should give only such orders as are necessary to please God.

6. Danger to his rule should not make him indolent towards his religious duties. He should understand firmly that only kingship which establishes the Divine rule is the source of good name and felicity. If a ruler does not pay attention to this fact he is consigned to eternal punishment.

Many rulers, Saiyid 'Alī points out, become power-drunk and begin to indulge in the worldly pleasures, thereby ruining both their life and their faith. A ruler should not therefore make his rule a source of his eternal punishment and should do justice.

7. Although nowadays the pious and 'ālims are rare, he should always try to seek the company of godly 'ālims and should avoid the company of those 'ālims and Sūfīs who are nothing but imposters and ignorant. For the sake of worldly gains they praise and bless every tyrant and are responsible for the destruction of faith.

8. He should not frighten his subjects through ostentatious display of pride and arrogance, but should win the hearts of the submissive and the weak through justice, benevolence and kindness.

9. He should always make enquiries about the activities of his officers and should not appoint cruel officers. If any of them commits acts of dishonesty or shows cruelty, he should be given exemplary punishment, so that others may take warning.
10. Sagacity and discernment are qualities indispensable to rulers, enabling them to penetrate into the reality of every case presented before them. They are not guided by what is *prima facie* correct, but discover the truth of every case and decide it in accordance with the *sharī'a*. They are not led away simply by the statements of witnesses. They do not forget the fact that there are innumerable causes for every happening, and that what often appears superficially correct has no bearing upon reality.

Thus a ruler, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is not merely to serve his own satisfaction. He is warned of the next world and of the punishment to be awarded for acting contrary to the will of God. He is called to obedience and devotion to God. At the same time it is impressed upon him that every right action of his is an act of worship and will be rewarded.

Saiyid 'Alī divides the subjects under a Muslim ruler into two categories - Muslims and Kāfirs (heretics) - and states that their respective rights differ according to their religion. The Muslim subjects, he says, are entitled to obtain twenty rights from their rulers and it is imperative for the rulers to grant these. The rights of the Muslim subjects are not different from the duties of a ruler as Saiyid 'Alī describes them. In enumerating these duties Saiyid 'Alī seeks to elaborate the earlier ten rules further. The rights of the Muslim subjects or the duties of the rulers towards them, as given by the Saiyid, are as follows:

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1. Z.M., p.110.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp.110-7.
1. A king should treat all Muslims with respect and must keep in mind that God does not approve of tyranny and arrogance; kings should therefore avoid these sins.

2. A king should not listen to those who indulge in back-biting, for this gives birth to strife and causes regret. The jealous, envious, selfish and greedy are generally back-biters. Greedy people harm others for their own petty interests and the jealous find fault with everyone.

3. If a king gets angry with a Muslim for a fault or weakness, he should try to forgive him within three days. But if the anger has been caused because of his enmity to religion, the king could banish him from his favour for the rest of his life. In worldly matters forgiveness is the best policy.

4. A king should be just and benevolent to all sections of his subjects, and should make no discrimination between worthy and unworthy. As the king is the shadow of God and God's mercy is showered both upon believers and non-believers the rulers should also be benevolent to everyone.

5. A king should never, in the pride of his power, pry into the private households of Muslims and should never enter the houses and store-houses of his subjects without permission.

6. A king should treat the people according to their status. He should not expect the mean and the rabble to address him in an elegant manner, and should not expect men residing in mountains and jungles to observe the etiquette generally followed by noblemen. He should assign duties to everyone according to his capacity. He should understand that each class
of men is bound to behave in accordance with its own manners and customs. He should not refuse to admit anyone to his presence.

7. Any promise made to a Muslim should be kept at all costs.

8. A king should hold the old and aged in respect, especially the upright among them, and should treat younger people kindly.

9. A king should not be harsh in conversation and should meet both high and low frankly and with an open mind.

10. A king should be just and fair in exercising his authority. As he expects his people to be fair to him, he should in turn be fair to them. He should deal with Muslims in the same manner as they deal with him.

11. He should make peace between contending parties as early as possible. No delay should be permitted in deciding disputes between Muslims, since delay may cause hatred and enmity among them.

12. A king should not expose the faults committed by Muslims and should not harass his poor subjects for petty offences, but should try to conceal their faults.

13. On mere suspicion he should not act in such a way as to embolden his subjects to commit offences. He should avoid accusing anyone merely on suspicion. If by chance he himself commits a sin, he should make every effort to conceal it. He should try to direct the people to act virtuously. If the people are virtuous, the reward will be reaped by the state. If they are corrupt and commit sin, the state would have to suffer its consequences.

14. The governors of a king should make no delay in recommending the needs of the Muslims to him. Many important matters in government are concluded
successfully through the recommendation of the governors; the latter should seize this opportunity to obtain eternal blessings.

15. A king should treat the poor and weak with favour as against the rich and powerful. He should spend most of his time in the company of godly people. As government duties and association with all kinds of people, especially the company of the rich and worldly, make the heart dark, he should at least once in a day brighten his heart with the counsel of the pious. Darkness of heart is a danger to faith and causes damnation and everlasting disappointment.

16. A king should not be negligent of the condition of the hungry and distressed and should spare no efforts to alleviate the sufferings of those who have no food. He should also consider it obligatory upon himself to provide a livelihood for orphans. In performing these duties he should be mindful of the answer he will have to give to God on the day of Judgement, the day on which riches and kingdoms will be of no help and the rightful claimants will demand their dues from him. Thus, while he is living and able, he should strive to acquit himself of his duties.

17. A king should be so relentless in awarding punishment to robbers and thieves as to make the highways used by Muslims free from their depredations. Anyone who is troublesome to Muslim travellers should be awarded exemplary punishment. As far as possible, buildings (i.e. watch-houses) should be constructed at all places infested with robbers.

18. Wherever they are needed, and where it is possible to do so, inns and bridges should be constructed without delay.
19. Mosques should be built at every place inhabited by Muslims; an imām and a mu'azzin should be appointed and provided with stipends so that they may perform their duties without any worry about their livelihood.

20. A king should not be neglectful of his duty to enforce lawful and to prohibit unlawful acts. He should not hesitate to give religious counsel to his people and should direct his subjects to obey the divine commands. He should prevent them from committing sin by inflicting harsh punishments.

We have already pointed out that Saiyid 'Alī's approach to the subject under discussion was that of an 'ālim saddled with the responsibility to enforce the law of sharī'a. As such, he asks both rulers and people not to tolerate anything against the law of religion. The rulers, he says, should stop all acts opposed to the sharī'a by awarding harsh punishments and by using the sword. The 'ulamā, he continues, are required to stop the commitment of such acts by delivering sermons. Those who have no power to stop such acts by the sword or through discourses are asked to disassociate themselves with those who violate the sharī'a.¹

Saiyid 'Alī gives a separate mandate for dealing with the ahl-i-zimma ("people of a [revealed] book, i.e., Jews and Christians). This mandate is composed of a set of twenty rules, which are believed by the Saiyid, in common with most of the other Muslim scholars, to have been invented and imposed by the Caliph 'Umar on the ahl-i-kitāb (those who possess revealed

¹ Z.M., p.117.
book). He states that it is imperative for every (Muslim) ruler and
governor to make the covenant of 'Umar the basis of the treatment of their
non-Muslim subjects (zimmīs).¹ These rules are as follows:²

1. The zimmīs will not construct any new places of worship or idol temples
   in the territory under the control of a Muslim ruler.

2. They will not reconstruct any existing place of worship or temple that
   may fall into ruin.

3. They will not prevent Muslim travellers from staying in their places
   of worship or temples.

4. They will receive any Muslim traveller into their houses and will
   provide him with hospitality for three days.

5. They will not harbour any spies and will not act as spies themselves.

6. If any of their relations show any inclination to embrace Islam, they
   shall not prevent him from doing so.

7. They will respect Muslims.

8. If they are holding a meeting and a Muslim happens to come there, he
   will be received respectfully by them.

9. They will not dress like Muslims.

10. They will not adopt Muslim names.

11. They will not ride horses with saddle and bridle.

12. They will not carry swords or bows and arrows.

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., pp.117-8.
13. They will not wear signet rings \((nig\text{\text{h}}n)\).
14. They will not openly sell or drink intoxicating liquor.
15. They will not abandon their traditional dress, so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.
16. They will not openly practise their customs and usages among Muslims.
17. They will not build their houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims.
18. They will not carry (bury) their dead near the graveyards of Muslims.
19. They will not mourn their dead loudly.
20. They will not buy Muslim slaves.

Saiyid 'Al\text{\text{\text{I}}} does not clearly say whether these conditions should be applicable to Hindus, who at that time were in the majority in Kashmir. However, from his following statement it appears that they were to be treated at par with \textit{ahl-i-zim\text{\text{ma}}}. The document (the covenant of 'Umar), he says, concludes with the note that if they \((ahl-i-zim\text{\text{ma}})\) infringe any of the twenty conditions they are not to be protected and Muslims may rightfully kill them and appropriate their property as if they were \textit{k\text{\text{\text{a}}}firs} (idolators, i.e., Hindus) at war.\footnote{Z.M., p.118.} This would imply that the \textit{k\text{\text{\text{a}}}firs} who had submitted to the rule of Islam and were living peacefully were to be treated like \textit{ahl-i-zim\text{\text{ma}}}.\footnote{Z.M., p.118.}
Saiyid 'Alī reserves every benefit of the state for the Muslims. Unlike al-Mawardi, he does not explicitly mention any rights which non-Muslims could expect in return for obeying the above twenty rules. The alleged covenant of 'Umar is accepted by Saiyid 'Alī as a document to be followed universally in all conditions and at all times.

The document attributed to 'Umar appears in different versions in different works, and has been the subject of considerable research by orientalists. Professor Arnold observes that later generations imposed a number of restrictive regulations on non-Muslims (Christians), which prevented them from observing their religious practices and in order to make these conditions appear authentic, attributed them to 'Umar. He says that the provisions of the covenant of 'Umar,

... represent the more intolerant practices of a later age, and indeed were regulations that were put into force with no sort of regularity, some outburst of fanaticism being generally needed for appeal to be made for their application. There is abundant evidence to show that the Christians in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest had little to complain of in the way of religious disabilities.

1 According to al-Mawardi the ahl-i-zimma, after they accepted to abide by the conditions (twelve according to him), imposed on them, had certain privileges including that they were allowed to repair the existing places of worship; cf. Ahkam al-Sultaniya, p.213.

2 Cf. Tritton, The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects, pp.5 ff., where references are given to the various versions of the document.

3 The Preaching of Islam, p.57.

4 Ibid., p.59.
Tritton,¹ after examining all the versions of the "covenant of 'Umar" in detail, says that the treaties made by 'Umar with Syrian towns were simple and no elaborate rules such as mentioned in the covenant were framed. The jurists who drew upon the covenant were themselves unaware of the actual terms of the treaties. In law books too the rules of conduct for zimmīs are defined; he concludes:

Malik, Shafe'i and Ahmad b. Hanbal hold that failure to pay the poll-tax [jizya] deprives them of protection. This was not the view of Abu Hanifa. Ahmad and Malik hold that four things put the dhimmi outside the law - blasphemy of God, of His book, of His religion, and of His Prophet .... Abū Hanifa taught that they must not be too severe with dhimmīs who insulted the Prophet. Shafe'i said that one who repented of having insulted the Prophet might be pardoned and restored to his privileges. Ibn Taimiya taught that the death penalty could not be evaded.²

In dealing with question of zimmīs, Saiyid 'Alī follows the general pattern of Shafi'i law, prescribes severe discriminatory conditions, and does not consider their practicability. For example it was impossible for the early Sultāns of Kashmir to implement such a policy, as the great majority of their subjects were non-Muslim. Therefore it is not surprising when we find that Saiyid 'Alī left Kashmir disappointed when Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn failed to respond to his teachings.³ In fact Saiyid 'Alī's political thinking was altogether theoretical and had no bearing upon actual practice.

¹ The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects, pp.5 ff..
² Ibid., pp.16-7.
³ See supra, p.49.
Strict adherence to shari'a and sunna as advocated by 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī had greatly influenced Saiyid 'Alī's personality. He is reported to have said that had the shari'a not prevented him he would have preferred to live as an ascetic observing fasts throughout his life and never marrying. He led a simple life, earning his livelihood by making caps. However, he did not disapprove of the possession of the wealth provided the rules of shari'a such as paying the zakāt were not ignored.

Like many Sufis and scholars who were not satisfied with their contemporaries, Saiyid 'Alī also believed that people had not recognised his merits properly and did not know the value of his scholarship. However, he thought that generations coming a century after his death would be able to recognise his real worth.

Devoid of originality as they were, his works did not receive the widespread recognition which those of Sufi scholars such as Qushairī, Ghazālī, Shāikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and Ibn 'Arabī obtained. In Kashmir his teachings and works became popular mainly because of a band of followers and disciples who chose to stay there to propagate the teachings of the master.

3 Ibid., p.542.
4 Cf. Ms.C., f.288a.
CHAPTER IV

The Kubrawī Order - B.

Disciples of Saiyid 'Alī

According to some sources seven hundred Saiyids had accompanied Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmir; many modern scholars uncritically accept this as true. No source, however, gives a complete list of the disciples and only the following are mentioned in the different sources. Some of them either came with Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmir or were sent there by him before his arrival.

The first to arrive in Kashmir were Saiyid Tāju’d-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain, the cousins of Saiyid 'Alī. They were both deputed by Saiyid 'Alī to explore the religious atmosphere in the Valley of Kashmir; but Saiyid Ḥusain went to India and only Saiyid Tāju’d-Dīn proceeded to Kashmir, where Sultan Shihābu’d-Dīn, the ruler of the time (1354-1373), received

1 N.A., f.35a; T.Az., p.36; F.K., f.58b; G.A., f.119a; T.H., III, p.15; T.K., p.12.
2 Cf. Temple, The word of Lalla, p.2; Šufī, Kashmir, I, p.86; Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan, Sultāns, p.56.
4 T.Ks., f.1a; T.Az., p.38; F.K., f.69b; G.A., f.116a-b.
5 A.Ab., f.33a; T.Az., pp.35, 38; F.K., f.69a; T.H., III, p.9; T.K., p.9.
him warmly. The Sultan built a khanqah for Taju’d-Dln at Shihabu’d-DInpura 1, close to his own palace 2, and granted the revenues of the village of Nagam 3 for his maintenance. 4

It is said that Sultan Shihabu’d-DIn used to consult Taju’d-DIn both on religious and administrative matters 5, but no authority mentions the type of instruction which the Sultan received. It seems that Taju’d-DIn, unlike Saiyid ‘Ali, either approved Shihabu’d-DIn’s policy of tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects 6, or avoided to come in conflict with him, and was contented with the patronage he received.

1 The modern Shadipur is nine miles north-west of Srinagar – cf. R.Tk., II, p.329.
2 F.K., f.69b; T.H., III, pp.6-7; T.K., p.8.
3 The ancient "Nagrama" (cf. R.Tk., II, p.474) is fourteen miles to the south-west of Srinagar.
4 T.Ks., f.2b; N.A., f.30b; F.K., f.69b; T.H., III, p.7; T.K., p.8.
5 F.K., f.69b; T.H., III, p.7.
6 Describing Shihabu’d-DIn’s attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects, Janaraja says that once Udaya-śrī, a minister, suggested that the Sultan should break a brass image of Buddha and make coins out of the metal. But the Sultan refused to follow his advice, and replied: "Past generations have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them! Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them .... How great is the enormity of such a deed .... King Shahavadīna [Sanskritized name of Shihabu’d-DIn], it will be said, plundered the image of a god; and this fact, dreadful as Yama [god of death], will make the men in future tremble" – R.Tj., p.44.
Encouraged by the Sultan’s patronage, Taju’d-Din invited his brother Saiyid Husain to join him. The Sultan received the latter well and helped him to settle at the village of Kulgam. Saiyid Husain was able to interest a considerable number of the local population in his activities. His kitchen, for the maintenance of which he received a state grant, was open to all sections of the people and his interest in their welfare helped him a great deal in converting them to Islam.

It is said that the people in the village of Kulgam lived near the banks of the river Vaishu. Once Saiyid Husain asked them to move from there to a safer place, where he himself lived, predicting that some misfortune was going to visit them there. The villagers did not agree. Shortly afterwards a flood in the river Vaishu took a large toll of population, which convinced the villagers of the saintliness of Saiyid Husain and this fact became a potent stimulus of their faith in him.

2. A.Ab., f.33b; T.Az., p.38; T.H., III, p.9; T.K., p.9. Kulgam is thirty-four miles south-west of Srinagar.
3. T.Ks., f.1a; A.Ab., f.33a-b; T.Az., p.38; F.K., f.69b; T.H., III, p.9.
4. T.Ks., f.1a; F.K., f.69b.
5. A.Ab., f.33b; F.K., f.69b.
6. A.Ab., f.33b; T.Az., p.38; F.K., f.69b; T.H., III, p.9; T.K., p.9.
8. A.Ab., f.33b; T.K., p.9.
Saiyid Ḥusain breathed his last on 11 Sha'ban, 792/25 July, 1390. A magnificent shrine with "exquisite wood carving and painted lattice" at the village of Kulgam stands as a memorial to the reverence with which the people held him.

Saiyid Kabīr Baihaqī became Saiyid 'Alī's disciple at a very early age. It is said that when Saiyid 'Alī converted the chief Brahman of Kālī-mandar at Srinagar to Islam, and turned the temple into a mosque, he ordered Saiyid Kabīr to settle down there and preach the truths of Islam to the people. However, after Saiyid 'Alī's departure, Saiyid Kabīr shifted to mohalla Darībal in Srinagar and lived for the rest of his life there.

Mīr Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Atā'ī, was one of the very few followers of Saiyid 'Alī, who brought their families with them to Kashmir. However, unlike his spiritual master, Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn was not a teacher or a

1 T.H., III, p.9; T.K., p.9.
2 Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.288.
3 F.K., f.65b.
4 See supra, p. 47.
5 T.Ks., f.4b; F.K., ff.65b, 66a.
6 Ibid., f.66a; T.H., III, p.21; T.K., p.21.
8 T.Az., p.38.
preacher, but lived an ascetic life in retirement\(^1\), at the village of Chitar, in the *pargana* Khovurpur\(^2\).

Saiyid Muhammad Kazim, commonly known as Saiyid Qazɪ\(^3\), was Saiyid 'Alî's librarian (*taḥwīl dar-i-kutub*)\(^4\). When Saiyid 'Alî, while journeying through the valley, reached Latapura\(^5\), he asked Saiyid Qazɪ to settle there and propagate Islam\(^6\).

Although the ancient and medieval Hindu scholars attach no importance to Latapura\(^7\), medieval Muslim scholars assert that it was a great centre of Hinduism\(^8\). The fact that a disciple of Saiyid Qazɪ's eminence was chosen to work there shows that in those days Latapura was an important place. Saiyid Qazɪ worked there with considerable success, and when he died he was buried there\(^9\).

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2. T.Ks., f.6a; T.Az., p.38; F.K., f.71a; T.H., III, p.17; T.K., p.19.
3. "Khovur" in Kashmiri means left side, and the *pargana* Khovurpur is to the east or left of the Lidar Valley, in the modern district of Anantnag.
5. T.Ks., f.6a; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.71a; T.H., III, p.19; T.K., p.20.
6. The ancient "Lalitapura", seventeen miles south-east of Srinagar.
7. T.Ks., f.6b; T.Az., p.39; T.H., III, p.19; T.K., p.20. According to Wahhabī, Saiyid 'Alî had asked Saiyid Qazɪ to work at Pompur (the ancient "Padmapura", eight miles from Srinagar on the road to Latapura). But at the same time he says that Saiyid Qazɪ is buried at Latapura — F.K., f.71a.
9. Ibid.
Another disciple of Saiyid 'Ali was Saiyid Muhammed Balkhi, also called Pir Haji Muhammed Qari'. He was a sound scholar of Islamic theology. His ability to recite the Qur'an according to the prescribed rules was responsible for his fame as a qari'.

When Saiyid 'Ali left Kashmir, he particularly asked Pir Haji to stay there and guide the people to the path of shari'a. Pir Haji, unlike his preceptor, was friendly with Sultan Qutbu'd-Din, who built a khanqah for him and gave the revenues of some two parganas for the maintenance of his langar (lit. alms-house), which was thrown open to all people. Because of the fame of the langar, this place is still called Langarhatta.

Pir Haji is said to have built several khanqahs and mosques, but only one survives, the Ziyarat-i-Pir Haji Muhammed Sahib, to the north of Srinagar. These khanqahs were the nucleus of his teaching and preaching.

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1. T.Ks., f.5b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.70a; T.H., III, p.20; T.K., p.21.
2. T.Ks., f.5b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.70a; T.H., III, p.20; T.K., p.21.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
activities. He died after a short illness, on 8 Rajab, 792/22 June, 1390, and was buried in his own khānqāh at Langarhatta.

Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and Saiyid 'Abdu’llāh, the two other disciples of Saiyid 'Alī were asked to settle down in the town of Vijabror, a great centre of Hindu learning and famous for its numerous temples. Some authorities allege that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish demolished the famous temple of Vijayesvāra at Vijabror, converted its custodian to Islam and erected a Jāmi‘-masjid on its site. Some authorities assert that Saiyid 'Alī himself performed this act. Both versions of the story

1 F.K., f.70a; T.H., III, p.20; T.K., p.21.
2 F.K., f.70a; T.H., III, p.20. According to Miskīn, Fīr Ḥājī died on 8 Rajab, 794/31 May, 1392 (T.K., p.21). But Wahhāb and Ḥusain are both earlier to Miskīn, therefore are more reliable.
3 T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.70a; T.H., III, p.20; T.K., p.21.
5 The ancient town of "Vijayesvāra" is twenty-nine miles to the south-east of Srinagar. It still boasts a large number of Brahmans, who are particularly famous for their knowledge of astrology.
8 The antiquity of the temple, says Stein, is indicated by the legend connected with Aśoka, who, according to Kalhaṇa, replaced the old "stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone" - R.Tk., II, p.463.
9 T.Ks., f.7a; F.K., f.71a.
seem to be legendary. Although the demolition of temples and erection of mosques in their place was not an uncommon practice, it seems unlikely in this particular instance. The fact is not borne out by the archaeological evidence, for the temple was on the bank of the river Jehlum, while the Jāmi'-masjid, which still stands, is in the middle of the town and is situated at a considerable distance from the site of the temple. The stone material of the temple could be seen there as late as the reign of Ranbir Singh (1857–1885), who used it for the construction of the new temple of Vījayēśvara, close by the site of the old one.

Again, it is unlikely that Jonarāja, who gives a long list of the temples destroyed from time to time, would have omitted to mention the destruction of this famous temple. Thus the story that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish or Saiyid 'Alī demolished the temple is an attempt to glorify the missionary zeal of the Saiyids.

However, both Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and his co-worker, Saiyid 'Abdu’llāh, are reported to have been very active there in persuading the people to embrace Islam. The dates of their death are not known, but it is said that they were buried near the Jāmi'-masjid at Vījabror.

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2 Cf. Ibid., II, p. 463.
3 T.Ks., f.7a; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.71b; T.H., III, p.19; T.K., p.21.
4 Ibid.
Saiyid Muḥammad Firūz, also called Saiyid Jalālu’d-Dīn⁠¹, another disciple of Saiyid 'Alī, led the quiet life of an ascetic and took little interest in the preaching of Islam.⁠² He had settled down permanently at the village of Simpur⁠³, in the pargana Vihi⁠⁴.

Saiyid Ruknu’d-Dīn and Saiyid Fakhru’d-Dīn, the two eminent disciples of Saiyid 'Alī made the village Avantipura a centre of their activities⁠⁵. Avantipura⁶ was another celebrated centre of Hinduism⁷, and the ruins of two huge stone temples there are a reminder of its past glory.

Saiyid Ruknu’d-Dīn and Saiyid Fakhru’d-Dīn, who were well known for both esoteric and exoteric knowledge⁸, seem to have made a great mark there. Saiyid Ruknu’d-Dīn died on 17 Rabi’u’l-Sānī, 792/4 April, ⁹

¹ T.Ks., f.6a; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.70b; T.H., III, p.19; T.K., p.21.
² F.K., f.70b.
³ Simpur is based on the abbreviated form of the name of its founder, King Simhadeva, who, according to Kalhana, settled Brahmans there — cf. R.Tk., II, p.190.
⁴ T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.70b. Vihi adjoins Srīnagar from the south-east.
⁵ T.Ks., f.6b; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.71a; T.K., pp. 20, 21.
⁶ Seventeen miles south-east of Srīnagar. This village was founded by King Avantivarman (855-883) — cf. R.Tk., II, p.460.
⁷ Ibid., II, p.460.
⁸ T.Ks., f.6b; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.71a; T.K., p.19.
1390\(^1\), and was buried in the village of Avantipura\(^2\). The date of Fakhrud-Dīn's death is not known, but he appears to have outlived Ruknud-Dīn, and is buried beside his grave.\(^3\)

Saiyid Kamālu’d-Dīn Sānī, who among the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, was of an advanced age and weak in health\(^4\), had settled down at the village of Na’idkhai\(^5\), in the modern district of Bārāmūla. In the ancient period the place was not very well known and it seems that Saiyid Kamālu’d-Dīn preferred to settle there in order to live a quiet life. He died on 3 Jumādū’1-Auwal, 790/9 June, 1388\(^6\).

One of the most distinguished companions of Saiyid 'Alī was Saiyid Jamālu’d-Dīn Muḥaddīs (the traditionist). Besides the knowledge of ḥadīṣ, he was very well versed in 'ilmu’l-tafsīr (knowledge regarding the interpretation of the Qur’ān)\(^7\). Because of his piety and devotion he was known as 'Urwatu’l-wusqā (true faith).\(^8\)

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1 Ibid., p.20.
2 T.Ks., f.6b; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.71a; T.K., p.20.
3 Ibid., p.21.
5 Ibid.
6 T.K., p.19.
7 T.Ks., f.6a; T.Az., p.39; F.K., f.70b; T.H., III, p.18; T.K., p.20.
8 F.K., f.70b; T.H., III, p.18; T.K., p.20.
The mohalla, in Srinagar where he settled was called after his name 'Urwatu’l-wusqa. There he established a madrasa and attracted a large number of pupils. After his death he was buried in his mohalla, which is now called Arwat.

Saiyid Kamālu’d-Dīn, the brother of Saiyid Jamālu’d-Dīn Muḥaddis was also a well known Ṣūfī. Although he had settled at Qutbu’d-Dīnpura in Srinagar, he spent most of his time in travelling to various parts of the Valley. He lies buried in the vicinity of Qutbu’d-Dīnpura.

Saiyid Muḥammad Ahanposh or 'Ainposh, was another companion of Saiyid 'Alī. He took up his residence at Kanikadal, in Srinagar, where he was buried.

Among the Kashmiri disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, who rose to eminence, were Shaikh Sulaimān and his son Shaikh Ahmad. Shaikh Sulaimān was
originally a Brahman named Srikanth. He was converted to Islam before Saiyid 'Ali's arrival in Kashmir. The circumstances which led him to embrace Islam are not known and we are not told who converted him. It is believed that his family strongly resented his conversion and for fear of persecution from his relatives, he left Kashmir for Samarqand, where he acquired Islamic learning. After completing his education, he went to Kolab, where he became the disciple of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Later, when Saiyid 'Ali decided to visit the Valley, Shaikh Sulaiman accompanied him, and spent the rest of his life near Koh-i-Sulaiman, in Srinagar.

Shaikh Ahmad had also embraced Islam along with his father, Shaikh Sulaiman. According to some sources, Shaikh Ahmad did not accompany his father in his self-chosen exile and met Saiyid 'Ali,

1 A.Ab., f.109b; K.S., f.55a; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72a; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.137.
2 A.Ab., f.110a; K.S., f.55a; F.K., f.72a; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.138. A'jjami maintains that his relatives were not aware of his conversion and that he left the Valley lest they might come to know about it - T.Az., p.40.
3 A.Ab., f.110a; K.S., f.55a-b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72a; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.138.
4 Ibid.
5 T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.138. Koh-i-Sulaiman or Takht-i-Sulaiman is not called after the name of Shaikh Sulaiman. According to popular tradition among the Muslims of Kashmir, it is the throne of the prophet Solomon. The Hindus call it Shankaracharya hill.
6 A.Ab., f.110b; K.S., 55b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.138.
7 K.S., f.55b; T.K., p.38.
when the latter reached Kashmir; while others\(^1\) assert that he left Kashmir along with his father and met Saiyid 'Ali at Kolab. The latter seems more probable, because like his father he may have left Kashmir for fear of persecution.

Saiyid 'Ali bestowed his personal care upon Shaikh Ahmad and made him his favourite disciple\(^2\). His sweet melodious voice earned for him the title of Khyushkhyān ("melodious")\(^3\). It is said that he would infatuate people with his recitation of the Qur’an\(^4\). Saiyid 'Ali, who does not seem to have indulged in sama', must have found great spiritual satisfaction in the Qur’anic recitation of Shaikh Ahmad.

When Saiyid 'Ali left the Valley, he appointed Shaikh Ahmad as his khalīfa, giving him precedence over his father, Shaikh Sulaiman, who was still alive\(^5\). Shaikh Ahmad lived an active life and many people are said to have derived benefit from his religious and spiritual knowledge\(^6\). When he breathed his last he was buried beside his father at the Jama'-masjid in Srinagar\(^7\).

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1. A.Ab., f.110b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.191.
2. A.Ab., f.111a; K.S., f.55b; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.191; T.K., p.138.
7. Ibid.
Among the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad are mentioned Ibrāhīm Adham and Shaikh Fathu'llah Hafiz. Ibrāhīm Adham, generally known as Baba Hajī Adham, was originally from Balkh. After travelling extensively in various parts of the Muslim world, he reached Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Sikandar, and became the disciple of Shaikh Ahmad.

Ibrāhīm Adham is said to have been a well known scholar and the author of a treatise of Sufism, called Ḍaḏamāt, which does not now exist. He died in 841/1437 and was buried in what is now called Shā'irwārī in Srinagar.

Shaikh Fathu'llah Hafiz was the son of Shaikh Ahmad, whom he succeeded as the head of the Kubraviyas in Kashmir. Nothing is known about his activities, but his son Shaikh Isma'īl, whom he appointed his khalīfa, is quite famous.

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1. B.S., f.33a; K.S., f.56b; F.K., f.75a; T.H., III, p.190; T.K., p.138.
3. B.S., f.33b; F.K., f.75a; T.H., III, p.190; T.K., p.138.
5. F.K., f.75a; T.H., III, p.190.
8. He was called "Hāfīz", as he had learnt the whole Qur'ān by heart - A.Ab., f.112a; K.S., f.58b; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.78b; T.H., III, p.192; T.K., p.143.
9. Ibid.
10. A.Ab., f.112a; K.S., f.59a; T.Az., p.75; F.K., f.79b; T.H., III, p.193; T.K., p.144.
Shaikh Isma'il was a distinguished Sufi as well as a reputed 'alim. Scholars from Kabul and India, are said to have gathered at his seminary, which he had founded near his khanqah, at Koh-i-Maran, in Srinagar. It was equipped with a rich library, and a hostel, where students were provided with free board and lodging, was attached to it. Sultan Hasan Shah and his successors, Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah used to pay for the maintenance of the institution.

Shaikh Isma'il was very well known in the religious circles of his time. Sultan Hasan Shah had appointed him as his Shaikhu'l-Islam, in which capacity he is said to have constructed a number of mosques and khanqahs in the Valley. Towards the end of his life, Shaikh Isma'il led a life of complete retirement and appointed Baba 'Ali Najjar as his khalifa. The Shaikh died on 1 Rabii‘u’l-Awwal, 916/8 June, 1510, and was buried near his own khanqah at Koh-i-Maran.

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1. T.Ks., f.22b; A.Ab., f.113a; F.K., f.80a; T.H., III, p.193; T.K., p.144.
3. T.Ks., f.22b; A.Ab., f.113a; F.K., f.80a; T.H., III, p.193; T.K., p.145.
4. Ibid.
5. T.Ks., f.22b; A.Ab., f.113b; K.S., f.59a; N.A., f.55a; F.K., f.79b; G.A., f.139a; T.H., III, p.193; T.K., p.144.
7. T.Ks., f.22a-b; T.Az., p.75; G.A., f.142a.
Bābā 'Alī Najār, however, came under the influence of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Iraqī and joined the Shi'i sect, the burden of the maintenance of the khanqah and the seminary thus falling upon Shaikh Ismā'īl's son, Shaikh Fathu’llah. By this time Kashmīr was torn by Shi'i-Sunnī conflicts. Shaikh Fathu’llah, as we shall discuss elsewhere, espoused the cause of the Sunnī sect. Through courting the wrath of Kājī Chak, an orthodox Shi'i, who was the wazīr of Muḥammad Shāh (IV, 1517-28), his property was confiscated and he was forced to emigrate to Sialkot, where he spent the rest of his life.

With the departure of Shaikh Fathu’llah from the Valley, the khanqah and the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'īl were abandoned and with it came to an end that chain of the Kubraviya saints in Kashmīr which had continued from Saiyid 'Alī through Shaikh Sulaimān down to the sixteenth century.

Saiyid 'Alī had a number of disciples in his native land and other places in Persia, who did not accompany him to Kashmīr. The most

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1 See p.289.
2 The sources say that he succeeded his father as the head of the Kubraviyas and do not point out that this happened after Bābā Alī embraced Shi'ism - T.Ks., f.24a; T.Az., p.77; T.H., III, p.198; T.K., p.148.
3 See pp.291-92.
4 N.A., f.64a; T.H., III, p.199; T.K., p.148.
5 K.S., f.61b; N.A., f.64a; F.K., f.81a; T.H., III, p.199; T.K., p.148.
distinguished among them were Khwaja Isḥaq Khatlānī and Amīr Mullā, generally known as Nuru’d-Dīn Ja’far Badakhshī. They both tutored his son Mīr Muḥammad, who later came to Kashmir and acquired great influence there. Khwa.ja Isḥaq, also called "Khwāja-i-buzurg" (great teacher or saint), was born at Ḵatlan in 735/1334. While still young he came under the influence of Saiyid 'Alī and became his disciple. After the death of the Saiyid, Khwaja Isḥaq succeeded him as his khalīfa.

The Khwaja, himself had achieved great fame as a teacher, and had attracted a large number of disciples, among whom was Saiyid Muḥammad Nurbakhsh, the founder of the Nurbakhshiya order. According to ʿAzī Ṣūrī, both Khwaja Isḥaq and Saiyid Muḥammad, in 816/1413, revolted against Shāh Rukh (808 – 850/1404 – 1447), of the line of Timūr, who ruled in Persia and Central Asia for nearly fifty years. However, they were soon caught and imprisoned by Bayazīd, the governor of Ḵatlan.

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1 Cf. F.K., ff.66b; 102a.
2 See infra, pp.132 ff.
3 F.K., f.102a.
4 Ibid., f.102a-b.
5 Cf. Ibid., f.66b.
6 Ibid., f.102b.
7 Majalisu’l-Mu’minīn, p.313.
8 Ibid., p.314. See also H. Blochmann, A.A., III, introduction, p.XXVIII, n.1.
10 Majalisu’l-Mu’minīn, p.314.
The life of Saiyid Muhammad was spared and Khwaja Ishāq was put to death on 16 Sha‘bān 816/10 November, 1413.  

Little is known of Ja‘far Badakhshi, except that he was highly educated and no spiritual guide was able to influence him. In 735/1334, his brother, Haqqū, introduced him to his guide, Saiyid ‘Alī at ‘Alīshāh (a village in Khatlān). Impressed by Saiyid ‘Alī, Ja‘far Badakhshi became his disciple and later wrote a treatise, the Khulāṣatu’l-Manāqib, describing the life and spiritual achievements of his preceptor.

Mir Muhammad.

When Saiyid ‘Alī died, his son Mir Muhammad, born in 774/1372 at Khatlān, was only twelve years old. Before his death Saiyid ‘Alī had written two documents for his son, one the wasiyat-nāma (testament) and the other khilāfat-nāma, and had asked the disciples who were with him to send

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1 Ibid., p.314.  
2 F.K., f.102b. Wahhāb maintains that Shāh Rukh was alarmed at the popularity of Khwaja Ishāq and ordered his execution - F.K., f.102b.  
3 Ibid., f.66b.  
4 K.M., f.525-6.  
5 Ibid., pp.526ff.; F.K., f.66b.  
6 It was commenced in 787/1385-86 - K.M., p.439.  
8 A.Ab., f.38b; F.K., f.65b.
them to Khvāja Isḥāq and Ja'far Badakhshī. In his testament, Saiyid 'Alī had advised his son that he should first complete his education and then travel to improve his character and enlighten his heart and soul.

Mîr Muḥammad entered the discipleship of Khvāja Isḥāq and learnt early lessons of Sufism from him, for three years and five months. Then he went to Ja'far Badakhshī, under whose guidance he remained for seven months. It seems that, while still young, Mîr Muḥammad attracted some disciples of his father and set off with them for Kashmir. This was the second wave of Kubrāviyas entering into the Valley.

He arrived in Kashmir, in 796/1393, at the age of twenty-two, where he made Sultan Sikander (1389-1413) as his disciple. The Sultan built a beautiful Khanqāh for him in Srinagar, at the spot where Saiyid 'Alī had

1 Ibid., ff.61b-62a.
2 Ibid., f.62a.
4 Ibid.
5 Cf. F.K., f.62a.
6 Wahhāb says that the Mîr arrived there in 811/1408. But at the same time he gives the chronogram Kashrin pīraḥāu (F.K., f.62b), which gives the Mîr's date of arrival in Kashmir, 796/1393. Miskín gives both the dates 796/1393 and 811/1408 - T.K., p.24.
7 T.Ks., f.9b; B.S., f.26a; T.Km., f.94b; A.Ab., f.38a; T.Az., p.42; T.H., III, p.23.
8 T.Ks., f.9b; F.K., f.62b. See also R.Tj., p.57.
earlier stayed during his visit to the Valley. For its maintenance he granted the revenues of the two parganas and the revenues of a separate pargana he assigned for Mir Muḥammad's exclusive use.¹

Soon after his arrival in Kashmir Mir Muḥammad plunged himself into the activity of teaching and preaching Islam. The most important person who accepted Islam at his hands was a high Hindu official Sūha Bhatta², who later became his devout follower.³ The latter adopted Saifu’d-Dīn as his Islamic name and married his daughter to the Mīr.⁴

The advent of Mīr Muḥammad in Kashmir marked a turning point in its history. In the early years of his reign, Sultan Sikandar followed the policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims as practised by his predecessors. His principal officials such as Sūha Bhatta, Udaka, Ladrāja and Shankra were Hindus⁵ and no interference was made in their religious practices.⁶

¹ T.Ks., ff. 10a, 12a-b; B.S., ff. 35a-b, 36a; T.Km., f. 96b; T.Kh., f. 114b; A.Ab., f. 38a; T.Az., p. 42; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., III, p. 23; T.K., p. 25.
² T.Ks., f. 14a; T.Km., f. 95a; T.Kh., ff. 112b-113a; A.Ab., f. 38b; T.Az., p. 42; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., III, p. 23; T.K., p. 25. The office of Sūha Bhatta is not clearly known. Jonarāja calls him the "Councillor" of Sikandar (R.Tj., p. 58), whereas some Persian chronicles call him "sipah-salar" (commander-in-chief) – T.Km., f. 95b; A.Ab., f. 38b; T.Az., p. 42.
³ Cf. R.Tj., p. 68.
⁵ Cf. R.Tj., pp. 55, 58; B.S., f. 27a; T.Km., f. 95a; T.Kh., f. 112a; A.Ab., f. 38b; T.Az., p. 42; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., II, pp. 159-60; III, p. 23.
⁶ Cf. R.Tj., pp. 54ff.
After the arrival of Mir Muḥammad the attitude of Sultan Sikandar changed and an orthodox Islamic policy was introduced. The selling of wine, (public) dancing of women, music, and gambling were prohibited. The jizya on non-Muslims was imposed for the first time. Hindus were prevented from applying the tilak (religious mark) on their foreheads, and the custom of suttee (Hindu widow who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre) was banned. Ancient temples such as at Pompur, Vijabror,

1 Cf. Ibid., p.57.
2 B.S., f.26b; T.Km., ff.94b-95a; T.H., II, p.162. See also, T.A., III, pt.II, p.649.
3 T.Ks., f.13b; T.Km., f.95a; T.Kh., f.113a; A.Ab., f.38b; T.Az., p.41; T.H., II, p.160. Jonaraja (R.Tj., p.60) says that fine was imposed on non-Muslims, which can only have been the jizya.
4 T.A., III, pt.II, p.654; Tarikh-i-Firishta, II, p.342. One modern scholar, while defending Sikandar's policy, says that if Sikandar abolished suttee, it had moral and humanitarian grounds and that in this he anticipated Akbar and Lord William Bentinck (Ṣūfī, Kashīr, I, p.149). This judgement is incorrect. Akbar did not abolish suttee completely, but only decreed that those Hindu widows who did not want to immolate themselves along with their husbands were not to be compelled to do so. As far as Bentinck (who abolished it completely) is concerned, we must recognise that he was a man of different culture, living at a different time (there was the difference of almost five centuries between him and Sikandar). Moreover, if Akbar or Bentinck banned suttee, they did it for the betterment of their people, and not as the champions of a particular religion like Sikandar.
Martand, Anantnag, Sopur and Baramula were demolished. Jonaraja writes:
"The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took delight, day and night, in breaking images."

The question arises whether Mir Muḥammad was exclusively responsible for the change in state policy or whether the new regulations only had his tacit backing and were the changes dictated by political reasons. Both Hindu and Muslim sources are unanimous that Sūlṭān Sikandar introduced Islamic orthodoxy on the advice of Mir Muḥammad. Jonaraja writes: "The king waited on him [Mir Muḥammad] daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Mahammada

1 It is said that while one lofty temple was being destroyed at Sopur, a copper tablet came to light, on which written in Sanskrit was the prophecy that a person named Sikandar would destroy the temple - T.H., II, p.161. See also T.A., III, pt.II, pp.648-49.
4 Cf. Ibid., p.57; T.Kk., f.98a.
before him, and was attentive to him like a slave." The medieval Muslim sources inform us emphatically that infidelity was uprooted from Kashmir through Mir Muhammad's influence.

The above statements show that Mir Muhammad was not ready to give the status of Zimmis to the Hindus of Kashmir and treated them as Kafirs who were not obedient to Islam but were at war with it. His attitude was strongly opposed by Saiyid Muhammad Hisârî, another Kubrariya saint.

Saiyid Hisârî hailed from Hisâr, where his ancestors had migrated from Sâman, a village in Balkh. He seems to have been highly educated and an eminent Sufi. The date of his arrival in Kashmir is not known, but apparently he reached there some time between 1389 and 1393, before

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1 R.Tj., p.57.
2 See note 5, p.133.
3 Sultan Sikandar Lodî (1489-1517), who wanted to destroy some Hindu temples, was told by a Qâzî: "It is not permissible to injure a temple of long standing". Sikandar Lodî on hearing this told the Qâzî in anger that he was taking the side of the infidel and he would first kill him and would then proceed with his mission. "I have exposed what the shari'â says", replied the Qâzî, "if you do not bother about the shari'â, then there is no need to ask (for legal advice)" - 'Abdu'llâh, Tarikh-i-Dawudî, p.29.
4 A.Ab., f.42b; T.Az., p.43; T.H., III, p.22.
5 Cf. T.Ks., f.10a; A.Ab., ff.41b, 42b; T.Az., pp.43, 44; T.H., III, p.22; T.K., pp.22-3.
the arrival of Mir Muḥammad, in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He took up his residence at Nauhatta, in Srinagar, where he spent the rest of his life as a recluse. The Sultan used to visit him daily and held him in great esteem. After the arrival of Mir Muḥammad the Sultan was increasingly drawn towards him, and, according to hagiological literature, this brought Saiyid Ḥiṣārī in conflict both with the Sultan and Mir Muḥammad. It is said that the latter used to complain to the Sultan that he showed greater regard to the young Mir than he did to himself who was very old. The account of conflict between Mir Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī as given in the hagiological literature shows that their differences were personal; but there seem to have been deeper reasons behind the conflict between the two.

Mir Muḥammad was no match for Saiyid Ḥiṣārī, in fact the Mir had recognised him as superior to himself when he sought a khilafat-nama

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1 Cf. T.Az., p.43.
2 T.Ks., f.10a; B.S., f.37a; A.Ab., f.42a; T.Az., p.43; T.H., III, p.22; T.K., p.22.
3 A.Ab., f.42b; T.Az., p.44; T.K., p.23.
4 T.Ks., f.10a; T.Az., p.43.
5 T.Ks., f.10a; B.S., f.37a; A.Ab., ff.38a, 42a; T.Az., pp.43-4; F.K., f.65b; T.H., III, pp.24-5; T.K., p.25.
6 It is said that in a discussion, Saiyid Ḥiṣārī accused Mir Muḥammad of being ignorant of religious knowledge, and Saiyid 'Alī appeared to his son, who was disappointed, in a dream and said: "I had advised you not to undertake any journey unless you had fully completed your education. Now what you are facing today is the result of violating my advice." - T.Ks., f.10a-b; F.K., f.65b. See also T.H., III, pp.24-25.
from him. The life of retirement and asceticism which Saiyid Ḥiṣārī led prevents us from concluding that he opposed Mīr Muḥammad for worldly motives. It is not unlikely that Saiyid Ḥiṣārī did not like the way in which Mīr Muḥammad and his patrons were preaching Islam; and his complaint to the Sultan was against the unhealthy influence of the Mīr. This is supported by the subsequent change in the attitude of Sultan Sikandar, as Jonarāja says that the Sultan "fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas," and abolished jizya (turuskadanda).

Thus, feeling the change in Sultan Sikandar's attitude and particularly on account of Saiyid Ḥiṣārī's opposition, Mīr Muḥammad decided to leave the Valley after a stay of twelve years (808/1405). He went first to

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1 T.Ks., f.10b; T.Az., p.42; T.H., III, p.25; T.K., p.25.
2 R.Tj., p.65. The original meaning of "Yavana" was Ionian or Greek. But later on it was applied to any foreigner, including Muslims (cf. Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p.848). Jonarāja, however, applies the term particularly to Saiyids, and "mlechcha" for common Muslims.
3 Jonarāja, Rajatarangini, ed. Srikanth Kaul, p.112 (st.609).
4 B.S., f.37a; A.Ab., f.38b; T.H., III, p.25.
5 T.Ks., f.14a; T.Az., p.42. According to Wahhab the Mīr left in 819/1416 and at the same time he says that Mīr Muḥammad stayed in the Valley for twelve years (F.K., f.65b). Even if we accept Wahhab's date of the Mīr's arrival in Kashmir (811/1408, see supra, p.130, n.6), the Mīr should have left in 823/1420 (811 + 12). Likewise, both Ḥasan and Miskīn are wrong when they say that the Mīr left in 817/1414 - T.H., III, p.25; T.K., p.25.
Mecca and thence to Khatlān, where he died and was buried near the tomb of his father.  

Saiyid Ḥiṣārī continued to live in Kashmir and died there. He was buried at mahalla Nauhatta. Throughout his life he led a celibate life and seems to have left no disciple of eminence.

Disciples of Mīr Muḥammad.

According to some hagiographical writers three hundred saints and scholars came with Mīr Muḥammad to Kashmir, but not more than the following nine are described by them. It seems that the number is much exaggerated and if others came also they were of minor importance.

Saiyid Ḥusain Shīrāzī, commonly known as Qāẓī Wālī, belonged to Shīrāz, where he held the post of a qāẓī. Because of a sound knowledge

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1 The exact date of his death is not known. According to Wahhāb, he died on 17 Rabī‘u‘l-Awwal, 887/6 May, 1482 (F.K., f.65b), whereas Ḥasan and Miskīn assert that he died on 17 Rabī‘u‘l-Awwal 854/30 April, 1450 – T.H., III, p.25; T.K., p.25.
2 B.S., f.37a-b; A.Ab., f.38b; T.Az., p.43; F.K., f.65b; T.H., III, p.25; T.K., p.25.
3 A.Ab., f.42b; T.Az., p.44; T.H., III, p.22; T.K., p.23.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p.44; Ibid., f.73a; Ibid., p.26; Ibid., p.30.
7 T.Ks., f.11a; B.S., f.32a; T.Az., p.44.
of fiqh and hadīṣ, which he is said to have possessed, Sultan Sikandar appointed him the qāẓī of Kashmir. However, he soon gave up his post and spent the rest of his life as a recluse at Narparistan, in Srinagar.

Another companion of Mīr Muḥammad was Saiyid Aḥmad Šāmānī bin Saiyid Kamālu’d-Dīn bin Saiyid Maḥmūd. He was also an ‘alim and the author of a lost treatise called Tanwīr-i-Sirāj, on the law of inheritance. Sultan Sikandar appointed him too as a qāẓī. After his death he was buried at Fathkadal, in Srinagar.

Two other distinguished companions of Mīr Muḥammad were Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Šadrud-Dīn. Saiyid Muḥammad originally belonged to

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1 Ibid., F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.26; T.K., p.30.
2 T.Az., p.44; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.26; T.K., p.30.
3 Wahhāb and Ḥasan call him Saiyid Muḥammad Šāmānī - F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.25.
4 T.Ks., f.10b; T.Az., p.44; T.K., p.27.
5 T.Ks., f.10b; T.Az., p.44; F.K., f.72b; T.H., III, p.25; T.K., p.27.
6 F.K., ff.72b-73a.
7 T.Ks., ff.10a-11a; T.Az., p.44; F.K., f.73a; T.H., III, p.25; T.K., pp. 27-28.
8 According to Mulla (K.S., f.14b), Saiyid Muḥammad arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu’l-Abidīn (1420-1470). This means that he did not come to Kashmir along with Mīr Muḥammad. But this is wrong for Saiyid Muḥammad is said to have constructed the Jami’-masjid in Kashmir, along with Saiyid Šadrud-Dīn, which was completed in 1401, nineteen years before Zainu’l-Abidīn came to the throne.
Loristan and Saiyid Ṣadru’d-Dīn hailed from Khurasan. Both of them were good architects and built the mosque (Jāmi’masjid) at Sikandarpura, which was completed in 804/1401. This mosque was constructed on the site of an old temple, which was razed to the ground. Saiyid Muḥammad breathed his last in 819/1416 and was buried near the Jāmi’-masjid. Saiyid Ṣadru’d-Dīn, however, outlived him by two years and died in 821/1418; he was buried near Zainakadal in Srinagar.

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1. K.S., f.14b; F.K., f.74a.
2. T.Ks., f.13a; B.S., f.35b; K.S., f.12b; F.K., f.74a.
3. T.Ks., f.13a; A.Ab., f.35b; K.S., f.12b; T.Az., pp.45, 46.
5. T.Ks., f.13a. According to Wahhab the mosque was completed in 814/1411 (F.K., f.74a), which is wrong as he himself says that it was completed before the departure of Mīr Muḥammad who left the Valley in 808/1405. The present mosque, which according to Lawrence is "Saracenic" (The Valley of Kashmir, p.290), is not that which Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Ṣadru’d-Dīn designed. The earlier mosques caught fire many times, even during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), who rebuilt it in 1090/1679 - F.K., f.74b.
6. Lawrence believes that it was a Buddhist shrine - op.cit., p.291.
7. T.Ks., f.13a; F.K., f.74a.
10. F.K., f.74b; T.H., III, p.29.
Another companion of Mir Muḥammad of some eminence was Saiyid Ḥusain Khvārzmī. He was held in great esteem by Sulṭān Sikandar, who appointed him the tutor of his two sons, 'Alī Shāh and Zainu’il-Ābidīn. It is said that when, on the advice of Mir Muḥammad, the temple at Muniwār in Srīnagar, was destroyed, Saiyid Ḥusain was asked by his preceptor to live there. He spent the rest of his life there and was buried in the same mohalla.

Saiyid Nūru’d-Dīn was the nephew of Saiyid Ḥusain, who had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sulṭān Shihābu’d-Dīn. According to Miskīn, Saiyid Nūru’d-Dīn received his early education from Saiyid Ḥusain. He is buried near Rang-masjid, in Srīnagar.

Saiyid Jalālu’d-Dīn Bukhārī was also one of the companions of Mir Muḥammad. Nothing is known about him except that he lies buried at Mazar-i-Salātīn, in Srīnagar.

1 T.Ks., f.12a; F.K., f.73a; T.H., III, p.29.
2 T.Ks., ff.11b-12a; T.Az., p.46; F.K., f.73a; T.H., III, p.29; T.K., p.33.
3 Ibid.
4 T.Ks., 11a; T.Az., p.45; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.27; T.K., p.32.
5 See for his biography supra p. 114.
6 T.K., p.32.
7 T.Ks., ff.11a, 30a; T.Az., p.45; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.27; T.K., p.32.
8 T.Ks., f.11b; T.Az., p.45; T.H., III, p.27; T.K., p.32.
Saiyid Muḥammad Madanī, commonly known in Kashmir as "Madīn Ṣāhīb", was originally from Madīnā. He left his home and entered the service of Timūr. When Timūr invaded India, he took Saiyid Madanī with him. From Sind he deputed Saiyid Madanī, in 801/1399, as his envoy to the court of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir. Impressed by the patronage, Sultan Sikandar gave to Muslim saints and scholars, Saiyid Madanī, after completing his mission as an envoy, returned with his family to Kashmir, and settled there.

In Kashmir he became the disciple of Mīr Muḥammad, but, unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Madanī did not show any interest in teaching or preaching, and lived a quiet life at Rainawārī, in Srinagar. He does not seem to have received any special favour from Sultan Sikandar, whose patronage had drawn him to Kashmir. However, when Zain'ī-'Abidīn came to the throne, he became a devotee of Saiyid Madanī and asked him to move to his new capital at Naushahra. There he built for him a Khanqah near his own

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1. Nizāmu’d-Dīn Shāmī, Zafar-Nāma, I, p.177; A.Ab., f.39a; K.S., f.9a; F.K., f.73b.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., I, p.177; A.Ab., f.39a; T.Az., p.46; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.29; T.K., p.30.
5. A.Ab., f.39a-b; T.Az., p.46; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.29; T.K., p.30.
7. A.Ab., f.39b; T.Az., p.46; F.K., f.73b; T.H., III, p.29; T.K., p.30.
8. T.Ks., f.28b; A.Ab., f.40b; F.K., f.74a; T.H., III, p.30; T.K., p.31.
Saiyid Madan T died on 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445, and his tomb at Naushahra still exists.

Saiyid 'Ala\'d-Din Bukhari, another companion of Mir Muhammed, was the descendant of Makhdum Jahaniyan, the celebrated Suhrawardi saint. Sultan Sikandar, on the recommendation of Mir Muhammed, assigned the revenue of the village Sikandarpura in pargana Biru, for his maintenance. He settled down at Sikandarpura, and was buried there after his death.

Saiyid 'Ala\'u'd-Din had four sons, Saiyid Ziya\'u'd-Din, SaiyidMuhammed, Saiyid Taju'd-Din and Saiyid Fakhrud-Din. Saiyid Ziya\'u'd-Din, also called Saiyid Zirak, lies buried at the village of Kandhom in A.Ab., f.40b; F.K., f.74a.

Hasan and Miskin give the date of his death as 11 Rajab, 894/10 June, 1488 (T.H., III, p.30; T.K., p.39). But Miskin himself, elsewhere (T.K., p.31) says that the funeral prayer of Saiyid Madani was led by Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Ganjbakhsh (d. 849/1445), which is also supported by earlier sources - cf. A.Ab., T.41a; F.K., f.74a.


This village should not be taken for the town of Sikandarpura in Srinagar, which was founded by Sultan Sikandar. It is not possible to identify the village Sikandarpura with certainty, but it may be the modern village of Singhpura, as this is the only known settlement with a similar name in Biru.

Ibid.
Baramula district, Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Taju’ud-Dīn were buried at Sikandarpura, near the grave of their father.

Saiyid Fakhru’ud-Dīn died in his youth, leaving behind a young son named Saiyid Ḥājī Murād. He was educated by his uncle, Saiyid Zīrak, and later he went on pilgrimage, and then travelled to Iran and Central Asia. At Madīna he came into contact with Shaikh Ishaq, a Shāfī’ī saint, and became his disciple. But when he reached Khvārazm he met Shaikh 'Abdu’l-llāh Burzishābādī, a Kubrāviya saint, and enrolled himself among his disciples. After receiving the khilāfat-nāma from him,
Saiyid Murād returned to Kashmir in the reign of Muḥammad Shah, and settled at the village of Krairī in the pargana Kruhin. Unlike his predecessors, Saiyid Murād did not accept government grants or gifts, but earned his living by cultivating a piece of land. He breathed his last in 895/1489 and was buried in his khanqah in Krairi.

Baihaqī Saiyids

Another influential group of Kubraviya saints who came to Kashmir was that of the Baihaqī Saiyids. This family produced not only remarkable Sufis, but also important politicians. They claimed their descent from one Saiyid Taju'd-Dīn of Baihaq, who is said to have been an eminent saint of that town.

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1 T.Ks., f.30a. It is not stated during what period of the reign of Muḥammad Shah, who ruled four times (1484-86, 1493-1505, 1514-15 and 1517-28), he reached Kashmir. However, from the date of his death it seems that he arrived there during the first period.

2 T.Ks., f.30a; K.S., f.10a; T.Az., p.61; T.H., III, p.41; T.K., p.32. Kruhin is to the west of Kashmir, just before the river Jehlum flows out of the valley.

3 T.Az., p.61; T.H., III, p.41; T.K., p.32.

4 Ibid., p.32.

5 T.Ks., f.30a; K.S., f.10a; T.Az., p.61; T.H., III, p.41; T.K., p.32.

6 F.K., f.75a; T.H., III, p.32; T.K., pp. 27, 35. Baihaq is the modern town of Sabzavar in Khurasan.

7 T.H., III, p.32.
Saiyid Taju’d-Dīn had two sons named Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Nūru’d-Dīn. Saiyid Muḥammad and his nephew Saiyid Ḥusain bin Saiyid Nūru’d-Dīn migrated to Kashmir, along with their families, during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar.

The Hamadānī Saiyids – Saiyid ‘Alī and his disciples – were mainly teachers and preachers, and sought the help of the Sulṭāns and their nobles to spread the faith of Islam; but the Baihaqī Saiyids generally concentrated their energies on establishing family relations with the ruling house and the high officers of the government. Soon after their arrival in Kashmir they made matrimonial alliances with the royal family. Saiyid Muḥammad’s daughter, known as Baihaqī Begum, was married to prince Shāhī Khān (Zainū’l-‘Abidīn). Later his great-grand-daughter, Ḥayāt Khatūn, was married to Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).

The family relations with the ruling house helped the Baihaqī Saiyids to obtain important posts in the administration such as that of wāzīr.

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1 F.K., f.75a; F.Q., f.189a; T.H., III, pp.31-2; T.K., pp.27, 35.
2 The author of B.S., (f.33b) and A’zamī (T.Az., p.47) call him Saiyid Ḥasan. But in fact Saiyid Ḥasan was the name of his son (see infra, p.150, for his biography). A’zamī, however, at another place rightly calls him Saiyid Ḥusain and his son Saiyid Ḥasan – T.Az., p.52.
3 T.Az., p.27; T.H., III, pp.31, 32; T.K., p.27.
4 R.Ts., p.157; T.Ks., f.17b; T.H., III, p.33; T.K., p.35.
6 Cf., R.Ts., p.251; B.S., ff.50b-51a.
They took active part in the intrigues and rebellions which followed
the death of Zainu’l-‘Abadin. Sultan Hasan Shah, the grandson of
Zainu’l-‘Abadin, exiled the Baihaqi Saiyids, including his father-in-law,
Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi, grandson of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. According to
Shrivara, Hasan Shah considered them as "turbulent chiefs".\(^1\) However,
from Shrivara's following statements it seems that their exile was caused
through the machination of the Sultan's wazir, Malik Ahmad Yattu.\(^2\)

Meanwhile the nobles of the court were divided into two parties,
one headed by Malik Ahmad Yattu and the other by Taz Bhatt, who was an
important military chief and a trusted friend of the Malik before the
Baihaqi Saiyids were exiled.\(^3\) Thus, in order to destroy Taz Bhatt, he
sought the help of the Baihaqi Saiyids and recalled them from Delhi.\(^4\)
But these ambitious Saiyids had not forgotten the wrong he had done to
them. As soon as they had re-established themselves, they intrigued
against Malik Ahmad and had him imprisoned, and the post of wazir was
assumed by Saiyid Hasan.\(^5\) Meanwhile Sultan Hasan Shah died and the
Baihaqi Saiyids put on the throne his minor son, Muhammad Shah (whose

\(^1\) R.Ts., p.222.
\(^2\) Cf. Ibid., p.241.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp.238-41.
\(^4\) Ibid., pp.241-43.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp.245-51.
first reign period was 1484-1486), who was also the grandson of Saiyid Hasan through his daughter Hayat Khātūn. The Baihaqi Saiyids now started harrassing other prominent Kashmirī nobles, who in turn hatched a plot against them and on 30 Ziqa'ī, 889/8 December, 1484, made a surprise attack and killed fifteen of them, including Saiyid Hasan.

A servant, though wounded, escaped and informed Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Hasan, of the tragedy. He soon rushed to the scene, but the Kashmirīs had already left the place. Saiyid Muḥammad succeeded his father as the wazīr of Muḥammad Shāh, but the Kashmirīs soon reorganised themselves and made another attack on the Baihaqīs. The latter were defeated and obliged to leave the country once again.

However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Baihaqīs again established themselves in Kashmir and played an even more important role in the affairs of that country. In 986/1578-79, Saiyid Mubārak

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1 Ibid., p.267. See also p.264.
2 Ibid., p.269.
3 T.Az., p.59; F.K., f.78b; T.H., III, p.38; T.K., p.29. According to the author of B.S. (f.63b), this happened in 893/1487-8. But this seems wrong as it happened during the first reign of Muḥammad Shāh (cf. R.Ts., pp.270-71), which lasted only up to 1486.
4 R.Ts., p.272; B.S., f.63a-b; T.Az., p.58; F.K., f.76b; T.H., III, p.38; T.K., p.29.
5 R.Ts., pp.272-3; B.S., ff.66b-67a.
6 R.Ts., pp.291ff.
Baihaqī, great-grandson of Saiyid Ḥasan, deposed Yusuf Shāh Chak and ascended the throne himself. On account of his saintly nature, he sold the crown which the Sultāns wore, and distributed the money among the poor; after ruling a couple of months he gave up the kingship.

The founder of this dynasty in Kashmir was, however, Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī, who, as already pointed out, arrived there in the reign of Sultan Sikandar and was warmly received by the latter. The Sultan assigned him the revenues of the pargana Bangil, but he settled down in the village of Kandhom, because of which he came to be known as Saiyid Muḥammad Kandhom. Saiyid Muḥammad was a reputed scholar and poet, and had composed a diwan of forty thousand verses on Sufism. But none of his poetry has survived, as far as is known. When he died, he was buried at Kandhom, where a tomb exists bearing his name to this day.

Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī bin Saiyid Nūruʿd-Dīn was also a well known scholar, particularly of logic, and was famous as manṭiqī ("logician");
hence his descendants came to be known as "Mantiq T Saiyids". During the reign of 'Alī Shah (1413-1420), Saiyid Ḥusain migrated to India. It is said that he was suspected by Sultan 'Alī Shah for conspiring with an Indian army, which had come to invade the Valley. This army was none but that of the Khokars which supported Zainu'l-ʿAbidīn, when the latter successfully revolted against his brother, 'Alī Shah. There is every possibility that Saiyid Ḥusain was trying to secure the throne for Zainu'l-ʿAbidīn, who was married to his cousin, Baihaqī Begum. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī supporting the above statement, says that 'Alī Shah did not like the Baihaqī Saiyids and many of them left the Valley.

Thus when Zainu'l-ʿAbidīn came to the throne, after defeating 'Alī Shah, he soon recalled Saiyid Ḥusain to his court. The Sultan showed great regard for the Saiyid and his wife, Baihaqī Begum, adopted the youngest son of Saiyid Ḥusain, named Saiyid Amīn, as her son. When

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1 Ibid., p.32; Ibid., p.27.
2 F.Q., f.189a-b; T.H., III, pp.31-32; T.K., p.27.
3 There is no evidence that the Delhi Sultāns sent any army, at this time, to invade the Valley.
5 B.S., ff.38a-39b.
6 Ibid., f.39a; F.Q., f.189b; T.H., III, p.32.
7 T.Ks., f.17b; B.S., ff.33b-34a; A.Ab., f.101b; T.Az., p.55; F.K., f.75a-b; T.H., III, p.32; T.K., p.27.
Saiyid Ḥusain died, he was buried in the mausoleum of the Sultāns, at Mazar-i-Salātīn, in Srinagar.  

Saiyid Ḥasan Mantīqi was the eldest son of Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī or Mantīqi. He had received his education and initiation into Kubraviya order from his father, and was widely known in Kashmir for his scholarship. After travelling extensively in the various parts of the Valley, he finally settled at Avantipura. There he led a life of a teacher and preacher until his death.

Another disciple of Saiyid Ḥusain was Saiyid Naṣīru’d-Dīn, the son of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī. He was held in great esteem by Sultān Zainu’l-ʿAbidīn. For reasons that remain unknown, he migrated to

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1 T.Ks., f.29a; A.Ab., f.101a; T.Az., p.47; F.K., f.75b; T.H., III, p.32; T.K., p.27.
2 A.Ab., f.101a; T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.75b; T.H., III, p.33; T.K., p.28.
3 F.K., f.75b.
4 T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.75b; T.H., III, p.33; T.K., p.28.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
India "during the lifetime of King Jaina (Zainu’l-’Abidīn)". His relatives, however, recalled him during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan Shāh (1472-1484), who was married to his grand-daughter. On his way to Kashmir, he fell seriously ill, reached there in an almost dying state and breathed his last only two days later.

Other Kubrawī Saints of Kashmir.

Among the Kashmirī Kubrawīya saints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most prominent were Shaikh Bahāū’d-Dīn and Shaikh Ya’qūb Šarīfī. Shaikh Bahāū’d-Dīn, popularly called Ganjbakhsh ("bestower of treasuries"), flourished in the fifteenth century. During his youth he left Kashmir to travel to Central Asia and Iran. At Khāłīn he came into contact with Khvāja Isḥāq Khālīnī, the celebrated disciple of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, and became his disciple. After coming back to

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3 See supra, p.145.
5 T.Ks., f.31a; A.Ab., f.108b; K.S., f.66b; T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.103a; T.H., III, p.188; T.K., p.139.
the Valley, he lived a life of retirement for some time. But very soon people came to know of him and a large number, including Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin and his wife Baihaqi Begum, began to visit him to seek his blessing. Hagiological literature attributes to him a number of miracles which are said to have made him very famous.

In the later years of his life Shaikh Bahau'd-Din turned a majzub and used to wander from place to place. One night in 849/1445, while he was in a state of ecstasy, some thieves caught him at Kreshbal and put him to death. The Shaikh had made a strange will to the effect that

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1 A.Ab., f.108a-b; K.S., f.66b; T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.103b; T.H., III, p.188; T.K., p.139.
2 A.Ab., f.109a; K.S., f.67a; F.K., f.103b; T.H., III, p.188; T.K., p.140.
3 One of the miracles attributed to Shaikh Bahau'd-Din is that once Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin asked the Shaikh to sail with him in a boat. The Shaikh refused, but when the Sultan insisted, he threw his prayer-mat on the water and jumped on it and used it as a boat. The boatmen of the Sultan tried to catch him but in vain - A.Ab., f.109a; F.K., f.103b; T.H., III, p.188; T.K., p.140.
4 K.S., f.68a; F.K., f.103b; T.K., p.139.
5 T.Az., p.52. According to Wahhab, Hasan and Miskin, the Shaikh died on 4 Rajab, 843/11 December 1439 (F.K., f.103b; T.H., III, p.189; T.K., p.142). Wahhab, whom Hasan and Miskin seem to have followed, elsewhere says that Shaikh Bahau'd-Din led the funeral prayer of Saiyid Mani, whose date of death he gives as 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445 (F.K., f.74a). This would mean that Bahau'd-Din outlived Saiyid Mani.
6 Eleven miles to the north-west of Srinagar.
7 T.Ks., f.17b; A.Ab., f.169a; K.S., f.67b; T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.103b; T.H., III, p.188; T.K., p.142.
after his death his dead body should be tied with a rope and dragged to the burial ground. ¹ When Zainu'l-ʿAbidīn was informed of this, in obedience to the wishes of the Shaikh, he ordered that the dead body be put on a board and then dragged to the burial ground. ² The corpse thus dragged was buried near Malkha, in Srinagar, now called Mazar-i-Ganjbakhsh. ³

Among the disciples of Shaikh Bahāʾu'd-Dīn are mentioned Baba 'Uṣman and Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī. Baba 'Uṣman hailed from a well known family of Ganaʾī's, which was noted for their learning. ⁴ After completing his education, Baba 'Uṣman went on pilgrimage where he met one Shaikh Iṣḥaq Shattārī, ⁵ who initiated him into his order. ⁶ Later, on his preceptor's

¹ T.Ks., f.18a; T.Az., p.52; F.K., f.103b; T.H., III p.189; T.K., p.142.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ R.N., f.334b; T.Az., p.66; T.H., III, p.192; T.K., p.143.
⁵ Some of the sources are not consistent in giving his name. For example, Saiyid 'Alī at one place calls him Abū Iṣḥaq Shattārī (T.Ks., f.30a) and elsewhere Qāzi Iṣḥaq (Ibid., f.31a). Likewise Aʿzāmī at one place gives his name as Shaikh Iṣḥaq Shāmī (T.Az., p.53) and at another place he calls him Iṣḥaq Shattārī - Ibid., p.66.
⁶ T.Az., p.66; T.H., III, p.192; T.K., p.143. According to some authorities, Shaikh Iṣḥaq did not initiate him into his order, but advised him to return to Kashmīr and there become the disciple of Bahāʾu'd-Dīn, whom Shaikh Iṣḥaq had seen at Mecca, praying every Friday - T.Ks., f.31a; R.N., f.334b; K.S., f.68a; F.K., f.104a.
advice, he returned to Kashmir. There he became the disciple of Shaikh Bahau’d-Din and received initiation into Kubraviya order.

After the death of Shaikh Bahau’d-Din, Baba ‘Ugman succeeded him and became a source of inspiration for many people. Sultan Zainu’l-Abidin held him in great esteem and occasionally used to visit his khānqāh. When the Baba died he was buried at Mazar-i-Salatīn.

Saiyid Husain was originally a disciple of Shaikh Ishaq, the first teacher of Baba ‘Ugman. When the latter returned to Kashmir, Saiyid Husain accompanied him there and he too entered into the discipleship of Shaikh Bahau’d-Din. Saiyid Husain breathed his last on 7 Rajab, 860/11 June,

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1 Ibid.
2 T.Ks., f.31a-b; R.N., f.334b; K.S., f.68a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.104a; T.H., III, p.192; T.K., p.143.
3 K.S., f.68a; F.K., f.104a.
4 K.S., f.68b; T.Az., p.66.
5 R.N., f.334b; K.S., f.69a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.104a; T.H., III, p.192; T.K., p.143.
6 His ancestors seem to have belonged to Rum (Turkey); this is why, perhaps, he is called "Rumi" by some sources - T.Az., p.53; T.K., p.26.
8 Ibid.
1456, and was buried at Rajurikadal, in the interior of Srinagar. His tomb, which still exists, remained a source of inspiration for many Kashmiri saints. It is said that Shaikh Hamza Makhdum used to visit it continuously for twelve years and acknowledge the blessing he received from there.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfī.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfī, a distinguished Kashmiri saint and scholar, was born in 928/1521, at Srinagar. According to later medieval Kashmiri scholars, he memorised the Qur'an at the age of seven and started composing verses in Persian at the same age. He used Sarfī (lit. a

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3 A.Ab., f.106b; T.Az., p.53; F.K., f.104b; F.Q., f.200a; T.H., III, p.40.
6 Ibid.

Chu dar sal-i-haftum nihadam qadm, 
zī ūb'am rawan gasht shīr-i-'Ajam - Diwan, p.c.
grammarian) as his takhallusq ("nom de plume"). At the age of nineteen he completed his education under teachers who included Maulana Basir and Maulana Ani. 3

Maulana Ani, who himself was the student of the celebrated Iranian Sufi and poet, 'Abdu'l-Rahman Jamî (d. 1492), 4 was so impressed by Sarfî that he bestowed on him the title of "Jamî-Shafi" (second Jamî). 5 However, eager to learn more, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi set out to visit India, Iran and Central Asia. 6 At Samarqand he came into contact with Makhdûm Kamalu'd-Dîn Shaikh Husain of Khyarazm, a Kubraviya saint. The Shaikh taught him the tenets of Sufism and initiated him into the Kubraviya

2 F.K., f.117a.
3 F.K., f.117a; T.H., III, p.232. Maulana Basir (d.946/1539) hailed from the pargana Kamraj of Kashmir. Nothing is known about his teachers, but it is said that he was a scholar of fiqh, hadis and mantiq (T.H., III, p.212; T.K., p.146). Maulana Ani had emigrated to Kashmir from Iran, some time in the beginning of the sixteenth century. As he was a student of Jamî, he attracted many students to his seminary. T.H., III, p.213; T.K., p.155.
5 F.K., f.117a; T.H., III, p.232; T.K., p.171.
6 F.K., f.118a-b.
order. 1 Although Shaikh Husain used to entrust the newly enrolled disciples to the care of his khalifas, he took Shaikh Ya'qub under his own control. 2 After a short time his preceptor ordered him to return to his native land. 3 Before long Sarfī again left Kashmir for Samarqand to see his spiritual master once more. On his arrival there, he learned that Shaikh Husain had gone on pilgrimage and Sarfī too left for Mecca. 4 It is not known whether he met Shaikh Husain or not, but he joined the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar 5 (d. 974/1567), where he sharpened his knowledge of the Qur'anic commentary and hadīṣ. 6

After some time Shaikh Ya'qub returned to Kashmir. His studies in the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar earned recognition for him as a great scholar,

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1 Sarfī, Risāla-i-Zikrīya, f.15a-b; T.Az., p.110; F.K., f.118b; T.H., III, p.233; T.K., p.171.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin Ḥajar Shihābuḍ-Dīn, a famous Shāfī theologian, was born towards the end of 909/1504, at Mahallat, in Egypt. When he was only twenty years old he began to issue fatwa's and to teach. After visiting Mecca twice, he settled down there permanently on his third visit in 944/1537-8. Among his works the most famous is his commentary on Minhāj al-Talibān of al-Nawawī, Tuhfat al-Muhtaj li-Sharh al-Minḥāj, which became the text book for the jurists of Shāfī school - Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam, p.147.
6 Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh, III, p.142; A.Ab., f.239a; T.Az., p.111; T.K., p.171.
not only in Kashmir but also in India. Among his Indian friends was the celebrated Shaikh Salim Chisti (d. 1572), who himself had travelled extensively and had performed the pilgrimage several times.

Shaikh Ya'qub seems to have visited Humayun (1530-39 and 1555-56) either in Kabul or in the Panjab, and to have been admitted among courtiers. However, Badauni, who says that both Humayun and Akbar (1556-1605) held Sarf in great esteem, does not mention any of his activities at the Mughal court, before 1574. He mentions him for the first time in connection with the account of the religious discussions in the 'Ibadat-Khana, in 1574. There he is said to have argued, on the basis of the Tamhidat of 'Ainul-Quzat Hamadani, that the Prophet Muhammad is

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1 Cf. Muntakhabu'I-Tawarikh, III, p.142.
2 Cf. Muntakhabu'I-Tawarikh, III, p.11.
3 Cf. Ibid., p.142. Badauni does not say when and where Sarf met Humayun. Since Sarf would be only eighteen years old by the end of Humayun's first reign, and would not even have completed his preliminary education, it is fair to assume that the two would have met some time between 1555 and 1556.
4 Muntakhabu'I-Tawarikh, II, p.259.
5 Abul-Fazail 'Abdu'llah bin Muhammad al-Miyanji, known as 'Ainul-Quzat of Hamadan, was a student of Shaikh Ahmad Ghazali (d. 1123-4). His career was very similar to those of Hallaj and Suhrawardi Maqtul, since he too met a tragic death in 1138-9, under the orders of Sultan Sanjar's wazir Qiwamu'd-Din Abul-Qasim Darguzini. Among his works the best known is Tamhidat (cf. Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office, I, pp. 980-1), which has recently been published in the collection of the complete work of 'Ainul-Quzat, Ahwal wa Ashar-i-'Ainul-Quzat, Tehran (1338 Iranian era).
the personification of the title al-hādī (the guide) and that Iblīs (the devil) is the personification of al-muẓīl (the tempter) and both titles, in the world, stand for the Divine illumination and both personifications are therefore essential.¹

Abū' l-Fazl refers to Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī frequently in connection with the Mughal conquest of Kashmir, which, according to some later medieval Kashmirī sources,² was initiated by Sarfī because of the persecution of Sunnīs by Sulṭān Ya'qūb. We consider this question, which relates rather to political than to religious history in an appendix.³

However, there is no doubt that Shaikh Ya'qūb remained attached to Akbar's court for many years, where he enjoyed the company of eminent scholars such as Faizī and Badaunī. Himself a distinguished commentator, he paid glowing tribute to Faizī's commentary on the Qur'ān, entitled Sawātī'u'l-Ilham.⁴ About 1594,⁵ Shaikh Ya'qūb left Lahore for Kashmir and wrote a letter to Badaunī, in which he recalled his association with him and Faizī. The letter shows not only Sarfī's intimate friendship

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³ See infra, appendix B.
⁴ Muntakhabu' l-Tawārīkh, I, p.393.
⁵ Cf. Ibid., III, p.143.
with Akbar's courtiers, but also his attachment to the Mughal court.

He writes:

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Fa'īzī Fayyāzī's apartment of fragrant grass, on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmir, in the midday heat of summer, drinking the water which, although warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation [of Fa'īzī], you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointments.

It seems that Shaikh Ya'qūb did not visit the imperial court again and died on 8 Ziqa'd, 1003/25 July, 1595. Badauni paid him warm tribute by recording the date of his death in the following chronogram: "He was the Shaikh of the nations" (Shaikh-i-umam bud). His tomb at Zainakadal, in Srinagar, is famous by the name of "Ishāh-Sahib" and is visited by many Kashmiri Muslims.

Of Shaikh Ya'qūb's works the following survive to this day.

2 Muntakhabu'T-Tawārīkh, III, p.148. Some Kashmiri sources give his date of death as 12 Ziqa'd, 1003/19 July, 1595 (A.Ab., f.139a; F.K., f.121b; T.H., III, p.237; T.K., p.172). But Badauni being contemporary is more reliable.
4 The first four are in the library of the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, but in a very poor condition. The fifth, Diwan, has been published at Srinagar.
1. **Khamsa.** This is a series of five **maṣnawīs** written in imitation of Nīghānī (d. 599/1203 or 605/1209). The five **maṣnawīs** of Ṣarīfī are:
   (a) Maghazu’l-Nabī, (b) Maslaku’l-Akhyār, (c) Maqāmāt-i-Murshid,
   (d) Wāmiq-‘Azra, and (e) Laila-Majnūn.


3. **Manāsiku’l-Ḥajj,** in Arabic prose and explains the rules and regulations of the pilgrimage.

4. **Risāla-i-Zikrīya.** Most of this work is devoted to the importance of the zikr and to the legality of zikr-i-jahr.

5. **Diwan,** a collection of ghazals and rubā‘yāt.

Towards the end of his life, Badaunī says, Shaikh Ya’qūb had commenced to write an extensive commentary on the Qur’an. Badaunī, who seems to have seen some portions of this Commentary, regarded it as a remarkable contribution to scholarship. The writings of Shaikh Ya’qūb, both prose and poetry, exhibit the very deep impact of the works of ‘Ainu’l-Quzāt and Ibn ‘Arabī, whose works, according to Abū’l-Faḍl, he knew very well.

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2. Ibid.
In his Risāla-i-Zikriya, he says that God is light and those who are not able to perceive Him are like bats. The bats see nothing in the sunshine only because of their own deficiency, and the sun cannot be blamed for it. The beauty and perfection of the Divine light, he continues, are reflected in the heart of the seeker, provided it is free from the rust of worldly desires and lust. He asserts that the seeker should not neglect his real aim for a moment because it is the principle remedy to get rid of worldly desires and lusts. A concentration upon the real object (Allāh) can be achieved through zikr. When the seeker begins to find interest in zikr, he becomes absorbed in it and separation from it causes great hardship and distress to him. Zikr removes all distractions and impediments, which lead men to turn to objects other than God.

The details of his zikr are mainly drawn from the writings of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and some other Sufis including 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī and Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrār (806-895/1464-1491) the celebrated Naqshbandi.

1 Risāla-i-Zikriya, ff.2b-3b.
2 Ibid., f.6b.
3 Ibid., f.8b.
4 Cf. ibid., f.9a.
5 Cf. ibid., f.27b.
6 Cf. ibid., f.9a.
saint. He also quotes the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Arabī¹ and finds that *zikr*, performed silently as well as loudly, essential for a true spiritual life; each type is applicable to different circumstances.² What he seeks to emphasize is the fact that the reciter of *zikr* should forget his own self; and all differences between him and the Remembered (Allāh) should disappear.³ Thus he finds *murāqaba* or meditation too of great help for the Ṣūfīs and recommends it strongly on the basis of the writings of Qushairī and 'Attār.⁴

Defining lawful (*ḥalāl*) food, Sarfī says, that the Ṣūfīs, eminent *gāzīs* and *ālims* do not approve of eating meals in the house of government officers or grandees of state.⁵ This seems to be only a theoretical recommendation, for we know that Shaikh Ya'qūb himself was very closely associated with Akbar's court and friendly with grandees such as Faizi, whom the orthodox regarded as enemies of Islam.

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¹ Cf. Ibid., f.27a-b.
² Ibid., f.32a.
³ Ibid., f.32a-b.
⁴ Ibid., f.34b.
⁵ Ibid., f.13a.
There is not much originality in his poetry, and his friend Badauni, offering an apology, says: "Poetry does not become the learned". However, he tries to copy Jamī and Faiżī very closely and indeed he makes no secret of his debt to the former. But many of his ghazals closely resemble those of Faiżī.

Shaikh Ya'qūb uses the favourite symbol of the idol and idol worship in the sense of the realization of the Unity, which according to Ibn 'Arabi already exists, between the Divine Being and His creatures. Similarly he refers to wine, the cup bearer, and the wine drinker, to express the Ṣūfī symbols designed to inculcate Divine love in the

1 Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh, III, p.142.
2 Cf. Dīwan, p.4 (line 11).
3 Cf. Sarfī, Dīwan, pp.117-8, 114-5, 117 (line 14), 316-7, 179 (line 7); Faiżī, Kulliyat-i-Faizī, pp.332 (poem, 336), 284 (poem, 234), 296 (line 3), 15-6, 545 (line 5), respectively.
4 Cf. Dīwan, pp.132 (line 121), 75 (line 9), 8 (lines 13, 20), 174 (line 11), and 216 (line 20).
5 Cf. Dīwan, pp.2 (line 3), 9 (line 9), 243 (line 21).
6 Cf. Ibid., pp.50 (line 11), 242 (line 19), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines, 14, 20).
7 Cf. Dīwan, pp.5 (line 7), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines 14, 20).
8 Cf. Ibid., pp.4 (line 14), 6 (line 9), 276 (line 19).
heart of the seeker. The mole, the comely face and the cheek, are frequently mentioned in his poetry; these are the traditional symbols which exemplify the relationship between the Divine beauty and Its seeker.

Shaikh Ya'qūb's poetry is dominated by mystical love. He is proud of calling himself a kāfir of 'ishq (Divine love) and yearns to burn himself in the fire of love. He challenges the nāsiḥ (adviser), who finds fault with the love of idols, to tell him if anything else is more meritorious in the world than the fault of loving idols. Again he asserts that his faith is love of idols and his way of life is drinking and lunacy.

The Verses of Sarfī also show that he was an ardent follower of Waḥdatu’-wujūd and he describes it boldly in lines such as:

"O, Sarfī! What benefit are you going to gain from the pilgrimage, If Ka'ba, temple and tavern are not identical with you".

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1 Ibid., p.63 (line 1).  
2 Ibid., pp.3 (line 4), 159 (line 5).  
3 Ibid., pp.242 (line 20), 243 (line 1), 247 (line 6), 232 (line 8).  
4 Ibid., pp.77 (line 7), 92 (line 20), 103 (line 1), 133 (line 9).  
5 Ibid., p.77 (line 17). See also p.75 (line 6).  
6 Ibid., pp.28 (line 1), 69 (line 18).  
7 Diwan, p.250 (line 5).
"O, Sarfī! as on every side a ray has fallen from His face to light the night, Impossible it is for you to say that Somnāth has not the Ka'ba's light."¹

"I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard, Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that One face is manifest."²

¹ Ibid., p.2 (line 2).
² Ibid., p.159 (line 5).
CHAPTER V

The Naqshbandī and Qādirī Orders

The two other Ṣūfī orders, besides the Suhrawardī and Kubravī, which entered Kashmir during the period under review, were the Naqshbandī and the Qādirī orders.

Naqshbandī Order

The Naqshbandī order is one of the oldest mystic orders and was originally started in the land of the Turks beyond the Amū Daryā. It was popularised mainly by Khvāja Bahāu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband (717-791/1317-1389).  

In Kashmir it was introduced by Saiyid Hilāl, who arrived there in the reign of Sultan Sikander (1389-1413). The country of Saiyid Hilāl’s origin is not known; he is said to have been a direct disciple of Khvāja Bahāu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband. He lived a quiet life and died on

1 For his complete biography see N.U., pp.244 ff.
2 T.Az., p.54; F.K., p.76a; F.Q., p.200b.
3 T.Az., p.54; F.K., p.76a; T.K., p.29. Qādirī and Hasan at one place say that after coming to Kashmir he received initiation into the Kubravīya order from Saiyid Muḥammad Madānī (F.Q., f.200b; T.H., III, p.40), but at another place they mention him as a Naqshbandī saint (F.Q., f.192a; T.H., III, p.34). Ghulām Sarwar says that Saiyid Hilāl received initiation into the Kubravīya order from Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī (Khazīnatu’l-Asfiyā, II, p.322), but he contradicts his own statement when he says that Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu’l-’Abidīn (1420-1470), whereas the Mīr left Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413).
14 Rabi’u’l-Auwal, 861/9 February 1457, at the village of Asham, north of Kashmīr, where he had settled down.

Saiyid Hilāl left only one disciple, named Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known in Kashmīr as “Wusī-Ṣāhib”, the name derived from his nom de plume "Waisī". He hailed from the celebrated Baihaqi family, and was the second son of Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqi or Mantiqī. Saiyid Amīn had received his early education from Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham. When Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmīr, Saiyid Amīn became his disciple and received initiation into the Naqshbandī order.

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1 T.H., III, p.40.

Ghulām Sarwar, on the authority of A’zamī, says that Saiyid Hilāl died in 862/1457-8 (Khazīnatu’l-Āṣfīyā, II, p.322), but the copy of A’zamī’s work available to us does not record Saiyid Hilāl’s date of death.

2 T.Az., p.54; F.K., f.76a; F.Q., f.192a; T.H., III, p.40.

Wahhāb and Qādirī (F.K., f.75b; F.Q., f.189b), wrongly say that he had no spiritual guide and was therefore called "Uwaisī" reference being to Uwais Qarānī, who is said to have lived during the lifetime of the Prophet, but never met him. Uwais Qarānī is supposed to have had no spiritual guide and was believed to receive direct spiritual guidance supernaturally from the Prophet. Thus those of the Sūfīs, who did not have any guide called themselves Uwaisī. Elsewhere both Wahhāb and Qādirī say that Saiyid Amīn was a pupil of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham and received initiation into Sufism by Saiyid Ni’matu’l-Āḥ (F.K., f.76a; F.Q., f.192a). In fact "Waisī" was his nom de plume (see infra, p.170) which Wahhāb and Qādirī have wrongly recorded as "Uwaisī".

3 A.Ab., f.101a; K.S., f.57b; T.Az., p.55; F.K., f.76a; F.Q., f.189b; T.H., III, p.34; T.K., p.29.

5 Ibid., f.101a; ibid., f.57b; ibid., p.58; ibid., f.76a; ibid., f.192a; ibid., p.34; ibid., p.29.

6 Ibid., f.101a; ibid., f.57b; ibid., p.58; ibid., f.76a; ibid., ff.189b, 192a; ibid., III, p.34; ibid., p.29.
As already pointed out, Saiyid Amīn was adopted as a son by Baihaqī Begum, the wife of Sultan Zainu’l-Abidīn; but the life of affluence did not appear to him. Like his spiritual master, he led a life of retirement at Asham. When Saiyid Hilāl died, he moved to Srinagar, where he confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Maran.  

The following verses of Saiyid Amīn, recorded in some sources, show that he was a broad minded Ṣūfī, above all religious prejudices. He says:

"Do not scorn infidelity,  
To those who have found out truth,  
it is not different from faith".

Again he says:

"To an 'ārif the differences between the mosque and temple are meaningless.  
Men endowed with spiritual eminence,  
find both good and evil identical".

About the mystical union he says:

"I want wīsāl, I do not want either this world or the other,  
I worship God, I do not worship houses or walls".

He advises those who have attained unio mystica to forget everything and not to bother themselves even with separation or union.

1 See supra, p.149.
2 A.Ab., ff.101b-102a; K.S. f.58a; T.Az., pp.55, 58; F.K., f.76a; F.Q., f.192a; T.H., III, pp.34, 37; T.K., p.29.
3 Cited in F.K., f.87b.
4 Cited in ibid., f.78b; F.Q., f.191b; T.K., p.29.
5 Ibid. He refers to the worship of the Ka'ba either directly or in the form of the qibla in the mosque.
"To your lovers separation and unity are identical. Neither does the union make them happy nor does the separation lead them to despair".  

The only form of worship which he advocated was the mystical love of God.

"If you ask Waisī about religion or sect, He leads the worshippers of God with the religion of love".  

Saiyid Amīn most eloquently expresses his faith in the doctrine of wahdatu’l-wujūd, in the following lines:

"The world and the men of the world are endowed with the essence of the Eternal, If you look deeply (you) will find everything in the human being".  

Further he says:

"The entire universe is with me, My abode is beyond (the mystical state of) lāmakān. 0 'ālim! My body is (itself a) universe, Know! The soul of universe is my soul".  

It is said that when people used to come to see him, his attendant would inform them of his presence in two forms: "Mīr ba khudā ast" (The Mīr is with God), or "Mīr ba khudā wa ba khvud ast" (The Mīr is with God and with himself). The first state was intended to indicate that he was seized with mystical ecstasy. His visitors then went away without seeing

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1 Ibid.  
2 Ibid.  
3 Ibid.  
4 F.O., f.190a; T.H., III, pp.34-5.
him. The second statement meant that although he was in a state of ecstasy, he was in his senses, and people could visit him.\(^1\)

Although Saiyid Amin had kept away from the royal court and its politics, he became the victim of a political intrigue. As we have already seen,\(^2\) some disgruntled Kashmiri nobles, who had become alienated from the Baihaqī Saiyids because of their arrogance, made a surprise attack on them on 30 Ziqā'īd 889/8 December 1484, and killed fifteen members of the family. Among these was the inoffensive Saiyid Amin.\(^3\) He was later buried at 'Ālīkadāl,\(^4\) on the right bank of the river Jehlum, in Srinagar, where his tomb exists to this day.

Saiyid Amin either did not enrol disciples or left no follower worthy of mention. Thus after his death the Naqshbandī order remained unknown in Kashmir for more than a century. It was revived by Khwāja Khwāwand Maḥmūd (d. 11 Shawwāl, 1052/4 November 1642), who arrived there at the end of the sixteenth century.\(^5\) The Khwāja was the son of Khwāja Mīr Saiyid Šarīf,

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2. See supra p.147.
3. B.S., ff.63b, 66b; A.Ab., ff.102b-103a; K.S., f.57b; T.Az., p.58; F.K., f.76b; F.Q., f.194a; T.H., III, p.38; T.K., pp.29, 39.
4. A.Ab., f.103a; K.S., f.57b; F.K., f.76b; T.H., III, p.38.
5. He was at Wakhsh in 994/1585-86 and after staying there for some years he went to Kabul and then to Kashmir; Muḥammad Muʿīnūd-Dīn, Mirāt-i-Taiba, pp.84-6, 125-6, cited by Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India, p.183.
who claimed descent from Khvāja 'Alā’u’d-Dīn ‘Attār (d. Rajab 802/March 1400), a distinguished disciple of Khvāja Bahā’u’d-Dīn Naqshband. ¹

Khwāja Khāwand was initiated in the order by Khvāja Abū Ishāq Safedkī, but he claimed to have received inspiration direct from Bahā’u’d-Dīn Naqshband. ² Before entering Kashmir from Kābul, Khvāja Khāwand had journeyed to many countries. The Khvāja did not stay there for long and soon left for Agra. ³ However, in the seventeenth century, when Khvāja Khāwand made several further visits to Kashmir, the Naqshbandī order received a great impetus there. ⁴

The Qādirī Order

The Qādirī order was originally founded by a celebrated saint of Baghdād named Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Qādir Jīlānī (471-561/1078-1165). ⁵ He was a prolific writer, and his works became the main source of Qādirī doctrines and practices. His disciples, who even during his lifetime had become very large in number, popularised his teachings as far as Syria, Egypt and Yemen.

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¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., pp.183-5.
⁶ For his full biography, see N.U., p.340.

Among his works the best known are Al-Ghunya li Tālib Tāriq al-Ḥaq, Al-Fath al-Rabbānī and Futūḥ al-Ghā’ib; cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, pp.69-70.
Their followers in subsequent generations disseminated them to other corners of the Islamic world.¹

The order, according to available information, was first introduced in Kashmir some time in the second half of the sixteenth century, by Saiyid Ni'matu'llah Shāh Qādirī.² He claimed to be the direct descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī.³ Before coming to Kashmir, he had lived somewhere in India, most probably in the Panjāb, where he was a disciple of one Shaikh Muḥammad Darwesh Qādirī.⁴ According to Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, the author of Futuḥat-i-Qādirīva, Saiyid Ni'matu'llah was a prolific writer,⁵ but he does not mention the title of a single treatise written by the Saiyid. All his biographers are unanimous in saying that he avoided the company of the ruling classes and spent most of his time in sama'.⁶

Saiyid Ni'matu'llah did not stay long in Kashmir and soon left for India.⁷ Among his disciples in Kashmir is mentioned Shaikh Mīrak Mīr.

¹Ibid., I, p.69.
³Ibid.
⁴F.Q., f.206a; T.H.,III, pp.61-2; T.K., p.51.
⁵F.Q., f.206a.
⁶Ibid., f.206a; T.H.,III, p.62; T.K., p.51.
⁷Ibid.
He was the son of one Saiyid Shamsu'd-Dīn Andrabī, whose ancestors had migrated to Kasmīr from Andrab, in the reign of Sultān Sikandar. While Shaikh Mīrak was young, his father died. His relatives, who held important posts under the Sultāns, advised him to take up government service, but, drawn to a life of piety from childhood as he was, he declined. He spent most of his time in meditation at a khānage in Srinagar, known as Khānqāh-i-Andrabī, which seems to have been built by one of his ancestors. For forty years, it is said, he did not eat meat and married at a very late age, only after the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and advised him to do so.

At first he began to practise Sufism independently, claiming to have drawn inspiration direct from the Prophet. When Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh arrived in Kasmīr, he became his disciple and received initiation in the

1 The city of Andrab is on the confines of Khurāsān towards India.
2 Khākī, Rishī-Nāmā, f.42a; A.Abb., f.192a; F.Q., f.208b.
3 Ibid., f.40b; ibid., f.190a; ibid., f.207b; T.K., p.52.
4 His mother came from the powerful Baihaqī family; Rishī-Nāmā, f.42a; A.Abb., f.192a; F.Q., f.208a.
5 Ibid., ff.40b-41a; ibid., f.190a-b; ibid., f.208a.
6 Ibid.
7 Rishī-Nāmā, ff.41a-b, 42a; A.Abb., f.191a; T.Az., p.106; F.Q., f.208a; T.H., III, pp.62-3; T.K., p.53.
8 Rishī-Nāmā, ff.40b, 41b; A.Abb., ff.190b-191a; T.Az., p.106; F.Q., ff.207b-208a; T.H., III,p.62; T.K., p.52.
Qādirī order. Shaikh Mīrak is reported to have claimed that he had attained a high spiritual stage and that many people had been benefited by him. He died on 5 Ṣafar, 990/1 March 1582, and was buried at Mallāratta in Srīnagar.

Another Qādirī saint of eminence, who came to Kashmir in 992/1581 from somewhere in India, was Saiyid Ismā'īl Shāmī. He too traced his descent from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jālānī. He had received his early education from his father, Saiyid Sulaimān, and was initiated into the Qādirī order by one Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim.

Saiyid Ismā'īl was warmly received in Kashmir by some eminent saints of that country including Bābā Dāwud Khākī, with whom he developed a close friendship. Saiyid Ismā'īl appears to have been a saint of great repute. His devotional zeal and piety are praised in all the sources.

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1 Ibid.
2 A. Ab., f. 190a; F. Q., f. 208b; T. H., III, p. 63; T. K., p. 52.
3 A. Ab., f. 189a; T. Az., p. 106; F. Q., f. 205b; T. H., III, p. 54.
Miskīn wrongly gives the date of his arrival as 996/1587 (T. K., p. 50), because Bābā Dāwud, who is said to have received Saiyid Ismā'īl in Kashmir, was dead by this time.
4 From his title it seems that his ancestors had migrated from Syria.
5 A. Ab., f. 190a; F. Q., f. 208b; T. H., III, p. 63; T. K., p. 50.
6 A. Ab., f. 190a; T. Az., p. 106; F. Q., f. 205a. Miskīn gives his father's name as Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim (T. K., p. 50), who according to other sources was his preceptor.
7 A. Ab., f. 188a; T. Az., p. 106; F. Q., f. 205b; T. H., III, p. 54; T. K., p. 50.
8 Cf. A. Ab., f. 188a; T. Az., p. 106; F. Q., f. 205a-b; T. H., III, p. 54; T. K., p. 50.
Baba Dawud Khaki, eulogises his laudable character, simplicity and spiritual achievements in a poem which he composed in the Saiyid's honour. However, he also did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India; but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qadiri order, through his disciple Mir Nizuk Niyazi.

Mir Nizuk was at first the disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki and had received initiation in the Suhrawardi order. When Saiyid Isma'Il came to Kashmir, Baba Dawud introduced the Mir to him. Finding Mir Nizuk full of promise, Saiyid Isma'Il initiated him into the Qadiri order and gave him the Khirqa and ijazat-nama to enrol disciples in the order.

Mir Nizuk, unlike Saiyid Ni'matu'llah, did not approve of the practice of sama'. It is not known whether Saiyid Isma'Il practised sama' at all, but Baba Dawud, the Mir's earlier preceptor, certainly approved of it. Mir Nizuk is said to have even refused to give an interview to a darwesh who practised sama'. He breathed his last on

1 Cited in A.Ab., ff.188a-189b; F.Q., f.205b; T.K., p.50.
2 Ibid.
4 Ibid., pp.126-7; ibid., f.206b; ibid., p.248; ibid., p.179.
5 Ibid.
6 See supra, ch.II, p. 32.
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9 Zu’l-Ḥijja, 1022/20 January 1614, \(^1\) and was buried at Qāzīkadal, in Srinagar. \(^2\)

The charge of Mīr Nāzuk’s khanqāh at Khānyār, in Srinagar, was taken up by his eldest son, Mīr Yūsuf. \(^3\) He had received his education and initiation in the Qādirī order from his father. \(^4\) Mīr Yūsuf died of plague at an early age in 1027/1617. \(^5\) It was left to the lot of Mīr Muḥammad ’Alī (d. 17 Zu’l-Ḥijja, 1070/24 August 1660), the third son of Mīr Nāzuk, to popularise the Qādirī order in Kashmir. \(^6\)

\(^1\) Ibid., p.127; ibid., f.207b; ibid., p.249; T.K., p.180.


\(^3\) Ibid., p.275; ibid., p.182.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Cf. ibid.

It is said that Mīr Ahmad (d. 1041/1631), the second son of Mīr Nāzuk, declined the offer to succeed his brother, as he was pursuing exoteric knowledge and lived a life of ease; cf. ibid.
The Rishi Order - A.

Etymology of the word rishi.

The Sufi orders discussed in the preceding chapters entered Kashmir from Persia, Central Asia, and India. However, in the beginning of the fifteenth century there arose in the Valley an indigenous Sufi order, known as the Rishi order. It developed amidst the traditions of Buddhist renunciation and Hindu asceticism. In fact the very term rishi is derived from Sanskrit. Some medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmir have, indeed, tried to Islamize it and have preferred to see its derivation in the Persian word raish or rīsh, which means: "The feathers of a bird, plumage; a wide garment; abundance of means of life; the beard".

Thus Baba Dawud Mishkat asserts that rishi was derived from the Persian word raish or rīsh meaning the feathers or wings of a bird. A bird, he writes, whose feathers are removed has no control over its own movements and depends entirely on the wind. To whatever direction

1 We adopt this spelling in preference to the Sanskritic form (ṛṣi, rishi) since the Persian spellings with final long ī occurs throughout our sources.
2 A.Ab., f.54a; F.K., f.82a.
the wind blows, the bird is carried by it. So it is with a Rishī; he is alienated from the world and lives alone buffeted by fate.¹

'Abdu'l-Wahhāb sees rishī as meaning "warmth"(ḥarārat), and this, he writes, can be applied to a Sūfī, for by the warmth of his heart the Sūfī reaches his goal, attaining from a state of devotion the object of his desire.²

These and similar explanations seem fanciful and forced. In fact, like many other Sanskrit words, the word rishī was assimilated into medieval Kashmirī. In the Rig-Veda it is used in the sense of a "singer of sacred hymns". Later it came to mean a legendary sage, "to whom part of the Vedic hymns was revealed." Later still it was applied more loosely to a "saint or sanctified sage."³ In general usage among Hindus it signifies an ascetic or anchorite of high reputation for his sanctity. Kashmirī Muslim scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as A'īmī⁴ and Hasan⁵, do not endorse the definition given by their predecessors, and accept the Sanskrit origin of the word.

¹ A.Ab., f. 54a-b. While describing the origin of the movement, Mishkātī surprisingly says that the Rishī order was a Hindu ascetic order which existed in Kashmir, in pre-Islamic times - Ibid.
² F.K., f.82b.
⁴ T.Az., p.87.
The few sources available disclose very little that can be relied upon about the origin of the Rishi movement in Kashmir. Baba Nasîb relates a story of the existence of three Rishi brothers, Khalasman, Plasman and Yasman, in pre-Islamic times in Kashmir. But he appears to be telling at face value a Hindu mythological tale. Khalasman for example, is said to have lived sixteen hundred years, Plasman twelve hundred and Yasman eight hundred years.  

Baba Dawud Mishkâtî states that the Hindu Rishis were in existence in Kashmir before Shaikh Nurûd-Dîn, who is generally acknowledged as the founder of the order, and that Nurûd-Dîn renewed the ancient

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Yasman is said to have been inferior in piety and devotion to his two elder brothers, and so all his hair was grey. It is also said that once the ruler of the country went to see him, but Yasman paid no attention to him. The ruler, displeased, decided to crush his pride. He sent a courtesan of matchless beauty to seduce him and she succeeded (R.N., f.163b. See also A. Ab., ff.53a-54a). Elsewhere (R.N., ff.157a-b, 158a), the same author attributes more or less the same story to Shaikh Nurûd-Dîn Rishi. There lived a Brahman, says Baba Nasîb, who was pious and chaste. Once the ruler of the time visited him but was shown disregard by the Brahman, and he felt slighted and sent a courtesan to seduce the Brahman. The Brahman fell a prey to her beauty. Later on the Muslims started to taunt the Hindus with their spiritual leader’s lapse. The Hindus in retaliation requested the same courtesan to go to Nurû’d-Dîn, the preceptor of the Muslims and repeat her conquest. She went and Nurû’d-Dîn asked her to go back, but she refused. Nurû’d-Dîn was enraged at her presumption and with a glance, he deprived her of her looks and left her with the body of a ninety year old woman.

These legends have no basis and have been attributed by different authors to different saints. Baha’u’d-Dîn Mattû, for instance, says that Sultan Sikandar sent the courtesan to Shaikh Nurû’d-Dîn to test his spiritual power – cf. R.Nm., f. 32a-b.
traditions of the Rishīs, though ignoring their monastic life and Brahmanic beliefs.¹ That is to say he took the Hindu ascetic traditions and Islamized them.

According to 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, the originator and the founder of the Rishi order was the Prophet himself. He does not give any justification for his claim, except that the Prophet once said that one of the virtues of a faithful Muslim is that he fights his selfish desires.² But this is hardly satisfactory evidence, since it is patently a general statement.

From the sources now surviving, we can only say that the movement flourished from the first half of the fifteenth century and that Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmir as Nand Resh, was responsible for its growth and popularity, aided by his four eminent disciples, Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn, Laṯifu'd-Dīn and Naṣru'd-Dīn.

¹ A. Ab., f.52a-b.
² F. K., ff.82b-83a.
The life of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn.

The life of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishi, whose original name seems to have been Nand, is shrouded in myths and legends. There is no general agreement among the sources about the date of his birth. However, many agree that he was born on 10 Zūl-Ḥijja, 779/9 April, 1378.

1 His elder brothers were given Kashmiri names - Shesh and Kundar (R.N., f.129a; F.K., f.89b; R.Nm., f.10b). It is unlikely that their younger brother would have been given an Arabic name in the beginning. "Nanda" in Sanskrit is from "nand", which means delight, happiness (cf. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.526), and in Kashmiri it means virtuous. The Prophet in a dream is said to have addressed him as Nand, and not Nūru’d-Dīn (the light of the faith) - R.N., f.131b; F.K., f.86b; R.Nm., f.19b; T.K., p.95.

2 T.K., p.92.

3 R.N., f.129a; F.K., f.86b; R.Nm., f.12a; T.K., p.92. Mishkat and Ḥasan give the date of the Shaikh's birth as 757/1356-57 (A.Ab., f.52b; T.H., III, p.125). But Mishkat, from whom Ḥasan seems to have copied, gives contradictory statements, which make his date unreliable. He says that the Shaikh died at the age of sixty-three and at the same time he gives the date of the Shaikh's death as 808/1405-1406 (A.Ab., f.68b). If we accept Mishkat's date and the age he attributes to the Shaikh at his death, then the Shaikh was born in 745/1344-45.

Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on the life of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn ("A life of Nand Rishi", Indian Antiquary, LVIII, 1929, p.195), accepts the date of the Shaikh's birth as 10 Zūl-Ḥijja, 779.
It is said that the birth-place of Nuru'd-Dīn is Kaimuh, where his father Salār Gana'i, belonging to the tribe of watchmen, lived. It is also said that when the Shaikh was born he would not take milk from his mother's breast. Three days after his birth, Lalla, the celebrated Shavite ascetic of Kashmir, happened to come by and spoke to the newly born baby:

"You were not ashamed of being born; why are you ashamed to suck?" Thereupon the baby immediately started taking milk and Lalla thereafter continued to visit the house of the parents of Nuru'd-Dīn.

After the death of their father, the brothers of Nuru'd-Dīn, Shesh and Kundar, are reported to have turned to a life of theft and robbery. When Nuru'd-Dīn grew older, they pressed him to share in their way of life, and Nuru'd-Dīn reluctantly agreed. Nuru'd-Dīn is said to have

1 Kaimuh, the ancient "Kätīmuṣa", is thirty-two miles to the south of Srinagar.
2 It is said that Salār Gana'i was from the qabla-i pāsbar. It seems that watchmen, obviously a functional group, were identified as a tribe in an ethnic sense.
3 R.N., f. 129a; F.K., ff. 84b, 89b. Mattū says that Salār Gana'i was a descendant of the rulers of Kishtwār (R.Nm., f. 10b). Hasan (T.H., III, p. 117), gives the genealogical line of the Shaikh as follows: Wagra Sanz, his son Dartpa Sanz, his son Zanga Sanz, his son Hanar Sanz, his son Graza Sanz, his son Salār Sanz, his son Nanda Sanz (Nuru'd-Dīn).
5 R.N., f. 136a; A.Ab., ff. 55b-56a; F.K., f. 84b; R.Nm., f. 12b; T.H., III, p. 117; T.K., p. 92.
hinted at this in the following verses attributed to him:

"A spring has been lost in the stream,  
A saint has been lost among the thieves,  
A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of fools,  
A swan has been lost among the crows."\(^1\)

However, the Shaikh proved an incompetent thief. His brothers, thinking that he might become a source of trouble, approached their mother and told her that he should leave them, as he was an ignorant fool.\(^2\) Their mother sent for him and said that if he considered

\(^1\) Nur–Nama, ed. Muḥammad Amin Kāmil, p.172 (Poem, 249).

\(^2\) Many stories are told about the Shaikh's life as a thief. One night, accompanied by his brothers, they reached a village where a big house stood. Thinking that they would get a rich haul, they told the Shaikh to rob it. The inmates happened to be awake, and suspecting it was a thief, they spoke to one another, lamenting that they were poor — so poor indeed as not to possess even a quilt to protect themselves from the cold. Nurūd-Dīn overheard them and felt pity on their poverty; he flung his own blanket over them and came out empty-handed. His brothers asked him what he had secured and where his blanket was? The Shaikh replied that the inmates of the house got up and tried to catch him, so he threw the blanket in their faces and ran away (R.N., f.137a-b; A.Ab., f.59a-b; F.K., f.86a; R.Nm., ff.14b-15a; T.H., III, p.118; T.K., p.93.

On another occasion the three brothers went to steal in a village. His brothers told the Shaikh to break into a house and bring out whatever heavy object he might find. Nurūd-Dīn found a box full of gold and silver, but he reflected that if he brought it out he would be committing a sin. He brought out a stone pestle instead and gave it to his brothers, telling them he could find nothing heavier in the house. His brothers were angry at his stupidity, not understanding that by heavy objects they meant precious metals, so they ironically asked him to bring out something light. He re-entered, and brought out a sieve and a winnowing fan, saying that there were no lighter things there. His brothers disappointed at his foolishness, afterwards stole a cow and handed her over to him, as they themselves were going to some other place to steal. Nurūd-Dīn was driving the cow along when
stealing unlawful, he should take up some other means of earning his living. The Schaikh agreed and went with her to a weaver to become his apprentice. But the very first day the weaver lost patience with him as he kept on asking questions about religion instead of attending to his work. The weaver sent for Nur’ud-Din’s mother. She came and

he heard a dog barking "wow, wow". In Kashmiri wow means sow. He thought that the dog was reminding him of the fact that what he sowed here, he would reap hereafter and so he let the cow go loose — (R.N., ff.136a-37a; A.Ab., ff.58b-59a; F.K., ff.85b-86a; R.Nm., ff.13a-14a; T.H., III, pp. 117-118; T.K., pp.92-93). The story seems to have been based on the following saying of Nur’ud-Din:

"The dog is barking in the compound,
0 brothers I give ear and listen (to what he says).
One who sows here (in this world) shall reap there (in the next world).
The dog is crying (reminding), sow, sow, sow —"

Nur-Nama, p.95 (Poem, 104).

Nur’ud-Din is said to have asked the weaver, why he was always alternately raising and lowering his feet. He replied that he was thus raising the warp in order to put in the woof. But, Nur’ud-Din replied that this movement had another meaning: "When you raise your right foot it is a hint that all human beings came from dust and shall return to dust." Nur’ud-Din next enquired: "Why have these threads been put together? What is the piece of wood that is shot to and fro in the loom? What are the threads attached to it? And what is the board you are always pulling towards yourself?" The weaver replied that they were warp, shuttle, woof and press board respectively. Nur’ud-Din replied: "No, the woof indicates that the world is an inn having two doors; by one we enter and by the other we leave. The shuttle is man, and the thread in its mouth is his daily bread, apportioned to him by fate; so long as it lasts he moves about in this world. The board, when you pull it towards you to press home the woof, makes a sound like dag, dag ('beat, beat'), and it indicates that our desires are killing us." The weaver thought
enquired what was wrong with him and why he did not get on with his work. The Shaikh replied: "No work in this world is easy. The tools of the weaver reminded me that we all have to leave this world. So we should not set our hearts on worldly success. Our destiny is determined at our birth, we work in order to keep alive until the moment when that destiny must be fulfilled. If we do not worship, how shall we achieve freedom from the punishments of the grave?"  

It seems that the stories were prepared to show Nūru'd-Dīn's piety and innocence. They were intended to serve as a background-setting for some of his verses. It is common to stories of saints all over the world, to present them as moved by impulses of virtue even before the light of conversion draws upon them. The disciples of Kabīr and Ṣanānak too reconstructed the framework of their biographies on the basis of their verses.

2 contd

that his apprentice's mind was wandering (R.N., f.138a-139a; A.Ab., f.60a-b; F.K., f.86a-b). According to Mattū (R.Nm., ff.15b-16b), the weaver on hearing what the Shaikh had said, gave up the world.

We have similar conversations attributed to Guru Nanak in the Janam-sākhis - cf. W.H. Mcleod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion, pp. 36, 52.

1 R.N., f.139b; A.Ab., f.60b; F.K., f.86b.

The legendary nature of the incidents of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn’s life, described in the hagiological literature, may also be judged by the fact that the same literature attributes his conversion to different sources. According to Baba Naṣīb once the Prophet appeared to the Shaikh in a dream, addressed him by his Kashmirī name Nand,1 and bade him to do pious deeds and be worthy of his name. The vision drew the veil from the eyes of Nūru’d-Dīn and he was increasingly drawn to the spiritual life.2

Bābā Dawud Mishkātī3 and ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb4 say that while the Shaikh and his brothers were once trying to break into a house, Lalla, who happened to be there, cried to Nūru’d-Dīn: "What will you get from this house? Go to a big house (i.e. God), you will get something there". On hearing this Nūru’d-Dīn, who was thirty years old at that time,5 immediately left his brothers and dug out a cave at the village of Kaimuh. Here for many years he performed his austere penances,

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1 See supra, p. 182, n.1.
2 R.N., ff.132b-133a. See also R.Nm., f.19b; T.K., p.95.
3 A.Ab., f.56a.
4 F.K., f.84b.
5 A.Ab., f.52b; F.K., f.82b; T.Az., p.63. Naṣīb and Mattū say that the Shaikh entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty-two - R.N., f.132a; R.Nm., f.20a.
6 It is said that the Shaikh lived for twelve years in that cave (R.N., ff.132a-133a; A.Ab., f.62a; F.K., f.86a; R.Nm., f.20b; T.H., III, pp.118-19; T.K., p.94). But this period should not be taken to mean twelve calendar
withdrawing entirely from the life that surrounded him.¹

Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn was a great mystic, who had risen high above the courts, and the social and religious institutions of the time. His sayings, as we shall see in the following pages, reveal that his conversion to the spiritual life was not accidental, but out of conviction. But the question arises, whence did he draw inspiration? Was he really influenced by the Sufis, who by his time had migrated to Kashmir in large numbers?

All the earlier sources generally agree that the preceptor of Nuru’d-Dīn is not known, describing him merely as "Uwaist".² However,

6 contd

years. Many Sufis such as Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus Shattārī (cf. Muntakhabul-Tawārikh, III, p.4), and some of the disciples of Nuru’d-Dīn himself (cf. infra, p.218, 225) are said to have lived in caves for twelve years.

¹
It is said that the Shaikh’s mother made repeated entreaties to her son to give up his solitary life and take care of his wife and children, but to no avail. One day she came to his cave and upbraided him for his negligence of filial duty, but failed to persuade him to change his ways. She tauntingly reminded him that she had fed him with her blood in the form of her milk, and had reared him up; and now he was proving ungrateful to her. The Shaikh commanded a nearby rock to give back to his mother all the milk he had from her. Soon milk began to flow from the rock. His mother was astonished, but happy as she thought that her son had reached such a high spiritual stage - R.N., ff.140b-141a; A.Ab., f.61a-b; F.K., f.86b; R.Nm., f.28b-29a; T.H., III, p.120; T.K., p.94.

²
Khākī, Rishi-Nama, f.43a; D.S., p.213; R.N., f.131b; A.Ab., f.52a.
the later scholars such as A'zamī and Wahhabī assert that Nūru'd-Dīn received guidance from Saiyid ʿAllī Hamadānī. But the discrepancy in their statements makes them unreliable. A'zamī states that when Saiyid ʿAllī Hamadānī arrived in Kashmir (783/1381), Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was still unborn. Thus by the time Saiyid ʿAllī died (792/1390), the Shaikh would not be more than nine years old. Again A'zamī says that Nūru'd-Dīn entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty. This then happened some seventeen years after Saiyid ʿAllī's death, as A'zamī agrees that the Shaikh was born in 779/1378.

According to one statement of Wahhabī, Nūru'd-Dīn would be thirteen years old by the time Saiyid ʿAllī died, as he gives the date of birth

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1 T.Az., p.64.
2 F.K., ff.69b, 82a.
3 See supra, p.114 for his biography.
4 T.Az., p.64.
5 See supra, p.115.
6 T.Az., p.63.
7 He does not give the date of birth of Nūru'd-Dīn, but says that the latter died at the age of sixty three, in 842/1438-39 (T.Az., p.64). This gives the Shaikh's date of birth as 779/1377-78.
of Nuru’d-Dīn as 779/1377-1378. At another place like A’zamī he states that the Shaikh’s conversion took place when he was thirty years old. This suggests that it is unlikely that the Shaikh would have received any guidance from Saiyid Husain. The confusion in Wahhab’s statements may also be judged by the fact that elsewhere, he himself states that Nuru’d-Dīn’s conversion took place because of Lalla. Again, Wahhab, who was himself an adherent of the Kubraviya order, seems to be bent on connecting the Rishis with that order.

According to Wahhab, when Mir Muḥammad, the son of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, heard about the virtues of Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn, he went to see him. And after being convinced of his spirituality, the Mir asked the Shaikh to accept him as his disciple. But the Shaikh told Mir Muḥammad that since he was a descendant of the Prophet, he should rather be his disciple. The Mir thereupon accepted him.

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1 F.K., f.86b.
2 Ibid., f.82b.
3 Ibid.
4 See supra, p. 187.
5 F.K., f.90a-b. See also T.H., III, p.124; T.K., p.96.
Saiyid 'Ali, Baba Nasib and Mishkat, the earliest to record the meeting of the Shaikh with the Mir, say nothing about this. In fact the anecdote about Mir Muhammad's meeting with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din reveals that their attitudes to the problem were in conflict. It is said that Mir Muhammad criticised Nuru'd-Din for abstaining from meat. Some of his companions are even reported to have criticised the Shaikh for his lack of knowledge about the shari'a. Thus it seems most unlikely that either Mir Muhammad or Shaikh Nuru'd-Din would have shown any desire to become the disciple of the other.

In fact there seems very little doubt that Nuru'd-Din developed his thought in his own atmosphere. By this time a new Bhakti movement, set in train by Lalla, had started in Kashmir. In view of the fact that she was a source of inspiration for Nuru'd-Din it will be useful to give a brief description of her life.

Like that of Nuru'd-Din, Lalla's life is shrouded in myth and legend. It is said that she came of a fairly well-to-do family of Brahmans of Pompur, and that right from her childhood she was given to an ascetic life. However, she was married to a Brahman boy in the same village. Her

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1 T.Ks., f.33b-34a.
2 R.N., f.215a-b.
3 A.Ab., f.236a-b.
4 R.N., f.246a-b; A.Ab., f.236b.
5 Cf. T.Ks., f.34b; R.N., ff.216b-217a.
mother-in-law was cruel and her husband ignored her. Because of her mystical tendencies, Lalla failed to conform to the established social practices and was turned out of her husband's house. Thereupon she started roaming from place to place in a semi-nude state. Probably it was disappointment in love and domestic life that turned Lalla into an ascetic. All that can be affirmed of her with certainty is that she flourished between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that she was a senior contemporary of Nuru’‐d- Din.  

1 It is said that Lalla often had to go without meals. Her mother-in-law used to put a large stone on her plate and cover that with rice to make a small helping look like a big heap. Thus Lalla is believed to have made allusion to this story in one of her sayings: "Whether they (in‐laws) kill a big sheep or a small one, it was all the same; Lalla has always nai‐wath (stone) in her plate" – F.K., f.91b.

2 R.N., ff.218b‐219a; A.Ab., f.259a; F.K., f.91a‐b. The legend of the wandering of Lalla in the nude is probably based on her following saying:

"Dance then, Lalla, clothed but by the air:
Sing then, Lalla, clad but in the sky.
Air and sky: what garment is more fair?
'Cloth', saith Custom – doth that sanctify? –
Temple, The word of Lalla, p.173 (poem 94).

3 Jonaraja says: "Once upon a time the prince [Shihabu’‐d- Din, 1354‐73] was wandering for amusement in the forest of Vakpushja, when he saw a circle of Yoginis in the cavern of a mountain. His friends Udayashri and Chandra‐dāmara also saw them; ... the leader of the yoginis recognized the prince ... and sent him a cup of liquor with incantation and blessing," (R.T., pp.35‐36) Mishkat (A.Ab., f.258b) and Wāhhab (F.K., f.91b) also agree with Jonaraja and say that the Yogini was Lalla. The story if true shows that Lalla was of matured age by the middle of the fifteenth century. However, Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on Lalla's life, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", (Indian Antiquary, V.50, 1921, pp.302 ff) says that Lalla was born in the reign of Sultan 'Ala'‐u‐d- Din (1343‐1354). Šūfī (Kashir, II, p.383) gives the date of the birth of Lalla as 1335.
The "Lal Wakhi" or 'Sayings of Lallā', are the "current coin of quotation" in Kashmir. They were first edited and rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in 1920. Later Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in 1924, published a translation in English verse of Lallā's sayings with a detailed analysis of her teachings.

Self-denial, purity of life are the key-note of her sayings. She rejected the established religious dogmas and rituals. Was she influenced by Muslim saints such as Saiyid Šaīd 'Alī Ḥamadānī? Some modern scholars, including Temple and Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan, think so. But at the same time Temple, whom Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan follows, acknowledges that Lallā's association with Saiyid Šaīd is based on legend. It is most likely that the legend was concocted either to glorify the influence of Saiyid 'Alī or to counteract the popular belief that Lallā influenced Šāikh Nuru’d-Dīn. There is in fact no trace of Islamic influence in Lallā's teachings, although some modern scholars such as Grierson and

1 Cf. Temple, The word of Lallā, pp.190, 199 (Poems, 42 and 52). See also 'Abdu’l-Āḥad Azad, Kashmirī-Zaban aur Shā'irī, pp.154, 212.
2 The word of Lallā, pp.2-3, 80.
3 Sulṭāns, p.239.
4 The word of Lallā, p.8. See Appendix (C) where the story has been given.
5 Lallā - Vakvāni, p.30.
Temple have in vain tried to find some. Indeed it was not the Muslim saints who influenced Lalla, but she who influenced a section of the Kashmiri Muslim saints, the Rishis, through Nuruddin. Nuruddin was a junior contemporary of Lalla and though the tales of Nuruddin's encounters with Lalla may be taken as hagiological fabrications, at least they reveal that Nuruddin was popularly considered to have had some association with Lalla. The similarity of their sayings and teachings would suggest this was more than mere association, and that Lalla was, in fact, an initial and important source of inspiration for Nuruddin.

Lalla, while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship, says:

"Who are they that wreathes of flowers bring?
What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay?
Water that they on the Image fling?
What the spell that Shankar's Self shall sway."
Nūru’d-Dīn likewise points out:

"By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rishī,
The pounder in the rice-mill did never raise up its head.
By bathing, the mind will not be cleaned,
The fish and otter never ascend the bank." \(^1\)

Lalla relates her spiritual experience in the following verses:

"Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
 Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo ! I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise
 Here in mine own House to fill my gaze." \(^2\)

And Nūru’d-Dīn says:

"Searching far and wide in vain,
Lo ! I found Him in my own country." \(^3\)

On the signs of immoral society Lalla observes:

"In these evil times doth Nature bow
 Unto them that walk in wrongful ways.
Autumn pears and apples ripen now
With the apricots of summer days.
In the coming days of shame and wrath
Mother and her daughter, hand in hand,
Strangers to accost shall wander forth;
Men and women in an evil band." \(^4\)

Nūru’d-Dīn makes the same point, employing almost the same language:

\(^2\) Temple, op.cit., p.167 (Poem, 3).
\(^3\) Nūr-Nāma, p.155 (Poem, 215).
\(^4\) Temple, op.cit., p.219 (Poem, 92).
"The times will become more and more evil
Human nature itself will change for the worse,
Pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn
will change and ripen with apricots in the height
of the rainy season;
Mother and daughter hand in hand, will
enjoy their days with strangers."

That Nuru’d-Dīn was influenced by Lalla’s personality is quite clear from one of his sayings, in which he declares Lalla a great soul. He eulogizes her spiritual attainments and, despairing of surpassing them himself, strives only to equal them.

"That Lalla of Padmanpur
Who had drunk nectar
She is the Avatar and Yogini
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me."

The personalities of Lalla and Nuru’d-Dīn are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. But there seems little doubt that Nuru’d-Dīn drew inspiration from Lalla, even if he did not actually become her disciple.

Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn distinguished himself among all the Muslim saints of Kashmir, Jonaraja, the contemporary of the Shaikh, who rarely

1 Nur-Nama, p.169 (Poem, 242).
2 Padmanpur, the modern Pompur, is the place where Lalla is believed to have been born - see supra, p.191.
3 The verse can also be rendered as "who is alive for ever (amr, immortal)".
4 Nur-Nama, p.53 (Poem, 33).
acknowledges the sanctity of any Muslim, describes him the greatest sage of the time. The Shaikh did not concern himself with propagating the faith of Islam. He gave himself up to austere penances. For some time he subsisted upon wild vegetables, later on he gave them up and sustained life on one cup of milk daily. Finally, in his last years he is said to have reduced his diet to water alone.

Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn died on 26 Ramaḍān, 842/12 March, 1439, at the age of sixty three. He was buried with almost royal pomp at the village of Chrar; among the thousands of mourners was Sulṭān Zainu’l-‘Abidin. The simplicity and the purity of Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn’s life has

1 R.N., f.150b; A.Ab., f.63b; T.Az., p.63; F.K., f.87a; R.Nm., f.61a; T.H., III, p.121.
2 Ibid., f.150b-151a; Ibid., f.63b; Ibid., p.63; Ibid., f.87a-b; Ibid., f.61a-b; Ibid., p.121.
3 R.N., f.152b-153a; A.Ab., f.64a-b; R.Nm., f.62a-b; T.H., III, p.122.
4 R.Nm., f.71a; T.K., p.99.
5 R.N., f.155b; T.Az., p.64; T.K., p.99. Saiyid ‘Ali says he died in the reign of Sultan Zainu’l-‘Abidin - T.Ks., f.17b. According to Mishkātī the Shaikh died at the age of 63, in 808/1405-1406 (A.Ab., f.68b). Elsewhere (A.Ab., f.52b), Mishkātī says that the Shaikh was born in 757/1356-57, this would mean that either the Shaikh died at the age of fifty one or he died in 820/1417-18 (757 + 63).
6 The village of Chrar is twenty miles to the south-west of Srinagar.
7 R.Nm., f.71a; T.K., p.99.
greatly impressed the people of Kashmir, who entertain the highest veneration for the saint to this day. It was, perhaps, to give the expression to popular sentiment that the Afghan governor, ‘Aṭa’ Muhammad Khān (early nineteenth century), struck coins in the name of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn.  

Teachings.

Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn received no formal education and left nothing in writing to posterity. However, his sayings, which he, like Lalla, expressed in the contemporary Kashmirī dialect, embody his teachings. They were handed down to posterity by word of mouth, and were written down two hundred years after his death. They long remained scattered in various works and have recently been collected and edited in Persian script by Muḥammad Amīn Kāmil, under the title of Nur-Nama.

1 Cf. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.288.
3 Bābā Naṣīb, the author of R.N., which was completed in 1631-32, was the first to record some of the sayings of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn.
4 The sayings of the Shaikh are found in works such as R.N., A.Ab., T.Az., P.K., R.Nm., T.H., III and T.K.
5 'Abdu’l- Ağād Azād (Kashmirī Zaban aur Shā‘irī) has also quoted some of the sayings of the Shaikh, but he does not cite any source.
Since they were passed from generation to generation by word of mouth, there is every possibility of interpolation. A comparison of the sayings attributed to Lalla, which were first collected in the eighteenth century,\(^1\) with the text of Nuru’d-Dīn, as established in the Nur-Nama, suggests that it may be impossible finally to decide the authorship of many of the sayings. The Nur-Nama ascribes to Nuru’d-Dīn some of the sayings which Sir George Grierson attributes to Lalla.

Grierson, whom Temple follows,\(^2\) either did not bother to consult or had no access to Persian sources and accepted as authentic Lalla’s sayings, which were narrated to him by a Brahman named Dharma Dasa.\(^3\)

But the following comparison of some of the sayings of Lalla with those of Nuru’d-Dīn invites considerable doubt.

Lalla:  
"Kyāh kara pōntsan dahan ta kāhan  
wōkh - shun yith līgī karith yim gayī  
sōriy samahōn yath razi lamahan  
ada kyāzi rāvihe kāhan gāv."\(^4\)


\(^2\) Cf. The Word of Lalla, pp.9-10.

\(^3\) In the introduction Grierson says that his former assistant pandit Mukand Ram Shastri introduced him to Dharma Dasa of the village of Gush (in the modern district of Baramula), who had made it his profession to recite Lalla’s sayings, which had been handed down by word of mouth in his family - Lalla-Vākyāni, p.5.

\(^4\) Grierson, Lalla-Vākyāni, p.107 (Poem, 95). The English translation of Lalla’s verses is also taken from Grierson’s edition.
"What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven,\(^1\) Who scraped out this pot and departed? Had they all united and pulled upon this rope, Then how should the cow of the eleven owners have been lost?"

Nūru’d-Dīn:

"Kyāh kara pōntsan dahan ta kāhan su paneh kāhan ditheī drāv. Yudwāi sōriy akī watī pakhan, Ada Katī rāvihe kāhan gāv."\(^2\)

"What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven, He (who) disunited the eleven departed. Had they all united and taken the same path, Then how shall the cow of the eleven owners have been lost?"

Lalla:

"dāmiy dīthūm nad wahawūnūy dāmiy dyūṭhum sum na ta tār dāmiy dīthūm thūru pholawūnūy dāmiy dyūṭhum gul na ta khar"\(^3\)

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\(^1\) According to Grierson the "five" stand for the five principles of experience of the material world. The "ten" are the ten principles and secondary vital airs. The "eleven" includes five organs of sense, five organs of action and the eleventh the thinking faculty. Thus one who can control and unite them all in one endeavour, has a chance of success in achieving his spiritual goal - op.cit., p.108.

\(^2\) Nūr-Nāma, p.156 (Poem, 217).

\(^3\) Grierson, op.cit., p.108 (Poem, 96). The transliteration is that of Grierson. We follow Grierson's system of transliteration in order to avoid confusion.
The verses attributed to Nur'd-Din are identical with that of Lalla, except in the first line, where Nur'd-Din uses "sulwunny" instead of "wahawünny", but the meaning of both the terms is the same "flowing".

"For a moment saw I a river flowing
For a moment saw I no bridge nor means of crossing
For a moment saw I a bush all flowers
For a moment saw I neither rose nor thorn."

Lalla:

"Dâmiy dîthüm guja dazwunny
Dâmiy dîthüm dah nata nār
Dâmiy dîthüm pandawun hunza mojī
Dâmiy dîthüm krajī mās." 2

Nur'd-Din:

"Dâmiy dîthüm dazwunny gujī 3
Dâmiy dîthüm dah nata sās
Dâmiy dîthüm Pandav mojī 4
Dâmiy dîthüm krajī mās." 5

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1 Nur-Nama, p.160 (Poem, 224).
2 Grierson, op.cit., p.109 (Poem, 97).
3 In Lalla's saying it is guja dazwunny (cooking-hearth a blaze), whereas in Nur'd-Din it is reverse dazwunny gujī (a blaze cooking-hearth).
4 In Nur'd-Din's verse hunza (of) is missing.
5 Nur-Nama, p.161 (Poem, 225).
"For a moment saw I a cooking-hearth ablaze,
For a moment saw I neither fire nor smoke.
For a moment saw I the mother of the Pandavas,
For a moment saw I an aunt of a potter's wife."

The second line in Nūru'd-Dīn's verse reads: "For a moment I saw neither smoke nor ash."

The comparison of the above sayings leads us to two possible conclusions: either the followers of Nūru'd-Dīn wrongly attributed to him some of Lalla's sayings in order to prove him superior; or Pandit Dharma Dasa recited to Grierson some of Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings believing or pretending that they were Lalla's.

Nevertheless we cannot but believe that there are some authentic personal compositions in the works attributed to these two teachers. Many verses occur in one collection but not in the other, and however much one may doubt the details of some of the traditions about them, these traditions are so numerous and widespread that they must refer to real persons whose thought and spiritual experience are reflected in the poems attributed to them.

While Nūru'd-Dīn was influenced by Lalla, her influence did not make him a Hindu saint in the guise of a Muslim Rishī. His sayings show that he believed in the fundamental principles of Islam—the unity of God, the day of Judgement, and reward and punishment. He differed from other Kashmirī Sufīs in ignoring orthodoxy, while still
emphasizing the traditional Ṣūfī path of devotion. To him not mere ritual observances but love, sincerity, a humane outlook, and above all personal piety were the basis of religion.

Nuru’d-Dīn’s sayings show that he believed that God is both immanent and transcendent. He is everywhere, not confined to one place or another. According to him, all the branches of knowledge are nothing but the commentary upon the proclamation of faith, "There is no god but Allāh". If one truly seeks for God, he says, everything but Allāh becomes worthless. One who recognises himself, recognises God: "When I was able to recognise my own self, I was able to recognise God; both loss and gain became identical to me and the distinction between life and death disappeared."\(^1\)

He once told his mother: "God was and is and shall be for ever; He is independent of all other creatures; He lacks nothing."\(^2\) Further he says:

"There is one God,
But with a hundred names.
There is not a single blade of grass,
Which does not worship Him."\(^3\)

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\(^1\) A.Ab., ff.67b-68a.
\(^2\) R.N., f.140a.
\(^3\) Nur-Nāma, p.39 (Poem, 6).
"First I became certain that there is no god but Allah, Then I made myself (acquainted with) Divine revelations. First I forgot myself and yearned after God, Then I reached la-makan."¹

Nuru'd-Dīn strongly emphasizes the absolute dependence of mankind on God. One must trust in God, and recognize that no human endeavour can succeed without His help. The Shaikh is said to have told his mother, when she asked how he proposed to support his family, "Bread is provided by God, and trades and professions are only one of the means of getting it. A slave of God should think only of worshipping Him, caring nothing for food and drink."² Again he says:

"No one can take anything from him to whom God has given, Time and chance are only a means to an end. For one, whom God will abandon, no one can provide, Neither intelligence nor high caste shall help him."³

"He was, He is and He shall be, So remember Him constantly here; He will remove all (your) anxieties, So come to your senses at once."⁴

Love and intense devotion to God form the basis of Nuru'd-Dīn's utterances. His devotion is complete and exclusive absorption in God and indifference to all except Him. He advocates the suppression of

¹ Ibid., p.154 (Poem, 123).
² R.N., ff.139b-140a.
³ Nur-Nāmā, p.38 (Poem, 4).
⁴ Ibid., p.93 (Poem, 100).
all other preoccupations and the abandonment of worldly cares. The lover, according to Nuru’d-Dīn, is one who cares neither for spiritual nor fleshly pleasures, but only for the contemplation of the beloved (God). He says:

"Love is the death of a mother's only son, 
Love is the venomous sting of a swarm of wasps, 
Can the lover have any rest? 
Love is a robe dripping with blood, 
Can the wearer (lover) even utter a sigh?"

"The lover is he who burns with love, 
Whose self shines like gold. 
When man's heart lights up with the flame of love, 
Then shall he reach lá-mākan."

A true saint is one who avoids publicity as poison. To ask for blessing from God while worshipping, is a sign of greed. According to him "An 'ālim is one who distinguishes between the spirit and the flesh; and an 'arif is one who is able to discriminate between the desires of the spirit and the desires of the flesh."

1 A.Ab., f.68b.
2 Nur-Nama, p.128 (Poem, 164).
3 Ibid., p.127 (Poem, 163).
4 A.Ab., f.68a.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., f.68b.
Shaikh Nuru’d-Dīn believes that although God has bestowed everything upon mankind, we are ungrateful and indifferent to His worship. "He remembers us, He provides our livelihood, He preserves our health, but we are lukewarm in His worship." To worship is a duty imposed on all creatures. Once, when the Shaikh was in his cave at the village of Kaimuh, his mother came and asked solicitously how he was putting up with the insects and rats in the cave. The Shaikh replied: "They too are worshipping." He added: "Whatever creature has been given life by the grace of God, exists only for the purpose of worshipping Him. Whatever has the power to speak has a duty to worship him."  

In strong terms he warns men to worship God from the moment they attain the age of reason. He used to ask if one does not turn towards God in the vigour of youth, how can one do so in old age?  

"Understand that sunt (lit. spring, i.e. youth) is the best time (to worship), It is better to be ready right from the beginning. Do not lag behind, youth is an allusion, What shall a man do if he misses his chance early."  

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1. R.N., f. 140a.
2. Ibid., f. 146a.
3. Ibid.
Nuru’d-Din regarded a man’s base nature (nafs) as his great enemy. The first duty of worship is to control one’s desires. "The belly is the stronghold of the nafs and to fight the nafs", he says, "is a most meritorious holy war (jihad)."¹ Again he says: "If one subdues his nafs, one is a great soul, and his efforts are pure worship."²

The Shaikh strongly believed that man’s nafs is the greatest obstacle in one’s way to God. Repeatedly and with great vigour the Shaikh lays stress on the duty of crushing and overpowering it at all costs. It is said that once he was at the village of Pattan, where he saw some people cooking fish. His mouth began to water at the smell. He went near the stove but instead of taking a piece of fish, he put a burning piece of wood in his mouth and remarked: "O my nafs the fish for you is this."³ This tale shows the high value the Shaikh placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts. He himself gave up first bread, then vegetables and then milk. Later on, he tried to keep alive on water.⁴ His whole thought, and that of his followers, is based on the control of the nafs. He says:

¹ A.Ab., f.68a-b.
² Ibid., f.68b.
³ R.N., f.151a.
⁴ See supra, p.197.
"The nafs has disturbed me greatly,
The nafs has ruined me entirely.
It is the nafs which makes us destroy others,
The nafs is the slave of the devil."¹

"To serve the nafs is to thrust ashes
into one’s own eyes.
How then can one expect to see?"²

"The nafs is just like a rebellious calf,
which should be tied up.
It should be threatened with the stick
of fasting."³

"Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or cradles.
He who cut and filed it
will burn it into ashes."⁴

The Shaikh condemned anger, pride and greed, the source of which
was selfish desires: "The proud should be sent to hell where they
will become soft; like iron in the fire."⁵ Again he is said to have
remarked: "One cannot attain the Truth, if one does not give up anger,
pride and greed."⁶

¹ Nur-Nama, p.112 (Poem, 136).
² 'Abdu'l-Ahad Azad, Kashmiri-Zaban aur Shair, p.216.
³ Ibid., p.138 (Poem, 183).
⁵ A.Ab., f.67b.
⁶ Ibid., f.68b.
"Those who kill tamogunas\(^1\)
They will bear (everything) with resignation,
Those who seek after ease, ease (God),
They consider everything (in this world) as ashes (worthless)."\(^2\)

He is very critical of the mullahs who make it their profession to recite the Qur'an and get money in return. He considers them veritable patterns of hypocrisy. They pursue knowledge for purely selfish reasons: "They wear big turbans and long garments; they carry sticks in their hands; they go from place to place and sell their prayers and fasts in return for food."\(^3\) The sayings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din provide much information about the social life and religious attitudes of the mullahs of his time:

"A spiritual guide\(^4\) seems like a pot full of nectar,
Which may be trickling down in drops.
Having a heap of books beside him,
He may have become confused by reading them.

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4. The word in the verse is gor, which in Kashmiri is usually applied to a Brahman, but which also means a spiritual guide. It is derived from the well-known Sanskrit word guru.
On examining him we found him empty in mind,
He may be preaching to others but forgetting himself."  

"The people of the kali-yuga in every house
will pretend to be saints,
As a prostitute does when dancing.
They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle,
They will not sow beans, cotton seeds or grain.
They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means,
To hide themselves they will repair to a forest." 

"O mulla your rosary is like a snake,
You begin to count the beads when
your disciples come near.
You eat six meals one after the other,
If you are a mulla then who are the thieves ?"

Nuru'd-Din yearned for a society, based on moral values. He is conscious of the defects of the society in which he lived. There are many anecdotes associated with the life and doings of Nuru'd-Din, which not only reveal his disapproval of the established social customs, but also provide an ample evidence about the medieval society of Kashmir.

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1 Nur-Nama, p.116 (Poem, 143).
2 "The last and worst of the four yugas or ages, ... the age of vice" - Monier Williams, op.cit., p.261. Another example of the Shaikh's free use of Hindu terminology.
3 While dancing the prostitute sings the songs of morality.
4 The verse can be translated also as "They will not earn their bread by honest labour."
5 Nur-Nama, p.123 (Poem, 156).
6 Ibid., p.124 (Poem, 158).
7 See supra, p. 196.
To expose the hollowness of the cherished values of the society, the Shaikh is said to have had recourse to a device attributed to many saints. He went to attend a feast, to which he had been invited, in rags. Because of his wretched appearance he could not get admittance into the assembly of the guests. He returned to his place and came back richly dressed. When the feast was served, he put his sleeves and the corners of his costly garment into the dishes. The guests were astonished at his strange behaviour and asked him the reason. He replied with a smile: "The feast was not really for Nuru'd-Din but for the long sleeves!"^1

Nuru'd-DIn believed in complete harmony among different religions and preached peace and understanding in them. He must have been conscious of the hatred and tension which were created during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, and was keen to restore harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims. According to Jonaraja, Suha Bhatta,^2 who after his conversion to Islam became the champion of that religion and persecuted the non-Muslims, put restrictions on Nuru'd-Din. It is most likely that Nuru'd-Din disapproved of the actions of Suha Bhatta, and raised his voice against it. His own sayings, in which he calls on people to follow

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2 See supra, p.131; infra, p.280.
3 Rajatarangini, ed. by Kaul, p. (stanza 673).
the path of peace and harmony, show his strong desire for understanding, love and affection among all sections of the Kashmiris.

"We belong to the same parents. Then why this difference? Let Hindus and Muslims (together) worship God alone."¹

"We came to this world like partners, We should have shared our joys and sorrows together."²

Nuru’dd-Dīn’s message was not confined to one race or one class, but addressed to mankind as a whole. He belonged to the universe. He expressed his thought in the simple language of his people, clothing his ideas with similes and examples familiar from their experience. His verses therefore had an immediate appeal to the unlettered masses. Allusions to his sayings and verses both by the Muslims and non-Muslims of Kashmir are quite common even today and have become almost proverbial. Above all the sayings of Nuru’dd-Dīn are the expression of the ideas of many thinkers of his time. In this way he and his sayings have the great importance.

¹ Nur-Nama, p.42 (Poem, 12).
² Ibid., p.91 (Poem, 96). See also ibid., p.156 (Poem, 217).
CHAPTER VII

The Rishi Order - B

Disciples of Nūru’d-Dīn

Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn attracted a large number of people to his fold. Among his prominent disciples were Bāmu’d-Dīn, Zainu’d-Dīn, Laṭīfu’d-Dīn, Naṣru’d-Dīn and Qiyāmu’d-Dīn. There is no evidence that Nūru’d-Dīn gave a khilāfat-nāma to any of his disciples or that he nominated any of them as his successor. But Saiyid 'Alī, the author of Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, calls the first four above mentioned disciples his khalīfas, and the later writers have followed the Saiyid.

Of these four khalīfas, the first three are alleged to have been born as Hindus, and to have been converted to Islam by Nūru’d-Dīn. The sources, however, are not unanimous about the circumstances of their conversion; the details they relate are drawn from the stock of standard Sūfī stories, and there is no external evidence to support their statements. Therefore, one must view them with considerable caution.

It is said that Bāmu’d-Dīn was a famous Brahman, respected by many Kashmirī Hindu[s, residing at Bamuzu, where he used to worship numerous

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1 F.K., f.92a.
2 F.32b.
3 F.K., f.92a-b; T.H., III, pp.126 ff.; T.K., pp.100 ff..
4 Ten miles to the south-east of the modern district of Anantnāg.
idols. He is credited with having possessed remarkable miraculous powers, even as a Hindu. For example, he is reported to have bathed daily at dawn, simultaneously at five different places in Kashmir:¹ Chandanyār (in the town of Vijabror), Shoryār and Khūjyār² (in Srinagar), Vular (40 miles north-west of Srinagar) and Khādanyār (in the town of Bārāmūla).³

It is said that when Nūru'd-Dīn heard about his reputation, he decided to visit him and convert him to Islam. When Nūru’d-Dīn went to see Bhūma Sidh (the Hindu name of Bāμu’d-Dīn), he put the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow on his shoulders. Bhūma Sidh saw the Shaikh,⁴ and was naturally annoyed. He asked the Shaikh to go away, and not to pollute the idols. Nūru’d-Dīn stayed; the Brahman asked him what he wanted. Nūru’d-Dīn replied: "I want you to become a Muslim", and added that it was folly to worship idols carved out of stone by a mere man. To worship what one has created himself is a sign of ignorance. After a long discussion, the Brahman asked the Shaikh to prove the truth of Islam. The Shaikh addressed the idols, which at once gave tongue and

1 T.Ks., f.32a-b; 37a-b; R.N., f.254b; A.Ab., f.70a; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.126; T.K., p.100.
2 Hasan and Miskīn say "Chataryār" (T.H., III, p.126; T.K., p.100). But near Khūjyār is the famous ancient Hindu temple of Har-i-Parbat.
3 R.N., f.254b; A.Ab., f.70a; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.126; T.K., p.100.
4 According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh had come to know supernaturally about the Shaikh's arrival and was telling his servants not to allow him to enter, when the Shaikh came in. R.N., f.254b.
Bhūma Sidh accepted Islam, and was later named Bāmu’ḍ-Dīn, by the Shaikh.²

Saiyid ’Alī and A’żamī, however, give another version of Bāmu’ḍ-Dīn's conversion. According to them Bhūma Sidh showed Nūru’ḍ-Dīn his spiritual powers by flying up towards the sky. Nūru’ḍ-Dīn sent his shoes after him, Bhūma Sidh on seeing this was highly impressed by the Shaikh and accepted Islam.³

It is said that Zainu’ḍ-Dīn⁴ hailed from Kishtwār, and that his father, who was a descendant of the rulers of that country,⁵ was killed by his enemies when Zainu’ḍ-Dīn was quite young.⁶ According to Saiyid ’Alī,⁷

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1. R.N., ff.254b-255a; A.Ab., f.70a-b; F.K., ff.92b-93a; T.H., III, p.127; T.K., p.101. According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh before accepting Islam, asked the Shaikh whether, if he changed his religion, his past sins would be forgiven. The Shaikh told him that he himself was the surety for him in heaven. R.N., f.262a.
3. T.Ks., f.32a-b; T.Az., pp.64-5.
4. According to some sources his original Hindu name was Ziyā Singh (probably Jaya Singh); A.Ab., f.73b; T.Az., p.64; F.K., f.94b; T.K., p.102. Mattū and Hasan, however, give his name as Zaina Singh; R.Nm., f.49b; T.H., III, p.128.
5. A.Ab., f.73b; R.Nm., f.49a.
6. T.Ks., f.34b; R.N., f.283b; A.Ab., f.73b; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., 49b; T.H., III, p.128; T.K., p.102.
7. T.Ks., ff.34b-35a.
Nasīb, Mishkātī, Wahhāb, Mattū, Hasan and Miskīn, when quite young Zainu’d-Dīn once fell seriously ill and no medicine could cure him. His mother became anxious; meanwhile Nūru’d-Dīn appeared and told her that he would pray for the recovery of her son, if she promised that they both would later come to Kashmir and accept Islam.

A’zamī, however, asserts that Zainu’d-Dīn came to Kashmir because of a Divine command and accepted Islam there at the hands of Nūru’d-Dīn.7

Laḥīfū’d-Dīn8 is said to have been the chief9 of Maru-Adavin10 and to have called one day on Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn, who asked the purpose of the visit; he replied that he wanted his friendship. Nūru’d-Dīn answered that there could be no friendship between them unless he accepted Islam.

The sources are not unanimous about his original Hindu name. According to Saiyid ‘Alī and A’gāmī, his Hindu name was "Ladī-Raina" (T.Ks., f.39a; T.Az., p.65). Mishkātī and Wahhāb say "Īdi-Raina" (A.Ab., f.78a; F.K., f.98b), and Hasan and Miskīn "Awat-Raina" (T.H., III, p.132; T.K., p.104).

9 T.Ks., f.39a; R.N., f.294a; A.Ab., f.78a; K.S., f.83b; F.K., f.98b; T.H., III, p.132; T.K., p.104. According to A’gāmī, he was the son of the chief of Maru-Adavin; T.Az., p.65.

10 In the modern district of Anantnāg.
Laṭīfu’d-Dīn yielded and at the same time gave up his post and became the disciple of the Shaikh.¹

The story of Nūru’d-Dīn approaching Bhūma Sidh (Bāmu’d-Dīn) dressed in a bloody cow-skin is quite incompatible with the character of the Shaikh. The tale related by Saiyid ‘Alī and A’zamī of the two men competing in levitation is a stock tale of the Yogī-Ṣūfī confrontations, described in almost every hagiological work.²

The tradition that Nūru’d-Dīn made conversion to Islam a condition of his helping Zainu’d-Dīn, when he was sick, is also irreconcilable with Nūru’d-Dīn’s humanitarian bent of mind. Mullā Ahmad bin Ṣabūr says that Zainu’d-Dīn was searching for a dīr, when he met Nūru’d-Dīn and became his disciple.³ His version accords better with Nūru’d-Dīn’s known character.

Once again Mullā seems to show more respect for the facts in the reason he offers for Laṭīfu’d-Dīn’s conversion. According to him, Laṭīfu’d-Dīn was overpowered by mystical attraction towards God, and so he abandoned his post and became Nūru’d-Dīn’s disciple.⁴

The stories which credit Nūru’d-Dīn with having converted Bāmu’d-Dīn, Zainu’d-Dīn and Laṭīfu’d-Dīn to Islam are all concocted and seem to have

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¹ R.N., f.294a; A.Ab., f.78a; F.K., f.98b; T.H., III, pp.132-3; T.K., p.104.
² Cf. supra, p.47.
³ K.S., f.42a.
⁴ K.S., f.38b.
been designed to prove Nūru’d-Dīn's zeal and missionary spirit. They show
that he was not only an orthodox Ṣūfī but also a narrow minded Muslim.
But in his recorded remarks there is no mention of this zeal. He is said
to have remarked once: "I am prejudiced against nobody and I seek to
influence nobody".¹ Had he been orthodox and narrow minded he would not
have recognized Lalla as an avatār and superior to himself.² In his sayings,
he strongly advises people to live in peace and asks both Hindus and Muslims
to live as brothers.³ Again, had he been a missionary, he would have joined
hands with Sūha Bhatta, who put some restrictions on him,⁴ to convert the
Hindus to Islam.

It is more likely that the simplicity, love of mankind and sympathy
with human suffering of Nūru’d-Dīn appealed to the people of other
communities and many became his disciples and later on accepted Islam.

Bāmu’d-Dīn

After enrolling himself as one of the disciples of Nūru’d-Dīn,
Bāmu’d-Dīn is said to have lived for twelve years,⁵ eating crushed stones

¹ A. Ab., f. 69a.
² See supra, p. 196.
³ See supra, p. 212.
⁴ See supra, p. 211.
⁵ T. Ks., f. 32b; A. Ab., ff. 71b-72a; T. Az., p. 65; F. K., f. 93b; T. H., III,
p. 128; T. K., p. 102.
"Twelve years" seems to be an idiom for "a fair while".
and water as his food. This is obviously an exaggeration, but speaks at least of his reputation for piety. He is said to have kept no servant and never troubled himself about keeping a proper kitchen.

It appears that Bāmu’d-Dīn, like his mentor, sought solitude. When ’Alī Shāh (1413-20), wanted to see him, he said that if the visit was really necessary, he should not come in his royal robes. The Sultan attended Bāmu’d-Dīn in the dress of a peasant. He asked, as was the custom of the age, for the saint's advice; the reply was: "You have taken off the dress of a king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of saints like air; the fire flares up in the air". Again the Sultan asked if he could do anything for him; Bāmu’d-Dīn replied: "Do not come to see me again, and do not mention my name in your court". The Sultan retorted: "What deep enmity you show for ordinary men". The reply was: "Only because I am enemy of

1 T.Ks., f.38a; R.N., f.280a-b; A.Ab., f.72a; F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.128; T.K., p.102. According to A’zamī, he used to take nothing but water; T.Az., p.65.
2 A.Ab., f.72a; T.Az., p.65; T.H., III, p.128; T.K., p.102.
3 F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.128. Other sources do not give the name of the Sultan.
worldliness". When the Sultan left, Bamu’d-Dīn threw the mat, on which the Sultan had been sitting, in the river.¹

When Bamu’d-Dīn was dying, somebody asked who was to wash his corpse; he replied: "Zainu’d-Dīn". His disciples told him that it was impossible for Zainu’d-Dīn to come, as he was in Tibet, far from Kashmir. Bamu’d-Dīn replied that distance was nothing. When he died, Zainu’d-Dīn miraculously attended his funeral.² This tradition would imply that Bamu’d-Dīn’s death took place after 1420, as Zainu’d-Dīn’s visit to Tibet, if true, occurred in the reign of Zainu’l-‘Abidīn³ (1420-70).

Bamu’d-Dīn is buried at Bamuzu, where he is supposed to have maintained his idols and performed his worship as a Hindu, and later lived and prayed as a Muslim Rishi.⁴

Zainu’d-Dīn

The most distinguished of all the disciples of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn was Zainu’d-Dīn. His piety and austerities earned a great name for him. Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn held him in great esteem⁵ and in one of his sayings he pays

¹ R.N., f.282a-b; A.Ab., f.72b; F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.128. Saiyid ‘Alī, who also records the Sultan’s visit to Bamu’d-Dīn (T.Ks., f.38b), does not refer to the discussion between the two. Similar anecdotes are ascribed to other Sufis too.
² R.N., ff.282b-283a; A.Ab., f.73a; T.Az., p.65; F.K., f.93b. See also T.H., III, p.128; T.K., p.102.
³ See infra, p.223.
⁴ R.N., f.283a; T.Az., p.65; F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.128; T.K., p.102.
⁵ Cf. R.N., f.285a; F.K., f.95a; T.H., III, p.129; T.K., p.103.
glowing tributes to him: "My Zainā (Zainu’d-Dīn) is a fountain of the water of immortality; such is his devotion to the Almighty that he excels his guide". ¹

After serving his preceptor for many years, Zainu’d-Dīn, under the orders of the Shaikh, moved to ‘Aish-Maqām ² and stayed there in a cave. ³ Like many other Rishīs, he applied himself to a life of simplicity and celibacy and adopted the forms of worship which the Rishīs considered most effective.

It is said that once he asked one of his disciples to bring from the market something bitter and disagreeable. The disciple brought black pepper, as he could find nothing more bitter. Zainu’d-Dīn was much pleased at its

¹ Nur-Nāma, p.55 (poem 37).
² R.N., f.284b; A.Ab., f.74a; T.Az., p.64; F.K., f.95a; T.H., III, p.129; T.K., p.102. ‘Aish-Maqām or abode of pleasure, is thirteen miles from Anantnāg. Saiyid ‘Alī, however, says that Zainu’d-Dīn moved to the village of Shaiva, in the Pargana Zaingīr (in the modern district of Bārāmūla); T.Ks., f.35b.
³ It is said that when Zainu’d-Dīn moved to ‘Aish-Maqām, he found the cave full of snakes. He ordered them out and all except one old snake obeyed. Zainu’d-Dīn told it that for the sake of God, it too should move out, whereupon it went away. But Zainu’d-Dīn, fearing lest they be a source of trouble for the people, extracted a promise from all the snakes that they would harm nobody and in return, he promised that nobody would harm them; R.N., ff.288b–289b; A.Ab., f.74a–b; F.K., ff.94b–95a; T.H., III, p.129; T.K., pp.102–3.

It is interesting to note that the Nāga cult prevailed in the Valley throughout Hindu rule (cf. R.Tk., I, p.188. For a detailed account, see Vogel, Indian Serpent-Lore, ch.VI; Sunil Chandra Ray, "History of Religion in Ancient Kashmir", Journal of the Bihar Research Society, March 1955, pp.168–70). It seems that the cult was prevalent even during the Muslim rule. Abū’1-Fazl tells us that there were seven hundred places in the Valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped; A.A., II, p.171.
taste. He asked the price; the disciple replied "one fulūş" (small coin of uncertain value). He asked how much goat-meat he could have bought with that amount; the disciple replied: "eight sers". Zainu’d-Dīn surprisingly remarked: "To make a meal of pepper means to eat enough for eight men". Therefore, he abandoned all thought of pepper, resolving to eat only raw nuts picked up from the ground.

Many miracles are attributed to Zainu’d-Dīn. Once, in winter, one of his disciples went to bring water; he had to go a long way as there was no water near the cave. By chance he slipped, breaking his leg and smashing the pot. Shamsu’d-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainu’d-Dīn, told his preceptor about this and asked who was to get the water. Zainu’d-Dīn prayed and the leg of his disciple was cured. He also got a hint from on high to go to Aina, a place nearby, and dig beneath a tree on which a crow would be sitting. He did this and water sprang up from the ground following him until he halted. The legend came to Abu’l-Fazl’s ears also; he writes: "In the village of ‘Aish (Maqām) is the cell of Bābā Zainu’d-Dīn Rishi. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times

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1 One ser was equivalent to 15 misqāl or gold coins (cf. Steingass, Persian English Dictionary, pp.715 and 1172). In modern Kashmirī it is equivalent to 2 lbs.
2 R.N., f.288a-b; A.Ab., f.75a; F.K., f.95b; T.H., III, p.130; T.K., p.103. See also T.Ks., f.35b.
3 But Wahhab says that it was Shamsu’d-Dīn whose leg was broken; F.K., f.95a.
4 R.N., f.288a; A.Ab., ff.74b-75a; T.Az., p.64; F.K., f.95a; R.Nm., ff.84b-85a; T.H., III, pp.129-30; T.K., p.104.
the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow".  

Another legend has it that Zainu’-d-Dīn once sent one of his disciples to a certain place. The king's officials, who were working on Shāhkul Canal, seized him for forced labour. When he returned and Zainu’-d-Dīn learned what had happened, in his anger he caused the canal to dry up. It was only when the people remonstrated with Zainu’-d-Dīn, that he restored the flow of water.  

It is believed that Zainu’-d-Dīn visited Tibet. The sources assert that the cause of his visit to that country was the displeasure of Sultan Zainu’l-’Abidīn (1420-70), who once went to see Zainu’-d-Dīn, but was treated with scant attention. The Sultan was displeased, and asked him to leave his kingdom. Zainu’-d-Dīn gladly agreed and betook himself and some of his disciples to Tibet, where he was accorded a warm welcome. But soon the son of the ruler of that country died and the people blamed Zainu’-d-Dīn.  

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2 This canal was constructed by Zainu’l-’Abidīn; R.Tj., p.87.
3 R.N., ff.289b-290a; F.K., f.95b; R.Nm., f.86a-b; T.H., III, pp.130-1.
4 In medieval times the modern district of Ladakh was also called Tibet (little Tibet); cf. R.Tk., II, p.435.
5 T.Ks., ff.19b, 35b-36a; R.N., f.291a-b; A.Ab., f.76a-b; F.K., f.95b; R.Nm., f.107a-b; T.H., III, p.131.
6 T.Ks., f.136a; A.Ab., f.76b; F.K., f.96a; T.H., III, p.131. Naşīb says that the son of a newly converted Muslim died and people told him that it was because of his conversion to Islam, for which Zainu’-d-Dīn was responsible (R.N., ff.291b-292a). Mattū asserts that the son of one of the attendants of the queen died and Zainu’-d-Dīn was accused for this; R.Nm., f.108b.
He was threatened with death; he tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his, but all in vain. So he prayed to God, and the prince returned to life. ¹

Meanwhile, Sultan Zainu’l-’Abidin is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He asked help from Hajī Adham, ² who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zainu’d-Dīn. ³ So, he sent his son, prince Haidar, ⁴ to bring him back. The moment Zainu’d-Dīn put his foot on the road homewards, the Sultan recovered and when the saint drew near, he personally went to receive him. ⁵

The story bears the marks of fabrication and seems to have been concocted in order to glorify the miraculous powers of Zainu’d-Dīn Rishī. The same sources attribute to Zainu’l-’Abidin another example of royal rage being frustrated, when he approached Shaikh Bahāu’d-Dīn Ganjbakhsh, a Kubraviya saint. ⁶ But he was not exiled. Moreover, Nuru’d-Dīn was still

¹ T.Ks., f.36a; R.N., f.292a; A.Ab., f.76b; F.K., f.96a; R.Nm., f.109a; T.H., III, p.131.
² See for his biography, supra, p.125
³ T.Ks., ff.19b, 36b; R.Nm., f.109a.
⁴ According to Wahhāb, the Sultan approached Laṭīfu’d-Dīn Rishī, one of the disciples of Nuru’d-Dīn (F.K., f.96a), whereas Naṣīb, Mishkātī and Hasan suggest that the Sultan himself realized that it was because of the displeasure of Zainu’d-Dīn; R.N., f.292a; A.Ab., ff.77a-b; T.H., III, p.131.
⁵ T.Ks., ff.19b, 36b; F.K., f.96a; R.Nm., f.109a; T.H., III, p.131. Others do not mention the name of the prince.
⁶ See supra, p.152, n.3.
alive, \(^1\) enjoying very cordial relations with the Sultan. \(^2\) In such circumstances, his intercession would surely have been sought, rather than that of Hāji Adham, as Zainu’d-Dīn was Nūru’d-Dīn’s disciple. 

According to Bābā Naṣīb, \(^3\) Zainu’d-Dīn introduced a special dress for the Rīshīs, the Rīshī-jāma. He believes that Zainu’d-Dīn had seen the dress of the ǧānis in Mecca, where, because of his supernatural powers, he used to attend the Friday prayers. In Wahhāb’s Ḩutūḥāt-i-Kubrāwīya, the dress is incidentally described in the life of Shamsu’d-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainu’d-Dīn, as: "a variegated woollen cloak, with a black and white pattern worked into it". \(^4\)

Before his death, Zainu’d-Dīn made a will requiring that after the funeral ritual his body be put in a tābūt and placed in a corner of the cave. The disciples did as he asked. But later they found the corpse missing from the tābūt. One night, after the disappearance of the body, one of his disciples dreamed that he desired a grave to be made in his name at the spot where they had kept his tābūt. \(^5\)

Abū’l-Fazl also seems to have been impressed by the story. He writes: “For twelve years he occupied this cell (at ‘Aish-Maqām) and towards the

\(^1\) Cf. K.S., f.50a.
\(^2\) Cf. supra, p.197.
\(^3\) R.N., f.292b.
\(^4\) F.K., f.96b.
\(^5\) A.Ab., f.78a-b; T.Az., p.64; F.K., f.96a; T.H., III, p.133; T.K., p.104.
end (of his life) he closed its mouth with a huge stone and never went forth again, and no one has ever found trace of him".  

The tomb of Zainu’d-Dīn, at ‘Aish-Maqām is a source of inspiration for the masses of Kashmir. "This shrine", a modern scholar writes, "is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmir, who take their children [there] and cut off their first lock of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind".

Latīfu’d-Dīn

Another disciple of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn, who made the order popular, was Latīfu’d-Dīn Rishī. It is said that after he enrolled himself as one of the disciples of the Shaikh, the latter asked him what he had achieved up to that time. Latīfu’d-Dīn replied "wealth". The Shaikh asked: "Did your father also achieve it?" He replied: "Yes, he did". The Shaikh then asked: "To whom did he leave it?" Latīfu’d-Dīn replied: "To me". "Why did not he take it with him?" asked the Shaikh. He replied: "It was not worth taking". The Shaikh remarked: "He was not wise; he accumulated something he could not take with him. The wise man strives for something worth taking [when he dies]".  

2 Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.288.  
3 A.Ab., f.78b.
As already pointed out, Laţīfu'd-Dīn was a rich man, thus Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn wanted to impress upon him that worldly goods were of no use for one on the path to God. Laţīfu'd-Dīn, after serving the Shaikh for some time, was asked to settle down at Uttar and was entrusted with two newly enrolled Rishīs, Pīrbāz and Sharīf Ashwar.¹

Laţīfu'd-Dīn, like many other Rishīs, at first used to eat upalhākh (a wild vegetable), but when he migrated to Uttar, he lived on another wild vegetable, known as Kachan,² even more bitter than upalhākh. The reason for this change is given that once he found upalhākh tough, and he enquired from Sharīf why it was so. Sharīf replied that he brought green herbs, while Pīrbāz used to bring dry ones. Laţīfu'd-Dīn then asked Pīrbāz why he used to bring dry herbs. He replied for two reasons: firstly that when one cuts the green herbs they start bleeding, secondly that when they are boiled, they cry "why do you kill and burn us?" Laţīfu'd-Dīn was moved by the arguments of his disciple and he gave up eating all kinds of green herbs as he believed that he was destroying another life to keep himself alive.³

¹ T.Ks., f.39b; R.N., f.294b; A.Ab., f.78b; F.K., f.98b; T.H., III, p.133; T.K., p.104.
² R.N., ff.294b-295a; A.Ab., f.79a; F.K., ff.98b, 99a; T.H., III, p.133. Kachan is used for medical dressing and draws out the pus from pimples and boils.
³ R.N., ff.324b-325a; A.Ab., ff.92b-93a; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.164. Mullā does not quote the anecdote regarding Laţīfu'd-Dīn's change of diet, but says simply that he gave up eating green herbs; K.S., f.39a.
Towards the end of his life, Latīfu’d-Dīn moved from Uttar to Poskar,¹ because at Uttar people in large numbers used to come to him and ask for his blessings.² It was at Poskar that he breathed his last and was buried.³

Nasru’d-Dīn

One of the favourite disciples and constant companions of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn was Nasru’d-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmir as Naṣr Rishi. He was the son of a wealthy family,⁴ living at Sazīpur in the pargana of Yech.⁵ Once, when young, he fell ill and his digestion failed entirely. His parents spent lavishly, but all in vain. On his sick-bed, he dreamed that he saw a group of people and enquired who they all were, and who was sitting in their midst. They replied that they were the body of abdāls, and seated in the middle was the celebrated Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn of Kaimuh, and they suggested that he visit him as soon as he could, if he wished to be cured of his disease. He told his parents what he had seen in the dream. They forthwith set off to wait upon the Shaikh, taking their son

¹ T.Ks., f.39b; R.N., f.295a; A.Ab., f.79a; K.S., f.39a; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.133.
² T.Ks., ff.39b-40a.
³ Ibid., f.40a; R.N., f.295a; A.Ab., f.79a; K.S., f.39a; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.133.
⁴ T.Ks., f.40a; R.N., f.296a; A.Ab., f.79b; T.Az., p.65; F.K., f.100b; T.H., III, p.134; T.K., p.105.
⁵ T.Ks., f.40a. The pargana Yech adjoins Srīnagar on the south-west.
with them. Nūru’d-Dīn asked him what was wrong and what was his name. He described his disease and said: "My name is Naṣr and my title is Raothar ("wrestler" in Kashmirī)." Nūru’d-Dīn told him: "Are you able to live up to your title?" Naṣru’d-Dīn replied: "If I had your favour, I could". Then Nūru’d-Dīn told one of his disciples to bring food for Naṣru’d-Dīn and asked the latter to eat as much as he could. As soon as he had finished the food he found a spiritual change in himself and bade farewell to his parents, saying: "I have found my physician". They were shocked and said: "Our life will be miserable without you". Naṣru’d-Dīn replied: "To make it sweet, be with God". Thus he bade farewell to the world and remained with Nūru’d-Dīn until his death.

During his spiritual apprenticeship, Naṣru’d-Dīn was entrusted with the care of other disciples of Nūru’d-Dīn. It is said that Naṣru’d-Dīn fasted and ate ashes mixed with water at the time of iftar. This he did alone, and nobody knew of it. One of the Shaikh’s disciples thought that he was drinking milk himself, but providing only sag (spinach) for them. He complained to Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn. The Shaikh asked him to watch

\[\text{References:}\]

1. T.Ks., f.40a; R.N., f.296a-b; A.Ab., f.79b; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.100b; T.H., III, p.134; T.K., pp.105-6.
2. Ibid.
3. A.Ab., f.80a; F.K., f.100b.
4. R.N., f.296b; A.Ab., ff.79b-80a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.100b; T.H., III, p.134; T.K., p.106.

Mulla, however, says that Naṣru’d-Dīn had renounced the world, on his own, and was searching for a pir. On meeting Nūru’d-Dīn, he became his disciple; K.S., f.37a.
Naṣru'd-Dīn and snatch his cup as soon as he had prepared it. When he finally succeeded, he brought the cup to Nūru'd-Dīn, who asked him to taste it; he found that it was not milk but ashes, and was covered with shame.¹

Nūru'd-Dīn then asked Naṣru'd-Dīn to take rice instead of ashes.² It is reported that Naṣru'd-Dīn made it his habit to take only a hundred grains of rice daily.³ According to Miskīn,⁴ Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn used gradually to reduce the quantity Naṣru'd-Dīn ate until finally he took only twenty grains of rice as his full meal. Once, when under the command of the Shaikh, Naṣru'd-Dīn began a retreat of forty days with only four walnuts to eat. After ten days in solitude, he was trying to crack the first walnut and Nūru'd-Dīn, who happened to pass by, heard the sound. He asked what he was doing. Naṣru'd-Dīn replied by breaking a walnut.

Nūru'd-Dīn remarked: "I thought you were breaking your nafs, and here you

¹ R.N., f.297a; A.Ab., f.80a-b; F.K., f.100b; T.H., III, p.135. Mulla says that Naṣru’d-Dīn used to eat ashes, although Nūru’d-Dīn had asked him to drink milk (K.S., f.37a). But it is unlikely that Naṣru’Dīn would do something contrary to what his preceptor had asked of him. Secondly, when one of the disciples of Nūru’d-Dīn complained to him that Naṣru’d-Dīn was drinking milk, the Shaikh would have told him that he did it on his advice.

² T.Ks., f.40b; R.N., f.297b; A.Ab., f.81a; K.S., f.37b; F.K., f.100b; T.K., p.125.

³ T.Ks., f.40b. Naṣīb and Mulla say that he used to take only fourteen grains of rice (R.N., f.297b; K.S., f.37b), and Mishkātī and Wahhāb say that he used to eat eighteen grains (A.Ab., f.81a; F.K., f.100b).

⁴ T.K., p.105.
are cracking a walnut". ¹ When Nasru’ d-Dīn finished his retreat, he presented all four walnuts to the Shaikh.²

Nasru’ d-Dīn was the constant companion of Shaikh Nūru’ d-Dīn from the day he joined him. Out of affection the Shaikh used to call him by the name of "Naṣro", and addressed some of his sayings to him. The following sayings of the Shaikh on the subject "come good, come evil, there is an end" are addressed to Naṣru’ d-Dīn.

"When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlam, that day has passed, 0 Naṣar.

When we had only thin curry and unsalted vegetables to eat, that day too has gone, 0 Naṣar.

When the wife was near and warm clothing covered the bed, that day too has gone by, 0 Naṣar.

When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us, that day also has passed, 0 Naṣar".³

"In those glittering halls of lords [khān],
The great were told to shrink back.
I saw pretty damsels singing songs there;
They were sweeping the dust with Yak’s tails.
There I now observed cotton being sown.
I saw, 0 Naṣar, thou mightiest also go to see it".⁴

² T.H., III, p.135.
³ Miskīn says that on hearing the words of the Shaikh, Naṣru’ d-Dīn threw all four walnuts outside the cave he was living in; T.K., p.105.
⁴ Kaul, "A Life of Nand Rishī", The Indian Antiquary, LIX, February, 1930, p.32.
⁴ Ibid., pp.30-1. See also Nūr-Nāmā, pp.111, 130 (poems 134, 168).
When Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn died, Naṣru’d-Dīn succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Chrar. It is said that before Naṣru’d-Dīn died, the Shaikh appeared to him in a dream and told him that he had done much good work and suffered much hardship and it was now time for Naṣru’d-Dīn to join him (in the next world). The Shaikh also asked him to entrust the charge of the Rishīs at Chrar to Malik Jogī Raina, who was one of the nobles of the royal court and who used often to visit Nūru’d-Dīn and later Naṣru’d-Dīn.

Naṣru’d-Dīn, in accordance with the command of the Shaikh, approached Malik Jogī who refused to accept the offer. But during the night a sudden change came over him; he became restless, tore out his clothes and rushed to Naṣru’d-Dīn, who was near death. He nominated Malik Jogī as his successor and soon breathed his last, in 855/1451. He was buried next to his preceptor at Chrar.

1 Miskin at one place calls him Jogī Raina (T.K., p.105), and at another place Zogi Raina; T.K., p.114.
2 A.Ab., f.81a; F.K., f.101a; T.H., III, pp.135, 170; T.K., p.114.
4 A.Ab., f.81a; F.K., f.101a; T.H., III, p.135; T.K., p.105.
6 A.Ab., f.81a; F.K., f.101a; T.H., III, p.135; T.K., p.105.
Qiyāmu‘d-Dīn

Another outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nūru‘d-Dīn was Qiyāmu‘d-Dīn Rishī.¹ Nothing is known about his early life except that he had no formal education² and that right from the very beginning he associated with holy-men.³ At some stage he came into contact with the Shaikh and became his disciple.⁴ After some time, at the direction of Nūru‘d-Dīn, he took up his residence at the village of Manzgām,⁵ where he established a cell near a spring called Dūdh-Pokar.⁶

Like many other Rishīs, Qiyāmu‘d-Dīn fasted regularly and would eat only wild vegetables. Hardships and austere penances, to which he had applied himself, reduced him to skin and bone.⁷ When questioned why he reduced himself to this state, Qiyāmu‘d-Dīn burst into tears and said: "I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the

¹ A.Ab., f.81b; F.K., f.92b.
² R.N., f.183a; A.Ab., f.82a.
³ Ibid., f.82a; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.136.
⁴ R.N., f.182a; A.Ab., f.82a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.136; T.K., p.106.
⁵ In the modern district of Anantnāg.
⁶ R.N., f.182a; A.Ab., f.82a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.136; T.K., p.106.
⁷ It is said that before his arrival there, the place looked like a desert and all the trees and plants were dry. But as soon as he took up his abode there, everything turned green.
⁸ R.N., f.183a; A.Ab., f.82a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.136; T.K., p.106.
Qur’ān; if I could, I might draw near to God. What other form of worship remains, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food, and to practise austerities? Thus I might move God to forgive me my sins”.

After many years of such a life, Qiyāmu’d-Dīn died at Manzgām, and was buried there. None of the sources mention the date of his death, and it is possible only to speculate that he outlived his pīr.

Disciples of Bāmu’d-Dīn

One of the distinguished disciples of Bāmu’d-Dīn was Shamsu’d-Dīn. He hailed from Maru-Wardwan. Nothing is known about his early life and how and when he came into contact with Bāmu’d-Dīn. However, after completing the preliminary stages of the Rishi path, he settled down at a village, in the pargana of Kutahār.

1 R.N., f.183a.
2 Ibid., f.183a; A.Ab., f.82a; T.Az., p.66; F.K., f.92b; T.H., III, p.136; T.K., p.106.
3 T.Ks., f.42b; R.N., f.305a; A.Ab., f.85b; K.S., f.52a; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.148.
4 T.Ks., f.42b; R.N., f.305a; A.Ab., f.85b; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.93b; T.H., III, p.148. Maru-Wardwan is in the area which forms the eastern frontier of Kashmir, and at present is in the district of Anantnāg.
5 The sources are not unanimous about the name of the village. Saiyid ‘Alī (T.Ks., f.42b) gives the name of the village as "Kru", Nasīb and Wahhāb (R.N., f.305a; F.K., f.93b) "Krūhin", Mishkātī and Hasan (A.Ab., f.85b; T.H., III, p.148) "Kraiwan" and A’zamī (T.Az., p.69) "Krūr". Of all these places only Krūhin can be identified but that is in the district of Bārāmūla. However, it seems certain that Shamsu’d-Dīn had settled down at some village in the district of Anantnāg.
6 T.Ks., f.42b; Kutahār is to the east of Anantnāg.
Shamsu’ d-Dīn is believed to have starved himself to a skeleton.\(^1\) It is said that he was so feeble that he could not sit down or rise up and therefore used to lie all the time in a wooden box.\(^2\) Mishkātī relates an amusing anecdote which perhaps explains the assertions of Shamsu’ d-Dīn. Once when asked why he spent all his time in the box, Shamsu’ d-Dīn replied: "I do it so that I may avoid any contact with the world, from the moment of leaving my mother’s womb until I am placed in my grave. Thus I shall pass uncontaminated from this world to the next".\(^3\)

Although no mention is made of Shamsu’ d-Dīn’s disciples, a miracle, differently told by the sources, suggests that he had the reputation of preserving his disciples from all calamities. It is said that once one of his disciples went to Tibet with the royal army. Somehow his wife came to know that he was dead. She came to Shamsu’ d-Dīn who told her that she need not worry, as her husband was safe. But this simple explanation did not satisfy her. Shamsu’ d-Dīn unwillingly told her that he was himself protecting her husband and asked her not to reveal this to anyone. When she returned home, she disclosed it. This made Shamsu’ d-Dīn

\(^{1}\) T.Ks., f.42b; R.N., 305b; A.Ab., f.85b; K.S., f.52a; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.148.
\(^{2}\) Ibid. The sources have the word tablūt ("coffin or bier").
\(^{3}\) A.Ab., f.85b.
angry and he moved to the village of Tarigām in the **pargana** Divasar¹ (in the modern district of Anantnāg). It was there that he breathed his last.²

Another disciple of Bāmu’ī-Dīn was Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn Ḥaidar.³ He was a native of the village of Akhāl, in the **pargana** of Lār.⁴ He is said to have been very rich.⁵ Later when he came into contact with Bāmu’ī-Dīn, he renounced the world and became his disciple.⁶ After serving his preceptor for some years, Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn went to the village of Yār (in the **pargana** of Lār), where he lived alone in a cell.⁷ After some time he moved to his native village, Akhāl, where he stayed in the house of a disciple.⁸

¹ T.Ks., f.42b; R.N., ff.305b-306a; K.S., f.52a; T.Az., p.69; F.K., ff.93b-94a; T.H., III, p.148. Mishkātī says once one of the disciples of Shamsu’ī-Dīn was travelling in Tibet, where he fell into the hands of robbers. Thereupon he thought of Shamsu’ī-Dīn and prayed. Shamsu’ī-Dīn miraculously appeared and saved him; A.Ab., f.85b.
² T.Ks., f.42b; R.N., f.306b; K.S., f.52a; T.Az., p.70; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.149. Mishkātī also says that he died at Tarigām (A.Ab., f.85b), but does not give any reason for Shamsu’ī-Dīn’s migration to that village.
³ T.Ks., f.43a; R.N., f.306b; A.Ab., f.84b; T.Az., p.71; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.149; T.K., p.112.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ A.Ab., f.84b; T.H., III, p.149; T.K., p.112.
⁶ T.Ks., f.43a; R.N., f.306b; A.Ab., f.84b; T.Az., p.71; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.149; T.K., p.112.
⁷ R.N., f.306b; F.K., f.94a; T.K., p.112. Saiyid ʿAlī and Mishkātī believe that he moved to Akhāl (T.Ks., f.43a; A.Ab., 84b), and Ḥasan says that he moved to the village of Surach (T.H., III, p.149). But this place cannot be identified and Ḥasan, himself, does not mention it in the volume in which he describes the geography of Kashmir (T.H., I).
⁸ R.N., f.307a; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.149; T.K., p.112.
We are told that Ḥanīfuʿd-Dīn was very handsome, and a woman of the family with whom he was staying desired him. One day, when the family had to attend a feast, she made a pretext to stay at home and when they were alone she threw herself at Ḥanīfuʿd-Dīn. He tried to impress upon her the wickedness of her desire, in vain. Desperate, he thrust his penis into the glowing coals of a brazier, and became unconscious. ¹ When he recovered, he left for Yār, ² where he died on 7 Jumādūʿl-Awwal, 890/22 May, 1485.³

Rajabuʿd-Dīn Mīr was another prominent disciple of Bāmuʿd-Dīn.⁴ It is said that he and his two brothers, Shaukat Mīr and Fakhruʿd-Dīn Mīr,⁵ were intimate companions of the ruler of the time ⁶ and thus used to live a

¹ T.Ks., f.43a; R.N., f.307a-b; A.Ab., ff.84b-85a; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.149; T.K., p.112.
² R.N., f.307b; T.H., III, p.150; T.K., p.112.
Mishkātī and Wahhāb say that he moved to Akhāl (A.Ab., f.84b; F.K., f.94a). But earlier Mishkātī held that Ḥanīfuʿd-Dīn had shifted to Akhāl, as soon as he left his preceptor (see supra p.236,n.7). And Wahhāb's statement is also contradictory. Earlier he states that Ḥanīfuʿd-Dīn moved from Yār to Akhāl (see supra, p.236,n.8), where this incident took place. Naṣīb, Ḥasan and Miskīn, therefore, seem to be correct in stating that Ḥanīfuʿd-Dīn moved to Yār from Akhāl.
³ T.H., III, p.150; T.K., p.112.
⁴ T.Ks., f.40b; R.N., f.297b; A.Ab., f.82b; K.S., f.52b; T.Az., p.70; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.143; T.K., p.110.
⁵ A.Ab., f.82b; T.Az., p.70; T.H., III, pp.143, 144, T.K., pp.110, 111. Naṣīb and Wahhāb mention only Rajabuʿd-Dīn and Shaukat; R.N., f.297b; F.K., f.94a.
⁶ R.N., f.298a; F.K., f.94a.
Aʿẓamī says that they had migrated to Kashmir from Persia and does not clearly mention their occupation (T.Az., p.70). However, Ḥasan asserts that they were military officers; T.H., III, p.143.
life of ease and merriment. One day, the legend goes, they met Bāmu’ī-Dīn on the road, and told him to carry their jug of wine home for them and serve it. But every cup he poured turned to milk. They asked who he was, and on hearing that Bāmu’ī-Dīn, a holy man, was among them, renounced their old ways and became his disciples.

No further details are available about the two brothers of Rajbu’ī-Dīn. He, however, is said to have applied himself to great spiritual penances under the direction of Bāmu’ī-Dīn. Later he settled down at the mountain of Nāgnāran in Martand, where he lived until his death.

Some sources tell us that he kept himself busy in reciting the Qur’ān, and used to earn his livelihood by copying it. If the account is correct, it makes the life of Rajabu’ī-Dīn unusual, for no earlier Rishī is known to have concerned himself with the Qur’ān.

Rajabu’ī-Dīn is said to have had many disciples, among whom the most distinguished was Naurūz Rishī. He is believed to have been handsome

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1 R.N., f.298a; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.143.
2 Ibid.
3 R.N., f.297b; A.Ab., f.82b; T.Az., p.70; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.144; T.K., p.110.
4 Ibid.
5 R.N., f.297b; A.Ab., f.82b; T.Az., p.71; T.K., p.110.
6 T.Ks., f.41a; R.N., f.298a; A.Ab., f.82b; K.S., f.53a; F.K., f.94a; T.H., III, p.145; T.K., p.111.
and attractive and had been asked by his preceptor not to move about.¹

One day, without the knowledge of Rajabu'd-Dīn,² Naurūz went to a certain village with some other Rishīs. There a girl saw him and she fell in love with him.³ When Rajabu'd-Dīn learnt about this, he ordered him to leave. Naurūz, disappointed and disgusted, decided to go on a pilgrimage. He went to the village of Gaurīgām⁴ to seek monetary help from one of his friends, Sānī Pandīt, who asked Naurūz to stay in his house, as pilgrimage was not obligatory for a man as poor as he was. So Naurūz remained in Sānī's house for about six years, while his former associates knew nothing about him.⁵

When Rajabu'd-Dīn was dying, his disciples asked him to nominate his successor. Rajabu'd-Dīn told them he would be found at the village of Gaurīgām in the house of Sānī Pandīt. When Rajabu'd-Dīn was buried, some

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¹ T.Ks., f.41a; R.N., f.298a; A.Ab., f.82b; T.H., III, p.145; T.K., p.111.
² A.Ab., f.282b; T.H., III, p.145.
³ Saiyīd 'Alī and Naṣīb maintain that Naurūz went with the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn (T.Ks., f.41a; R.N., f.298a). But this seems wrong as Rajab would not have then later asked him to leave. Miskīn says a girl fell in love with Naurūz, but he does not record the name of the place; cf. T.K., p.111.
⁴ T.Ks., f.41a; R.N., f.298a-b; A.Ab., ff.82b-83a; T.H., III, 145.
⁵ This village cannot be identified. Although Ḥasan mentions it in the portion of his work devoted to the Saints of Kashmir, but fails to notice it in the geographical portion of his work.
⁶ T.Ks., f.41a; R.N., ff.298b, 299a; A.Ab., f.83a; T.H., III, p.145. Mulla, who does not relate this story, says that Naurūz had the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn to go on the pilgrimage, but he stayed at Sānī's house instead; K.S., f.53a-b.
of his disciples came to Gaurīgām and asked Naurūz to return to Nāgnāran to take the seat of his preceptor, which he did.¹

Meanwhile his patron Sānī Pandīt was falsely accused by the villagers of corrupt dealings in his official duties. He asked the help of Naurūz Rishī, who returned to Gaurīgām and asked the villagers to drop the charge. They agreed on condition that before sunset, a feast be served and that Naurūz take part in that. As Naurūz used to fast continuously, they might have thought he would refuse. But he agreed and the feast was prepared. When it was ready, he stayed in the mosque, remaining there even after the sun had gone down. The villagers rejoiced at his failure to fulfil the condition. But when he heard of it, he came out and said: "The sun is still up". To their surprise the sun appeared again, and Naurūz bowed down on the ground and breathed his last,² and was buried there in the village of Gaurīgām.³

¹ R.N., f.299b; A.Ab., f.83b; K.S., f.53b; T.H., III, p.145. Saiyid 'Alī maintains that Rajab was still alive when Naurūz returned; T.Ks., f.41a-b.
² R.N., ff.299b-300a; A.Ab., f.83b; R.K., f.94a-b; K.S., f.53b. Hasan says that when the sun appeared once again, the people fell at his feet and after the feast was served, Naurūz offered evening prayer and died while still in sijda (prostration); T.H., III, pp.145-6. Saiyid 'Alī, however, maintains that he went to Gaurīgām at the invitation of Sānī Pandīt and does not relate the tale of Sānī being charged by the villagers; T.Ks., f.41b.
³ Ibid., f.41b; K.S., f.53b; F.K., f.94b. Hasan says that Naurūz was buried at Nāgnāran (T.H., III, p.146), which means that his dead body was carried to Nāgnāran.
Among the disciples of Naurūz Rishī is mentioned Hardī Rishī, who succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Nāgnāran. Contrary to the accepted practice, Hardī Rishī urged his disciples to earn their own livelihood. He directed them to take up agriculture, saying that if they had not the strength to do much, they could at least cultivate daily an area the size of his prayer-carpet.

Hardī Rishī is said to have lived for seven years after the death of his preceptor, and when he died he was buried at Nāgnāran. Among his prominent disciples was Nandi Rishī. As usual, nothing is known about his early life; he lived in solitude at Nāgnāran for many years, making it his practice not to show his face to any woman, not even his sister.

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1. T.Ks., f.41b; R.N., f.301a; A.Ab., ff.83b-84a; K.S., f.53b; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.80b; T.H., III, p.146; T.K., pp.111-2.
2. R.N., f.301a; A.Ab., f.84a; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.80b; T.H., III, p.146; T.K., p.112.
3. R.N., f.301a; A.Ab., f.84a; F.K., f.94b.
4. R.N., f.301a; A.Ab., f.84a; K.S., f.53b; T.H., III, p.146.
5. T.Ks., f.41b; K.S., f.54a; T.H., III, p.146; T.K., p.112.
6. T.Ks., f.41b; R.N., f.301a; A.Ab., f.84a; K.S., f.54a; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.80b. Hasan and Miskīn say that he was the disciple of Naurūz Rishī; T.H., III, p.146; T.K., p.111.
7. The sources say that he remained in solitude for about 54 years; R.N., f.301b; A.Ab., f.84a; R.Nm., f.81a; T.H., III, p.147.
8. T.Ks., f.41b; R.N., f.301b; A.Ab., f.84a; R.Nm., f.81a; T.H., III, p.147.
9. R.N., f.301b; R.Nm., f.81a; T.H., III, p.147.
Once when Nandi Rishi had nothing to eat, one of his disciples asked what was to be done. Nandi replied: "Wash the kettle and put in clean water". When the water began to boil, Nandi asked the disciple to wait at the door and watch. Suddenly a woman arrived, accompanied by six men loaded with articles of food. She urged the disciple to allow her to enter and speak to Nandi from outside the door of his cell. She came in and told Nandi that she had something to say to him. He answered: "Gracious mother, the holy law forbids men to hear the voice of women, but it is unkind to refuse the request of anyone in need". The woman said: "I own some land which I have vowed to give you as a gift". Nandi Rishi declined to accept it, saying: "We are Rishis, relying upon God for sustenance". The woman begged him to use it to satisfy the needs of his visitors. Nandi Rishi was still unmoved, but his disciples urged him to take it, saying: "Although we have no need of this land ourselves, not all human beings are alike. Who knows how future generations (of Rishis) will act? If you accept the land no harm could follow, for the land which this gracious lady is offering is her own absolute property, settled upon her at her marriage (mahr). The Rishis who will live here in future would be benefited by your present

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1 This would mean that after the death of Hardi his disciples had given up tilling the land or earning their livelihood themselves.

2 The purpose of Nandi's asking the disciple to boil the water is not clear. Presumably the incident of the kettle is introduced to emphasize the virtue of patience.
kindness. Supporting themselves with the produce of this land, they would be able to devote themselves to God without any worry".  

Nandī Rishi was impressed by the arguments put forward by his disciples, and accepted the gift. Before he died, Nandī Rishi appointed Bābā Ḥājī Rishi as his successor. The story of the Bābā's appointment is presented as an illustration of Nandī Rishi's reputed powers of clairvoyance.  

It is said that once Bābā Ḥājī offended his preceptor and was expelled from the order. He departed so quickly that he left a plate of food uneaten in his cell. Eventually he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and when he returned to Kashmir, he resolved to visit Nandī Rishi disguised as a yogi.  

Meanwhile Nandī Rishi was telling his disciples that the man of the hour (sāhib-i-hangām) was about to arrive and succeed him. When Bābā Ḥājī called, his disguise was seen through, Nandī Rishi told him to stop playing the fool, clean himself up and go and sit in his old cell.  

The Bābā was astonished to find in his cell the very plate of food he had left so long ago, still quite fresh. He showed it to the other Rishīs.  

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1 R.N., f.302a-b; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.81a-b; see also T.H., III, p.147; T.K., p.111.  
2 R.N., f.302b; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.81b; T.H., III, p.147; T.K., p.111.  
3 R.N., f.303a; A.Ab., f.84a; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.83a; T.H., III, p.147. See also T.Ks., f.41b; K.S., f.54a-b; T.K., p.111.  
4 R.N., ff.303b-304a; F.K., f.94b; T.H., III, pp.147-8.  
5 Ibid.  
6 The story is based upon similar anecdotes told of the Prophet's mirāj.
Nandi Rishi was displeased and told the Baba that he had committed a grave error by disclosing a Divine secret and predicted that he would be punished by many trials and finally go blind.¹

Shortly afterwards, Nandi Rishi died, and was buried at Nāgnāran.² As he had foreseen, he was succeeded by Baba Hājī, "who kept his sight for two years and lived (another) eighteen months in darkness".³

Not long after his preceptor's death, Baba Hājī was involved in serious embarrassment. Some men approached his servant and told him that a calamity had befallen them and they would like to leave their belongings in safe custody with him. The servant, not realising that the goods were stolen and the men were thieves, accepted the goods. But when the officers of the watch finally traced them, they interrogated Baba Hājī, who denied all knowledge of the affair. His servant, however, revealed that he had accepted some property for safe custody, and the officers identified it as the stolen goods they were seeking. Forthwith they arrested the Baba and were taking him away when they were attacked by a herd of cows which he had reared. They were seriously injured and the Baba returned unhurt to his abode.⁴ The officers complained to the king, who was familiar with the

¹ R.N., f.304b; F.K., f.94b; T.H., III, p.148.
² Ibid., f.304b; ibid., f.94b; ibid., III, p.148.
³ R.N., f.304b. See also F.K., f.94b; T.H., III, p.148.
⁴ R.N., f.305a; K.S., f.54b; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.83a–b; T.H., III, p.148.
reputation of the Rishīs. He merely said: "It is a wonder that the cows
did not kill you".\(^1\)

When Babā Ḥājī died, he was buried at Nāgnāran.\(^2\) It seems that his
disciples may have broken up; no successor is known, and the line of
Bāmu‘d-Dīn appears to have ended with him.

**Disciples of Zainu‘d-Dīn**

Zainu‘d-Dīn, the disciple of Nūru‘d-Dīn, had a large band of followers;
the most prominent among them were the following.

Payāmu‘d-Dīn, who hailed from the village of Chandnu, pargana Lār,\(^3\) is
said to have been one of the nobles of the ruler of Kashmir.\(^4\) Once while
hunting, he observed ants carrying grain to their stores, and he became
impressed with the necessity of laying up stores for the "life to come"
and accordingly bade farewell to the world and worldly things and became a
disciple of Zainu‘d-Dīn.\(^5\)

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1. R.N., f.305a; R.Nm., f.83b.
2. R.N., f.305a; F.K., f.94b; R.Nm., f.83a; T.H., III, p.149.
3. T.Ks., f.46b; R.N., f.308a; T.Az., p.69; T.H., III, p.152.
4. T.Ks., f.46b; A.Ab., f.88a-b; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.96b; T.H., III, p.152; T.K., pp.112-3.
5. T.Ks., f.46b; A.Ab., f.88a-b; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.96b; T.H., III, p.152; T.K., pp.112-3.
After serving his preceptor for many years, Payāmu'd-Dīn was ordered to settle down in the forest of Ranbūh, where he spent the rest of his life. He died in 889/1484. It is said that before he became a Rishī, his wife was pregnant and later gave birth to a son. When he grew older, he turned a debauchee. Once it happened that Payāmu'd-Dīn was passing through a certain village, where he heard some women telling one another how notorious his son was. On hearing them, Payāmu'd-Dīn prayed that if this was true, his son might die. His prayers were immediately answered and his son died.

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Uttar Thākur. He is said to have been the son of a chief (sardār-zāda) and a descendant of Thākur family. It is said that for a time he became a madman and used to roam from place to place naked. His parents approached Zainu'd-Dīn, who sent one of his

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1 This forest is in the pargana Bangil, the ancient "Bhangila"; cf. R.Tk., II, p.481.
2 T.Ks., f.46b; R.N., f.308b; A.Ab., f.88b; T.Az., p.69; F.K., f.96b; R.Nm., f.103b; T.H., III, p.152; T.K., p.113.
3 Th.H., III, p.152.
Miskīn gives the date of his death as 890/1485; T.K., p.113.
4 T.Ks., f.47b; R.N., ff.308b-309a; R.Nm., f.104a; T.H., III, p.152.
5 T.Az., p.72. Mullā says that he was one of the nobles of the ruler; K.S., f.43a.
6 T.Az., p.72; T.H., III, p.162; T.K., p.121. "Thākur", according to Miskīn (T.K., p.121), was the title given to the tribal chiefs. Kalhaṇa mentions at many places the title of Thākur given to various councillors; cf. R.Tk., I, pp.292, 324.
disciples to fetch him. When he was told that Zainu’d-Dīn wanted him, he asked for clothes, came to Zainu’d-Dīn’s hermitage and stayed with him for the rest of his life. He lies buried at 'Aish-Maqām.

Shamsu’d-Dīn was another disciple of Zainu’d-Dīn. Nothing is known about his early life and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that once he sought and obtained his preceptor's leave to go to Mecca. There he met a saint, whose disciple he sought to become. The saint asked for details of Shamsu’d-Dīn's earlier spiritual life, and was told that his preceptor had been an illiterate Kashmirī named Zainu’d-Dīn. The saint then told him to wait till next morning; during the night, Zainu’d-Dīn made his usual spiritual visit to Mecca and introduced himself to the saint as Shamsu’d-Dīn’s preceptor. Next day the saint miraculously caused a vision of Zainu’d-Dīn at prayer to appear before Shamsu’d-Dīn. Praising his virtues, he said "Go back to Kashmir, and serve your old master".

When Shamsu’d-Dīn returned to Kashmir, he asked audience of Zainu’d-Dīn. The latter, who knew supernaturally of Shamsu’d-Dīn's disparaging remark

1 A.Ab., f.89b; T.Az., p.72; F.K., f.96b; T.H., III, p.162; T.K., p.121. According to Mullā, Zainu’d-Dīn once happened to meet Uttar Thākur and was pleased with him. He prayed that Thākur might give up worldly pleasures. Zainu’d-Dīn's prayers were answered and Uttar Thākur gave up the world and used to roam in the forests till Zainu’d-Dīn sent some one to fetch him; K.S., f.43a-b.

2 A.Ab., f.89b; K.S., f.43b; T.Az., p.72; F.K., f.96b; T.H., III, p.162; T.K., p.121.

3 See supra, p.225.
about him made to the saint in Mecca, was displeased with him, and merely said: "May his foot be broken", which happened immediately, as Shamsu’d-Dīn slipped. However, other disciples of Zainu’d-Dīn interceded for Shamsu’d-Dīn and Zainu’d-Dīn was pleased to return him to his favour and to restore the use of his foot.¹ Shamsu’d-Dīn served him loyally until he died, and succeeded him as his khalīfa after his death.²

Another disciple of Zainu’d-Dīn was Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn. After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was ordered to settle down on the mountain of Dārā, in the pargana Manchāhōm.³ There he stayed for many years in a cave, without the knowledge of the people of the surrounding villages; and used to eat wild vegetables for his food.⁴

It is said that once a shepherd saw Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn in his cave and informed the villagers of his presence. They rushed to his cave and requested him to come out. Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn appeared in the form of a strong and huge snake. The villagers were frightened, but begged him to show himself in

¹ R.N., ff.292b-293a; K.S., f.45a; F.K., f.96a-b; T.H., III, p.151.
² Ibid., f.293b; ibid., f.45a; ibid., f.96b; ibid., pp.151-2.
³ T.Ks., f.44a; R.N., f.314b; A.Ab., f.91a; T.Az., p.73; F.K., f.97a; R.Nm., f.92a; T.H., III, p.154; T.K., p.116.
⁴ Mulla at one place says that he settled at Manigām in the pargana Lār (K.S., f.45a), and at another place at Manchāhōm; K.S., f.49a.
his true form, which he did. Later he enrolled many people as his disciples and directed them to the Rishi path. When he died, he was buried on the mountain Dāra.  

Daryāu’d-Dīn, after becoming the disciple of Zainu’d-Dīn and serving him for some time, was allowed to settle down anywhere he liked. He travelled far and wide in the Valley and later settled in a cave at the village Ranyil, in the pargana Phāk. It is said that he observed fast throughout his life and would break it only once a week.

The death of Daryāu’d-Dīn is described almost in the same terms as that of his preceptor, Zainu’d-Dīn. Before his death, Daryāu’d-Dīn

1 T.Ks., ff.44b-45a; R.N., f.315a-b; A.Ab., f.91a-b; T.Az., p.73; F.K., f.97a; R.Nm., f.92a-b; T.H., III, p.154; T.K., p.116.

Mulla tells the story differently. According to him a woman came to know about Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn’s presence there and she used often to visit him. The villagers became suspicious of her and one day they followed her and found Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn in a cave. Thinking he was a thief and had some affair with the woman, they brought him out of the cave and gave him a good beating. Later when they returned to their village, the muqaddam (chief) suddenly died. The villagers were convinced that they had done something wrong and that Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn was in fact a holy man. They came to him and asked for pardon and for the life of their chief. Ḥanīfu’d-Dīn was moved by their appeal and acceded to their request; K.S., f.45a-b.

2 T.Ks., f.45b; R.N., f.315b; A.Ab., f.91b; T.Az., p.73; F.K., f.97a; T.H., III, p.154; T.K., p.116.

3 The sources give the name of the village as "Ranal" or "Rangal", which cannot be identified. The only village of a similar name which can be located in the pargana Phāk (north of Srinagar) is Ranyil; cf. R.Tk., II, p.456.

4 T.Ks., f.45b; R.N., f.317b; A.Ab., f.87a; T.Az., p.71; F.K., f.96b; T.H., III, p.153; T.K., p.115.

5 T.Ks., f.46a; R.N., f.317b; A.Ab., f.87a-b; F.K., ff.96-97a; T.H., III, p.153; T.K., p.115.
entered his cave and asked his disciples not to disturb him for forty days. He further asked them to prepare food on the fortieth day, and told them after distributing this among the poor, they should go into the cave to see him. The disciples did accordingly and when they entered the cave, they found no trace of Daryāu’d-Dīn, except his garment and cap. Later he appeared in a dream to one of his disciples and asked him to mark a grave in his name, just above the cave.¹

Another disciple of Zainu’d-Dīn was Līdā-Mal Rishī. Nothing is known about the circumstances of his conversion to the Rishī path. It is said that after receiving guidance from his preceptor for some time at 'Aish-Maqām, he moved to the village Uttar,² where he stayed in the hollow of a chanar tree.³ But it seems that he had established a khānqāh there, as we are told that he had as many as one hundred and sixty disciples, all of whom were engaged in agriculture.⁴ Some of his recorded sayings show that Līdā-Mal was a man of great piety and high thinking. He is said to have once remarked: "One is not in solitude if one thinks of a beautiful woman;

² The pargana Uttar forms the extreme north-west of the Kashmir Valley. According to Kalhaṇa its ancient name was "Uttara"; cf. R.Tk., II, p. 485.
³ R.N., f. 318a; A.Ab., f. 89a; K.S., f. 46a; F.K., f. 98a.
⁴ Saiyid 'Alī (T.Ks., f. 47b), says he moved to Sherkoot, (the ancient "Sudarkōth", in between the pargana Khuyahām and Zaingīr); cf. R.Tk., II, pp. 467-88.
⁵ According to Mattū, Līdā-Mal had four hundred disciples; R.Nm., f. 105a.
one is not fasting if one waits (eagerly) throughout the day for dusk
(when the fast is to be broken); and one is not a darwesh if one goes
daily for easing nature (mustarāḥ).". ¹

Many springs are attributed to the miraculous power of Lidā-Mal. It
is said that when he went to Uttar, there was no water nearby. He received
a hint from on high to uproot a plant near the chanar tree, in which he is
believed to have lived. He did so accordingly and water started to flow.²
It is believed that if any sick person, especially one who has stomach
trouble, takes a bath in that spring, he is cured at once.³

The second spring attributed to the miraculous powers of Lidā-Mal is
at Dandakwan,⁴ where he moved from Uttar.⁵ There also water was not
available and Lidā-Mal is said to have struck his stick into the ground
and after some time to have asked one of his disciples to take it out.
But he warned the disciple to be cautious, and not to let the first few
drops of water fall on his feet. In spite of this warning some drops of
water fell on one of the disciple's feet and he became a leper. Later
Lidā-Mal prayed for him and he was cured.⁶

¹ A.Ab., f.98b.
² R.N., f.318b; A.Ab., f.89a; K.S., f.46a; F.K., f.98a; R.Nm., f.45a-b; T.K.,
p.119.
³ R.N., f.318b; F.K., f.98a.
⁴ Near the village of Sherkoot.
⁵ R.N., f.319a; A.Ab., f.89a; F.K., f.98a; T.H., III, p.121.
⁶ R.N., f.319b; A.Ab., f.89a; F.K., f.98a; R.Nm., f.105b; T.H., III, p.161;
T.K., p.119. The legend refers to a widespread Kashmirī superstition that
Before his death Lida-Mal is said to have made a will that nothing should be raised over his grave, as the Almighty God would provide shelter for him. When he died, his disciples in accordance with his wish, did not build a memorial over his grave. After forty days a plant appeared on his grave, and later on covered the whole graveyard. His mausoleum at Handwampura, in pargana Ḥamal, where he settled towards the end of his life, was built in 1149/1736, and is still a source of inspiration for many people.

Among the disciples of Lida-Mal the best known are Langar-Mal and his wife Bībī Ganga. It is believed that Langar-Mal was very rich and deeply involved in worldly pleasures. He is said in some sources to have been Lida-Mal's brother. Once he came to see Lida-Mal, dressed in a costly garment. Lida-Mal refused to see him, saying that one who loved worldly

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the first water drawn from a new well is very dangerous and should not be drunk or used for washing.

2 The ancient "Samāla" adjoins the pargana, Kruhin; R.Tk., II, p.484.
3 T.K., p.119. Some other sources say that towards the end of his life he settled at Bucherwārī, which cannot be identified; R.N., f.320a; A.Ab., f.89a.
4 R.N., f.318b; F.K., f.98b; R.Nm., f.105b; T.H., III, p.160; T.K., p.119.
5 R.N., f.318b; R.Nm., f.106a. Miskīn says that Langar-Mal was a Hindu and later accepted Islam at the hands of Līdā-Mal (T.K., p.119). But Naṣīb and Mattū seem to be correct as their common surname "Mal" suggests that they were brothers.
things had nothing to do with him. Langar-Mal went back, but, moved by
the remark of Lidā-Mal, gave up the world, returned to Lidā-Mal dressed
as a yogī, and became his disciple.

Lidā-Mal asked him to retire to seclusion, so that he could purify
himself of his past sins. Meanwhile Langar-Mal's wife, Bībī Gangā, came
to enquire about her husband. On hearing that he had renounced the world,
she too became Lidā-Mal's disciple. Both Langar-Mal and Bībī Gangā are
said to have lived a life of great piety and devotion. Langar-Mal is said
to have kept the fast until he died and would break it only with ginger.
Bībī Gangā had also overpowered her worldly desires and would break the
fast once a year. When they died, they were buried near the grave of their
preceptor.

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1 F.K., f.98b.
2 R.N., f.318b; F.K., f.98b; R.Nm., f.106a; T.H., III, p.161.
3 R.N., ff.318b-319a.
4 R.N., f.319a; F.K., f.98b; R.Nm., f.106b.
5 Hasan and Miskīn say that she had renounced the world along with her
husband; T.H., III, p.161; T.K., p.119.
6 R.N., f.319a; F.K., f.98b; R.Nm., ff.106b-107a.
7 F.K., f.98b; T.H., III, p.161; T.K., p.119.
8 R.Nm., f.107a; T.H., III, pp.161, 162; T.K., pp.119, 120.
One of the disciples of Zainu’d-Dīn was Shukru’d-Dīn Rishī. He came from the village of Arat, in the pargana of Manchahom. Though he is said to have been a wealthy man, he was given to religious devotion from his youth. He renounced the world and became the disciple of Zainu’d-Dīn. After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was asked by his master to settle down at Shankpāl, where he lived a life of recluse for many years.

Like Līdā-Mal, Shukru’d-Dīn is said to have caused many springs to appear, including one at Shankpāl. After some time he moved to Sherkoot, where he lived until his death. Like many other Rishīs, Shukru’d-Dīn preferred to live by himself, having no concern with worldly people. It

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1 T.Ks., f.43a; R.N., f.311b; A.Ab., f.86a; T.Az., p.71; F.K., f.97b; R.Nm., f.89a; T.H., III, p.155; T.K., p.116.
4 Ibid.
5 T.Ks., f.43a; R.N., f.311b; A.Ab., f.86a; K.S., f.47a; F.K., f.97b; R.Nm., f.89a; T.H., III, p.156; T.K., p.116.
7 According to Mullā the spring is called "Shukrnāg", probably after Shukru’d-Dīn; K.S., f.47a.
8 Cf. n.3, p.250.
is said that before his death he had prepared a grave for himself, but one day a man who had fled from the city, took refuge in it. When Shukru’d-Dīn came to know about this, he asked his disciples not to bury him in that grave, as a worldly man had put his foot in it. When he died, his disciples prepared another grave for him.\(^1\) His shrine at Sherkoot exists to this day, and it is believed by the surrounding villagers that when a misfortune is about to occur, a sound like that of a canon is heard from it.\(^2\)

Shukru’d-Dīn had directed a number of people to the Rishī path, among whom are mentioned Dariya Rishī, Regī Rishī and Bībī Sangā. Dariya Rishī belonged to the village of Wattarkhanī, in the **pargana** of Uttar.\(^3\) He is said to have been a prominent Hindu ascetic,\(^4\) originally named Dhar Sādhū.\(^5\) Near his temple, it is said, there was a spring, where one day he was seen splashing water. When asked why he was doing this, he replied that the great mosque (Ja‘mī’-masjīd) in Srīnagar, was on fire and he was trying to put it out. Some villager, who later went to the city, heard that someone was seen on the roof of the mosque trying to put out the fire.\(^6\)

\(^1\) R.N., **ff.** 312b-313a; A.Ab., **f.** 86a; T.Az., **pp.** 71-2; F.K., **f.** 97b; T.H., III, **p.** 156; T.K., **pp.** 116-7.

\(^2\) T.H., III, **p.** 156; T.K., **p.** 117.

\(^3\) T.Ks., **f.** 43b.

\(^4\) A.Ab., **f.** 86b; T.Az., **p.** 72; F.K., **f.** 97b; R.Nm., **ff.** 89b-90a.

\(^5\) T.Ks., **f.** 43b; R.N., **f.** 312a; A.Ab., **f.** 86b; T.Az., **p.** 72; F.K., **f.** 97b; R.Nm., **f.** 90a.

\(^6\) T.Ks., **f.** 43b; R.N., **f.** 312a; A.Ab., **f.** 86b; T.Az., **p.** 72; F.K., **f.** 97b; R.Nm., **f.** 90a.
Some time after this incident, Dhar Sādhū came to see Shukru’-d-Dīn, who refused to see him. Dhar Sādhū told him that they were both worshipping the same God, so why should Shukru’-d-Dīn show such enmity. On hearing this Shukru’-d-Dīn allowed him to come in and Dhar Sādhū became his disciple and was named Darīya by his preceptor. According to A’zamī, Darīya Rishī later entered a cave and was never seen again.

Little is known about Regī Rishī, except that he succeeded his preceptor as the head of the Rishīs at Sherkoot. From one anecdote related about his disciple Rūpī Rishī, it seems that Regī Rishī demanded of his followers the strict observance of the Rishī principles, such as abstinence from flesh. It is said that once he sent Rūpī to a certain village. Rūpī, who took some other Rishīs with him, had to cross the Wular lake. While they were in the boat some fish started jumping out of the water into a

1 T.Ks., f.43b; A.Ab., f.86b; T.Az., p.72; F.K., f.97b; R.Nm., f.90b.
2 Ibid. Naṣīb says that he became a Muslim because Shukru’-d-Dīn told him that there could be no friendship between them while he was worshipping idols. Dhar Sādhū yielded and became a Muslim (R.N., f.312).
But Mishkātī (A.Ab., f.86b) and A’zamī (T.Az., p.72), say that it is not certain that he became a Muslim.
3 T.H., III, p.157; T.K., p.117.
4 T.Az., p.72. See also A.Ab., f.86b.
5 R.N., f.313a; A.Ab., f.86b; T.Ks., f.44a; K.S., f.49a; T.Az., p.72; T.H., III, p.157; T.K., p.117.
fold of his garment, and he put them back into the water. The fish
repeated this many times and his companions were tempted, and they caught
one fish and ate it. When they returned Regī Rishī came to know about
this and he was displeased with Rūpī Rishī. He asked him to leave his
abode and to take off the "Rishī dress" as he was not worthy of it. He
further remarked that a Rishī is one whose exterior is compatible with
his interior. When he died he was buried near his spiritual master at
Sherkoōt.

Bībī Sangā hailed from the village of Kachalwan, in the pargana of
Ḥamal. According to Naṣīb, her father, who was a wealthy man, had seven
daughters, all of whom renounced the world. Bībī Sangā became the
disciple of Shukru’d-Dīn and later settled in the forest of Āham, in the
pargana of Khuyāhūm. It is said that when people of the surrounding
villages came to know about her being there, they came to her and asked her

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1 According to Naṣīb, Regī Rishī because of the cold weather had given Rūpī
Rishī his own garment to wear; R.N., f.313a.
2 R.N., ff.313a-314a; A.Ab., ff.86b-87a; K.S., f.49b; T.Az., p.72; T.H., III,
p.158; R.Nm., f.91a; T.K., p.117.
3 A.Ab., f.87a; T.Az., p.72.
4 R.N., f.314b; T.Ks., f.44b; K.S., f.49b; R.Nm., f.91b; T.H., III, p.158;
T.K., p.117.
7 Ibid., f.321a; A.Ab., f.177b; F.K., f.97b; R.Nm., f.119b; T.H., III, p.158;
T.K., p.118.
to settle in some inhabited place, as she was young and could not live alone. She replied that she had entrusted herself and her affairs to God and was afraid of no one. The people then built a cottage for her in the forest.¹

Bībī Sangā is said to have been extraordinarily pious and chaste. Like other Rishīs she kept fast continuously and would remain awake during the night.² The fame of her piety and devotion spread far and wide and many became her disciples.³ She is said to have had a great herd of cattle, which were looked after by her disciples.⁴ Once one of her disciples was caught by a lion. Bībī Sangā saw it and cried out to the lion,⁵ who released her disciple at once. She then said to her disciples that this had happened because one of them had done mischief. One of the disciples confessed that he had picked up some corn somewhere and put it in her store.⁶ She remarked "What greater theft could be committed by the Rishīs";⁷

¹ R.N., f.321a-b.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ This is the literal translation of the word sher. Lions have rarely if ever been attested in Kashmir in recent times, and the word is commonly used in Kashmirī to mean any large carnivorous animal such as a tiger or leopard.
⁶ F.K., f.97b; T.H., III, p.158; T.K., p.118.
⁷ Naṣīb says that one of her disciples admitted that he had used tar without her permission; R.N., ff.321b-322a.
⁸ T.K., p.158.
thereby implying that they were expected to maintain standards of morality far higher than those of common men. When she died she was buried at Ahām.¹

Bībī Sangā was succeeded by her prominent disciple, Nekī Rishī, ² who distributed all her property including the cattle among the poor, believing that worldly things might distract his attention from God.³ It is said that once a beggar came to him for alms. Nekī Rishī had nothing to offer him, but instead of saying "no" to him, he gave him his own garment and wrapped himself in an old mat.⁴

One of the miracles attributed to Nekī Rishī is that once some robbers came to his hermitage and carried him and his disciples away with them. Before they reached their destination, Nekī Rishī prayed and they all became blind. Realising that he was a holy man, they asked for his pardon. Nekī Rishī asked them to accompany him to the grave of his preceptor, where he prayed and they got their sight back, after they made a vow not to sin any more.⁵

¹ R.N., f.322a; F.K., f.97b; T.H., III, p.158; T.K., p.118.
² R.N., f.322a; A.Ab., f.177b; F.K., f.98a; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.119. Mullā (K.S., f.47b) says that he was the disciple of Shukru’Dīn.
³ R.N., f.322a-b; A.Ab., f.177b; F.K., f.96a; R.Nm., ff.119b-120a; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.158.
⁴ A.Ab., f.177b; R.Nm., f.120a. Naṣīb says that the beggar did not accept his garment because he did not consider himself worthy of it; R.N., f.322b.
⁵ R.N., f.323a. Mullā (K.S., f.48a) says that Nekī Rishī asked them to return all that they had stolen and then he would pray for their sight to be restored. Wahhāb says that it was an army from Tibet, which destroyed his hermitage and took him as a captive; F.K., f.98a.
Before his death, Nekī Rishī is believed to have prepared a grave for himself, and after performing the normal funeral rituals, he entered it and died. The charge of his disciples was taken by Naurūz Rishī, who came from the pargana Khuyahom. Before entering the discipleship of Nekī Rishī, he was a man of property and was known by the name of Naurūz Mir. It is said that he was known for his cruelty and uncompromising nature; and whenever government tax collectors failed to extract revenue from the peasants, he was entrusted with the task. Once he happened to pass by the hermitage of Nekī Rishī, who was feeding the cattle at the time. One of the animals took the share of another besides his own. Nekī Rishī rebuked him and remarked: "You too have become like Naurūz Mir that you oppress the weak and poor". Naurūz on hearing this renounced the world and became the disciple of Nekī Rishī.

It is said that Nekī Rishī in order to test Naurūz and to crush his pride, asked him to bring him something to eat bought from his lawful

1 R.N., f.323b-324a; K.S., f.48a; F.K., f.98a; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.118.
2 R.N., f.324a; A.Ab., f.178a; F.K., f.98a; R.Nm., f.120b; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.119.
3 R.N., f.359a.
4 R.N., f.359a; A.Ab., f.178a; F.K., f.98a; R.Nm., f.120b; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.118.
5 A.Ab., f.178a; R.Nm., ff.120b-121a; T.H., III, p.159; T.K., p.118.

Naṣīb says that he came intentionally to Nekī and became his disciple (R.N., f.359a). Wahhāb believes that Nekī slapped the animal who had taken the other's share and Naurūz, impressed at this, renounced the world and became Nekī's disciple; F.K., f.98a.
earnings. Naurūz went to his own village and worked there as a labourer, and later, from the money he earned, he bought bread for Nekī Rishī, who was pleased with him and directed him on the Rishī path. After his death, he was buried in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Bībī Sangā.

Disciples of Latīfu’d-Dīn

Among the disciples of Latīfu’d-Dīn the best known were Pīrbāz, Lādī Katūr, Lachham, Lādī Ganā’ī, and Nūrī Rishī. Pīrbāz, who came from the village of Rāzwan, in the pargana of Achhā, was only twelve years old when he came under the influence of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn. When Latīf was told by the Shaikh to migrate to Uttar, Pīrbāz was entrusted to him, and was under his guidance for many years. Later he settled at Jutarpāl. After some time he again came back to Uttar at the request of the people of that village, probably when Latīfu’d-Dīn went to Poskar.

1 R.N., f.360a; A.Ab., f.178a; T.H., III, p.160; R.Nm., f.121b.
2 R.N., f.360b; F.K., f.98a; T.H., III, p.160; T.K., p.119.
3 R.N., f.324a; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.163; T.K., p.121.
4 The pargana Achhā is to the south of Srīnagar.
5 R.N., f.325b; A.Ab., f.91b; T.Az., p.70; T.K., p.121.
6 R.N., f.325b; A.Ab., f.92b; T.Az., p.70; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.164; T.K., p.121.

It is not possible to identify Jutarpāl, but according to Wahhāb and Ḥasan, it is in the vicinity of Uttar; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.164.
It is said that two of his disciples did not accompany him to Uttar as they told him that the Rishī path demanded complete retirement from the world and they would have nothing to do with worldly people. Next morning when they got up they found that they had lost their beards. Believing this to be due to the curse of their preceptor, they hurried to him and asked for his pardon, which was granted. 1

Pīrbāz gave himself up to severe penances and, as already pointed out, did not eat any kind of green vegetable for the reasons he offered to Latīfu’d-Dīn. 2 When he died he was buried at Uttar. 3

Nothing is known about the early life of Lādī Kātur and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that he controlled his selfish desires to the extreme limit, and in order to crush them, he used to take ashes with water for his food, and no one except his preceptor was aware of this. One day when Latīfu’d-Dīn was praising him for his austere penances, a certain Rishī, feeling jealous, accused Lādī Kātur of secretly drinking milk, for the water when mixed with ashes would be rather the colour of milk. Latīfu’d-Dīn told that Rishī that when Lādī broke his fast he should take the cup from him and taste it. The Rishī did so and was ashamed when he found that it contained water mixed with ashes. 4

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1 R.N., f.325b; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.165; T.K., p.121.
2 See supra p.227.
3 R.N., f.325b; F.K., f.99a; T.H., III, p.165; T.K., p.121.
4 R.N., f.326b; F.K., f.99b; T.H., III, p.166; cf. supra, pp.229-30. Mishkātī and Miskīn do not mention the story, but say that he habitually drank water mixed with ashes and salt; A.Ab., f.94a; T.K., p.122.
It is said that once a rich person named Ladi Kachū, from the village of Chachihom, in the pargana of Zaingīr, came to Laṭīfu’d-Dīn and told him that he would like to adopt a Rishi as he had no child of his own. Laṭīfu’d-Dīn remarked that Rishīs were not sheep and he could not give him one. However, when Ladi Kachū insisted, Laṭīfu’d-Dīn promised him that his request would be met after some time. One day Laṭīfu’d-Dīn sent Ladi Katūr to the village of Chachihom for some other purpose and he stayed with Ladi Kachū, who thought that he was sent by Laṭīfu’d-Dīn according to his promise. Next morning, when Ladi Katūr got up, he found the door locked on the outside. He knocked at the door, but Ladi Kachū told him that he would allow him to come out only after he made the promise that he would stay there for ever. Ladi Katūr, fearing he might miss his prayers, promised to do so. Later he sent a message to his preceptor informing him what had happened. Laṭīfu’d-Dīn then asked him to stay there, as thus both would fulfil their promises. Thus Ladi Katūr spent the rest of his life in the house of Ladi Kachū and when he died he was buried at the village of Chachihom.

1 It received its present name from Zainu’l-ʿĀbidīn and is situated seven miles to the north-east of Sopur.


3 Ibid., f.332b; ibid., f.99b; ibid., p.166; ibid., p.122.
Lacham Rishi also known as Najm Rishi, became the guide of the Rishis at Poskar after the death of his preceptor. Nothing is known about his activities except that he used to keep vigil throughout the night and kept fast continuously. When he died he was buried near the tomb of Latifu'd-Din at Poskar.

Ladi Ganā'i had sought permission from Latifu'd-Din to settle down at Jutarpal but used often to come to see his preceptor at Poskar. On one such visit, while he was at Poskar, he died. Before his death he made a will that he should be buried at Jutarpal. Owing to heavy snowfall and rain, he was buried at Poskar; but next day his grave was found wide open and the corpse missing. When Latifu'd-Din was informed of this he told the Rishis that Ladi's body would be found at Jutarpal. When they went there they found the corpse and buried it.

1 T.K., p.123.
2 R.N., f.327b; F.K., f.100a; T.H., III, p.168; T.K., p.123.
3 Ibid.
4 R.N., f.328a; F.K., f.100a; T.H., III, p.169; T.K., p.123.
5 R.N., f.325b; A.Ab., f.93a; K.S., f.40b; F.K., f.99b; T.H., III, p.165; R.Nm., f.110b.
6 Ibid.
7 R.N., f.326a-b; A.Ab., f.93b; K.S., f.40b; F.K., f.99b; R.Nm., f.111a; T.H., III, pp.165-6.
The most distinguished disciple of Latīfu’d-Dīn was Nūrī Rishi. He came from the village of Lulīpora, in the pargana of Biru, and is believed to have been a man of great intelligence and piety. After serving his master for some years he was asked to settle down at his native place.

Nūrī Rishi was one of the few Rishīs who eked out their living by cultivating the land. He also planted the fruit bearing trees; and was a source of benefit to the poor. It is said that he used to perform Friday prayers at the village Sikandarpura (Singhpura) and after the prayers would distribute food, prepared by himself, to the poor.

Many miracles are attributed to Nūrī Rishi. Once while he was away his disciple Jandī Rishi died. His other disciples, thinking that Nūrī might not come for some days, decided to bury Jandī's body. But to their surprise

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1 Hasan and Miskīn call him Naurūz Rishi, but while describing the life of Bahram Rishi, one of his disciples, they call him Nūrī Rishi; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.122.
2 K.S., f.41a; F.K., f.99b; T.H., III, p.167.
3 R.N., f.329a; A.Ab., f.95a; K.S., f.41a; F.K., f.99b; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.122.
4 K.S., f.41a; T.H., III, p.167. See also A.Ab., f.95a.
6 R.N., f.330a; A.Ab., f.95a; K.S., f.41a; F.K., f.100a; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.123.
7 Cf. R.N., f.329a, b; A.Ab., f.95a; K.S., f.41a; F.K., ff.99b, 100a; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.122.
8 Wahhāb calls him Ḥaidar; F.K., f.99b.
they found every pot in the house full of snakes and could not give it a funeral bath. Meanwhile Nurī Rishi arrived and they told him of this. He replied that this had happened because he had come to know spiritually of Jandī's death and wanted personally to give him the funeral bath.¹

When Nurī Rishi died he was buried at Lulīpura.² Mishkātī says that once he and Baba Našīb, the author of Rishi-Nāma, were at Lulīpura and the servant made the bed in such a way that their feet pointed towards the tomb of Nurī Rishi. Baba Našīb called the servant and asked him to change the direction of the bed. Some one there remarked that it did not matter because he was a learned man and the Rishīs were not, the implication being that the Baba was far superior to the Rishīs, however pious they might be. The Baba replied that the 'ulamā-i-ẓāhir were no comparison to this group of Rishīs.³

Nothing is known about the disciples of Nurī Rishi except Bahram Rishi who is mentioned in an anecdote about Nurī Rishi. It is said that Bahram Rishi was given the task of looking after the garden of Nurī Rishi. One Friday, when Nurī was going to offer prayers, he asked Bahram to be on the lookout lest birds spoiled the fruits in his garden. Bahram thought deeply and came to the conclusion that by the garden his preceptor meant his fleshy body, and to be alert was to cleanse the self from impurities, and the birds

¹ K.S., f.41a; F.K., f.99b; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.123.
² A.Ab., f.95a; K.S., f.41a; F.K., f.100a; T.H., III, p.167; T.K., p.122.
³ A.Ab., f.95a.
signified "women"; so rather than to live under the apprehension of lustful desires he mutilated himself. 1 While he was doing this, Nūrī Rishi cried out in the mosque. The people there thought that perhaps the imām had made some mistake. Nūrī hurried back to his hermitage and found Bahrām unconscious; he recovered when Nūrī Rishi carried him on his shoulders. 2

Disciples of Naṣru’d-Dīn

Malik Jogī Raina, whom Naṣru’d-Dīn appointed his khalīfa at the instance of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn, 3 earned his livelihood by cultivating the land 4 and urged his disciples to live like cultivators. 5 When he died he was buried near the mausoleum of his preceptor. 6

Another disciple of Naṣru’d-Dīn, Lolī Rishi, came from the village of Chaku, in the pargana of Adavin. 7 It is said that he was squint-eyed and had crooked feet, and when he married his wife, on seeing him, laughed at

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1 Cf. supra, p. 237.
2 R.N., ff. 330b-331a; A.Ab., f. 95a-b; F.K., f. 100a; T.H., III, p. 168; T.K., p. 123.
3 See supra, p. 232.
4 T.H., III, p. 170; T.K., p. 114. Mishkātī and Wahhab say that he followed some other profession; A.Ab., f. 81b; F.K., f. 101a.
7 T.Ks., f. 42a; R.N., f. 309b; A.Ab., f. 96a; T.Az., p. 72; F.K., f. 101b; T.K., p. 123.
his physical disabilities. Loll was disappointed at the attitude of his wife, so he divorced her, and went on pilgrimage. It was there that one day he received a message from on high that he should return to Kashmir and there seek guidance from Naṣru’d-Dīn. He immediately returned and enrolled himself as one of the disciples of Naṣru’d-Dīn, with whom he remained until the latter died.

Among the disciples of Loll Rishi are mentioned Rūbī and Zainū, the two brothers, who originally belonged to the village of Lajura, in the pargana of Chirāt. Both of them are said to have been pious and chaste from their early youth. Rūbī is said to have been killed by an army of

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1 T.Ks., f.42a; T.Az., p.72; T.H., III, pp.171-2.
Some sources (R.N., f.310a; F.K., f.101b; R.Nm., f.115b), say that when the nikāḥ ceremony was being held, the girl on seeing Loll, laughed and refused to marry him. But in Kashmir even today marriages are arranged and it is very rarely that bride and bridegroom are both present, face to face, at the nikāḥ ceremony.

2 T.Ks., f.42a; R.N., f.310a; T.Az., p.72; F.K., f.101b; R.Nm., f.116a; T.H., III, p.172.
Mishkāti does not mention anything about his marriage, but says that he went on the pilgrimage; A.Ab., f.96a.

3 T.Ks., f.42a-b; R.N., f.310a; A.Ab., f.96a; T.Az., p.72; F.K., f.101b; R.Nm., f.116a; T.H., III, p.172.

4 Hasan gives their names as Ripur and Rīpī (T.H., III, p.172), and Miskīn, Ranbur and Ribī and says that the latter was also called Ruknu’d-Dīn; T.K., p.124.

5 R.N., f.301a, b; A.Ab., f.96a-b; K.S., f.73b; F.K., 101b.

6 Ibid., T.H., III, p.172.

7 Wahhāb andMattū say Zainū was killed; F.K., f.102a; R.Nm., ff.116b-117a.
Kashghar, which invaded Kashmir. Zainū succeeded Lolī, after his death.

Many miracles are attributed to Zainū Rishi. Once he sent one of his disciples to Thana to fetch salt. While his disciple was returning, he slipped at Pīr–Panjāl and in anger abused his guide. Zainū Rishi miraculously appeared there, his face covered, and helped the disciple. When the latter reached Kashmir, Zainū asked him why had he abused him? The disciple was surprised that he knew about it, but Zainū told him that it was he who gave him a helping hand. The disciple asked his pardon, which was granted. When Zainū Rishi died, he was buried beside Lolī Rishi at Chrar.

Zainū Rishi is said to have had many disciples including Gangī Rishi and Mirī Rishi, but we are told nothing about their activities.

1 Perhaps the sources refer to Mirzā Ḥaidar's invasion, who came with the army of Kashghar in 1532.
2 A.Ab., f.96b; R.N., f.310b. It is said that the horse of Lolī once fled and Rūbī went to search, but was caught by the Kashghar army. Rūbī raised his hands to pray to the Almighty for his release, but the army thought he prayed for their destruction and in anger put him to death.
3 R.N., f.311a; A.Ab., f.96b; K.S., f.37b.
4 Cf. ibid., f.311a; ibid., f.96b; ibid., f.38a.
5 In the vicinity of the Punch Valley.
6 R.N., f.311a; A.Ab., f.96b; K.S., f.38a.
7 Ibid.
8 R.N., f.311a; A.Ab., f.96b.
9 A.Ab., f.96b.
The above account of the disciples of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and their followers, shows that the four main centres of their activities were at Bamuzu, 'Aish-Maqām, Poskhar and Chrār. From these centres the Rishi teachings spread to other parts of the Valley. The order continued to flourish in the reigns of Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahāngīr (1605-1627). Both Abū'l-Fazl¹ and Jahāngīr² noticed as many as two thousand Rishis in Kashmir. Although the custodians of the tombs of these Rishi saints still call themselves Rishis, they do not lead the ascetic and celibate life of their famous predecessors.

Rishi Practices and Philosophy

The Rishis' practices and philosophy of life differed in many ways from those of the other Muslim saints of Kashmir. In fact the peculiarity of their way of life and thinking attracted the attention of many chroniclers and hagiologists to define their identity. Thus Abū'l-Fazl writes: "The most respected class of people in this country (Kashmir) are the Rishis.³ Although they have not abandoned the traditional and customary forms of worship (taqlīd), but they are true in their worship. They do not denounce men belonging to different faiths. They do not have the tongue of

¹ A.A., II, p.170.
² Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.302.
³ The published text has "Brahmans", which does not fit the context and is probably an emendation by a copyist who did not know the word rishi, which occurs in the manuscript copy used by Rogers. Cf. Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī., Eng. tr. Rogers, II, p.149, n.4.
desire, and do not seek to obtain worldly objects. They plant fruit-bearing
trees in order that people may obtain benefit from these. They abstain
from meat and do not marry".¹

Jahāngīr corroborates Abū'1-Fażl. He says: "Although they have not
acquired learning and ma'rifah, they live a frank and unostentatious life.
They criticize nobody and ask for nothing from anyone. They neither eat
meat nor marry. They always plant fruit-bearing trees in uninhabited parts,
so that people may be benefited by them. But they themselves do not hope
to reap any advantages from these trees".²

The Kashmirī hagiologists also extol the asceticism and unworldly life
which the Rishīs led. Bābā Dāwud Khāki writes that a Rishī is one who is
an ascetic, is disciplined, and leads a life different from other saints.
He is free from all worldly pleasures.³ Bābā Naṣīh, describing the Rishīs'
way of life in a long poem, says that they are gracious to the pious and
are men of pure heart. Their presence has turned Kashmir into a heaven.
Cutting themselves away from all worldly relationships, they neither marry
nor bother themselves with a family life. Piety is their khirqa; their
nights are devoted to worship and during the day they fast incessantly.

¹ A.A., II, p.170.
² Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p.302.
³ Risḥī-Nama, ff.8b-9a, 66b.
Having abandoned all worldly desires they have succeeded in controlling their carnal lusts.¹

Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī, endorsing the earlier hagiologists, compares the way of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn’s life with the celebrated mystic of Islam, Ḥasan al-BAṣrī.² ‘Abdu’l-Wahhab identifies a Rishi as one who is pious, an ascetic and a recluse. Having abandoned worldly desires, he is devoted to piety and asceticism. He strives to purify his carnal self, to cleanse his heart and to illuminate his soul.³

According to Bahā’u’d-Dīn Mattū, the Rishīs of Kashmir were famous for their devotion to Divine unity, and for killing their carnal desires. Although they retire to caves, they illuminate them with the light of their spiritual attainment. Having abandoned the society of mankind, they do not even bother about food or sleep. They eat bitter greens (upalhāk) and when others sleep they busy themselves with meditation upon God.⁴

The testimony of both Kashmirī and non-Kashmirī sources leave us with no doubt that the piety and asceticism of the Rishīs has left a deep imprint upon the minds of the Kashmirīs and others who came into contact with them.⁵

¹ R.N., f.127a-b.
² A.Ab., ff.54b-55a.
³ F.K., 82b.
⁴ R.Nm., f.10a-b.
⁵ Cf. A.N., III, p.549.
The anecdotes relating to the Rishīs tend to indicate that, during the period under review, their way of life passed through two marked stages, although these stages are not mutually exclusive. In the first stage they confined themselves to the life of asceticism and meditation in lonely places. In the second stage some of them, such as Nandī Rishī, accepted gifts in the form of land for the sake of obtaining a comfortable living for their future followers. This group seems to have devoted themselves to planting trees and otherwise serving the people disinterestedly and dispassionately.

Unlike the other Muslim saints of Kashmīr, they did not concern themselves with preaching and teaching the faith of Islam. Nor were they eager to bring the nobles or rulers under their influence. They generally did not bother themselves with acquiring theological knowledge and were not interested in discussions and debates. Nūru’d-Dīn was not ashamed to admit that he had not acquired formal knowledge of religion and wished to do penance for this sin of omission.

1 See supra, p.242.
2 Cf. supra, p.218,Nūru’d-Dīn’s statement.
3 Cf. supra, p.219.
4 Cf. Khākī, Rishī-Nāma, ff.9a, 76b. See also supra, pp.233-4, 247, 266.
5 It is said that once one Maulānā Mānak came to Nūru’d-Dīn and began to reproach him for being illiterate. Nūru’d-Dīn pleaded guilty, declaring that he had really wasted his life in ignorance, and that he had become a recluse so that he might do penance for his sins. R.N., ff.172b-73a.
It is most likely that their meditation was based mainly on the pas-i-anfās ("watching of breath"), which the Ṣūfīs had adopted from the times of Bāyāzīd. In the Indian environment the prānāyāma or control of the breath, as practised by the Nātha yogīs, had greatly developed. It did not demand any religious or theological knowledge, but was mainly based on the techniques of meditation which were current among the Śaivīte yogīs of Kashmir. All they seem to have added to the Nātha yogīc framework was the name of Allāh or huwa.

The thought that essentially underlies the Rishīs' philosophy is the control of carnal desires. They considered carnal desires as their enemy and maintained that they should be controlled and crushed at all costs. In pursuit of this goal every kind of physical hardship was imposed and accepted. The following anecdote well represents the high value the Rishīs placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts. It is said that Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, once hearing a man boasting that he had killed his enemy, approached him and said: "May the blessings of God be upon you for killing your enemy and destroying him. I have long been trying to destroy my enemy but in vain. Whom did you kill?" "0, one of my relatives," replied the man.

2 Ibid.
3 Cf. supra, pp.218-9, 222, 262.
Nūru’d-Dīn took a deep sigh and remarked: "I thought you had killed your true enemy, your nafs (carnal self)". ¹

The Rishi attitude towards marriage and family life was similarly conditioned by the desire to achieve a very high standard of asceticism. If a man, before becoming a Rishi, was married, he abandoned his wife, children and other relations. The Rishis thought that women are a great hindrance to their pursuit of perfection. ² It is said that Saiyid Ḥājī Murād, ³ a Kubravī saint, was very friendly with a Rishi, but when he told his Rishi friend about his intention to marry, the latter disapprovingly remarked that the married life was not at all compatible with the life of a saint. And when Saiyid Murād married the Rishi ceased to visit him. ⁴

The Rishi dress and diet equally reflected their philosophy of controlling the carnal desires. Their dress was simple, often consisting of no more than mats of split reed. Some of them even used to wear the yogī dress. ⁵ Their diet was strictly vegetarian. Rūpī Rishi was asked by his preceptor, Regī Rishi, to leave his abode, because Rūpī had allowed another Rishi to eat fish. ⁶ Generally they used to eat wild vegetables,

¹ R.N., f.151a.
² Cf. supra, pp.237, 266-7.
³ See for his biography, supra, pp.143-4.
⁴ A.Ab., f.100b; T.H., III, p.41.
⁵ See supra, pp.243, 253.
⁶ See supra, pp.256-7.
especially upalhāk, which grows in abundance in Kashmir and is bitter in taste.

They believed that even fresh grass was endowed with life and some of them, as we have seen, abstained even from eating fresh vegetables.\(^1\) Nūru'd-Dīn is also said to have given up walking on green grass.\(^2\) The Rishi doctrine of not harming others seems to have been very well known in Kashmir. It is said that Payāmu'd-Dīn Rishī, before entering the Rishī path, was once journeying on horseback. On the road he abruptly came to a halt. When questioned by his servant as to the reason, he replied: "The ants are moving on the path, and they might be destroyed". The servant remarked: "It seems you will become a Rishī".\(^3\)

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Rishīs' ascetic habits, their renunciation of the world and abstinence from flesh to such a degree, rather resembled the ways of Hindu ascetics and Buddhist monks than of the Şūfīs. Some of the Şūfīs did not marry at all and avoided eating meat. But those who immigrated to Kashmir from Persia and Central Asia lived a normal life. They entered the government service and organised khāngāh life on the Iranian pattern. This made the Rishīs' way of life seem preposterous in their eyes. Some of them were horrified at Rishī practices and accused them of violating the laws of shari'ā and sunna.\(^4\)

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1. See supra, pp.227, 262
2. R.N., ff.151b-152a; A.Ab., f.46a.
3. R.N., f.308a; R.Nm., f.103a-b.
It is said that when Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī visited Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn, he asked him the reason for his not eating meat when the sharī'a permitted it. Nūru’d-Dīn countered this question with a simple answer: "In our religion cruelty is prohibited, therefore killing is not allowed". ¹

Similarly Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī, himself a distinguished Kubravī saint of the seventeenth century, observed that many Rishi practices such as taking ashes for food were incompatible with the laws of religion. ² But for several centuries the Rishīs did not give up their ascetic habits and were criticised from time to time by the orthodox. ³

¹ A.Ab., f.236a-b.
² Ibid., f.72a.
³ Cf. supra, p.273.
Causes of Differences between the Rishis and other Kashmiri Suﬁs

The reasons for the differences in approach to religious and social questions between the Rishis and other Kashmiri Suﬁs are rooted in the past history of Sufism. Sufism, from the times of Abu Sa’id bin Abu’l-Khair down to the rise of Shaikh ‘Ala’u’d-Daula Simnani to prominence, exhibits two different attitudes towards life: the Suﬁ as an ascetic and the Suﬁ as a missionary. In India, too, the Chistis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries preferred to lead a life of asceticism and encouraged their disciples to lead a pious and moral life. The Suhrawardis on the other hand, although they did not ignore piety and ethical values, took part in politics and tried to make reforms in Muslim society through official channels.

As has already been pointed out, the Suﬁs of Iran who inﬂuenced orthodoxy in Kashmir belonged to the school of ‘Ala’u’d-Daula Simnani, and thus found themselves duty-bound to missionary activity. As foreigners, they had neither local sympathies nor knowledge of the society and way of life of Kashmiris. The Rishis, on the other hand, were children of the soil, and though converted to Islam were sympathetic to the mystic traditions of the country. With no knowledge of Arabic and Persian, or with little acquaintance with them, they drew their inspiration from the local environment.

1 Cf. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p.17 ff.
2 Cf. infra, p.278, n.2.
The political activities of the immigrant Şūfīs and their Kashmirī followers appeared to the Rishīs essentially contradictory to Sufism as they understood it. Their concept of Sufism was fundamentally identical with the traditions which had long been known and accepted in Kashmir through the practices of Hindu and Buddhist mystics.

The two different attitudes thus made their paths different. With such a difference in basic assumptions, it was inevitable that conflict between two opposing attitudes should become a latent ingredient of the Kashmirī social pattern.

Even in the second stage of their development, when the Rishīs began to accept gifts of land and other earthly favours, they generally concentrated their efforts upon serving the cause of mankind in general and not Muslims alone. Thus the difference in the attitude of Rishīs and other Şūfīs towards all the religious and social problems made them different from each other.
CHAPTER VIII

The Impact of Sufism.

From the reign of Sultan Qutbu’d-Din an increasing number of Muslim scholars and saints were attracted to Kashmir because of the patronage offered by the succeeding Sultans. The Naqshbandi and Qadiri saints were few in number, and it was left to the Suhrawardi and Kubrawi saints to make the influence of their teachings and practices felt upon the political, religious and social developments in the country.

The tradition of mixing with the rulers and taking part in political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardi and Kubrawi saints. They believed that by associating themselves with royal courts, they could change the outlook of rulers.

1 "Many Yavanas", Jonaraja writes, "left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king [Sultan Sikandar] who was renowned for charity, even as bees leave the flowers and settle on elephants." R.Tj., p.57.

2 The Suhrawardi attitude towards the princes may be judged by the fact that Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Suhrawardi had dedicated two of his works to the Caliph Al-Nasir (575-622/1180-1255). Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, p.506. Shaikh Bahau’d-Din Zakariya (d. 1262), one of the disciples of Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Suhrawardi, who lived in Multan, supported Iltutmish (1210-36) in extending his political prestige and authority in the country - Siyaru’l-’Arifin, pp.112-13.

3 Cf. supra, pp.36, 38. See also Tazkiratu’l-Shu’ra, p.281.
These traditions determined the attitude of the Suhrawardī and Kubra\'i saints of Kashmir. Besides occupying religious positions such as that of qa\'ī and Shaikh u\'l-Islam, some of them held high posts in the administration, including that of wazīr, and they also served as ambassadors.\(^1\) They visited the nobles and the royal court; established matrimonial alliances with leading nobles and the ruling house. They dabbled in politics and on many occasions were exiled from the country.\(^2\)

As already pointed out, the population of the country was predominantly Hindu; therefore concord between Muslims and non-Muslims was an urgent political necessity. Sulṭān Qu\'budd-Dīn, realising this, declined to allow religious considerations to affect his conduct of state. He refused to associate himself with the activities of Saiyid 'Alī, much to the Saiyid's resentment.\(^3\)

But the influence of the Sūfīs on the politics of Kashmir became very pronounced during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar, who had a profound love and veneration for saints and divines.\(^4\) It was during his reign,

\(^1\) See supra, pp.141, 145-6.
\(^2\) See supra, pp.146, 149
\(^3\) Cf. supra, p.49.
\(^4\) Jonarāja writes: "It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king [Sikandar] had a fondness for the Yavanas..." R.Tj., p.57.
under the influence of Mîr Muḥammad, that the interests of the state were confused with the demands of orthodox Islam. Mir Muḥammad's influence on the state policy may be measured by the fact that he had any persons whom he thought dangerous to his orthodox policy arrested.

After Sikandar, 'Alî Shâh (1413-20) came to the throne. He was also of a religious bent of mind and even decided to give up the throne in order to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. During his reign non-Muslims were again subjected to harassment because of Sûha Bhaṭṭa, who had accepted Islam through Mîr Muḥammad.

Although Zainu’l-‘Abîdîn (1420-70) showed great regard for both the Sûfîs and the ‘ulamā, he prevented their interference in the administration of the country. He was conscious that the government needed a broader base of support, so he set about winning the confidence and co-operation of every possible element of the population. Jonarâja

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1 See supra, pp.131 ff.
2 "The Brahmans, the supporters of the world," writes Jonarâja, "had taken refuge of Ratnākara in order to preserve their party, and this little Brahmana, became the favourite of Sûhabhaṭṭa. But Malânoddîna [Muḥammad Hamadânî], the great guru of Yavanas, feared that Ratnākara would rise in rebellion and caused him to be arrested." R.Tû., pp.67-68.
3 Ibid., p.71; T.Ks., f.15a.
4 Cf. ibid., pp.68-69.
5 Cf. R.Ts., p.222.
writes: "As the lion does not attack other animals in the peaceful hermitage of saints, so the Turuṣkas, who were much alarmed, did not oppress the Brahmanas as they had done before." But this religious tolerance of Zainu’l-‘Abidīn did not appeal to the orthodox, who held that it was implemented only for the frivolous purpose of humouring all the nations of the world.

Soon after the death of Zainu’l-‘Abidīn, orthodoxy once again achieved supremacy in the country during the reign of Sultan Haidar Shāh (1470-72). Non-Muslims, writes Shrivara, "at the instigation of the mlechchas [Muslims]" were persecuted. These "mlechchas" could not be common Muslims, who would have no access or influence at the court, but must have been the ‘Ulama and the Ṣufīs who were already there.

After the death of Hasan Shāh (1472-84), the Baihaqī Saiyids dominated politics of the country for many years. As already pointed out, in 1579 they even seized the throne of Kashmir.

The Ṣufīs had much influence on the administration not only because they associated themselves with the court, but also because on many

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1 R.Tj., p.77.
2 Cf. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.434. Some Kashmirī sources assert that the progress of Islam in Kashmir was hindered by the policy of Zainu’l-‘Abidīn. Cf. T.Ks., f.15a-b; B.S., f.49a-b.
3 R.Ts., p.196.
4 See supra, p.148.
occasions defeated princes ¹ and nobles out of favour approached them and asked for their blessing. ² If ever these pretenders acquired power, they thought themselves bound to follow the saints' whims.

The conversion of the Hindu population of Kashmir to Islam is ascribed by the modern Muslim scholars ³ to the missionary activities of the Sufis, while non-Muslim scholars ⁴ generally attribute it to the persecution of rulers such as Sultan Sikandar. The contemporary works, however, do not make any specific reference to the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam during the period under review. Stray references of conversion recorded in political and hagiological works do little to illustrate the process.

The influence of the Sufis on the religion of the people of Kashmir cannot be rejected outright. They arrived in Kashmir with the purpose of preaching and teaching Islam. ⁵ The Islamization of Kashmir had started before the arrival of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani ⁶ and his followers.

¹ See supra, p.24, n.2.
² Cf. B.S., ff.80b-81a.
⁴ Cf. Wolsely Haig, The Cambridge History of India, III, p.280; Ferguson, Kashmir, p.32.
⁵ Cf. supra, p.43, Saiyid 'Ali's statements.
⁶ Cf. supra, p.21.
The advent of the Saiyid accelerated the process. The establishment of the khanqahs helped the dissemination of Islamic spiritual and intellectual values. Their establishment at important Hindu centres such as Avantipura, Vijabror, Mattan, Sopur and Srinagar, suggests the Sufis were prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. There the Sufis demonstrated their own way of life and the doors of some khanqahs such as those of Saiyid Husain and Fir Hajj Muhammad were open to all classes of people. The interest of some Sufis in the welfare of the people in general must have also helped them to attract non-Muslims to their khanqahs, providing them with an opportunity to convert the non-Muslims to Islam.

The advent of the Muslim saints was also indirectly responsible for inducing the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Before the arrival of the Sufis the Brahmans enjoyed royal patronage, but the presence of the Muslim saints led to the gradual decline of their authority in the political and economic fields. Their place was taken by the newly arrived Muslim saints and the Brahmans were relegated to the background.

1 See supra, p.114.
2 See supra, p.117.
3 See supra, p.114.
4 Cf. R.Tj., p.67.
Thus, Janarāja says, many Brahmins and people of other castes gave up their religion in order "to obtain the favour of the king [Sikandar]." 1

The Sufis were also responsible for establishing madrasas, where Islamic knowledge was imparted to common Muslims. Of the earlier madrasas established in Kashmir the most important were the Madrasatul-Islam, 2 the Madrasatul-Daru’sh-Shifa 3 and the Madrasatul-Urwatul-Wusqa, 4 all at Srinagar. These madrasas taught the Qur’an and Qur’anic commentaries. However, the best known madrasa, which imparted Islamic knowledge in all branches including hadīs, fiqh and tafsīr, 5 was founded by Shaikh Isma’il Kubraī. To this madrasa students flocked even from India and Kabul. 6 It had a hostel and a well established library attached to it, and a big congregational mosque where prayers, obligatory and supererogatory, were constantly offered. 7

The continuous waves of Muslim saints, immigrating from Persia and Central Asia, were bound to influence the society of Kashmir in many ways.

1 Ibid., p.60.
2 A.Ab., f.110a; T.Az., p.40; F.K., f.72a; T.H., III, p.151.
3 D.S., p.63; R.N., f.381b; A.Ab., f.122b; T.H., III, p.163.
4 See supra, p.122.
5 D.S., pp.63, 64; R.N., f.381b.
6 See supra, p.126.
7 T.Ks., f.22b; D.S., p.63.
They brought about a great transformation in the life of the Kashmiri people, both the Muslims and non-Muslims.

Hindu influence, which was dominant in the court, began to decline. Sanskrit, which had received royal patronage for many years, was replaced by Persian. The Baihaqi Saiyids, who wielded great influence in the court, in the words of Shrīvara, "neglected men learned in the vernacular and in Sanskrita." However, Sanskrit continued to be the literary language of the Hindu elite, but was nevertheless affected by an influx of many Arabic and Persian words.

The non-Muslims, who discovered that their prospects of employment and promotion were likely to improve by a knowledge of the Persian language, set themselves to the task of learning it. This imbued them with a taste for Persian poetry and Sufism. Bhaṭṭavatara, a scholar of Zainu'l-Ābidīn's time, who was enamoured of Firdūsī's Šah-Nāma, composed the Jainavilāsa containing the sayings of the Sultan. Shrīvara translated Jāmī's Yusuf-Zulaikha and entitled it Kathā-Kautuka. Moreover, interest in Persian literature must have made it easier for non-Muslims to understand and appreciate the faith of their rulers.

1 R.Ts., p.268.
2 R.Ts., p.136.
3 Published at Bombay in 1901. Vide Ṣūfī, Kashīr, I, p.167.
However, in course of time Hindu society was split into two groups - the Persian-speaking Hindus, who were called kārkun, and the Sanskrit-speaking, who were called pandīts. This resulted in the families of Sanskrit-studying and Persian-studying Hindus not intermarrying but forming endogamous groups. This situation must have embarrassed many Hindus, who had learnt Persian for economic reasons.

The Persianisation of the administration gradually ushered in an era of cultural conquest. Although Sultan Qušbu'd-Dīn refused to promote the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī, he nevertheless gave up dressing in the Hindu fashion on his advice. From Jonarāja's account it appears that by the time of Sultan Sikandar, Hindus too adopted Muslim dress. Besides dress, the diet of the Kashmirīs also underwent a change. It is said that some Hindus started eating beef in the company of Muslims. Shuka writes: "It was on account of the association of the people [Hindus] with the Turuškas that they did not give up their fondness for dress, land, and food, the last of which

1 Bühler, "Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch), 1877, p.20; Madan, Family and Kinship, pp.22-23.
2 Bühler, op.cit., p.20.
3 B.S., f.23b; T.Km., f.91b.
4 Cf. R.Tj., p.67.
brought punishment on them, in as much as they had to place themselves under medical treatment."¹

Lamenting over these changes Jonarāja remarks: "As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmir."² Similarly Shrīvara ascribes the misfortunes of the people of Kashmir to their acceptance of changes in their way of life.³ But these protests were in vain; the influence of Persian culture went on increasing day by day.

The popularity of Sufism made the Kashmirī Muslims increasingly gullible and credulous. The growing charlatanism in Sufism brought about considerable confusion among the Sūfīs themselves. Both living and dead saints came to be recognised as endowed with great miraculous powers. The graves of the saints became constant centres of pilgrimage for all classes of Kashmirī Muslims, who thronged there to obtain spiritual blessings and for the fulfilment of their wishes and vows. Many people whom living saints were not able to impress were, in times of crisis and difficulty, attracted to the tombs of the saints.⁴

² R.Tj., p.57.
³ R.Ts., p.235.
⁴ Cf. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp.286-87.
The Sufis, however, were a great force in maintaining the framework of Sunni social and religious order intact. They not only challenged the deeply entrenched traditional religion of Hinduism but also made efforts to counteract Iṣna 'Ashari Shi'ism, which was introduced into Kashmir by Mir Shamsu’-d-Dīn ‘Iraqī. He was born in the village of Kund near Solghan, and his father, Ibrāhīm, was a Musāvi Saiyid while his mother belonged to a Saiyid family of Qazvīn. He seems to have received a good education and he became the disciple of Shāh Qāsim, the son and successor of Saiyid Muḥammad Nurbakhsh. The Mir was the author of a treatise on Shi'ism, entitled Fiqh-i-Ahwat.

Mir Shamsu’-d-Dīn entered the service of Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā (1469-1506) of Herat, who deputed him as his envoy to the court of Sultan Ḥasan Shah (1472-84) of Kashmir. He arrived there in 1481 and stayed for about eight years.

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1 Tuhfatu’l-Aḥbab, Ms., p.3. Mirzā Ḥaidar says that he was born in Talish. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.435.
2 Tuhfatu’l-Aḥbab, p.3.
3 Ibid., p.3; Shuka, Rajatarangini, p.339.
4 Tuhfatu’l-Aḥbab, p.13; Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.435; T.Ks., f.25a; T.Az., p.77.
5 Tuhfatu’l-Aḥbab, p.13; T.Ks., f.21a; B.S., f.60b; T.Az., p.67. Aslam and Hasan (G.A., f.136b; T.H., II, p.149), say that he arrived in Kashmir in 892/1486. But this is wrong as by this time Sultan Hasan of Kashmir was dead.
6 T.Ks., f.21b; B.S., ff.60b-61a; T.Az., p.67.
During this visit, according to the Sunni authors, Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn did not declare himself a Shi'i but became a disciple of the Kubravi saint Shaikh Isma'il. It seems that the Mir had realized that without preparing the ground in advance it was not advisable for him to embark on the propagation of his creed. However, he was secretly active and imbued Baba 'Alī Najār, a prominent disciple of Shaikh Isma'il Kubravi, with Shi'i beliefs.

In 1486 Fatḥ Shāh seized the throne from Muḥammad Shāh and he sent Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn back with gifts to Sultan Ḥusayn Mirzā. The Mirzā, for reasons not known, dismissed 'Iraqī from his service, whereupon he went to his preceptor, Shah Qasim. But, urged by Shah Qasim to preach Shi'ism in Kashmir, Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn arrived there for the second time in 1501.

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2 T.Ks., f.23a-b; T.Az., pp.67, 75; G.A., f.139a; T.H., II, p.192; T.K., p.148. These sources assert that Baba 'Alī was not well educated and therefore was easily trapped by 'Iraqī.
3 T.Ks., f.21b; B.S., f.60b; T.Az., p.67; G.A., f.139a; T.H., II, p.192.
4 It is suggested by some authorities (T.Ks., f.23a; T.Az., p.68; G.A., f.139a; T.H., II, p.199) that Sultan Mirzā dismissed 'Iraqī because of his religious views. Had it been so, the Mirzā would not have employed him in the first instance.
5 Tuhfatu'l-Ābāb, p.8.
6 Ibid., p.17.
7 B.S., f.72a.
Shaikh Isma'il Kubravi had by now retired to seclusion and his place had been taken by Baba 'Ali Najjar. The Baba received the Mir warmly and even handed over his disciples to him. But it was the conversion of Musa Raina, one of the leading nobles of the time, to Shi'Ism that facilitated the activities of the Mir in Kashmir. Musa Raina gave him moral and material support and built a khanqah for him at Jadibal, in Srinagar.

The rise to power of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi, the vazir of Muhammad Shah (II, 1493-1505), upset the plans of the Mir. Saiyid Muhammad was strongly opposed to Mir Shamsu'd-Din, and the latter, finding his stay in Kashmir difficult, emigrated to Askardu (or Skardu) in Ladakh. There he converted a large number of Buddhists to his creed.

Meanwhile Fath Shah seized the throne for the second time in 1505 and he appointed as his vazir, Musa Raina, who invited Mir Shamsu'd-Din

1 T.Ks., f.23a-b; T.Az., p.75; G.A., f.142a.
2 Ibid.
3 T.Ks., f.24a; T.Km., f.153a; T.Az., p.77; G.A., f.142a; T.H., II, p.199, III, p.201. It is said that the khanqah was built on the foundation of a temple which already existed there and was destroyed on the advice of 'Iraqi.
4 Tuhfatul-Ahbab, pp.63-64; B.S., f.71a.
5 Ibid., p.64; Ibid., ff.71a, 77a; T.Az., p.77; T.H., II, p.199.
6 Tuhfatul-Ahbab, p.64.
7 B.S., ff.71b-75b; T.Km., f.107a-b.
back to Kashmir from Askardū. With the support of Musā Raina the Mir converted a large number of non-Muslims to Shi‘ism. The destruction of temples was once again started. Shuka writes: "According to Merashesa's [Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn] advice, Somachandra [Musā Raina] arrested men belonging to temples, confiscated lands of the Brahmans and gave them to Merashesa's servants .... The gods then deserted their images, for otherwise how could men plunder their temples?"

In 1517 Muḥammad Shah came to the throne for the fourth time and he appointed Kajj Chak as his wazīr. Kajj Chak was also a strong supporter of the Mir and helped him to establish Shi‘ism firmly in Kashmir. All the leading nobles at the court had by now embraced Shi‘ism.

In order to stem the growth of Shi‘ism in Kashmir, some leading Suhrwardī and Kubravī saints and the 'ulama united to restore Sunnism to its former glory. The lead was taken by Shaikh Fatju’llāh, the son of Shaikh Isma‘īl Kubravī. He resented the Shi‘i practice of reviling

1 Ibid., f.78a; Ibid., f.107b; G.A., f.142a; T.H., II, p.199.
3 Wherever there were temples, says the author of B.S., and Haidar Malik, they were razed to the ground and mosques built in their places. B.S., ff.78b, 80a; T.Km., f.108a.
4 Rājatarāhginī, p.339.
5 Cf. T.Ks., f.24a.
the first three Caliphs\textsuperscript{1} and is said to have written a letter to Mir Shamsu’d-Din accusing him of deviating from the right path. In order to suppress his activities, Kājī Chak confiscated his property and he was obliged to leave Kashmir for Sialkot.\textsuperscript{2}

Saiyid Aḥmed Kirmanī, who had arrived in Kashmir by this time from India, also tried to stop Shi‘ī preaching.\textsuperscript{3} It was, however, left to the lot of Shaikh Ḥamza, who had received guidance both from Shaikh Fathu’llah and Saiyid Aḥmad,\textsuperscript{4} to check the progress of Shi‘ī doctrines in Kashmir. He claimed that the Prophet, accompanied by his four distinguished companions, had once appeared to him in a dream and told him that the Shi‘īs were wrong and that he should not associate with them.\textsuperscript{5} Many Shi‘īs are said to have renounced their faith because of his preaching.\textsuperscript{6} He urged his disciples to hate and avoid the company of the Shi‘īs.\textsuperscript{7}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{1}] P.K., f.80b; T.H., III, p.157; T.K., p.148.
\item[\textsuperscript{2}] See supra, p.127.
\item[\textsuperscript{3}] See supra, p.24.
\item[\textsuperscript{4}] See supra, p.29.
\item[\textsuperscript{5}] D.S., p.216; R.N., ff.396a–b; A.Ab., ff.128a–b; 133a–b.
\item[\textsuperscript{6}] See supra, p.29.
\item[\textsuperscript{7}] D.S., p.217. Although at present Shi‘īs and Sunnīs of Kashmir live in harmony, the former have not forgotten Shaikh Ḥamza’s antipathy towards them.
\end{itemize}
However, it was the conquest of Kashmir by Mirza Ḥaidar in 1540 which again made Sunnism dominant in the Valley. He sent the Fiqh-i-Ahwat of Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn to the Sunni 'ulama of Hindustan to obtain their verdict against its contents. Upon their advice, Mirza Ḥaidar embarked upon a policy of the ruthless destruction of the Shi'is. The tomb of Shamsu'd-Dīn was razed to the ground and the Shi'i preachers, Shaikh Shungli and Mulla Ḥāji Khatīb, were beheaded. He then summoned Shaikh Daniyal, the son and successor of 'Iraqī, from Askardū where he had fled, and imprisoned him for one year. In 1550, he beheaded him, on the ground of reviling the first three Caliphs. The Mirza claims that no one dared openly to profess Shi'ism as a result of his policy of persecution.

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1 Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī, p.435; T.Ks., f.25a-b; Tarīkh-i-Firishta, II, p.336. The sources give no indication of the place to which the Fiqh was sent. It is possible that the Lahore 'ulama are meant.
3 T.Ks., f.26a; B.S., f.112a; N.A., ff.70b-71a; T.Az., p.80; T.H., I, p.480, II, p.221.
4 T.Ks., f.26a; B.S., f.112a; N.A., f.72a; T.Az., p.80; T.H., II, p.222.
5 T.Km., f.122b; N.A., f.72a; T.H., II, p.222.
6 T.Ks., f.26a; B.S., ff.112a, 119a; T.Km., f.122a; N.A., f.71b; T.Az., p.80; T.H., II, p.222.
7 Ibid., f.26a; Ibid., f.112a; Ibid., f.122a; Ibid., f.71b; Ibid., p.80; Ibid., p.222.
8 Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī, p.436.
Some Kashmiri authors\(^1\) tend to the view that Mirza Ḥaidar started his policy of persecution because of his friendship with Shaikh Ḥamza. But the view seems hardly justified, for his *Tārīkh-i-Rashtī* does not indicate that he was associated with any Kashmiri Muslim saint and he did not even consult the Kashmiri 'ulama or Ṣufis on the contents of *Fiqh-i-Ahwat*. The ruthlessness of Mirza Ḥaidar towards the Shi'īs was in fact dictated by political reasons and was designed to uproot the influence of the Chaks, who were generally Shi'īs.\(^2\)

After the death of Mirza Ḥaidar in 1551, Chak influence revived in Kashmir again. In 1552 Ibrāhīm Shah came to the throne and he appointed Daulat Chak as his wazīr.\(^3\) He provided both moral and material support to the Shi'īs,\(^4\) and asked the preachers of the mosques to recite the names of the twelve Imāms of the Isna ' Ashari Shi'īs in the *Khutba*.\(^5\)

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2. At first Mirza Ḥaidar had cordial relations with the Shi'īs of Kashmir. He even visited the tomb of Mīr Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Iraqī at Jadībal and paid his respects there as a humble devotee (B.S., ff.109a-110b). But soon Regi Chak, a leading Shi'ī noble, revolted, and joined Kāji Chak, another Shi'ī noble. After this the attitude of the Mirza towards the Shi'īs changed. T.A., III, pt.II, pp.709-10; B.S.,f.211b. See also T.Ks., ff.25b-26a.
3. B.S., f.119a-b.
4. He gave large endowments to the descendants of 'Iraqī and Bābā 'Alī Najar and built mausoleums over the graves of 'Iraqī, Daniyal and Najar. B.S., ff.120a-121a; T.Az., p.100; T.H., II, p.230.
Ghazi Shah, who deposed Habib Shah, the last Shah Mir ruler, in 1561, went to the extent of executing a Sufi named Saiyid Hamid and banished Shaikh Hamza from Srinagar. In the reign of his successor Husain Shah Chak (1563-70), there were several incidents of Shi'i-Sunni conflict, in which two Sunni 'ulama, Mulla Yusuf and Mulla Firuz Ganat, were executed because they had previously sentenced to death a Shi'i who had seriously wounded Ghazi Habib, the preacher of Jamat-masjid Srinagar.

However, in the reign of 'Ali-Shah (1570-78), who followed a policy of tolerance towards the Sunnis, peace was restored. But the situation

1 T.Ks., f.28a; B.S., f.125b; T.Km., f.130b; N.A., f.76a; T.Az., p.89; T.H., II, p.233.
2 T.Ks., f.30a-b; N.A., f.76a; T.Az., p.91; T.H., II, p.236. According to Hasan, Ghazi Shah killed another Sufi named Saiyid Kamal, through poison (T.H., II, p.235). Muhibb-Il-Hasan, in his defence of Ghazi Shah, says that it would be wrong to assert that he was a fanatic Shi'i, as neither the author of B.S., nor Haidar Malik have said so (Sultans, p.154). But this is no proof with which to repudiate the claim of the sources, which accuse Ghazi of being a fanatic Shi'i. And moreover Saiyid 'Ali, the author of T.Ks., is an earlier authority than B.S., or Haidar Malik.
3 See supra, p.29.
5 Cf. Khaki, RishT-Nama, f.132a-b; B.S., f.137b; T.Km., f.139a; T.Az., p.92; T.H., II, p.244.
changed in the reign of Yusuf Shah, who was not able to maintain law and order properly. His son Sultan Ya'qub was a fickle-minded youth and persecuted both the 'ulama and the Sufis. In his reign Baba Dawud Khaki, the disciple of Shaikh Hamza, established a strong front against the Shi'is. In his work Dastur u's-Salikin, he states that the Shi'is are heretics who have departed from the true faith, and therefore their wanton destruction is lawful.

In support of his thesis he quotes the following saying ascribed to the Caliph 'Ali: "Towards the end of the world there will appear a group of people, known as rawafiz, who will claim that they are my friends. But in fact they will be my enemies and if they come to you, you should kill them." Baba Dawud was so hostile to the Shi'is that, stung by the praise which his teacher Mulla Hafiz Basir once gave them, he left his company.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarf, the contemporary of Khaki, also denounced the Shi'is. Although he did not go to the lengths of Khaki, he believed that the only "right path" (siratu'l-mustaqim) was that of the Sunnis and

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1 Cf. T.Km., f.114a-b; T.Az., p.93; T.H., II, p.249.
2 Cf. B.S., f.181a-b; T.Km., f.161a-b; T.Az., pp.98-99; T.H., pp.270-71.
3 D.S., p.148.
4 D.S., p.97.
5 T.H., III, p.172.
recommended that the company of the Shi'is, whom he called innovators, should be avoided and even that meals should not be taken with them.\(^1\)

However, in 1586 Kashmir was conquered by the Mughals.\(^2\) But the Shi'i - Sunni conflict continued there down through the centuries. Soon after the annexation of Kashmir by the Mughals, there was a severe Shi'i - Sunni riot in Srinagar, in which Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi's tomb was once again desecrated.\(^3\) In the seventeenth century Khvāja Khāvand Mahmūd and his son Shaikh Muḥammad Mu'in, made strenuous efforts to check the growth and popularity of Shi'ism in Kashmir.\(^4\) But in spite of the Sufi opposition, the Shi'i sect could not be completely uprooted.

\(^1\) Risāla-i-Zikrīya, ff.12a-b, 13a.
\(^2\) See Appendix.B.
\(^3\) T.H., I, pp.481-82.
\(^4\) Cf. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India, pp.184-85.
Historical Developments during the Period Covered

To sum up, we find that Mahmūd of Ghaznī's incursions into Kashmir in 1014 and 1016 opened the doors for the penetration of Muslims into the Valley long before the Shāh Mīr dynasty (1339-1561) was established. It facilitated the absorption of elements of Muslim culture into many aspects of the life of the Kashmirīs under the Lohara dynasty (1003-1320, 1323-39), which by the beginning of the fourteenth century was disintegrating amidst chaos and confusion.

The Shāh Mīr dynasty established its rule not as a result of conquest but by a coup d'état, and from 1339 to 1561, seventeen kings of this dynasty ruled over the country.

Under their prolonged and, for the first hundred and fifty years, stable rule, changes of far-reaching importance transformed Kashmir.

Immigration from Persia and Central Asia began with the establishment of the dynasty, and continued throughout it. But the great wave of immigrants associated with the work of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his son Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī accelerated the process of Persianisation of the administration, and the development of a new way of life substantially different from that of old Kashmir.

However, the intolerant attitude adopted by Sultān Sikandar and a few of his successors, under the influences already discussed, was

1 Cf. supra, pp.2-3.
2 Cf. supra, pp.16-18.
3 Cf. supra, pp.131-134.
exceptional rather than usual for the Sultāns of Kashmir. These historical accidents procured a generally peaceful change, with little bloodshed, from the ancient Hindu system to a Persianised form of Muslim society: and culturally Kashmir became part of the Irānian world, looking to Central Asia and Persia.

The Shāh Mīr Sultāns, like all medieval rulers, were ambitious to aggrandize themselves at the cost of their neighbours; but the peculiar geographic situation of the Valley made it impossible for them to invade successfully any adjacent territories.

Sultān Shiḥabu’ddīn (1354-73) failed miserably in his scheme of conquest; no Sultān after him made any attempt to annex territories beyond the Kashmir Valley. Their rule was confined to the Valley itself, and the submontane region to the west and the south. But this compulsory concentration upon a small closely-settled area ensured the clear and firm crystallization of the changes in culture, religion and social life which began with the new dynasty.

The attitude of the Shāh Mīr dynasty towards its subjects was on the whole one of sympathy and consideration. Non-Muslims embraced Islam owing to a number of different considerations and pressures, but the administration did not generally create situations in which they felt forced to abandon their former way of life. Thus in distant parts such as Ladākh and Rājaurī, the non-Muslims under the Sultāns of Kashmir continued to follow their ancient beliefs and customs. Even the tolerant Jahāngīr (1605-1627) was shocked at the results of such leniency on the part of the Muslims of
the Rājaūrī Valley: "They ally themselves with Hindus, and both (Hindus and Muslims) give and take girls. Taking them is good, but giving them, God forbid! I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them, should be capitally punished".¹

In Srinagar, the capital of the Muslim government in the Valley of Kashmir, life was definitely and permanently influenced by the Orthodox Persian system.

In the wake of the downfall of the Shāh Mīr dynasty and the usurpation of the throne by Mirzā Ḫaidar in 1540, intolerance became dominant. Thus Abū’l Fazl says:² "Owing to the Mīrzā’s frigid and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect development, the essentials for Kashmir, viz., unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmiris, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially is a strong impression produced by the way of princes who are vigorous".

In short the example of the ruler inspired individuals, inconsequential in themselves, to exalt their own status by exhibiting vigorous religious bigotry against their social equals and inferiors: a phenomenon of which the world can still see examples.

The rule of the Chaks, from 1561 to 1586 was marked with confusion, internecine dissensions, and bitter rivalries. The generous traditions of

¹ P.181, II. Tuzuk-i-Jahāṅgīrī, English tr., Rogers and Beveridge, II, p.181.  
² A.N., English tr., H. Beveridge, I, pp.484-485.
Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin (1420-70) sank almost to death, and Kashmir needed an Akbar (1556-1605) to restore peace and to rehabilitate the old pattern of life.

The following inscription, written by Abu'l-Fazl to be inscribed upon a temple in Kashmir, indicates the spirit of the new government which Akbar introduced to the Valley:

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee: Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee, Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal". If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee. Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque, But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple. Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.

Against such a background, the Sufis of Kashmir lived, meditated, and sometimes taught.

The Social and Institutional Aspects of Kashmiri Sufism

The ethical standards of the Sufis and moral values of the khāngāhs and educational institutions (madrasas) was an example to all Kashmiris whether Muslims or not, in all the diverse aspects of the social life.

1 If they were ever inscribed, they have probably been destroyed; at any rate they have not been found.
2 A.A., English tr., Blochmann, p.LV.
While the reputation of the Ṣūfīs as a whole was impaired by the charlatanism and quackery, already described, of those Ṣūfīs who used the credulity of the ignorant for their own benefit, the guidance of more prominent individuals such as Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Saiyid Muḥammad Amīn and Bābā Dāwud Khākī, was a great help to society. The Rishīs were a beacon of decency to all Kashmirīs.

The sources, being essentially hagiographical, do not offer any more evidence of the social impact of the Ṣūfī movement than has already been extracted.

It would be unhistorical to formulate theories on the basis of present conditions, or on the basis of the material found and conditions prevailing in other parts of the Islamic world.

It would be particularly dangerous, in view of the unique position of Kashmir, to rely upon the deductions made from what is known about the effect of Sufism upon contemporary society in other parts of the Islamic world where conditions were totally different.
Appendix A

The Works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī

[Abbr. R = Risāla]

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APPENDIX A.1

A Note on the authorship of the Risâla-i-Dah Qâ’ida

Molé¹ and Meier² believe that the Risâla-i-Dah Qâ’ida is the Persian translation of Najmu’d-Dîn Kubrâ’s Arabic work Uṣūl al-asrâr. Molé begins his article by stating that the Risâla-i-Dah Qâ’ida is "one of the best known works of Iranian mysticism, as the very numerous manuscripts prove". He continues: "Its distribution is not limited to the Kubaravela order; it has been copied, read, and meditated upon by members of all the great Iranian orders".³ In saying this he testifies to the widespread fame of the text; but its fame alone does not justify the uncritical acceptance of Najmu’d-Dîn Kubrâ as its author.

M. Molé's purpose being to introduce the text (published apparently only once, in an edition "almost impossible to find, and practically unknown")⁴ to a wider reading public, it may not have seemed important to him to consider, in his short article, whether or not Najmu’d-Dîn was really the original author.

² Der Islam, XXIV, 1937.
³ Molé, op.cit., p.38.
⁴ Ibid., p.51, n.2.
Saiyid 'Alī does not acknowledge his authorship, and in Chihil-Maqāmāt he himself expresses similar ideas; this work is indisputably by the Saiyid.¹

This raises at least a doubt about the original authorship of the work. It should perhaps be noted that Molé and Meier, who might indeed have had no evidence to hand, have not offered a history of the text; so they can give no conclusive evidence that it existed before Saiyid 'Alī's time, and none is known to the present author from other sources.

Even were the work accepted as Najmu’d-Dīn's, the ten principles were claimed by Saiyid 'Alī as a fundamental part of his own thought. As such, they are important for this study.

Appendix B

The view that Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī was largely responsible for the Mughal invasion of Kashmir is untenable. Kashmir occupied an important place in Akbar's scheme of conquest. Long before Sultan Ya'qūb came to the throne (1586), Akbar had decided to annex Kashmir. In the fifth year of his reign (1560-61) Akbar had sent Mirzā Qara Bahādur Khan, the brother of Mirzā Ḥaidar, to invade Kashmir, but the scheme petered out. However, to avoid further Mughal invasions, the Kashmirī Sultanīs continued to send rich gifts to the Emperor; the Mughal ambassadors too occasionally visited the Kashmirī court and even interfered in local disputes.

The ambitious designs of 'Abdu'llah Khan Uzbeg of Turān, who wished to seize Kashgār, made the annexation of Kashmir inevitable for Akbar. The crisis was precipitated because of the deposition of Yusuf Shāh, the father of Sultan Ya'qūb, in 1579 by Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqi. In a bid to regain the throne Yusuf Shāh sought the help of Akbar, which was given.

1 A.N., II, pp.128, 129.
3 Ibid.; B.S., f.128b.
5 Ibid., p.754; B.S., f.148a. See also A.N., III, p.289.
Meanwhile Yusuf Shāh regained the throne with his own efforts. However, Akbar, towards the end of 1581 sent an imperial officer named Šāliḥ 'Āqīl to advise Yusuf Shāh to accept his overlordship. In order to placate the Emperor, Yusuf Shāh sent one of his sons, Prince Ḥaider, to the Mughal court with some gifts.

Encouraged by the success of Šāliḥ the Emperor in 990/1582 sent Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī along with Prince Ḥaider with a farman to Yusuf Shāh. The contents of the farman are not known, but if commensurate with the imperial policy, he would have been urged to accept Akbar's paramountcy on almost the same terms which had been accepted by the Rajput chiefs. Nothing is known about the success of Sarfī's mission, but Ḥabīl-Faḍal's silence over the matter shows that Sarfī failed to get a positive response to the farman and some evasive reply must have been given to him.

After the death of Mirzā Ḥakīm, Akbar himself marched to Kabul on 22 August, 1585, and early in October, when he reached Kalānūr, he deputed Ḥakīm 'Ali and Bahāū'd-Dīn Kambū to Kashmir. They were to tell Yusuf Shāh that previously he had offered the excuse of long distance to avoid presenting himself at the imperial court, but now the Emperor was in the

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1 Ibid., pp.756-7; ibid., f.158a.
neighbourhood and he should at once come to pay his respects to him. Yusuf Shāh failed to obey the imperial command and the Mughal envoy returned unsuccessful and apprised the Emperor of the situation.

Akbar, who was determined to annex Kashmir, sent an army under Shāh Rukh and Rāja Bhagwān Dās against Yusuf Shāh; Shaikh Ya'qūb was also sent with the imperial army, perhaps to serve as a guide. Shaikh Ya'qūb succeeded in persuading the zamindārs (chiefs) of Karnāh (west of Kashmir) to surrender to the Mughal army, which decided to penetrate into the Valley from there. Yusuf Shāh, finding defeat inevitable, surrendered on 14 February, 1586. The Mughal army, without subjugating the country, returned along with Yusuf Shāh, who was presented to Akbar at Attock on 28 March, 1586. Yusuf Shāh was not allowed to return to the Valley and was placed under the custody of Rāja Todar Mal. Meanwhile, Ya'qūb, the eldest son of Yusuf Shāh, declared himself the Sultan of Kashmir.

1 A.N., III, p.469.
2 Ibid., p.474.
3 Ibid., pp.474-5; B.S., f.175a.
4 A.N., III, p.481.
5 Ibid., pp.488-9; B.S., ff.175b-176a.
6 A.N., III, pp.480-1.
7 A.N., III, p.488.
8 B.S., f.178b; see also A.N., III, p.496.
Although important nobles pleaded to Akbar that the conquest of Kashmir was a difficult task, Shaikh Ya'qūb Šarffī represented that the grandees of that country would follow his advice and if the Panjab troops were sent with him, Kashmir would be seized without fighting. Akbar did not underestimate the situation and sent another army under Qāsim Khān along with Šarffī. From Karanbal an army was sent with Šarffī to fight against the Kashmīrí army, which was proceeding to give battle. At Hastivanj a skirmish took place between the imperial vanguard, led by Shaikh Ya'qūb Šarffī, and a Kashmīrí army, in which Šarffī was seriously wounded and was removed from the battlefield by his friends.

Sultan Ya'qūb, because of the dissensions in his camp, could not fight against the imperial army and retired to Kishtwār. Thus the imperial

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1 A.N., III, p.496.
2 Ibid.; B.S., f.182b.
3 Karanbal or Karparthal is nine miles east of Rajaurī, on the Hirpora route.
4 From a point close to the ʿAlīābād Sarāī (on Pīr-Panjāl range of mountains) a high mountain ridge which slopes down from the south and falls off towards the Valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs, is called Hastivanj; cf. R.Tk., II, p.394.
5 A.N., III, p.503; B.S., f.184a.
6 Because of his arrogant nature many leading nobles including Shi'īs such as Bahādur Chak and Naurang Chak deserted him and joined the Mughals; and while he was retreating to Kishtwār, only a few of his followers remained with him; cf. B.S., ff.181a-185a.
7 A.N., III, pp.515-6. Ya'qūb Shāh, however, soon returned to the Valley and many Kashmīris, owing to the oppressive rule of Qāsim Khān (cf. A.N., III, p.521) rallied to him. For about two years he made continuous night attacks on the Mughals and subjected them to harassment. He finally
army conquered the Valley in October 1586 and annexed it to the Mughal Empire.¹

A'żamî² and Hasan³ assert that because of the persecution of Sunnîs by Sultan Ya'qûb, Shaikh Ya'qûb Sarfî and some other nobles and Sûfîs went to the court of Akbar and pleaded for a Mughal invasion of the Valley, in order to put an end to the intolerant policy of Sultan Ya'qûb. In order to safeguard the interests of the people of their country, it is said that they entered into an agreement with the Emperor to the following effect.

1. That the Emperor would not interfere with the religious affairs of the Kashmiris and he would not change the previous laws relating to the price of cereals.

2. That Kashmiri men and women should not be made slaves and concubines.

3. That the supporters of Sultan Ya'qûb should not be given any authority in the administration of Kashmir.

7 contd surrendered in 1588, when Akbar visited Kashmir; cf. A.N., pp.515, 521-3, 558; B.S., ff.185a-190b.

¹ A.N.; III, p.507.
² T.Az., p.99.
Among modern scholars, G.M. Sufi and Muhibbu’l-Hasan accept the version of A‘zamī and Hasan as correct, although no earlier source, either Mughal or Kashmirī, mentions it. The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Mughal conquest of Kashmir was not initiated by Shaikh Ya’qūb, but formed a part of Akbar’s ambitious scheme of conquest. He himself evaluated the conditions and was not misled by the representations of Shaikh Ya’qūb, who underestimated the situation, nor was he discouraged by the argument of his nobles who advocated that the conquest of Kashmir was a difficult affair. The story of his entering into an agreement with the Kashmirī Sūfīs and nobles seems to be a later concoction. It is unlikely that Akbar would accept terms, for he knew his own strength sufficiently well.

1 Kashīr, I, p.234.
2 Sultāns, p.184.
Lalla's association with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī is based on the following legend. It is said that she was in the habit of wandering in a semi-nude or even nude condition, and when remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she replied that there were no men (in Kashmir), so whom should she fear. One day she saw Saiyid 'Alī at a distance, rushed to a baker's shop and jumped there into the blazing oven. After some time she appeared from the mouth of the oven properly clad, met Saiyid 'Alī and became his constant companion.¹

The story at its face value seems to be concocted and deserves no literal credence, even if we disregard the miracle of the oven. A story very similar to this will be found in Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmanī,² where the hero is a Kṣatriya named Jagaddeva, and the unclothed lady a dancing girl.

Temple further observes that to Lalla "all religions were at one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sūfīs she no doubt learnt in her association with Saiyid Alī Hamadānī and perhaps other Muhammadan saints".³ Temple wrongly assumes that the Saiyid was a Naqshbandī saint and that he was unorthodox.⁴ Had he gone through the

¹ Temple, The word of Lalla, pp.8-9; Kaul, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", Indian Antiquary, December, 1921, p.310.
² Eng. Tr., Tawney, p.186.
³ Temple, op.cit., p.2.
⁴ Ibid., pp.2, 5.
works of Saiyid 'Alī, perhaps he would not have made such a statement. Saiyid 'Alī was an orthodox Šufī; to him Islam was the only true religion and his political thought clearly shows that he believed that there could be no compromise between a believer and an unbeliever.  

Some modern scholars, including Temple 2 and Kaumudi, 3 tend to indicate that Lallā conceived the idea that "God is one reality" from her association with Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Alī. But these scholars appear to ignore the fact that this idea had long existed in Hinduism. Even as early as in the Rig Vedic hymns, we meet with the idea of "One Reality". 4 This is also the principal teaching of the Upaniṣads, that whatever is, is Brahman; it is the source and the end of all. 5 In the earlier Upaniṣads "Brahman" seems generally to be thought of as an impersonal principle, but in the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad, which is

1 See supra, ch.III.
2 The word of Lallā, pp.79-80.
4 The best examples of it are the Purusa-Sūkta (Rig Veda, x.90) and the Naṣadiya-Sūkta (Rig Veda, x.129), both of which, in different ways, speak of "One Reality" which is the source of all things. Rig Veda, I, 164, 46, explicitly says: "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and Agni; he is the heavenly bird Garutmat: to what is one, the poets give many a name; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān".
   Cf. S.N. Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, I, pp.19 ff.; M. Hiryanna, Outlines of Indian Philosophy, pp.38-43.
5 See chapters on Upaniṣads in Dasgupta, and Haryanna, op.cit..
comparatively late, this conception comes close to a true monotheism, where Rudra is conceived as "the One God".  

In fact there is no trace of Islamic influence in Lalla's verses. Like Kabir or Nanak, she nowhere mentions Allah, though Grierson and Temple suspect that the word *jin*, which Lalla uses in the following verses, is a reference to the Arabic term *jin*^2 ("a demon, an angel, or genius"). She says:

"Shiv or Keshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin:  
These be names. Yet takest Thou from me;  
All the ill that is my world within;  
He be Thou, or he, or he, or he".  

In these verses Lalla refers to God by various names. "Keshav" is Vishnu and "Lotus-Lord" is Brahma. She says that by whatever name the worshipper may call the Supreme, he is still Supreme. It is most unlikely that Lalla would have used the Arabic term *jin* with this in mind, as *jin* is no attribute of God in Islam. In fact *jin* is a Sanskrit word, the literal meaning of which is "victor", and it is used both for Buddha and Mahavira. Lalla is probably thinking of Buddha, in his heavenly form as conceived by late Mahayana mythology, for there were no Jains in Kashmir.

1 "Truly Rudra is one, there is no place for a second, who rules all these worlds with his ruling powers. He stands opposite Creatures. He, the protector, after creating all worlds, withdraws them at the end of time". Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads*, p.725. See also Hiriyanna, op. cit., p.83.


3 Ibid., p.171.
at the time, while Buddhism of the Tibetan type was still strong in outlying areas.

The sources of Lallā's religion were the indigenous school of Kashmir Śaivism and those Hindu scholars and ascetics who came to Kashmir from time to time. Al-Berunī says: "Mahmūd utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions .... This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benaras, and other places".¹ It seems that this chain of Hindu saints and scholars continued to pour into Kashmir down to Lallā's time.²

¹ Kitabuʾl-Hind, Eng. Tr., Sachau (Alberuni's India), I, p. 22.
Appendix D

Comparative analysis of the sources regarding the lives and activities of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and his disciples.

**Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī:**

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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f.54a</td>
<td>p.11</td>
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<td>Father, a ḥākim of Hamadān</td>
<td>p.441</td>
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<td>f.54b</td>
<td>p.11</td>
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<td>Received early education from his maternal uncle 'Alā'u'd-Daula</td>
<td>p.441</td>
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<td>f.54b</td>
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<td>Received initiation into Kubrawī order from Shaikh Muzdaqānī</td>
<td>p.451</td>
<td>f.10a</td>
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<td>p.12</td>
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<td>N.U., p.290; Haft-Iqlīm II, p.539.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Received initiation into Kubraviya order from Taqī'ud-Dīn</td>
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<td>p.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shaikh Muzdaqānī sent him to Taqī'ud-Dīn</td>
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<td>f.55a</td>
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<td>Went to Taqī'ud-Dīn</td>
<td>f.10b</td>
<td>f.355b</td>
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<td>p.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.U., p.290.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stayed with him for two years</td>
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<td>f.55a</td>
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<tr>
<td>After the death of Taqī'ud-Dīn returned to Shaikh Muzdaqānī</td>
<td>f.10b</td>
<td></td>
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<td>f.55a</td>
<td>p.12</td>
<td>N.U., p.290.</td>
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<tr>
<td>K.M.</td>
<td>T.Ks.</td>
<td>A.Ab.</td>
<td>Mastûrât</td>
<td>F.K.</td>
<td>T.H.</td>
<td>T.K.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Received guidance from 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī</td>
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<td>Collected 400 traditions from the prominent saints, including 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Simnānī</td>
<td>pp.453</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Travelled around the world three times</td>
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<td>Haft-Iqlīm,II, p.539.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tīmūr invited in order to test his spiritual powers</td>
<td>f.58a</td>
<td>p.13</td>
<td>p.16</td>
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<td></td>
<td>f.58b</td>
<td>p.13</td>
<td>p.16</td>
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<td>Migrated to Kashmir because of Tīmūr's persecution</td>
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<td>Reported to have remarked that wherever he went God asked him to travel and to preach.</td>
<td>p.573</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shaikh Muzdaqānī asked him to travel and to preach</td>
<td>pp.560</td>
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<td>f.55b</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pp.561</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Prophet appeared to him in a dream and asked to go to Kashmir and preach Islam there</td>
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<td>f.420a</td>
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<td>T.Km.</td>
<td>T.Ks.</td>
<td>A.Ab.</td>
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<td>F.K.</td>
<td>T.H. III</td>
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<td>K.M.</td>
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<td>l-Akhvār</td>
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<td>166</td>
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<td>T. Az.,</td>
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<td>G.A.,</td>
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<td>166a-b</td>
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<td>B.S.,</td>
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<td>23a</td>
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<td>T.Km.,</td>
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<td>91a</td>
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<td>N.A.,</td>
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<td>35a</td>
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<td>T.Az.,</td>
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</table>

Travelled in the company of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāṅgīr Simnānī

Sent two of his cousins to Kashmir, prior to his arrival, to survey the religious and political atmosphere

Reached Kashmir in 783/1381-82

Reached in 741/1340-41

Visited Kashmir only once during the reign of Sultan Qutbu’d-Dīn

Reached in 786/1384-85

Reached in 785/1383-84, according to the chronogram quoted by the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>K.M.</th>
<th>T.Ks.</th>
<th>A.Abb.</th>
<th>Majtūrat</th>
<th>P.K.</th>
<th>T.H. Ill</th>
<th>T.K.</th>
<th>Other Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Was accompanied by 700 Saiyids</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>f.58b</td>
<td>p.15</td>
<td>p.12 N.A.f35a; T.Az.p36; G.A. f.119a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converted a large number of Non-Muslims to Islam in Kashmir</td>
<td>fft.2b</td>
<td>f.420a</td>
<td>f.59a</td>
<td>p.16</td>
<td>p.14</td>
<td>N.A., f.35a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sultan Qutbu’d-Din gave up Hindu dress on his advice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f.19b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B.S.f25a; T.Kh., f.109b; T.Km. f.93a; T.Az.p36.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Left Kashmir because of conflict with Sultan Qutbu’d-Din</td>
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<td>B.S.f25a; T.Kh., ff. 109b-110a; T.Km., f.93a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stayed at Kunār on the request of its chief</td>
<td>p.580</td>
<td>f.19b</td>
<td></td>
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<td>B.S.f25a; T.Az., p.37.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Died at Kabul in 786/1384-85</td>
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<td>Haft-Iqlīm, II p.539.</td>
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<td>p.580</td>
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<tr>
<td>On Jumādu’l-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>T.Az., p.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author of 170 works</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f.57b</td>
<td>p.12</td>
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</table>
### Shaikh Nūru‘d-Dīn Rishī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>R.N.</th>
<th>A.Ab.</th>
<th>T.Az.</th>
<th>F.K.</th>
<th>R.Nm.</th>
<th>T.H.</th>
<th>T.K.</th>
<th>Other Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Was born in 779/1378</td>
<td>f.129a</td>
<td>p.64</td>
<td>f.86b</td>
<td>f.12a</td>
<td></td>
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<td>p.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was born in 757/1356-57</td>
<td>f.52b</td>
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<td>p.125</td>
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<tr>
<td>His name mentioned as Nand</td>
<td>f.131b</td>
<td>f.56b</td>
<td>f.86b</td>
<td>f.19b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father’s name given as Sālār Gana‘ī</td>
<td>f.129a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff.84b, 89b</td>
<td>f.10b</td>
<td>p.117</td>
<td>p.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belonging to the tribe of &quot;Watchers&quot;</td>
<td>f.129a</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.84b</td>
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<td>p.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>From the descendants of the rulers of Kishtwār</td>
<td>f.12b</td>
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<td>f.10b</td>
<td>p.117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lallā asks to drink milk</td>
<td>f.136a</td>
<td>ff.55b-56a</td>
<td>f.84b</td>
<td>f.12b</td>
<td>p.117</td>
<td>p.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Becomes a thief</td>
<td>ff.136a</td>
<td>ff.58b-59a-59a</td>
<td>f.84b</td>
<td>f.12b</td>
<td>p.117</td>
<td>p.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goes to a house to steal and brings out pestle etc.</td>
<td>ff.136a-137a</td>
<td>ff.85b-86a-14a</td>
<td>pp.117-8</td>
<td>pp.92-3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goes to a house to steal but flings his own blanket on the inmates there</td>
<td>f.137</td>
<td>f.59a-a-b</td>
<td>f.86a</td>
<td>ff.14b-15a</td>
<td>p.118</td>
<td>p.93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goes to a weaver and conversation with him</td>
<td>ff.138a-139a</td>
<td>ff.60a-b</td>
<td>ff.86a-15b-b</td>
<td>ff.16b</td>
<td>p.118</td>
<td>p.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Prophet comes in a dream</td>
<td>ff.132b-133a</td>
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<td>f.19b</td>
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<td>p.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lallā cries at him</td>
<td>f.56a</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.84b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>R.N.</td>
<td>A.Ab.</td>
<td>T.Az.</td>
<td>F.K.</td>
<td>R.Nm.</td>
<td>T.H.</td>
<td>T.K.</td>
<td>Other Sources</td>
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<td>Stays in a cave at Kaimuh</td>
<td>ff. 132a-133a</td>
<td>f.62a</td>
<td>f.86a</td>
<td>f.20b</td>
<td>pp. 118-9</td>
<td>p.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Receives guidance from Saiyid Husain</td>
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<td>p.64</td>
<td>ff.69b, 82a</td>
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<td>Conversation with Muhammad Hamadānī</td>
<td>f.215</td>
<td>f.236</td>
<td>f.90a</td>
<td>pp. 123-4</td>
<td>p.96</td>
<td>T.Ks., ff.33b-34a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Becomes his disciple</td>
<td>f.90a-b</td>
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<td>p.124</td>
<td>p.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preceptor not known, called &quot;Uwaisī&quot;</td>
<td>f.131b</td>
<td>f.52a</td>
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<td>Khākī, Rishi-Nama, f43a; D.S., p.213</td>
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<td>Mother demands her rights</td>
<td>ff. 140b-141a</td>
<td>f.61a-b</td>
<td>f.86</td>
<td>ff. 28b-29a</td>
<td>p.120</td>
<td>p.94</td>
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<td>Gives up eating vegetables</td>
<td>f.150b</td>
<td>f.63b</td>
<td>p.63</td>
<td>f.87a</td>
<td>f.61a</td>
<td>p.121</td>
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<td>Gives up drinking milk</td>
<td>ff. 152b-153a</td>
<td>f.64b</td>
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<td>f.62a-b</td>
<td>p.122</td>
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<td>Drinks water only</td>
<td>f.153a</td>
<td>ff.64b</td>
<td>f.62a-b</td>
<td>f.63a</td>
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<td>Swallowed a burnt stick in his mouth instead of a fish</td>
<td>f.150b</td>
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<td>p.121</td>
<td>p.97</td>
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<td>Girl visits him to seduce</td>
<td>ff. 158</td>
<td>a, b; 159a</td>
<td>f.32b</td>
<td>p.121</td>
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<td>Discussion with Maulānā Mānak</td>
<td>ff.172</td>
<td>b,173a-b</td>
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<td>Discussion with Bāmu'd-Dīn</td>
<td>ff. 254a,255a,b</td>
<td>f.70a-b</td>
<td>pp.64</td>
<td>f.92a-b</td>
<td>f.38a-b;39a-b</td>
<td>pp.126</td>
<td>pp.100</td>
<td>T.Ks., 32a-b; 37b.</td>
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<td>Discussion with Zainu’-d-Dīn</td>
<td>R.N.</td>
<td>A. Ab.</td>
<td>T. Az.</td>
<td>F. K.</td>
<td>R.Nm.</td>
<td>T. H. III</td>
<td>T. K.</td>
<td>Other Sources</td>
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<td>ff. 283a, b</td>
<td>f. 37a, b</td>
<td>f. 95a</td>
<td>ff. 49b, 50a</td>
<td>pp. 128-9</td>
<td>pp. 101-2</td>
<td>T. Ks., 34b, 35a</td>
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<td>Discussion with Latīfu’-d-Dīn</td>
<td>f. 294a</td>
<td>f. 78a</td>
<td>p. 65</td>
<td>f. 98b</td>
<td>ff. 59 a-b</td>
<td>pp. 132-3</td>
<td>p. 104</td>
<td>T. Ks., f. 39a</td>
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<td>Discussion with Naṣru’-d-Dīn</td>
<td>ff. 296a, b</td>
<td>ff. 79b, 80a</td>
<td>pp. 65-6</td>
<td>f. 100b</td>
<td>ff. 30a, b</td>
<td>p. 133</td>
<td>pp. 104-5</td>
<td>T. Ks., f. 40a, 40b</td>
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<td>Died on 26 Ramażān 842/12 March, 1439</td>
<td>f. 155b</td>
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<td>p. 99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Died in 808/1405-06</td>
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<td>f. 68b</td>
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<td>Zainu’-l-‘Abidīn attended his funeral</td>
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<td>f. 71a</td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 99</td>
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<td>Buried at Chrar</td>
<td>f. 155b</td>
<td>f. 68b</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
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</table>
Bāmu'd-Dīn Rishi

Before becoming a Rishi was a famous Brahman, named Bhum Sidh, living at Bamuzu

Used to take bath at five different places in Kashmir daily

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn visited him with a bloody cow skin on his shoulders, and asked to accept Islam as the idols to which he was worshipping were lumps of stones. The Shaikh addressed the idols which at once gave tongue and supported the Shaikh's claim.

Bhum Sidh in order to impress the Shaikh flew up in the sky. The Shaikh sent his shoes after him. Convinced of the Shaikh's superiority Bhum Sidh accepted Islam.

The Shaikh named him Bāmud-Dīn

After becoming a Rishi lived for twelve years
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kept no servant and maintained no kitchen</th>
<th>T.Ks.</th>
<th>R.N.</th>
<th>A.Ab.</th>
<th>K.S.</th>
<th>T.Az.</th>
<th>F.K.</th>
<th>T.H.</th>
<th>T.K.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used to eat crushed stone for food</td>
<td>f.38a</td>
<td>f.280</td>
<td>a-b</td>
<td>f.72a</td>
<td>f.93b</td>
<td>p.65</td>
<td>p.128</td>
<td>p.102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Used to drink water only</td>
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<td>p.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sultan 'Ali Shah visited him</td>
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<td>f.93b</td>
<td>p.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The contemporary Sultan visited him</td>
<td>f.38b</td>
<td>f.280</td>
<td>a-b</td>
<td>f.72b</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asked the Sultan not to visit him again</td>
<td>f.282</td>
<td>f.72b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f.93b</td>
<td>p.65</td>
<td>p.128</td>
<td>p.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zainu'd-Dīn Rishi came from Tibet miraculously to attend his funeral</td>
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<td>p.65</td>
<td>f.93b</td>
<td>p.128</td>
<td>p.102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buried at Bamuzu</td>
<td>f.283</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p.65</td>
<td>f.93b</td>
<td>p.128</td>
</tr>
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</table>
**Zainu’d-Dīn Rishī**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.Ks.</th>
<th>R.N.</th>
<th>A.Ab.</th>
<th>R.Nm.</th>
<th>T.Az.</th>
<th>F.K.</th>
<th>T.H. III</th>
<th>T.K.</th>
<th>Other Sources</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ziya Singh</td>
<td>f.73b</td>
<td>p.64</td>
<td>f.94b</td>
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<td>p.102</td>
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<td><strong>Original name</strong></td>
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<td>Zaina Singh</td>
<td>f.49b</td>
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<td>p.128</td>
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<td><strong>Hailed from</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kishtwār</td>
<td>f.73b</td>
<td>f.49b</td>
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<td>p.128</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Father descendant of the rulers of that country</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>f.73b</td>
<td>f.49b</td>
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<td>p.128</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Was killed by his enemies when Zainu’d-Dīn was quite young</strong></td>
<td>f.34b</td>
<td>f.283b</td>
<td>f.73b</td>
<td>f.49b</td>
<td>f.94b</td>
<td>p.128</td>
<td>p.102</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fell seriously ill, Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn appeared miraculously at his sick bed and told his mother that if they both would later come to Kashmir and accept Islam he would pray for his recovery</strong></td>
<td>ff. 34b-35a</td>
<td>f.284a</td>
<td>f.73b</td>
<td>f.49b</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Came to Kashmir because of Divine grace and accepted Islam at the hands of Nūru’d-Dīn</strong></td>
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<td>p.64</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Was searching for a guide, met Nūru’d-Dīn and became his disciple</strong></td>
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<td>K.S., f.42a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>T.Ks.</td>
<td>R.N.</td>
<td>A.Ab.</td>
<td>R.Nm.</td>
<td>T.Az.</td>
<td>F.K.</td>
<td>T.H. III</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settled at 'Aish-Maqām</td>
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<td>Settled at the village Shaiva</td>
<td>f.35b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Found snakes in the cave he wanted to live in. Ordered them out</td>
<td>ff. 288b-95a 289b-95a</td>
<td>f.74a</td>
<td></td>
<td>94b-95a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decided to live on raw nuts</td>
<td>f.288a 288b-74b 290a 95a</td>
<td>f.75a</td>
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<td>f.95b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caused a spring at the village Kina</td>
<td>f.288a 288b-94b 290a 95a</td>
<td>f.75a 75a-94a 95a</td>
<td></td>
<td>95b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caused Shāhkul canal to dry</td>
<td>ff. 289b-95b 290a 95b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was exiled to Tibet by Zainu'l-ʿAbīdīn</td>
<td>ff. 19b, 35b-36a 291a-95b</td>
<td>f.74a 76a</td>
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<tr>
<td>On his arrival there, the son of the Tibetan ruler died</td>
<td>f.36a 35b-36a</td>
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<tr>
<td>The son of newly converted Muslim died</td>
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<tr>
<td>The son of one of the Queen's attendants died</td>
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<td>T.Ks.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>f.36a</td>
<td>f.76b</td>
<td>f.108b</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.96a</td>
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<td>f.131</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Zainu’d-Dīn was accused for this misfortune and was threatened to be put to death. Prayed to God and the dead got life.

Zainu’l-‘Abidīn got a boil on his foot

Approached Ḥājī Adham, who told that the boil was the result of Zainu’d-Dīn’s displeasure

Approached to Latīfu’d-Dīn Rishī ....

The Sultān realised himself the mistake of exiling Zainu’d-Dīn

The Sultān sent one of his sons to Zainu’d-Dīn asking him to return to Kashmir

The moment Zainu’d-Dīn reached Kashmir, the Sultān recovered and went to receive him personally.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.Ks.</th>
<th>R.N.</th>
<th>A.Ab.</th>
<th>R.Nm.</th>
<th>T.Az.</th>
<th>F.K.</th>
<th>T.H.</th>
<th>T.K.</th>
<th>Other Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduced <em>Rishi-jama</em> in Kashmir</td>
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<td><strong>f.292b</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Disappeared from the cave. A disciple saw him in a dream and was told to make a grave in his name where his <em>tabūt</em> was found</td>
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<td><strong>f.96b</strong> <strong>p.104</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Original Hindu name Lādī Raina</td>
<td>f.39a</td>
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<td>p.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idī Raina</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.78a</td>
<td></td>
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<td>f.98b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Āwat Raina</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief of Mār Adavin</td>
<td>f.39a</td>
<td>f.294a</td>
<td>f.78a</td>
<td>f.38b</td>
<td>f.98b</td>
<td>p.132</td>
<td>p.104</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son of a chief</td>
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<tr>
<td>Called one day on the Shaikh, who asked to accept Islam. Accepted the Shaikh's advice</td>
<td>f.294a</td>
<td>f.78a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p.65</td>
<td>f.98b</td>
<td>pp. 132-3</td>
<td>p.104</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was overpowered by mystical attraction and became the Shaikh's disciple</td>
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<td>f.38b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conversation with the Shaikh regarding worldly things</td>
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<td>f.78b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settled at Uttar</td>
<td>f.39b</td>
<td>f.294b</td>
<td>f.78b</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.98b</td>
<td>p.133</td>
<td>p.104</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gave up eating fresh vegetables.</td>
<td>ff. 294b-92b-99a</td>
<td>ff. 79a</td>
<td>f.98b</td>
<td>pp. 133, 164</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moved to Poskar from Uttar</td>
<td>f.39b</td>
<td>f.295a</td>
<td>f.79a</td>
<td>f.39a</td>
<td>f.99a</td>
<td>p.133</td>
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<tr>
<td>Died at Poskar</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
<td>f.295a</td>
<td>f.79a</td>
<td>f.39a</td>
<td>f.99a</td>
<td>p.133</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hailed from pargana Yech</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son of a wealthy family</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
<td>f.296a</td>
<td>f.79b</td>
<td>p.65</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.134</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>When young fell seriously ill. In a dream saw a group of saints and was told to go to Nuru’d-Dīn, who could cure him</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
<td>f.296a</td>
<td>f.79b</td>
<td>p.66</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.134</td>
<td>pp.105-6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Told the parents about the dream, who took him to the Shaikh</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
<td>f.296b</td>
<td>ff.79b</td>
<td>p.66</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.134</td>
<td>p.106</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>After meeting the Shaikh renounced world and became his disciple</td>
<td>f.40a</td>
<td>f.296b</td>
<td>f.80a</td>
<td>p.66</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.134</td>
<td>p.106</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renounced the world on his own</td>
<td>f.37a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Used to eat ashes mixed with water for food. One of the disciples of the Shaikh accused him of taking milk and providing them only with sag</td>
<td>f.40b</td>
<td>f.297a</td>
<td>f.80a</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.135</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was taking ashes without the knowledge of the Shaikh</td>
<td>f.37a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nuru’d-Dīn asked to take rice instead of ashes</td>
<td>f.40b</td>
<td>f.297b</td>
<td>f.81a</td>
<td>f.37b</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Took only 100 grains of rice</td>
<td>f.40b</td>
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<td>Took only 14 grains</td>
<td>f.297b</td>
<td>f.37b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Took only 18 grains</td>
<td>f.81a</td>
<td>f.100b</td>
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<td>Took only 20 grains</td>
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<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retired to seclusion for 40 days and took only 4 walnuts with him for food</td>
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<td>p.135</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>One day the Shaikh heard him breaking a walnut and remarked that he thought he was breaking his nafs</td>
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<td>p.135</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>After completing the seclusion presented all the four walnuts to the Shaikh</td>
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<td>p.135</td>
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<tr>
<td>After hearing the Shaikh's remarks threw all four walnuts outside the window</td>
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<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appointed Malik Jogī Raina as his khalīfa at Chrar before his death, on the advice of the Shaikh who appeared to him in a dream</td>
<td>f.81a</td>
<td>f.101a</td>
<td>p.133</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Died in 855/1451</td>
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<td>p.135</td>
<td>p.105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buried at Chrār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f.81a</td>
<td></td>
<td>f.101a</td>
<td>p.135</td>
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### Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Rishī

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right from the beginning associated himself with the divines</td>
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<td>Met the Shaikh and became his disciple</td>
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<td>Settled at Manzgām</td>
<td>f.182a</td>
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<td>f.92b</td>
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<td>Reduced himself to skin and bone</td>
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<td>Died at Manzgām</td>
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Notes:
- Right from the beginning associated himself with the divines: f.82a, p.134
- Met the Shaikh and became his disciple: f.182a, f.82a, p.66, f.92b, p.136, p.106
- Settled at Manzgām: f.182a, f.82a, p.66, f.92b, p.136, p.106
- Reduced himself to skin and bone: f.183a, f.82a, p.66, f.92b, p.136, p.106
- Died at Manzgām: f.183a, f.82a, p.66, f.92b, p.136, p.106
Appendix F

Classified List of Primary Sources

The sources are arranged in chronological order and are divided into the following sections:

1. Biographies of the Kashmiri Śūfīs

2. Works on Śūfī doctrines and practices by Kashmirī authors

3. Historical works by Kashmirī authors.
1. Biographies

*Khulāsatu’l-Manaqib*, by Nūru’d-Dīn Ja’far Badakhshī, a prominent disciple of Sāiyīd ‘Alī Hamadānī. It was commenced at the end of Ṣafar, 787/April, 1385, in Khatlān. The work gives a large number of anecdotes which throw light on the biography of Sāiyīd ‘Alī. Some of these the author claims to have heard himself from his preceptor, while others seem to have been related to him by other disciples of the Sāiyīd. Naturally they do not contain an account of the early activities of Sāiyīd ‘Alī and the description of the events of his later life is rambling in character. However, they throw some light on his teachings. The work surprisingly makes no reference to any of the activities of Sāiyīd ‘Alī in Kashmir.

It also quotes the verses of Sāiyīd ‘Alī and other Persian poets such as S’ādī and ‘Aṭṭār. It also includes anecdotes of some other important saints such as Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā and ‘Alāu’d-Daula Simnānī. The later biographers of Sāiyīd ‘Alī have drawn heavily upon this.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No.658), and Rizā Library Rāmpur (943); the latter manuscript comprises 160 pages, 21 lines per page [Storey, pp.947-7].

*Tuhfatu’l-Abbāb*: A biographical account of Mīr Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Irāqī, who introduced the Shi’ī sect into Kashmir. The author, who does not disclose his name, and his father, were the disciples of the Mīr. The author was introduced to the Mīr by his father at the age of five (p.192),
and the account is based on the knowledge of the author and that of his father.

The work gives several anecdotes relating to the Mir's encounters with yogīs and highly exaggerates his success in demolishing temples and erecting mosques on their sites. It also refers to the charities and magnanimous deeds of the Mir. Its claim that Shaikh Isma'il, the celebrated Kubrāvī saint of Kashmir, had entered the discipleship of the Mir (pp. 4, 6), is supported by no other evidence.

As the work refers to the events of Fath Shah's second reign which commenced in 1505, it is certain that it was written in the sixteenth century and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan's statement that it was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century is baseless.

Dastūru's-Sālikīn, also known as Sharh-i-Wīrdū'l-Murīdīn, is a biography of Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm, by Baba Dawud Khākī; completed in 962/1554-5. The work has already been discussed in chapter II. It was published at Srinagar in Ramazān 1356/November, 1937, and its translation into Kashmirī appeared under the title Zikru'l-Wāṣīlīn, Srinagar 1365/1946.

Rishi-Nāma, is another work by Baba Dawud Khākī, completed in 988/1580-81 (chronogram). Its account of the Rishiś is very brief and it largely deals with the miracles of Baba Dawud's preceptor, Shaikh Ḥamza Sultāns, p.11.
and his father-in-law, Mirak Mir, a Qadiri saint of Kashmir. The only manuscript copy (dated 1146/1733-34) of this work, to our knowledge, is in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, No.954. It comprises 135 folios and there are 16 lines to a page.

Chillatu'l-'Arifin, by Khaja Ishaq Qari', a disciple of Shaikh Hamza; completed in 982/1574-75. It is divided into seven chapters.

1 Early life and initiation of Shaikh Hamza (ff.2a-13b).

2-5 Sufi doctrines such as khilwat, control of the carnal desires, and love of God (ff.14a-31b), based upon the works of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi and Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani.

6-7 Life and activities of Shaikh Hamza, after his initiation into Sufism (ff.32a-126b).

Though overlaid with descriptions of the supernatural feats of the Shaikh, the work records some of his discourses which are not available elsewhere. The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No.500), comprises 126 folios, 20 lines to a page.

Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin: Another biography of Shaikh Hamza, by Haidar Tulmul'i; completed in 997/1588-89. Although the author claims to have sought to fill in the lacunae left by other biographers of the Shaikh, he generally follows Dasturu's-Salikin and Chillatu'l-'Arifin, and makes no original contribution. The manuscript (No.593), in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, comprises 119 folios, 17 lines to a page.
Rishi-Nāma, by Babā Naṣīb, also called "Abū'ī-Fuqara’" (d.1047/1637); completed in 1041/1631. It begins with a long preliminary discourse on the virtues of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs; and then goes on to give a detailed account of the Rishīs, especially of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn. Although full of legends and miracles, it throws important light on the growth and development of the Rishī order. In the end it makes a brief reference to Mīrzā Ḥaidar’s rule and his anti-Shī‘ī activities.

Manuscript copies of this work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No.25, defective at the beginning), and India Office (Delhi Persia, 731). The latter comprises 414 folios; 15 lines to a page [Storey, pp.985-86].

Asrāru’l-Abrār: A work on the biographies of the saints of all the important Ṣūfī orders of Kashmir; completed in 1063/1652-53. The account of the Rishīs is generally based on the Rishi-Nāma of Babā Naṣīb. It makes the brief but valuable comment that Rishī order existed in Kashmir before the introduction of Islam. Some sayings of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn such as his remark on the difference between an ʿālim and ʿārif and his discourses on the controlling of nafs are given in this work in a vivid style.

The work is not chronologically arranged, and is arranged as follows.
1. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and some of his disciples.
2. Mīr Muḥammad and some of his disciples.
4. Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn and his followers.

5. Other Saints - the rest of the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī and Mīr Muhammad and other Șūfīs.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No.40), comprises 266 folios, 13 lines to a page.

Khawāriqu’s-Șālikīn, also known as Tārīkh-i-Hādī, by Mulla Ahmad bin Șabūr; completed in 1109/1697-98. It contains a biographical account of some prominent Șūfīs of Kashmir. The work is divided into three main parts.

1. Saiyids.
2. Rishīs.
3. Mashā’ıkh-i-Kashmīr.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No.n.a.), comprises 196 folios (folio 4 missing), and there are 17 lines to a page.

Mastûrāt, by one  HttpServletResponse, is an abridgement of the Khulāṣatu’l-Manāqib of Badakhshī; completed in 1136/1723-24. The author, however, makes several additions in his abridgement, such as the statement that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī is reported to have said that the Prophet ordered him to go to Kashmir in order to convert the people there to Islam.

1 Ethe (1850), does not mention the author’s name, which appears in a verse at f.437a.
Ethe (1850) incorrectly says that the work was composed by one of the disciples of the Saiyid, since the chronogram **nūr-i-'aql raft** yields 1136/1723-24, whereas the Saiyid died in 786/1385. The manuscript in the India Office (Ethe, 1850) comprises 96 folios, 11 lines to a page.

**Futūḥāt-i-Kubrāvīya**: A biographical account of 161 Irānian and Kashmirī Kubrāvīya saints, including Rishīs, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī; completed in 1162/1748-49. The author overestimates the influence of the Kubrāvīya saints in Kashmir and includes the Rishīs in that order.

Some statements in the work are self-contradictory and the dates are not always reliable. However its account of the growth and development of the Kubrāvīya and Rishī orders in Kashmir is very important. The manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No.50) comprises 164 folios, 23 lines per page.

**Rishī-Nama**: A work on the biographies of the Rishīs, different from the two previously described. Its author, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Matīū (d.1248/1832) composed it in verse. The account of the Rishīs is mainly based on the Rishī-Nama of Naṣīb. It adds some anecdotes regarding Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life, not described elsewhere. The biographies of some other Kashmirī saints are also given in the work.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. n.a.), and India Office (No. 3684). The latter comprises 123 folios, 19 lines to a page.
Futūḥāt-i-Qādirī: A biography of all important Iranian and Kashmirī Qādirī saints, by Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī; completed in 1282/1867. It also gives an account of the important non-Qādirī saints of Kashmir. However, it provides important information on the growth and popularity of the Qādirī order in Kashmir from the seventeenth century onwards. Manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No.30), comprises 263 folios, 22 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Hasan, by Fīr Ḥasan Khuihāmī (d.1898). This is a general political history of Kashmir, however, its third volume, entitled Auliya’-i-Kashmir, deals with the biographies of almost all the Kashmirī Śūfīs. The author claims to have used a vast amount of material from the earlier sources. The volume is divided into the following five chapters: Saiyids, Rishīs, Mashā’īkh-i-Kashmir, 'Ulamā and Majzūbs. It was translated into Urdu by M. Ibrāhīm, Srīnagar, 1960.

Tārīkh-i-Kabir, also called Tuḥā'ifu'l-Abrār, by Ḥājī Muḥī'ud-Din Miskīn; completed in 1321/1903-4. The author claims to have consulted all the earlier hagiological and political works of Kashmir, but it provides no additional information to that contained in Tārīkh-i-Hasan. It is divided into five chapters with the same headings as the latter work. Edition; Amritsar, Zīqa'd, 1322/January, 1905.
2. Works on Šūfī doctrines and practices

by Kashmirī authors

The works of Saiyid 'Alī, listed below, bear no date and are arranged alphabetically. Reference to manuscript copies in different libraries has been made in Appendix A.

Maqāmatu'l-Šūfīya, gives the forty 'stations' of the contemplative life. It is identical with the Risāla-i-Dah Qā'idā (see below). The ten principles of the latter are expanded into forty, without explaining them fully. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840. It comprises 3 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Dah Qā'idā: A treatise devoted to the contemplative life, explaining the ten 'stations' which a devotee has to complete in order to reach his goal. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16832, consisting of 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Darweshīya, explains the necessity of a spiritual guide for the seeker and the rules of conduct for the latter. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 6 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Futūḥīya, explains the Šūfī terms akhī and futūwāt. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.
Risāla-i-I*tīqādīya, is devoted to the basic five principles of Islam. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.


Risāla-i-Maktūbāt, is a collection of eight letters written by Saiyid 'Alī to various people. In these letters the Saiyid advocates the addressees to follow the path of justice and to observe the religious devotions such as prayer and fasting. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Mashā‘ibul-Ażwāq, is concerned with the causes which create love in man and deals with various categories of 'lovers of God'. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkīlāt, explains briefly ma‘rifā, its various stages and different categories of people who strive after it. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, one and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Zikrīya, discusses the importance of and advantages of the zikr-i-khaft, and defines in detail the two Ṣūfī categories: muqtaṣidān and sābīqān-i-Ṣafūf-i-wilāyāt. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 8 folios, 19 lines to a page.
Zakhiratu’l-Muluk, is the largest and the best known work written by the Saiyid. It is divided into the following ten chapters:

1. Articles of faith, comprising a discussion on the nature of the Godhead; Islam and İmān.
2. The principles of devotion, such as prayers, fasting, alms and the pilgrimage.
3. Virtue and morality.
6. The spiritual kingdom.
7. The adherence to lawful conduct and abstinence from the unlawful.
8. Gratitude and contentment.
10. Condemnation of conceit and anger; and praise of humility and forgiveness.

Edition; Amritsar, 1321/1903-4.

One more treatise by Saiyid 'Alī, which has been utilized in the present study, does not carry any title and is referred to as Ms.C. It explains the two Şūfī groups – maslūbu’l-ı-aql and zū’ı-aql, and follows Ghazālī in discussing whether the ’ulamā and the Şūfīs are legally entitled to use the wealth of the ruling classes. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, four and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Nūr-Nāmā: A collection of the sayings in Kashmirī poetry of Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn Rishī. The editor, M. Amīn Kāmil, claims to have made the collection from various biographical works of the Shaikh; however, he does
not give clear reference to his sources. The question of the authenticity of these sayings has been discussed earlier. The present text consists of 257 short poems, mostly of four lines. Edition; Srinagar, 1966.

Risāla-i-Zikrīya, by Shaikh Ya'qūb Šarfī. The importance of zikr is explained and light is thrown on the author's attitude towards the nature of the Godhead. The manuscript copies of the work are in Rīzā Library Rāmpur, No. (n.a.), and the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, No.37. The work comprises 36 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Dīwān-i-Šarfī: A collection of about seven hundred ghazals and forty rubā'īyāt of Shaikh Ya'qūb Šarfī. The ghazals are arranged alphabetically. Edited by Mīr Ḥabību'llāh Kāmilī, Srinagar; (n.d.).

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1 See supra, ch.VI.
3. Historical works by Kasmīrī authors

Sanskrit

The Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhana, is the most important available historical document of ancient Kasmīr; completed in 1148–49. It was translated into Persian under the orders of Akbar, by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad and rewritten in an easy style, in 999/1590 by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badaūnī. Edition; Eng.Tr. M.A. Stein, 2 vols, reprint, Delhi, 1961.

The Rājatarāṅgini of Jonarāja: Two hundred years after Kalhana's death, Jonarāja (d.1459) continued the narrative down to his own time. This is the earliest extant and most valuable source for the history of Kasmīr from 1150 to 1459. It throws important light on the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate in the Valley; and the tension which prevailed during Sūltān Sikandar's reign. Being a staunch Brahman himself, Jonarāja greatly resents the conversion of the Hindus to Islam and therefore his statements should be viewed with caution. Edition; Hoshiarpur, 1967; Eng.Tr., J.C. Dutt (Kings of Kasmīr), Calcutta, 1898.

The Rājatarāṅgini of Shrivara or Jainarājatarāṅgini, by Shrivara, the pupil of Jonarāja, gives a detailed account of the history of Kasmīr from 1459 to 1486. Like Jonarāja, Shrivara greatly exalts the virtues of Zainu'l-Ābidīn and is very critical of the Baihaqī Saiyids. Eng.Tr., J.C. Dutt, op.cit..
The Rājatarāṅgini of Shuka, is a historical account of Kashmir from Sultan Faṭḥ Shāh’s second reign down to the Mughal conquest of the Valley, by Shuka. It gives a valuable account of the rebellions and civil wars which had by this time become the order of the day in Kashmir. It also throws some light on the activities of Mīr Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Irāqī.

Eng.Tr., J.C. Dutt, op.cit.

Persian

Tarīkh-i-Kashmir, by Saiyid ‘Alī. This is the only extant Persian chronicle written during the reign of the Sultāns of Kashmir. G.M. Šufī says that the work was written between 1530-37, but the manuscript copy available to us also refers to events taking place after 1537 and, for example, lists the Chak rulers as far as Yūsuf Shāh. As the work does not refer to Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī, who succeeded Yūsuf Shāh in 1579, it would appear to have been completed in 1579 or a little before.

The author was related to the Shāh Mīr dynasty through his mother who was the sister of Nāzuk Shāh (f.27a-b). Both Saiyid ‘Alī and his father, Saiyid Muḥammad, were probably in the service of Mīrza Ḥaider (ff.27a). The manuscript begins abruptly with an account of the arrival at Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shihābu’-Dīn, of Saiyid Tāju’d-Dīn, the cousin of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. The conquests of Sultan Shihābu’-Dīn and the iconoclastic activities of Sultan Siṅkandar are both greatly exaggerated. Most of the work is concerned with the lives of the

1 Kashīr, I, xl.
Sufis including Rishtis. There is no chronological order in the narrative. A detailed analysis of the work is given below.

The arrival of Saiyid Taju’d-Din and the conquests of Sultan Shihabu’d-Din, ff.1a-2b.

Accession of Sultan Quṭbu’d-Dīn and the arrival of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, ff.2b-3a.

Activities of Saiyid ‘Alī and some of his disciples, ff.3a-8b.

Death of Sultan Qutbu’Dīn, f.9a.

Accession of Sultan Sikandar and the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad, f.9a-b.

Iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar and Mīr Muḥammad’s efforts to spread the faith of Islam, ff.10a-14b.

Death of Sultan Sikandar and the accession of ‘Alī Shāh, f.14b.

Zainu’l ‘Abidin’s reign: his activities to rehabilitate the Hindus and his patronage of arts and crafts, ff.15a-17b.

Brief description of important saints including Shaikh Bahau’d-Dīn Gaṅjvakshsh, ff.17b-19a.

Description of Zainu’d-Dīn and his exile to Tibet, ff.19b-20a.

Accession of Ḥaidar Shāh, f.20a.

Accession of Ḥasan Shāh: a brief description of his reign, ff.20a-21a.

Arrival of Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Irāqī, f.21a.

Brief description of Shaikh Ismā’Il Kubravī and his father Shaikh Fathu’llah, f.21b.

Accession of Fath Shāh, f.21b.
Civil war between Muḥammad Shāh and Fath Shāh and the latter's death, f.22a.

Brief description of Shaikh Ismā'īl's activities, f.23a.

Shamsu'd-Dīn Iraḍī's second visit to Kashmīr and his activities, ff.23a-25a.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's conquest of Kashmīr (second time), ff.25b-26a.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's anti-Shīʿī activities, f.26a-b.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's downfall and death, f.27a-b.

Ghāzī Shāh's accession, f.27b.

Ḥasan Shāh's, 'Alī Shāh's and Yusuf Shāh's reign, f.28a.

Reference to disciples of Muḥammad Hamadānī, ff.28b-29b.

Reference to disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, ff.29b-30a.

Brief notices about Saiyid Ḥāji Murād, Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī, Baba Usman Gana'ī, ff.30b-31b.

Descriptions of prominent Rishī saints, ff.32a-47a.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No.739) comprises 47 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Bahāristān-i-Shāhī is a history of Kashmīr from earliest times to 1023/1614-15, the year of its composition (chronogram). Nothing is known about the author, but it is popularly believed that he was a Shīʿī. The

1 Cf. Ṣūfī, Kash̄īr, I, p.XL; Muḥibbu’l-Ḥasan, Sultāns, p.8; Historians of Medieval India, p.56.
author mentions (ff.33a-b) that his great grandfather, Mulla Ḥasāmu'd-Dīn, had migrated from Ghaznī and was a disciple of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravī saint of Kashmir. He was probably in the service of, or patronised by, the Baihaqī Saiyids, for he devotes a large part of his work in eulogizing their characters and careers.

Apart from the Sanskrit chronicles mentioned earlier, the author claims to have consulted also the Persian works of Mulla Aḥmad and Mulla Nādirī of Zainu’l-‘Abidīn’s time, of which there are now no traces. The pre-Islamic period is dismissed in a few folios. The Muslim period, especially from the time of the later Shāh Mīr rulers, is discussed in detail. Some prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmir are also described by the author who provides the first account of the conflict which existed between Sultan Qutbu’d-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR.1799) and in the India Office (No. Etce, 509): the latter comprises 221 folios, 16 lines to a page.

Tārīḵh-i-Kashmīr, by Hasan bin 'Alī. This is a short history of Kashmir, which is claimed to cover the period to 1616; however, apart from a casual reference to Ya'qūb Shāh's submission to Akbar, the author does not proceed beyond Sultan Ḥasan Shāh's reign (1472-84). He corroborates the view stated in the Bahāristān-i-Shāhī on the conflict between Sultan Qutbu’d-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.
Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No.315) comprises 131 folios, 15 lines to a page.

**Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr**, by Ḥaider Malik Chadura, completed in 1620-21. The work closely follows the *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī*. Like the latter, it gives a short account of some important Muslim saints of Kashmir and throws some light on the Shiʿī-Sunnī conflict there. The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR.1799) and in the India Office (No. Ethe, 2846). The latter copy comprises 188 folios and there are 10 lines to a page.

**Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr**, by a Kashmirī Brahman, named Narāyan Kaul 'Ājiz, is a history of Kashmir to 1710, the year of the completion of the work. It is an abridgement of Ḥaider Malik's chronicle and contains no new information. The manuscript copies of the work are available at the Bodleian Library (No.318), India Office (No. Ethe, 511) and British Museum (No.11631). The latter comprises 125 folios, 14 lines to a page.

**Nawādiru'l-Akhbār**, by Abā Rāfiʿu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, completed in 1136/1723-24. It provides no information which is not contained in the earlier works, such as *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī* and *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Ḥaider Malik. The author, however, over-estimates the influence of the religious factor
in the civil wars which followed Sultan Hasan Shah's reign. Manuscript copy in the British Museum (No. Add.24029) comprises 131 folios, 11 lines to a page.

**Tarikh-i-A'zman**, also called *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir*, by Muhammad A'zam. This was completed in 1160/1747-48. The historical account is abridged from earlier works, but it offers valuable descriptions of all the prominent Sufis of Kashmir. These descriptions are inserted, in each case, after an account of the Sultan in whose reign the individual Sufis lived. Edition; 1303/1886.

**Gauhar-i-'Alam**. According to its preface, this is an abridgement of the abovementioned *Tarikh-i-A'zman*, by Muhammad Aslam. It was completed in 1200/1785-86 and dedicated to Shah 'Alam II (1759-1806). Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No. 320) consists of 289 folios, 11 lines to a page.

**Tarikh-i-Kashmir**, also known as *Majma'u'l-Tawarikh*, by Birbal Kachru. This is a history of Kashmir to 1251/1835-36. It is mainly based upon the earlier Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and is of little use for the history of the rulers before the Sikhs. Manuscript copy (No. 1973) in the Bodleian Library comprises 399 folios, 13 lines to a page.


Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan, by Pīr Ḥasan Khuiḥāmī (d.1898). The first volume deals with the geography of Kashmir, the Muslim monuments, castes, tribes and religious sects. The second volume is devoted to the political history of Kashmir to the author's own time. The third volume has already been referred to under the section concerned with biographies. The fourth volume concentrates upon the poets of Kashmir, mostly Persian, who flourished in the Sultanate and the Mughal period. Edition; I, Srinagar, 1954; II, Urdu tr. M. Ibrāhīm, Srinagar, 1957.
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Very few of the works on which this thesis has been based have been published. It was with the help of the various catalogues - published and unpublished - such as Rieu's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Blochet's Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans, Ethé's Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, and Storey's Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey, that the manuscripts were located. Some secondary works such as Kashīr and Kashmir under the Sultāns were also of great help in locating some manuscripts. The catalogues of the manuscripts held in the Riza Library, Rāmpūr, the Aligarh Muslim University, and the State Library, Rāmpūr have not been published. The author personally visited these libraries, took down notes, and obtained certain microfilms from them.

Where more than one copy of any work was available a choice of the particular copy used was determined by the following factors:

1. Availability of the manuscript.
2. Where a manuscript would not be lent out, whether microfilming was possible.
3. Age and condition. When a lacuna occurred in any manuscript selected as the source of a particular text, it was supplied from another manuscript, with due weight given to the characteristics of that manuscript as a whole.

^A detailed list of the catalogues has been given under Reference Works.
The bibliography is divided into three main parts: Primary, Secondary, and Catalogues, Dictionaries and Reference Works. The primary sources have been grouped under two headings:

A. Manuscripts;
B. Printed works.

All the primary sources have been arranged alphabetically under their titles, whereas modern works have been entered under the author's name. For convenience and economy the following abbreviations have been used, occurring several times in the bibliography:

B.M. British Museum.
I.O.L. India Office Library.
O.R.D. Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.
R.L.R. Rizā Library Rampūr.

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A. Manuscripts

The manuscripts used by modern scholars are noted within brackets.


Futūhāt-i-Kubrāviya, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nūrī, completed in 1162/1748-49. Ms. O.R.D., No.50 (Sültāns, Ms. O.R.D.).

Futūhāt-i-Qādirīya, by Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, completed in 1282/1867. Ms. O.R.D., No.30.

Hidāyatu'l-Mukhlīsīn, by Ḥādīr Tūlmūlī, completed in 997/1588-89. Ms. O.R.D., No.593.


Khawāriqūs-Sālikīn, by Mullā Ahmad bin Ṣābūr, completed in 1109/1697-98. Ms. O.R.D., No.(n.a.). (Sültāns, Ms. O.R.D.).

Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib, by Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī, begun in 778/1385. Ms. R.L.R., No.943. (Sültāns, Ms. Tubingen University Library, W, Germany; H.M.K., Ms. O.R.D.; Teufel, Ms. Pertsch (Berlin) No.6, Ethé, No.1889).

Maqālatu'l-Ṣūfiya, by Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Ms. B.M., Add.16840.

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Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Ḥaidar Malik, completed in 1620-21, Ms. Ethé, No.2846. (Kashīr, Ms. in the private collection of Khān Bahādur Maulvi Ḫāfar Ḥasan of Lahore; Sultāns, Ms. I.O.L., No.570 and O.R.D.; H.M.K., Ms. O.R.D.).
Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Ḥasan bin ‘Alī, completed in 1616, Ms. Bodleian No.318. (Sultāns, Ms. Bodleian No.318).
Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Saiyid ‘Alī, Ms. O.R.D., No.739. (Sultāns, Ms. O.R.D.).
PRIMARY SOURCES

B. Printed Works

Ahkāmau’s-Sultāniyya, by the jurist al-Mawārdī (d.450/1058), is an exposition of political and administrative theories in accordance with the principles of the sharī‘a, with historical and political deductions from the formative period of Islam.


‘Awārifu’l-Ma’ārif, by Shaikh Shihābu’d-Dīn Suhrawardī (d.632/1234), one of the most popular treatises on Sufism, dealing with ethics and Sufic practices. Edition, published on the margin of the Iḥyā’ Ulūm u’d-dīn of Ghazālī, Cairo, 1377/1957.


Fawā’idu’l-Fu‘ād, by Amīr Hasan Sijzī, is a collection of the discourses of Shaikh Nizāmu’d-Dīn Auliya‘ from 3 Sha‘bān, 707/28 January, 1308 to 20 Sha‘bān, 722/3 September, 1322. It also refers to anecdotes about other prominent saints of India. Edition: Buland Shahr, 1855-56.


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