

Sufism, State, and Society in Medieval Kashmir: An Analytical Study of Some Pioneering *Suharwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir

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Abstract

A holistic understanding of the socio-cultural and political dynamics of Medieval Kashmir (14th-17th centuries) is contingent on its contextualization concerning the then prevailing Sufi tradition(s). The Sufis, local and indigenous, left an indelible mark on the religious/cultural history of Kashmir with their profound impact on the significant dimensions of the medieval Kashmiri society, i.e., religion, economics, and politics. Their vehement stress on the doctrines of love, peace, compassion, social justice, and equality created an appealing ambiance. It made them ever living in the hearts of the masses even centuries after their departure. Despite their common spiritual aspirations, the Sufis belonging to different Sufi *Salāsil*/orders were at variance regarding their attitude towards the State/politics, economics/wealth, methodology for traversing the spiritual path, and social engagement. Studying and analyzing the role and impact of the Sufis and their variance towards the different dimensions of the medieval Kashmir society, especially politics, economy, education, and social activism, is highly significant for unveiling a substantial segment of the history of Kashmir. Among the major Sufi orders, the *Suhrwardiyya* order was the first Sufi order to be introduced in Kashmir by Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din ^(RA) Alias Bulbul Shah (d.1321 CE), who was instrumental in winning the first-ever conversion of a ruler to Islam in Kashmir. Subsequently, the Sufis belonging to this order, apart from being carrier agents of the religious and spiritual tradition of Islam in Kashmir, considerably influenced the society and politics of Kashmir, especially between the 13th to 16th centuries. The present study, with this backdrop, intends to assess the activities/engagement of few prominent *Suhrwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir (14th to 16th centuries) towards the society and politics of medieval Kashmir.

Key Words: Sufi, *Silsilah*, *Suhrwardiyya* order, socio-cultural, political, religious, economic.

Islam in Kashmir became a dominant religion through the peaceful preaching of the Sufi missionaries who not only brought religion but

helped to usher a new and innovative revolution in social, economic, political, cultural and literary spheres too. Though the scholarly works of Abdul Qayoum Rafiqi¹, Muhammad Ishaq Khan² and M. A. Wani³ have emphasized the role of Sufis in the history of Islam in the valley of Kashmir, their focus has mainly been on historical development of Sufism in chronological order, the indigenous Rishi movement and the emergence of Islam and understanding the roots of how Islam spread in Kashmir. But these scholars have not discussed at length the role of Sufis (especially the *Suharwardiyyas*) in the medieval society of Kashmir. Thus there is a possible dimension that is yet to be explored.

Introduction

Kashmir is one of the predominant Muslim cultures of the South Asian region that has a prestigious legacy of religio-spiritual ethos. The hagiographies and chronicles of Kashmir history narrate that this legacy has been part of a socio-religious setting from the 14th century onwards. This religio-spiritual legacy has been significant in reconstructing the demography, society, and political scenario of the vale. However, the change did not occur abruptly but through a gradual process that worked at different levels.

Almost some six centuries preceding the Muslim Sultanate's foundation in Kashmir, the gradual yet peaceful diffusion of Muslim traders and adventurers had already begun in the Valley. This gradual emergence of Muslims in the vale was mainly due to inter-regional trade links and the age-old cross-cultural interactions that hooked the valley with the contiguous regions that had already come under the tilt of Islamic missionaries and conquerors. Both traditional sources⁴ and travel accounts (travelogues)⁵ furnish valuable evidence regarding the prevalence of Muslim settlements in Kashmir before the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate in 1339 C.E. These evidences provide sufficient grounds in supporting the observations made by Stein that "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest, but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers, both from the South and from Central

Asia had prepared the ground".⁶

Unlike South Asia, the Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir was unique: there was neither any forcible conquest nor invasion from foreign conquerors. Furthermore, there were hardly any forcible conversions either. Large-scale conversions in Kashmir were because of Muslim preachers' untiring efforts (Sufi scholars who watched intently for suitable land to extend the frontiers of Islam) from Central Asia and Persia.⁷ During the Sultanate period, doors were thrown open to Muslim preachers, due to which the influx of Muslim immigrants (scholars cum Sufis) got enhanced. In addition to this, Muslim scholars were welcomed, extensively patronized, and endowed with extensive gifts from the ruling class, due to which they turned out to be successful in bringing out the peaceful and gradual propagation of Islam into every nook and corner of the valley, consequently exhibiting a transition from Hindu majority to a Muslim majority state over the next few centuries.

Almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir, Sufism⁸ was introduced here. Some of the most prominent Sufi scholars who were responsible for large scale conversions (propagation of Islam) in Kashmir were Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din ^(RA) Bulbul Shah, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (popularly known as Amir-i-Kabir), Mir Mohammad Hamadani and his followers, Sayyid Hussain Simnani, Sayyid Taju-ud-Din ^(RA) and many others including some popular indigenous ones like Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Noorani ^(RA) (Shaikh al-'Ālam), Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom ^(RA) (Mahbub al-'Ālam), Baba Daud Khaki ^(RA), Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi ^(RA), Khawaja Khawand Mahmud, etc. These Sufis belonged to different *silsilahs*,⁹ and with their emergence in Kashmir, multiple Sufi orders were introduced in the valley. The most prominent Sufi orders that influenced Kashmir include *Suhrwardiyyah*, *Kubraviyyah*, *Qadriyyah*, *Naqshbandiyyah*, *Nurbakhshiyyah* and the Rishi order.

The valley of Kashmir witnessed the arrival of *Suharwardi silsilah* as early as the fourteenth century, by a renowned Sufi, Sayyid Sharaf al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman alias Bulul Shah ^(RA) and in the fifteenth century by

Sayyid Muhammad Isfahani ^(RA), popularly known as Janbaz wali. However, the credit for the firm establishment and organization of this *silsilah* goes to Shaykh Hamza Makhdoom ^(RA), popularly known as Mahbub-ul-Alam (beloved of the world), who played a significant role in the dissemination of the *Suharwardi* order of Kashmir. The *Suharwardi* Sufis of Kashmir, both indigenous and foreigners, dedicated their whole lives to the cause of Islamization of the valley of Kashmir.

The arrival of Bulbul Shah

Bulbul Shah,¹⁰ one of the most celebrated saints of Kashmir, was instrumental in the transformation of Rinchana (Sultan Sadr-ud-Din) to Islam. The effects of this event percolated both the political and social arena of Kashmir as Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din ^(RA) became a spiritual guide to the Sultan. The latter, in turn, bestowed royal favors on the Sufi saint. The ruler built a *langarkhana*¹¹ for Bulbul Shah, the first hospice (*Khanqah*) built in Kashmir. Alongside the *Khanqah*, the Sultan also built a mosque nearby,¹² the first historically known mosque built in Kashmir. In the theoretical framework, this would mean that the relation pushed Islam from a dormant and unassuming entity to a privileged and a reference culture level in the Kashmir society. The Sultan's religion became one of the ways and attractions for ordinary people to be in the ruler's favourable circle. In this change that followed in the religious, political, and social milieu of Kashmir, the role played by Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din Bulbul Shah ^(RA) remains central.

It is of utmost significance that Rinchana as Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (1320-23) set a precedence and a model which opened an avenue for Shah Mir's¹³ ambition, leading to his seizure of the throne and hence the foundation of the first Muslim dynasty (in the valley) in 1339.¹⁴

The nature of *Suharwardiyya* Sufi relationship with the State

Sufism, generally viewed from spiritual and religious perspectives, has a political dimension too. The relationship between Sufis and state authorities' is complex as the diverse responses of Sufis towards the state

and also the policies of the state towards the Sufis makes it explicit. The Sufis played an essential socio-political role and sometimes acted as a counterweight against the state. Other times, they collaborated with the rulers and tried to redress the grievances of the ruled through various means. Many Sufis used their cordial relations with the political authorities to influence the state policies optimistically and constructively. Likewise, the ruling elite benefited from the Sufis to tackle political problems. Many historians have challenged and rejected the generalizations put forward by some scholars who considered Sufis to be otherworldly, who lead passive and contemplative lives. Richard Eaton, in his book, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700)*, described a variety of social roles played by the Sufis. According to him, "some of them wielded a sword, others a pen, others a royal land grant, and still others a begging bowl. Some were introverted to the point of reclusive withdrawal, other extroverted to the point of zealous puritanism, while still others were unorthodox to the point of heresy."¹⁵ Nile Green's recent work *Sufism: A Global History* also redefines Sufism's social location. Green opines that Sufism was mostly connected to power, and Sufis were part of the political and economic establishment of many Muslim societies."¹⁶

The interaction of *Suharwardiyya* Sufis and rulers (politics) began in right earnest with the foundation of the Sultanate in Kashmir. Sayyid Muhammad Isfahani, popularly known as Janbaz Wali¹⁷ (besides Bulbul Shah ^(RA)¹⁸ and Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani ^(RA)¹⁹), enjoyed royal tutelage while receiving endowments (for the maintenance of their *Khanqahs*) from the reigning Sultans, henceforth preserving the *Suharwardi* outlook regarding the political leadership. *Dastur-us-Salikin*, on one hand claims that Shaikh Hamza Makhdum ^(RA) never showed any inclination towards the political leaders of the period so much so that he did not even stand to greet them when they approached him,²⁰ while on the other hand, there are some indirect references in the same treatise which indicate that the Shaikh was in contact with the political group of the period. For instance, various references inform us that the people used to come to Shaikh Makhdum ^(RA) for pleading their cases before the then reigning Sultans.²¹

Shaikh sometimes even allowed his disciples to attend the Amirs' feasts, provided they arranged it out of love and affection.²² Thus the above-stated references indicate that *Suharwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir were not reluctant to accept the gifts from the rulers of the time.

Baba Daud Khaki ^(RA) himself had such close contact with the ruler of Kashmir that he dedicated his *Qasida-i-Ghusliyah Yusuf Shahi* to Sultan Yusuf Shah, in whose reign the *qasida* was completed.²³ Baba Hardi Rishi, another disciple of Shaikh Hamza ^(RA), though a Rishi did not cut himself off from politics. We are told that the (two) reigning Sultans (Ali Shah and Yousuf Shah) had great faith in him, who often used to come to the Shaikh and the Shaikh in return prayed for their success.²⁴ The above-stated references indicate that *Suharwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir were not reluctant to accept the gifts from the rulers of the time. There are ample evidences to show that the attitude of *Suharwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir towards various political groups of the period was not that of indifference and hatred, but it was sympathetic and friendly.

Conclusion

The *Suharwardiyya* Sufis of Kashmir exercised great influence on various social and cultural aspects of medieval society of Kashmir. While living a life of simplicity, they did not renounce the world or isolate themselves from the people and their problems. Most pious Sufi saints led a happy conjugal life and took an active interest in the affairs of the state (politics). Kashmir offers us good example in this case, thus signifying that Sufism has been unduly targeted with other wordly concerns, apolitical stance, inertness and inactiveness. The role of Sufi missionaries in general and that of *Suharwardiyya* Sufis in particular shows how much active they were in the Kashmiri society. In fact, they were engaged in each and every aspect of the society of Kashmir.

Notes and References

¹A.Q. Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, Sydney, Revised Edition, 2003

²M. Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: Role of Rishis*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1994

³M. Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2004

⁴According to *Chachnama*, Muhammad Allafi, an Arab mercenary, having entered the service of Raja Dahir (see Kufi, *ChachNamah*, Eng. tr. Mirza Kalichbeg Ferdunbeg, (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, Reprint, 1979, p.55) and later on his son Jaysiah, as a reliable adviser in 710 A.D, sought refuge in Kashmir for himself and for his corpus of five hundred men, after he and his patron Jaysiah failed to mate the advance of Muslim warriors led by Muhammad bin Qasim, during his expedition on Sind (See, Kufi, op.cit.pp.56, 110-111, 152-55, 160). Chandrapida (713-720 A.D), the then ruler of Kashmir, represented by Kalhana as an exceptionally just ruler free from any religious bigotry (see Kalhana, *Rajatarangni*, op cit., Vol. I, p. 88. See also *Rajatarangni*, Vol. I, Book IV, no. 55; no. 82) paid due respect and regard to Allafi (Kashmiri rulers had very intimate relations with the ruling family of Sind and Allafi had proved to be a trustworthy and lieutenant adviser of Dahir and Jayasiah. See Kufi, Op. cit., pp.56, 110-11,128,152-53,160) and even ordered that from among the dependencies of Kashmir, a place called *Shakalbar*, should be assigned to Allafi.

Kalhana, in his classical chronicle, *Rajatarangini*, records that “Vajraditya, the son and successor of Lalitaditya (724-61 A.D) sold many men to *mlecchas* (any foreigner who slaughtered animals and ate cows meet and usually the Muslims) and introduced into the country practices which befitted the *mlecchas*.”(see, Kalhana, op. cit., Vol. I, Book IV, No.379).

Harsha (1089-1101) is said to have recruited Turkish solidiers (*Turushkas*:Captains of Hundreds) and introduced in the country, under Muhammadan (Muslim) influence, more elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments. See Kalhana, op. cit., Vol. I, Book 7, No. 1149 and Book I, introduction, p.112.

Besides this, during the reign of Bhiksacara (1120-21), Muslim soldiers were employed and deputed to attack Sussala in Lahora. See Kalhana, op. cit., Vol. II, Book VIII, No.'s 885-86. Henceforth, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century, there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir.

⁵Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler, records the presence of a section of Muslims in Kashmir working as butchers for Kashmiri non-Muslims, “The people of the province (Kashmir) do not kill animals, nor spill blood, so if they want to eat meat, they get the Saracens (Muslims) who dwell among them to play the butcher”. See Henry Yule (ed.), *The Travels of Morco Polo*, Vol. I, London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1903, p. 167.

⁶Kalhana, *Rajtarangini* (tr. Stein), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, Reprint, 1979, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 130.

⁷Kashmir unlike its neighbours rescued its conquest by a foreign Muslim commander but could not escape elite lot among the Muslims, who conquered but not the land rather the hearts of the people. Kalhana, the classical chronicler of Kashmir, states that “country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by the force of soldiers. Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond.” See Kalhana, op.cit. Vol. I, p. 9

⁸Scholars have defined Sufism (*Tasawuuf* or Islamic Mysticism) in different ways; as “Sufism” according to A. J. Arberry, “is the mystical movement within Islam, whereas a

Sufi, the one who associates himself with this movement, is an individual who is devoted to an inner quest for mystical union with his Creator. It also involves a 'personal trafficking with God.' see Farid al-Din Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya* (Memorial of the Saints) trans., A. J. Arberry (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 1-2.

Murray Titus holds that Sufism is "an attitude of mind and heart towards God and the problems of life." See Murray T. Titus, *Indian Islam: A Religious History of Islam in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 111. Tanvir Anjum describes Sufism as "an attitude of soul that entails an individual's direct relationship with God with a profound comprehension of the Real and Absolute Truth." See Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2007), p. 15.

The opinions regarding origin of Sufism are also as different as those are about its definition. Some scholars like E. H. Palmer opine that roots of Sufism lay in pre-Islamic traditions. See E. H. Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism: A Treatise on Sufistic and Unitarian Theosophy of the Persians* (London: Luzac, 1969 report, first published 1867), as cited in Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p.9. while others like Edward G. Brown are in favour of the theory that Sufism represents the esoteric doctrine of the Prophet of Islam ^(SAW). See Edward G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Reprint, 1977, first published 1902), pp. 418-21. "There is no denying that all mystical traditions have something in common but it does not mean that Sufism largely borrowed doctrinal system, methods and practices from other religions" records Tanveer Anjum in one of his articles. See Tanveer Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, p. 19.

⁹By the twelfth century Sufism had passed through its classical to its medieval phase. It was no longer the theoretical musings of ascetical protest groups; it has become an institutional movement, with hierarchical orders (*Silsilahs*, *Tariqahs*), Charismatic leaders (*Pirs*, *Murshids*, *Shaikhs*) and delineated territories of spiritual jurisdiction (*Vilayats*). It also included property: residential buildings or hospices (*Khanqahs*) often related to tomb complexes (*Nazars*), Mosques (*Masjids*) and Schools (*Madrasas*).

¹⁰Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din Bulbul Shah ^(RA), a disciple of Shah Niamattullah Farsi and a native of Turkistan, was the first to introduce *Suharwardiyya* order into Kashmir. While embarking upon a long journey and travelling through Central Asia and Persia, he arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-20) –the last ruler of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir.

¹¹The *Langarkhana* was provided with provisions and facilities of food and residence. It was open to the common folk. For the upkeep of the *langarkhana* (free kitchen), some villages of the Nagam pargana were given as revenue free grants. To this day the place bears the name of the same of the same *Khanqah*. It is presently known as Bulbul Lankar.

¹²Baba Daud Mishkauti, "*Asrar-ul-Abrar*" RPD no. 40, f.45a; Aba Rafiud-Din, "*Nawadiru'l Akhbar*" Ms. BM no. 24029 (completed in 1136/1723-23), ff.16b-19b; Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur, "*Khawariqu's Salikin* (completed in 1109/1697-98), RPD No. 230, ff.4ab-5a; Haidar Malik Chadura, "*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*", (completed in 1620-21), Ms. Ethe No. 2846, f.83a; Dr. Sabir Aafaqi, "*Tarikh-i-Kashmir Islami Ahad Main*",

Shaikh Muhammad Usman and sons, Srinagar, 2013, pp.36-37; Muhammad Din Fouk, “*Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*”, verinag publishers, Mirpur Azad Kashmir, 1991, pp.304-307; Pir Hassan Khoihami, “*Tarikh-i-Hassan*”, vol.iii, urdu tr. “*TazkiraAwliyay-i-Kashmir*” by Prof. Hussain Shah Qasmi, Ali Muhammad Usman and sons, Srinagar, 2016, pp. 64-66; Muhi-ud-Din Miskin, “*Tarikh-i-Kabir*”, urdu tr. Professor Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, Shaikh Muhammad Usman and sons, Srinagar, 2015, pp.10-13; Pirzada Muhammad Ashraf Shah Sayyid Fazili, “*Tazkira-i-Salikin Kashmir*”, Shaikh Muhammad Usman and sons, Srinagar, 2015, pp.24-25; Khawaja Muhammad Azam Didammari, “*Waqiat-i-Kashmir*”, urdu tr. Prof. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, Jammu and Kashmir Islamic research centre, Srinagar, 2001, pp.54-56; Khawaja Muhammad ShafiQadri Naqshbandi, “*Riyaz-ul-Abrar*”, Vol. I, Book Vision, Hazratbal, Srinagar, 2008, pp.27-30; Gulam Rasool Bhat, “*Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din Hazrat Bulbul Shah*” edited “*Awliyay-i-Kashmir (Hamara Adab)*”, Vol. I, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of art, culture and languages, Srinagar, 1998, pp 9-16; R. K. Parmu, “*A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir*”, Gulshan Books, Residency Road, Srinagar, 2009, pp. 79-80; Khan, “*Kashmir’s Transition to Islam, Role of Rishis*” Manohar Publishers and distributors, New Delhi, 1994, pp.61-63; A. Q. Rafiqi, “*Sufism in Kashmir*”, Good Word Media, Sydney, Australia, revised edition, 2003, pp.8-12, 19-20; Muhammad Ashraf Wani, “*Islam in Kashmir*”, oriental publishing House, Srinagar, 2004, pp.53-55; S. A. A. Rizvi, “*Sufism in India*”, Vol. I, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, publishing year, pp. 289-290; Khan, “*Biographical Dictionary of Sufis in South Asia*”, Manohar publishers and Distributers, New Delhi, 2009, pp.337-339; Khan, “*Sufis of Kashmir*”, Gulshan Books Residency Road, Srinagar, 2011, pp. 320-323; G.M.D Sufi, “*Kashir: Being a history of Kashmir from ancient times to our own*”, vol. I, University of Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan, 1948, pp.81-83, 123-126; Mohib-ul-Hassan, “*Kashmir under Sultans*”, Iran society, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 39-41; G.M.D. Sufi, “*Islamic culture in Kashmir*”, N. Gopinath for light and life publishers, New Delhi, 1979, pp.33-35.

¹³Shah Mir (1339-42) who started his career as a military faction leader and a palace politician adopted the title Sultan Shams al Din on his assumption of sovereignty or little later. See Aziz Ahmad, “*Conversion to Islam in the valley of Kashmir*”, Central Asiatic Journal, 1979, Vol. 23, No.1/2, p.10.

¹⁴After the death of Rinchana, Hindu rule was resumed again until the final usurption of power by Sultan Shams- ud-Din Shah Mir.

¹⁵Richard Maxwell Eaton, “*Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700): Social Role of Sufis in Medieval India*” (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 283.

¹⁶Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 8.

¹⁷Accompanied by a band of scholars and Sufis, Janbaz Wali was warmly welcomed by the Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin) and gifted him an endowment for his maintenance. The *Langarkhana* (Public charity Kitchen) of Sayid Janbaz Wali always remained in service of the people and everyday people in large numbers used to have food from this place, which is even testified by the presence of a large Cauldron (still persisting near the tomb of Janbaz Wali). The receiving of food from the kitchen of Sayid Janbaz not only by Muslims but also by the Hindus amply brings into limelight his (Janbaz Wali) religio-spiritual activities of guiding the common masses towards the truthful way in an unparalleled peaceful manner. The fact remains that the people would come to listen Sayid Janbaz who after finishing his religious sermons used to arrange food for the

masses. See Sayid Ali, “*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*”, RPD No.739; f.29a; Mullah Ahmad Sabur, “*Khawariqu’s Salikin*” RPD Ms. No. 230, f.13a; Abdul Wahab Nuri, “*Futuh-i-Kubrawiyya*”, RPD No. 50, f.74b; Baba Daud Mishkwati, “*Asrar-ul-Abrar*”, RPD No. 5, f.103a; Khawaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, “*Waqiat-i-Kashmir*”, Urdu tr. by Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, pp.88-89; Pir Gulam Hassan, “*Tarikh-i-Hasan*” (*Asrar-ul- Akhyar*), Vol. III, Urdu tr. as “*Tazkiray-i-Awliyay Kashmir*” by M. Ibrahim, Srinagar, 1960, p.40; Qadri Ahmad Shah, “*Dhikr-i-Janbaz*”, Shaykh Muhammad Usman and Sons, Srinagar, 2002, pp. 12-51; Mushtaq Ahmad Zargar, “*Hazrat Sayid Muhammad Rafa-i Isfahani*,” “*Awliya-i-Kashmir*” (Hamara Adab), Vol. I, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1998; Abdul Qayoum Rafiqi, “*Sufism in Kashmir*”, Sydney, Australia, Revised edition, 2003, p.21; Muhammad Ishaq Khan, “*Biographical Dictionary of Sufis in South Asia*”, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p.325; Khan, “*Sufis of Kashmir*”, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, pp.297-98.

¹⁸Baba Daud Khaki, *Dastur-us-Salikin*, Ms. RPD No. 741, f.163b.

¹⁹Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani entered the valley from Kirman during either of the two periods of Sultan Nazuk Shah’s reign (1529-30; or 1540-52). The reigning sultan got so much influenced by the personality of Sayyid Ahmad that he became his devotee, built a *Khanqah* for him at Narwar in Srinagar and also assigned an annual grant for the maintenance of his *Khanqah* out of the revenues of the state. This *Khanqah*, the nerve centre of his activities obviously played an important role in disseminating *Suharwardi Silsilah* alongwith suppressing the Shiite traditions in the valley. See Diddamari, “*Waqiat-i-Kashmir*”, urdu tr. pp. 54-55; Pir Hasan, “*Tarikh-i-Hasan*”, “*Tarikh-i-Awliya-i-Kashmir*”, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 270f; Miskin, “*Tarikh-i-Kabir*”, urdu tr. by Dr. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, p. 112; Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 270f; Khan, “*Biographical dictionary of Sufis in South Asia*”, op. cit., p. 310; Rafiqi, “*Sufism in Kashmir*”, p. 22.

²⁰Baba Daud Khaki, *Dastur-us-Salikin*, Ms. RPD No. 741, f.163b.

²¹Baba Daud Khaki, *Dastur-us-Salikin*, (Persian), ff.201b, 208a.

²²It is said that once an Amir invited the disciples of Shaikh Hamza ^(RA) to a feast. The disciple felt reluctant to go, for he had no permission to go to amirs, when Shaikh Hamza ^(RA) came to know about it, he allowed his *Murid* to share the feast on the ground that feast was arranged out of love and affection. Ibid, ff. 190ab.

²³In his *Risala-i-Gusl-i-Yusuf Shahi*, khaki showers praise on the Shia ruler of Kashmir for his equitable justice, nobility of culture, promotion of learning and policy of non-interference in the religious life of his subjects. See Khaki “*Qasida-i-Gusla-i-Yusuf Shahi*”, RPD Ms.No. 1914, ff.4b-5ab. Not only Yusuf Shah but also his father, Sultan Ali Shah, is praised by Khaki for their respect for the pious (*Saliheen*). See Khaki, “*RishiNama*”, RPD Ms. No. 1822,f.121a.

²⁴Baba Daud Khaki, “*Rishi Nama*”, f.121a.