

Expansion and Consolidation of Sufi Tradition in Medieval Kashmir: An Estimation of the Suhrawardiyya Order

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The genesis, development and consolidation of Sufi tradition, its orders and institutions in medieval Kashmir accrues considerable significance in understanding and relating not only the institutionalization of taṣawwuf (Sufi path) but also the process of Kashmir's transition to Islam. However, transmitting this significant historical phenomenon to the modern mind with a proper context demands meticulous, objective and academic evaluation and elucidation of the intertwined aspects of social, cultural, political, historical and religious importance related to it.

Undeniably, majority of studies have highlighted the biographies, role and contribution of the foreign Sufis from Persia, Iran and other regions. However, estimating the contribution of the local/indigenous Sufis of Kashmir in perpetuating and sustaining the Islamic culture, ethos and spiritual aura has received scanty attention at academic level. With this backdrop, the current paper, while evaluating the consolidation of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi order in Kashmir, attempts to analyze this important and lesser-known dimension of the development of Sufi aspect in Kashmir during 16th century. With an analytical, historical and descriptive method, the study seeks to unfold and elucidate the role and contribution of the local/indigenous Sufis with a representation from the prominent disciples of Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Ḥamzah Makhdūm (RA)– the protagonist of the Suhrawardiyya Order in Kashmir—who pioneered the era of reformation and revivification of the Muslim society in Kashmir after Ḥaḍrat Shaykh ul-‘Ālam (RA). Under his tutelage a generation of intellectually sound, spiritually firm and morally upright disciples was produced to perpetuate the genuine tradition of Sufi thought and discipline in Kashmir in the 16th and 17th centuries. Following an exploratory and explanatory approach, the paper attempts to evaluate the biographies, role and contribution of these second generation local Sufis toward the development of Sufi discipline especially the consolidation and perpetuation of the Suhrawardiyya Order in medieval Kashmir.

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Keywords:

taṣawwuf, Sufi, Suhrawardiyya, *silsilah*, Medieval Kashmir, Spirituality, Culture, Society.

Introduction

Embracing a unique spiritual aura since antiquity, Kashmir is known for its rich legacy of spiritual traditions connected with different religions like, Buddhism, Hinduism, Saivism and Islam, the youngest religion to claim unparalleled successes in Kashmir through the peaceful preaching of Sufi scholars. Islam emerged in Kashmir as a natural outcome of the process of cross-cultural interaction with the neighbouring regions, especially Persia and Central Asia through age-long trade relations. Unsurprisingly, sources allude to the presence of Muslims as merchants, fortune seekers, travellers and military in the service of Hindu Kings in Kashmir by tenth century onwards.¹ This is even though the first Muslim preacher to have been recorded in the annals was Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn *alias* Bulbul Shāh (d. 1326 C.E.), who came from Turkistan (Central Asia) in 1321 C.E. The Muslim population grew from a small colony in 10th century to a majority by the 17th century, owing to diverse causes with social, cultural, political and religious nature. However, among all reasons behind the stupendous rise of Muslim population in Kashmir and hence, Kashmir's transition to Islam, the role of Sufis in making conversions through their knowledge, practice and behaviour remains undisputable.

As testified from the sources, following Bulbul Shah (RA), prominent Sufis like, Sayyid Ḥusayn from Simnan, Mir Sayyid 'Alī from Hamadān (*alias* Shāh-i-Hamadān) accompanied by hundreds of disciples, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī from Isfahān *alias Janbāz Walī*, Sayyid Aḥmad from Kirman and many others came to Kashmir from Central Asia and Persian lands between the 14th and 15th centuries. Their primary objective was preaching Islam and guiding the masses with Islamic spiritual discipline known as *taṣawwuf*, which had by then reached to the apex of its institutional development represented by different Sufi masters, Sufi orders/sub orders and Sufi *khānqāhs*/hospices throughout the Muslim world. These Sufi preachers subscribing to different *salāsil*/orders not only educated the people with the new dogma (Islam) and its spiritual formulae, but also enriched the valley with new skills, art, architecture, language and literature. Hence, their range of activities was not limited to religious guidance; rather, it expanded to the social, economic, cultural and educational aspects of the medieval Kashmiri society.

Initially, between 14th-15th centuries, the major role in spreading Islam in Kashmir was carried out by the immigrant Sufis from Central Asia and Persia. Subsequently, by the 16th century, social structure of Kashmir depicted a major transition with regards the religion, and Islam began to be followed by the majority owing to the role played by the indigenous Sufis like Shaykh al-‘Ālam and Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah (b.1576 C.E). They and their eminent disciples rose to unrivalled prominence and catered for the religious, moral and spiritual guidance of the masses more effectively than the immigrant Sufi saints, who would have naturally faced the problems of communicating the religious formulae due to language barriers.

Emergence of *Suhrawardiyyah* Sufi Order in Kashmir: A Brief Review

The major Sufi orders that proliferated in Kashmir include the initially arriving Suhrawardiyyah, Kubrawiyya and the famous indigenous Rīshī *silsilah*/order, spearheaded by Shaykh ‘Ālam Nūr al-Dīn *alias* Nund Rīshī, and the lately introduced Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders. The Suhrawardiyya order was introduced by Bulbul Shah (RA) in 14th century (by 1321 C.E) and later on, lead by Sayyid Muḥammad Isfahānī al- Rifā‘ī, or *Janbāz Walī* in 15th century and Sayyid Aḥmad Kirmānī in 16th century. After the demise of Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥmān *alias* Bulbul Shāh, the Suhrawardiyya order faced a setback almost for a century until the arrival of Sayyid Janbāz Walī and later, Sayyid Aḥmad Kirmānī. Though all of the three Suhrawardiyya saints had established cordial relations with the state, which formed a unique feature of Suhrawardiyya sufis. Yet, during their epochs, this order could not witness a firm establishment in the valley. However, it witnessed a colossal phase of development with the initiation of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah (b. 1494 C.E./d.24th Safar 984= 23rd May1576) by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, who was a descendant of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī of Uch, the prominent disciple of Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multanī, even under unsuitable religious-political milieu.

Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm’s unwavering advocacy of *Ahl al-sunnah* creed against the Shiite tradition, introduced during the commencing years of 16th century by Mīr Shams Irāqī, in the valley, is unquestionable. With the support of Sayyid Aḥmad Kirmānī, Shaykh Ṭāhir Rafīq Suhrawardī, Shaykh Ya‘qūb Ṣarafī Kubrawī, he subdued the increasing influence and impact of this creed upholding the Sunni orthodox tradition. The main reason for his antagonism towards the Shiite tradition in the valley was their allegedly harsh and rude stance regarding the first three *khulafā’-i rāshidīn*. The unreserved allegiance and propagation of the Sunni tradition besides remaining at

forefront in displaying their antipathy towards the Shiite tradition, earned the Suhrawardiyya saints like Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah and his associates, hostility and persecution from the Shiite rulers. Though the Shiite tradition received allegiance from the ruling class, yet, in the presence of aforementioned Sunni scholars, this tradition could not flourish with success.

Sayyid Jamāl's transitory visit of six months in Kashmir around 1526 C.E. was meant for training Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, who is recorded to have received the certificate of *khilāfah*/vicegerency and *ijāzah*/authorization to enrol disciples before his Shaykh left the valley for Delhi.ⁱⁱ Makhdūm Ḥamzah proved to be the most influential and industrious protagonist of the Suhrawardiyya fraternity in Kashmir. His spiritual lineage went back to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā of Multan, the pioneer of this order in the Indian subcontinent and disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, the mainstay of this Sufī brotherhood. The spiritual pedigree of Makhdūm Ḥamzah has been sketched out below:

The Spiritual Lineage of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah Kashmīrī:

Beloved Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ)

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Ḥaḍrat 'Alī (R.A)

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Khwājā Ḥasan Baṣrī

↓

Khwājā Ḥabīb Rā'ī

↓

Shaykh M'arūf Karkhī

↓

Shaykh Sarī Saqaṭī

↓

Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī (R.A)

↓

Shaykh Mimshad al-Dīnawarī (R.A)

↓

Shaykh Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym (R.A)

↓

Shaykh Abū 'Alī Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Rūdhbarī (R.A)

↓

Shaykh Aḥmad Aswad al-Dīnawarī (R.A)

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given a partial treatment or overlooked the role of these eminent spiritual figures who have made significant contributions toward sustaining the spiritual tradition, religious spirit through reform and revival, education and training, communal harmony, peace and social fabric in medieval Kashmir. Thus, an attempt has been made in the following section to explore their biographies and estimate their role and contribution toward the social, cultural, educational and religious dimensions of Kashmiri society during 16th century.ⁱⁱⁱ

Prominent Disciples of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah's (RA) and the Consolidation of Suhrawardiyya Sufi Order in Kashmir

Shaykh Aḥmad Chāgalī: The Beginner

The first disciple enrolled by Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah in the Suhrawardiyya order was Shaykh Aḥmad Chāgalī. Born at Chāgal, a village in the sub-division (*pargana*) Kāmraj of Kashmir, he committed the Holy Qur'ān to his memory at an early age of six. After completing the elementary education course from the local teachers, he went to Srinagar to satiate his thirst of higher learning in the religious sciences. Besides, achieving guidance in the religious education (*Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and Fiqh*) from the well-known scholars (*'Ulamā'*) of the day, he managed to receive spiritual knowledge as well and was enrolled by Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah in the Sufi path. After receiving guidance from his preceptor/*murshid*, Shaykh Chāgalī went into deep ecstatic state absorbed in the Divine love.^{iv}

Subsequently, with the permission of his preceptor, Shaykh Chāgalī inhabited a cave on the Harwan hill, and remained in complete seclusion for six years undergoing severe self-discipline with scanty food and sleep to complete the spiritual journey. Accompanying his guide, Shaykh Chāgalī moved across the valley for the guidance of the people and diffusion of the Suhrawardiyya order. Having received the *khilāfat*/vicegerency and *ijāzah*, Shaykh Chāgalī, at the behest of his *murshid*, returned to his village and made it a centre of his religious activities enrolling disciples, reforming, educating and guiding the masses.^v Shaykh Chāgalī was the closest disciple to his *pīr*/preceptor such that Khwāja Ishāq Qārī relates in his *Chilchillat al-'Arifīn* that 'no one dared to enter the court of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm without permission save, Shaykh Aḥmad Chāgalī, Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī and Bābā Hardī Rīshī.'^{vi}

Shaykh Chāglī authored *Risālah-i Sultāniyya*, a treatise written in the praise of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah, with records of his supernatural feats and the importance of recollection (*Dhikr*) for the seekers of Sufi path. Shaykh Aḥmad Chāgalī was satiated with Divine love and ecstasy and his disciples too used to remain in a state of ecstasy after smelling the spiritual aroma of the Sufi path. After his death, he was buried in his native village.^{vii}

Bābā Dāwūd Khākī: The Unrivalled Erudite

The most celebrated among the disciples of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah was Bābā Dāwūd Khākī (1503-1586C.E).^{viii} Historians are at variance regarding his birth place, however, the renowned historian of Kashmir, Muḥammad Ishāq Khān considers ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Pūrā (*Alauddin Pora* named after Sultān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn-d.1353) in Srinagar as his place of birth.^{ix} He was called as “Datī Ganā’ī” though his actual name was “Dawlat” with “Bābā” and “Dāwūd” as appellations (*alqāb*, pl. of *laqab*) and “Khākī” as his pen name (*takhalluṣ*). He belonged to the famous *Ganā’ī* tribe of Kashmir and his father was Khwājā Ḥasan Ganā’ī. In earlier times the term *Ganā’ī* referred to a scribe or a writer or language teacher. Since his ancestors had been outstanding scribes of their times and had served the administration at higher posts for which this tribe received the appellation of *Ganā’ī*.^x

Although, Khākī lost his parents at an early stage, yet, he wholeheartedly dedicated himself towards learning and toiled hard for gaining expertise in the current-day academics that was mainly based on religious sciences. At the age of nine, he committed the Qur’ān to his memory and received education under the tutelage of famous scholars of the age including, Mullā Baṣīr, Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Pāl and Mullā Raḍī al-Dīn. From them Khākī learned science of Qur’ān, *Ḥadīth*, Fiqh and exegesis (*tafsīr*) in addition to *ṣarf* and *naḥaw* (accidence and syntax/Arabic grammar), literature, theology, poetry (Arabic and Persian), etc. Such was the level of his erudition that he was called as *Abū Hanīfa al-Thānī* (Abū Hanīfa, the Second). Having accomplished the educational and academic endeavours, Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, initially adopted the job of a scribe. However, he sooner achieved such a prominence as an acclaimed intellectual and erudite that the children of the royal family were brought under his tutelage. Apropos this, his appointment as the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* or ‘Chief Justice of Kashmir’ was unsurprising and for many years, he enjoyed the worldly glory, fame and royal munificence receiving healthy

stipends, monthly as well as annually, from the court. As per Mishkāṭī, he was married to the daughter of Mīrak Mīr Andrābī, the famous Sufi of *Qādirī* order in Kashmir.^{xi}

While Khākī was enjoying the luxuries with least cravings for undergoing spiritual experience, his encounter and thought-provoking conversations with Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah became a turning point in his career. The pride of knowledge began to disappear from his heart inspiring him to abandon the transitory worldly glory forever after being enrolled as the disciple of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm. Under the guidance of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, he adopted a simple life-style and performed menial jobs to discipline his baser or ego-self. This change in physical appearance was an obvious demonstration of the transformation of his inner state.^{xii}

Khākī, an ocean of bookish knowledge, was illuminated with the knowledge of spiritual truths or higher realities receiving Divine radiance by performing *‘ibādat* (worship), *dhikr* (recollection) and other spiritual exercises under the supervision of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah. Khākī developed a strong companionship with his contemporary Sufi luminaries like Sayyid Aḥmad Kirmānī, Makhdūm Ḥājī Aḥmad Qārī and Bābā Hardī Rīshī.^{xiii} It is tempting to quote ‘Allāma Khākī’s joyful expression over his companionship with his *murshid*, Makhdūm Ḥamzah, which is reflected at the very outset in his most distinguished poetic composition, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, as:

شکر الله حال من بر لحظه نیکو تر شد است

شیخ شیخان شیخ حمزه تا مرا رهبر شد است^{xiv}

I Thank Almighty Allah that my every coming moment witnesses a better state from the time the master of masters, Shaykh Ḥamzah has become my Rahbar or guide.

Likewise, Khākī’s following statement seems adorable, as he says:

این تن آلوده غریبه سپرید او را که چون

فر ارشادش ز شوینده چون فرغر شد است^{xv}

Handover my (spiritually) polluted body to him (my Murshid, Makhdūm Ḥamzah) so that the radiance of his truthful instructions will act as water and wash away the contamination that has occupied (and polluted) my inner self.

The Suhrawardiyya *silsilah* is known for its emphasis on promoting religious knowledge among the novices and in line with this approach, Khākī, while traversing the spiritual path, would impart the knowledge of religious sciences to the masses including the disciples of Makhdūm Ḥamzah like Mullā ‘Alī Rainā and Mawlawī ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Expectedly, students would flock to him from distant places for guidance, education and training and he used to provide the aspirants with books from his personal library.^{xvi}

The Sufi Path (*tarīqah/sulūk*) requires the travellers/aspirants to display an obstinate devotion toward one’s preceptor/*murshid* and hence, Khākī’s obedience to his mentor, Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, was inimitable. He considered his preceptor as an apt guide able to save his disciples from plunging into the religious corruption and divergence from the right track.^{xvii} Khākī’s sincere love and reverence for his *murshid* can be gauged from the fact that he considered the *kulāh* (cap) and *khirqah* (cloak), which he received from him, much better than the royal garments, as is noticeable from the following couplet:

این کلاه پوستین وین خرقه پشمین که داد

بندہ را بہ از قبائے شاہی و افسر شداست^{xviii}

The cap and cloak he (Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm) offered is far better than the royal crown and cloak for this humble servant.

Under his preceptor’s command, Khākī spent some time in seclusion undergoing severe practices of self-discipline, contemplation and *dhikr*/recollection of God. In 1557 C.E., he left for Uch to visit the tomb of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahāniyān, the distinguished Suhrawardiyya luminary of 14th century. During his sojourn in Multan, he received spiritual benefits from outstanding Sufis besides being bestowed with *khilāfatnāma*. On his return, at Lahore, he met with Ḥājī Aḥmad Qārī, who on his persuasion accompanied Khākī to Kashmīr. Ḥājī Aḥmad Qārī was son and *khalīfa* of Makhdūm ‘Abbās Multānī, a descendent of Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī (the pioneer of Suhrawardiyya order in India). Later on, he settled in Kashmir, teaching people *Qir’at* (recitation) of the Qur’ān besides helping in consolidating the

Suhrawardiyya order. Khākī's earnest devotion and sincerity, earned him special favours from Makhdūm Ḥamzah, who would call him as his son, bestowed him with *khilāfah* (vicegerency), and gave him *ijāzah* (authorization) to guide people in the spiritual path. On witnessing Khākī's spiritual merit, Shaykh Isma'īl Shāmī of Qādirī order and Bābā Ḥyder Tulmūlī, also conferred on him *khilāfatnāmas* of the Qādirī and Suhrawardiyya orders respectively. However, Khākī always guided the aspirants in the Suhrawardiyyah spiritual method. At the behest of his preceptor, Khākī travelled across the valley, preaching Islam, guiding the novices, reforming Muslims, calling them to enjoin good and abandon the evil and his eloquent sermons mainly focused on the approvals (*m'arūf*) and disapprovals (*munkar*) for things and actions in *sharī'ah*. Disseminating the Suhrawardiyya order, enrolling disciples and guiding the masses in the Sufi path, Khākī played a seminal role in consolidating the Suhrawardiyya *silsilah* in the valley.^{xix}

‘Allāma Khākī was a prolific writer and has produced many exceptional works in prose and poetry that embrace religious, historical, educational, political and literary importance. His prominent works, mainly Persian, include, *Qaṣīdah-i Jalāliyya*, *Qaṣīdah-i Lāmiyya* and its extended form *Rīshī Nāmah*, *Risālah-i Ḍarūriyyah* and *Qaṣīdah-Ghusliyya Yūsuf Shāhī* and the most celebrated poetic composition, *Wird al Murīdīn* and its commentary, *Dastūr al Sālikīn*.^{xx}

Khākī's *magnum opus*, *Wird al Murīdīn* is an eloquent poetical expression of his love, devotion and reverence towards his *murshid* Makhdūm Ḥamzah. This work and its commentary *Dastūr al-Sālikīn* mainly highlight the life, teachings, spiritual status and supernatural feats (*karāmāt*) of Makhdūm Ḥamzah besides exploring some teachings and facts of the Sufi path. Quranic verses, *Ḥadīth* and sayings from authentic Sufi treatises have been added within the subject matter.^{xxi} The volume along with its commentary, *Dastūr al Sālikīn*, serve as an essential reference with regards the religious atmosphere, political vicissitudes and structure of Sufi discipline in 16th century Kashmir.

Khākī's proposition of certain imperative conditions for every spiritual seeker to traverse the Sufi path successfully helps in estimating the Sufi methodology of self purification prevalent in medieval Kashmir. Some of these conditions, as related in *Wird al Murīdīn*, include:

- To subsist on scanty food.
- To remain in seclusion.
- To have persistence in recollection (*dhikr*) of Allah.

- To remain in a state of purity (performing ablution on requirement).
- To purify the heart from baser desires (inward purity).
- To exhibit sincere devotion and obedience toward one's guide or *murshid*.
- To make silence a habit.
- To remain contented with the Divine Providence.^{xxii}

The Suhrawardiyya masters have adopted a neutral stance toward Sufi audition (*samā'*) i.e., neither promoting it for provoking ecstasy nor denouncing it absolutely and they prefer *dhikr* over *samā'* to generate feelings of divine love. Hence, it is unsurprising that Khākī approves it only under some prescribed limits although he mentions its disapproval by his preceptor (in his *Wird al-Murīdīn*). He argues that the Sufi audition induces divine love when heard under specific conditions laid by the Sufi masters and apart from this, he strongly disapproves of this practice.^{xxiii} Obviously, the significance of *adhkār* or remembrance of God in different ways, contemplation and Naqashbandiyya practices of *hōsh aar dam* and *khalwat dar anjuman* together with the recitation of *Awrād-i Fathīyya* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī Kubrawī have been emphasized greatly in his *Wird al-Murīdīn*. Further, he highlights the significance of following a genuine and truthful guide in the spiritual path and remaining cautious of the charlatans. Likewise, in the footsteps of his preceptor, his polemical attitude and resentment towards the dissenters (*rawāfiḍ*), who revile the first three Pious Caliphs, is vivid throughout his *Wird al-Murīdīn* and its commentary, *Dastūr al Sālikīn*.^{xxiv}

The *Qaṣīdah-i Lāmiyya* and its commentary, *Rīshī Nāmāh*, is a credible source elucidating and defending the Rīshīs and their ardent ascetic practices. Primarily focusing upon Bābā Hardī Rīshī, a disciple of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, this treatise shows Khākī's level of erudition as well as reverence for the Rīshīs (the ascetic Sufis). Khākī appears to be a defender of *Rīshīs* in his works, and eulogises their spiritual practices and justifies their practices like absolute vegetarianism, incessant fasting etc.^{xxv} In his *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, Muḥammad Ishāq Khān brings forth his deep insights regarding the relationship between the Rīshīs and the Suhrawardiyya saints of Kashmir. In the same context, regarding Khākī's works, he maintains:

The important feature of Khaki's works is his praise for most (*aksar*) Rishis of Kashmir. His eulogization is however qualified; in it a conscious attempt has been made to portray the Rishis as followers of the *Ahl-i Sunnat wa Jam'a* [Sic. *Ahl-i Sunnat wa al-Jamā'at*].^{xxvi}

Khākī's *Risālah-i Darūriyyah*, is a composition of some crucial issues concerning the *sharī'ah*, and while emphasizing the importance of cleanliness in Islam, he wrote *Qaṣīdah Ghusl-i Yūsuf Shāhī*. Having named it after the then ruler of Kashmir Yūsuf Shāh Chak, Khākī elaborates over the different kinds of baths (*ghusul*) in light of the treatises on *tafsīr* (Quranic exegesis), *Ḥadīth* (traditions of the Beloved Prophet) and *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).^{xxvii} This book is an apparent exposition of his erudition and expertise in the Islamic religious sciences.^{xxviii} Khān's summary of Khākī's works seems highly relatable here as he maintains:

Khaki's works enable us to understand the prime importance that the Suhrawardiyyas attached to learning under the guidance of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The real aim of knowledge, Khaki believed, was to recognise the Reality i.e. God Himself. For this purpose one had to struggle constantly for purification of inner self (*Jihad-i Akbar*). It was piety (*taqwa*) gained through inner struggle alone that was considered to be indispensable for gaining true knowledge of God.^{xxix}

Having emerged as an acclaimed Sufi master, religious expert and writer, the Suhrawardiyya order witnessed the phase of consolidation under his aegis in medieval Kashmir. His works received admiration from intellectual, academic and Sufi circles and began to be studied and taught by the Sufis of other orders as well. "Bābā Dāwūd Khākī", mentions Rafīqī, "was an outstanding scholar of his time and because of his 'intellect, creative mind and legal acumen' he was called by some of his followers as 'Imām A'zam the second'."^{xxx}

Following his return from Multan a second time, Khākī passed away in A.H. 994/C.E. 1586, the year when the Chaks were overthrown by the Mughals in Kashmir. Initially he was buried near the tomb of Bābā Hardi Rīshī in modern day Anantnāg, but later on, he was buried besides his *murshid*, on the Kōh-i Mārān slope, in Srinagar.^{xxxi} Bābā Dāwūd Khākī was followed by a band of meritorious disciples among whom the prominent ones included, Khwāja Mas'ūd Pāmpūrī, Ḥājī Dāwūd Balakhī, Mīr Nāzuk Qadirī, Zayn al-Dīn Raināwārī and Bābā Naṣīb al-Dīn Ghāzī, the most outstanding disciple of Khākī.

Although, the current paper is limited to exploring the role of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah's disciples but, keeping in consideration the unequivocal contribution of Bābā Naṣīb in popularizing and consolidating the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, it is tempting to evaluate his contributions as following.

Bābā Naṣīb al-Dīn Ghāzī: The Illustrious Heir of Khākī

One among the pivotal figures representing the Suhrawardiyya fraternity in Kashmir, Bābā Naṣīb, had committed himself to spiritual devotion, prayers, litanies and religious education at an early age. Khākī bestowed him with his *khilāfat nāma* (vicegerency) and *ijāzāh* in the aftermath of his successful spiritual journey. Sources allude to a strong influence of *Rīshī* path on him and thus, he naturally exhibited an acute level of abstinence and subduing his Ego-Self or Baser-Self (*nafas al-ammārah*), he was titled as *ghāzī* or “the conqueror” (over the baser-self).^{xxxii} Authenticating this, Bābā Dāwūd Mishkāṭī, his disciple, who accompanied him for twelve years, relates in his *Asrār al-Abrār* that he refrained from the pleasures of this worldly life to such an extent that he always remained with fasts, never tasted meat, fruits, delicious food and cold water. However, in Bābā Naṣīb’s *langar khāna* (public charity kitchen), every day dozens of sheep were slaughtered for the hungry, but he would never taste the delicious food and subsisted on simple vegetables. Throughout his life, he used a coarse woollen garment that was black in colour with many patches. Someone enquired him about his celibacy and he replied that ‘where there is no room for even a needle, how a wife and children could be accommodated there.’ His extraordinary philanthropic measures, including his care and concern for the poor, paupers, destitute, orphans and underprivileged people, earned him the title, *Abū al-Fuqarā*’ or the father or caretaker of the destitute/poor.^{xxxiii}

Bābā Naṣīb’s unmatched generosity as well as his repulsion toward the worldly possessions reflected his measure of and enchantment with the Rīshī methodology of self-discipline to reach to the Reality. Thus, it is no wonder that Mishkāṭī records, “once Bābā Naṣīb washed his hands, arms and sleeves after a coin touched his sleeve accidentally”. Another feature of the medieval Sufi tradition has been the extensive travelling by the Sufis, and Bābā Naṣīb followed this convention while sojourning throughout the valley, and inviting people toward righteousness and piety, and educating them with the Islamic spiritual ethos. Credible sources mention that a large band, including hundreds of disciples, would always accompany him on his travels, and they would halt at different places to construct *masājid*, *khānqāh*, bathrooms and toilets under his supervision, a reflection of his unconditional social services programme. Bābā Naṣīb’s contribution in consolidating the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir during the 17th century was incredible.^{xxxiv} Khañ’s following argument suffices in drawing a sketch of his role and contribution in the medieval society of Kashmir, as:

The mission of Baba Nasib was the welfare of the people. Wherever he went he constructed mosques, bathrooms and toilets. Whatever gifts and *nazr* [unsolicited charity] were offered to him were immediately spent for the public good. The entire period of his life was spent in the rural and remote areas of Kashmir, it was only towards the end of his life that he met with all the *masha'iks* and *dervishes* of Srinagar.^{xxxv}

Bābā Nasīb's renowned work, *Nūr Nāmāh*, is a fine exploration of his meetings with the Muslim Rīshīs of the valley. The *Nūr Nāmāh*, "bears the stamp of his scholarship and piety",^{xxxvi} maintains Khan, who further explores Bābā Nasīb's approach toward the *Rīshīs* as follows:

Although Baba Nasib did not claim himself to be the Rishi, his thought and behaviour certainly imbibed the influence of the Rishi movement. Such was the impact of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din mystical poetry on the mind of Baba Nasib that he would often faint under their intoxicating spell ... Credit goes to Baba Nasib for being the first to render some of Nuru'd-Din's verses into Persian...^{xxxvii}

Baba Nasib's spirited defence of the celibacy and vegetarianism of the Rishis is also borne out by his writings. However, he expressed his disapproval of the extreme asceticism of some Rishis as had retired to the jungle. He wanted them to earn an honest living by the sweat of their brow. It was through undertaking various tours that he emphasized the significance of combining asceticism with social action. Hard labour in agricultural pursuits, combined with the concern for the poor and the needy was, in his opinion, the prime virtue of the true lovers of God.^{xxxviii} This offers a glaring example of blending of ideas and methods in Sufi path, as on one hand Bābā Nasīb followed the Rīshī model with moderation and on the other hand committed to social action and religious reform akin to his Suhrawardiyya ideals.

Mishkāṭī eulogizes his mentor, Bābā Naṣīb, for his religious as well as spiritual knowledge (*ʿIlm*) and practices, piety, selflessness, ethics and miracles^{xxxix} and assembles some of his important teachings in his *Asrār al-ʿAbrār*, as:

The Recollection of Allah (*Dhikr*) makes a Gnostic (*ʿĀrif*) heedless to every other thing of this world. An *ʿĀrif* (one who recognizes Allah) is much better than one thousand ascetics. A wayfarer (*Sālik*) in the way of Allah can realize the pain of remaining away from Allah only after achieving his *Maʿrifah* (gnosis). The population of hell is due to sinful activities and that of heaven is due to righteous deeds. This world is like a shadow, if followed cannot be trapped but if left behind it starts following you. An illiterate traversing the spiritual path without guidance is like a person in a well without the support of rope and is often derailed during spiritual experiences (*Riyādat*). The robbers of one's faith and spirituality are not wealth, wife and children but whatever makes a person neglectful of his Creator, robs his faith. Knowledge is that kind of drug, which cures

the diseases of ignorance. Virtue is to dedicate one's life for the welfare of the deprived sections of the society and it is the shortest way for realisation of the Ultimate Truth.^{xi}

Dedicated to his mission of preaching, teaching and social services, Bābā Naṣīb spent major part of his life in travelling from one corner to another in the valley and finally settled in Bijbehārā, and left for the heavenly abode there on 13th Muharram 1047 A.H./28 May 1637 C.E. Several of his disciples desired to bury him near the tomb of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah in Srinagar but on the insistence of the inhabitants of Bijbehārā, he was he was entombed there.^{xli} Wani, a modern-day historian of Kashmir, remarks about Bābā Naṣīb, as:

Of the most reputed saints of the Suhrawardī-Rishi syncretic phase to have done a good deal of work from seeking practical conversion during the late sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century was Bābā Naṣīb al-Dīn Ghāzī, the distinguished disciple of Bābā Dā'ūd Khaki ... He toured different parts of the Valley with the main purpose of creating *Shari'ah* consciousness among the people, ... In his work for creating an Islamic ambience in the true sense Bābā Naṣīb was supported by his devoted followers, numbering three to four hundred.^{xlii}

Bābā Naṣīb's role in disseminating and consolidating the Suhrawardiyya order in medieval Kashmir remains undisputable, and he produced a band of hundreds of meritorious disciples to continue his mission in the subsequent generations. Among his disciples were, Mullā Ḥydar Charkhī, Bābā 'Abdullah, Ḥājjī Bābā, Shaykh Nāṣir Bengālī, Muḥammad Amīn Sōfī, and the famous Bābā Dāwūd Mishkātī, who was a great Islamic scholar, with high acumen in the religious sciences. He was called as Mishkātī for his bringing to memory, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābih*, the well-know book on *Hadīth* collection.^{xliii}

Mīr Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī: The Seeker of the Truth

Shaykh Ḥydar Lārī,^{xliv} popularly known as Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, was among the chief disciples of the Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. He belonged to a family of 'Alawī *sādāt* (descendants of the Prophet-ﷺ) of Gujarat, and lost his parents at an early age. His uncle, Mīr Maḥmūd 'Alawī, raised him and managed for his educational and spiritual guidance. At an early age, Bābā Ḥydar developed strong passion for divine love, and was always in search of a truthful guide, who would lead him in the path of Reality.^{xlv}

Bahā al-Dīn Mattū relates in his work *Sultānī* that Bābā Ḥydar saw Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah in a vision, and was directed to follow him as his *murshid*/preceptor. Upon this, he managed to

receive permission from his uncle to visit Kashmir, and upon visiting Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah at his residence Makhdūm Mandaw at Kalāshpūra in Srinagar, he was enrolled in the Suhrawardiyya order. Subsequent biography unfolds his successful completion of the Sufi path and attainment of exceptional expertise such that numerous disciples of Makhdūm Ḥamzah were brought under his guidance. Bābā Ḥydar was directed by his *murshid* to settle in Tūlmūla, a village, which was situated in the sub-division Lār in Kashmir for the guidance and training of the locals.^{xlvi}

Khwāja Ishāq Qārī, a noted disciple of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, in his *Chilla Chillat al-‘Ārifīn*, highlights Bābā Ḥydar’s extreme spiritual devotion and self-discipline by reporting that he remained in seclusion for twelve years on the slope of Kōh-i Mārān engrossed in prayers, litanies, contemplation and used to remain without food for seven to ten days. Although, he used to subsist on his own earnings and never accepted any kind of grant or favour (*futūh*) from anyone, yet, his engagement in addressing the mundane affairs would not distract him from the spiritual path.^{xlvii}

Bābā Ḥydar compiled *Hidāyat al-Mukhlisīn*, a Persian encomium on his *murshid*. Based on his personal observation, this work comprises of the spiritual status, miraculous feats and teachings of his *murshid*, Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, besides giving accounts of his various disciples as well. From the verses embedded within the main text of this book, it appears that he was endowed with poetic skills, though none of his poetic works is extant.^{xlviii}

Bābā Ḥydar guided many people in the path of *taṣawwuf* and accompanied his *murshid* on the mission of reform, teaching and preaching throughout the valley. His emphasis on following *sharī‘ah*, earning (*ḥalāl*) lawful and avoiding the unlawful means of subsistence reflected his character as a Suhrawardiyya Sufi. To him, performing worship and other spiritual exercises under a proper guidance with devotion and passion leads a seeker towards success in the spiritual journey.^{xliv} Bābā Ḥydar left for the heavenly abode in 999A.H./1590C.E. and was entombed in the village of Tūlmūla, situated in the modern district of *Gaṇḍarbal* in the Kashmir.¹

Bābā Hardī: The Rīshī/Ascetic

During 16th and 17th centuries, the Sufi tradition of Kashmir displayed a unique pattern wherein Sufis belonging to two dominant Orders, i.e., the Suhrawardiyya and the Rīshī order came under

influence of each other. Suhrawardiyya Sufis like Bābā Naṣīb and his disciples were overwhelmed with the ascetic practices of the Rīshīs, and many Rīshīs who had adopted absolute asceticism and turned into recluses dismissing social action, came under the influence of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm. Bābā Hardī Rīshī was the prominent figure among such Rīshīs was, who was enrolled in the Suhrawardiyya order. Born in a family of blacksmiths in the modern-day district Anantnag, Bābā Hardī, known as “*Raish Mōl*” in the local language, started his spiritual career at an early stage of his life and spent his rest of life in the longing God. Following the local Rīshī tradition that was characterized with practising acute asceticism, abstinence, celibacy and vegetarianism, Bābā Hardī had achieved a great status in the spiritual spectrum. He used to remain awake during nights and keep fasts during the day (*Qā‘im al-Layl wa sā‘im al-Dahar*) and exhibited a firm dedication in performing spiritual exercises throughout his life. Later on, Bābā Hardī Rīshī met Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, who enrolled him in the Suhrawardiyya Order along with his companions. Soon his preceptor bestowed him with his *khilāfat nāmah* (vicegerency), *ijāzat nāmah* (authorization to enrol disciples), *khirqah* (cloak) and *kulāh* (cap).^{li} However, his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order could not debar him from upholding the Rīshī tradition completely, as Khān testifies the same in the following words:

Notwithstanding his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, Hardi Rishi did not part with the traditions of the Rishi order. Besides practising vegetarianism, he remained celibate, observed fasts regularly during the day and kept awake in meditation during nights, stressed religious tolerance, was extremely hospitable to his visitors, and, according to Khaki, often cultivated land himself ... He encouraged his disciples to earn their livelihood by manual labour.^{lii}

Initially, he was overwhelmed with unremitting ecstatic state leading him to exhibit anomalous behaviour like paying heedlessness towards offering the Friday prayers and observing the *sharī‘ah* commandments. For this reason, he had received criticism from various people. However, it appears his ecstatic state would not have lost long as one of his contemporaries, Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, defends him while arguing that, having accompanied himself with Sufis and scholars of high erudition, Bābā Hardī Rīshī strictly observed the *sharī‘ah* rulings. He followed the *sunnah* of the beloved Prophet (ﷺ) completely and always used to offer the prescribed prayers (*namāz*) with congregation.^{liii}

Notwithstanding his vegetarianism that he continued throughout his life, Hardī Rīshī once, on recommendation of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, consumed meat in order to follow this *sunnah* of the beloved Prophet (ﷺ). Khwāja Ishāq Qārī reports in his *Chilchillat al-‘Ārifīn* that on Bābā Hardī Rīshī’s refusal to take meat, Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm told him that Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) used to take meat in his meals, and this is a *sunnah*. Hearing this, Hardī Rīshī at once took the food, thus, confirming himself as a follower of *sunnah*.^{liv} Based on a critical study of Khaki’s *Rīshī Nāmāh*, Khān’s following statement amply reveals a sympathetic attitude of Khākī towards the vegetarianism of *Rīshīs*, as:

The Rishis did not violate the Shariah on account of their abstention from meat; actually, they did not declare taking of meat as unlawful, but simply avoided it for good reasons, both in spiritual and psychological terms. The giving up of meat was further justified if its use made one lustful and stone-hearted. Khaki refers to *Kimya-i Sa‘dat* [of Imām Aḥmad bin al Ghazālī], *Khazinat al-Jalali* [of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān] and *Targib al-Salat* [of Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Zāhid] to substantiate his point. Even Makhdūm-i Jahaniyan is quoted as advising some of his unmarried friends (*yan-i mujarrad*) to abandon meat and instead eat bitter things for crushing their lust.^{lv}

Bābā Hardī Rīshī had already begun to traverse the path of *taṣawwuf* before offering his allegiance to his Suhrawardiyya preceptor, Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. However, under his guidance, Hardī Rīshī was enlightened with some spiritual ways and secrets unknown to him until then. Following his command, Hardī Rīshī successfully completed the journey to witness some higher levels of spirituality. His influence was indisputably apparent even upon the closest disciples of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, like Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, Khwāja Ishāq Qārī, Bābā ‘Alī Rainā, Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī, and Khwāja Mīram Bazāz. Most of them have highly extolled him in their works, like, Khākī in *Qaṣīdah Lāmiyyah* and *Rīshī Nāmāh*, Bābā ‘Alī Rainā in *Tadhkirat al-‘Ārifīn*, Ḥydar Tūlmūlī in *Hidāyat al-Mukhlisīn*, Ishāq Qārī in *Chilla Chillat al-‘Ārifīn* and Mīram Bazāz in *Tadhkirat al-Murshidīn*. In fact, Khākī’s *Qaṣīdah Lāmiyyah* and its extended form, *Rīshī Nāmāh*, utterly reflect the life and spiritual status of Bābā Hardī Rīshī.^{lvi}

Besides other methods of *dhikr*/remembrance and recollection of Allah, Hardī Rīshī would practice *dhikr* by controlling his breath (*pas-i anfas*), a practice correlated with the Naqashbandiyya principle of *khilwat dar anjuma*^{lvii} and *hōsh dar dam*.^{lviii} Every morning, he used to recite the *Awrād-i Fathīyya* of Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. Likewise, he would keep fasts and

observe vigils incessantly and avoided the worldly luxuries and comforts. On account of Khākī's works, Bābā Dāwūd Mishkwātī in his *Asrār al Abrār* relates that Hardī Rīshī was highly philanthropic with noble character and high miraculous powers. Under his guidance, many people became the falcons of spiritual realm, yet several others transformed from vice to virtue.^{lix} Khan corroborates this statement as:

Khaki writes that Hardi Rishi constructed a number of mosques and guest houses. He praises his philanthropic measures and their influence on the mind[s] of people in devoting themselves to social welfare.vThe popularity of Hardi Rishi as a Rishi of immense merit attracted not only commoners but also the sultans and the elite to his residence.^{lx}

Khawāja Ishāq Qārī relates that after receiving *khirqah* from Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, Bābā Hardī Rīshī dedicated himself to *amr bil m'arūf wa nahy 'anil munkar* i.e. calling people to perform righteous deeds and abandon the vice/evil.^{lxi} A humble soul, Hardī Rīshī emphasized on his disciples “to seek humbleness of the mind with the main aim of seeking the pleasure of God rather than by way of impressing the people.” To him without humility a seeker cannot achieve the gnosis (*ma'rifah*) of Allah despite his ardent dedication in worship and other spiritual exercises. Bābā Hardi Rīshī guided enormous number of disciples in the spiritual path and finally, passed away in 1579 C.E. His tomb is a famous visiting site in modern day district Anantnag in Kashmir.^{lxii}

The Lesser-Known Disciples of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah

Shaykh Rūpī Rīshī: The Rīshī Expert

In his youth, feeling disenchanted with the transience of the worldly life, Rūpī Rīshī began to wander in search of the Truth. He became a recluse, followed the ascetic tradition of *Rīshiyān-i Kashmir* and thus, secluded himself on the peak of Ustur-Wan Mountain, which surrounds the Wular Lake in Kashmir. During this period, he subsisted on wild grasses, and performed worship and mystical exercises vehemently. After sometime, he went to the city, Srinagar, in search of a guide (*murshid*) and became one among the Rīshīs of Kashmir, who offered their allegiance to Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. Owing to his keen interest in the ascetic pattern, Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm managed for him a separate cabin to follow the path of self-discipline^{lxiii} and subsequently ordered him to seclude once again in the mountain peak to be engrossed in prayers and other spiritual

practices without any distraction. Having traversed the path successfully, he received *irshād* or *ijāzah* (authorisation to guide seekers) from his *murshid*, Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah and finally settled at Habba Kadal in Srinagar. People began to visit him for guidance and seeking blessings. He began to reform the people and as per sources, many thieves repented on his hands and became sincere followers of Islam.^{lxiv}

Bābā Nasīb, is reported to have maintained, “my spiritual state owes its debt to Shaykh Rūpī Rīshī and the level of (my) *faqr* receives energy from him.” Likewise, Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, Bābā ‘Alī Rainā, Khwāja Ishāq Qārī and other Suhrawardiyya Sufis glorify him and elucidate his spiritual status in glowing terms.^{lxv}

Mishkwātī relates his guide, Bābā Nasīb that Rūpī Rīshī lived for one hundred and twenty years in which he spent one hundred and nine years in performing vigils and keeping fasts (*Qā‘im al-Layl wa Sā‘im al-Dahar*). Throughout his life, he used only one garment to hide his body and never used new clothes. Tūlmūlī relates in his *Hidāyat al-Mukhlīṣīn* that Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm bestowed him with his cloak (*khirqah*), *kulāh*(cap) and waste band (*kamar bandh*).^{lxvi} He accompanied his *Shaykh* (guide) on various occasions of preaching and teaching the masses in the valley, thus, contributing in the consolidation of the Sufi tradition in Kashmir. Shaykh Rūpī Rīshī finally left this worldly abode in 1588 C.E. and was buried at Habba Kadal in Srinagar.^{lxvii}

Bābā ‘Alī Rainā: The Sufi Scholar

Born at Tujjar in Kashmir, he was the illustrious son of Bābā ‘Uthmān Rainā and elder brother of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. Bābā ‘Alī Rainā travelled relentlessly in search of gaining religious and spiritual education. Having received the formal education in Kashmir from the famous scholars, he went to India, Arabia and Iran to achieve higher education and receive spiritual guidance from the Sufi masters. During this period, he met a large number of Sufis and scholars of high repute and received various benefits from them. Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī maintains in his *Hidāyat al-Mukhlīṣīn* that, Bābā ‘Alī Rainā had achieved a high level of expertise in the religious sciences. He travelled for twelve years to quench his thirst for knowledge, besides searching for a guide, who would direct him in the Sufi path. Bābā ‘Alī Rainā had also accompanied Bābā Dāwūd Khākī on his travel to Multan, where both of them enjoyed the company of eminent Sufis and received various benefits from them. He made pilgrimage to *Hijāz*, Makkah and Madīnah, thrice

during his lifetime and is, therefore, known as *Hājī al-Haramayn Sharīfayn*.^{lxviii} As per the reports of Mishkwātī and ‘Alī Rainā’s *Tadhkirat al ‘Ārifīn*, during his pilgrimage in Makkah, he made supplications to Allah seeking a spiritual guide. After visiting the grave of the beloved Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ), he had a vision, in which he was directed to follow Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. He was highly enthused with this revelation and left for his native land. Retraining to Kashmir, Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī and Khwāja Ishāq Qārī were sent to Hūr Pūra, by Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm to welcome Bābā ‘Alī Rainā. Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, received his brother Bābā ‘Alī Rainā warmly and enrolled him in the Suhrawardiyya order.^{lxix}

To annihilate the traces of his egoistic self, Makhdūm Ḥamzah assigned Bābā ‘Alī Rainā with the duty of a gatekeeper for almost one and a half year. After that, he was bestowed with *irshād* or *ijāzah*. One of his contemporaries, Khwāja Ishāq Qārī relates that Shaykh ‘Alī Rainā traversed the higher levels in the spiritual realm under the direction of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm. Qārī further relates that Bābā ‘Alī Rainā said that he had travelled far and wide but had never seen any Sufi master comparable to Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm. Tūlmūlī has testified the same statement in *Hidāyat al-Mukhlisīn*.^{lxx}

Bābā ‘Alī Rainā initiated his travels with a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Rīshī at Chrār-i Sharīf in Kashmir. Then he reached Lahore, where he met many Sufi stalwarts like Shaykh Muḥammad Gawth Shaṭṭarī and derived various benefits from them. After leaving Lahore, he spent almost three years in Gujarat and other places in India and received guidance from various Sufis. From here, he left for Hījāz and reached Makkah, where he served as a sweeper of the Holy place for one year. Meanwhile he learnt the Islamic religious sciences, *Qur’ān*, *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* from renowned scholars like Mulla ‘Abd al-Raḥīm. In Syria, he enjoyed the munificence of Shaykh Nūr Muḥammad Shāmī and in Baghdad, received spiritual benefits from Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī, a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. Bābā ‘Alī Rainā spent one year each at the tombs of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī and Imām Abū Hanīfah. Mawlānā S‘ad al-Dīn taught him various important treatises on *taṣawwuf* in Samarqand. From here, he left for Kashgar to enjoy the company of Sufis and scholar there.^{lxxi} After completion of his travels, Bābā ‘Alī Rainā reached Kashmir and was initially entrusted by Makhdūm Ḥamzah to Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī. He guided him in the Sufi path, advised him to perform contemplation, meditation and prayers with from dedication, and finally bestowed him *khirqah al-irshād*, pointing towards his

successful spiritual journey.^{lxxii} He was an erudite religious and spiritual luminary who contributed much in spreading and sustaining the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir. Numerous miracles have been attributed to him in various hagiographical works. He was a prolific writer in prose and poetry, about which Prof. Ishāq Khan Maintains:

Baba ‘Ali Raina was a Sufi with the scholarly acumen having a profound knowledge of *Hadis, Tafsir, Fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. He authored *Tazkiratu’l-‘Arifin, Markazu’l-Abrar, Nasimu’l-Ahrar* and *Jawaharu’l-Nukat*. Among these only *Tazkiratu’l-‘Arifin* has survived. This work is a significant source for understanding not only *tasawwuf* but, also, more importantly, for the creative interaction between the Suhrawardiyya and Rishiyya orders of the Valley. ... In twelve chapters ‘Ali Raina brings home to *saliks* [seekers of the Sufi path] the importance of prescribed prayers, fasts, *Shab-i bedari* [vigil], repentance, *zikr* [remembrance of Allah], *muhāsaba* [self accountability], *muraqaba* [contemplation], and *nawafil* [supererogatory prayers]. He urges them to recite *Khatam-i Mahbubiyya*.^{lxxiii}

Bābā ‘Alī Rainā guided many people in the spiritual path and finally left this world in about 1585 C.E. He was entombed at his native village, Tujjar, in the modern district Bāramulla in Kashmir.^{lxxiv}

Khawāja Ḥasan: The Acclaimed Qārī

Belonging to a respectable family and educated family of *moḥallah* Baldīmar at Mahārāj Ganj in Srinagar, Khwāja Ḥasan achieved excellence in religious sciences particularly in the art of recitation of the Qur’ān with a command over the seven different dialects of the Qur’ān, known as Qārī. Besides educating freely a large number of people for the sake of Allah and teaching them the art of recitation, he earned his livelihood through his profession as cloth merchant.^{lxxv} His brother Ishāq Qārī relates in his *Chilchillat al-‘Ārifīn* that once Ḥasan Qārī collapsed due to some unknown reasons, and could not recover from the unconscious state. The parents thought that he would die and began to pray for his recovery. In a state of dejection, his father went to masjid for making Supplications to Allah and he saw a person offering prayers there and related his matter to that person, whose prayers enabled Ḥasan Qārī to recover. Later on, his parents came to know that the person was Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, to whom they offered their allegiance.^{lxxvi} His mother, who was a devoted disciple of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, played a vital role in his spiritual as well religious education. She urged him to follow his guide with sincerity and wholeheartedness. Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī left the worldly possessions and began to follow the guidelines of his *murshid*. With firm dedication in performing spiritual practices, after sometime,

he felt the reflection of Divine light on his heart. Later on, he was entrusted to Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, who guided him in traversing the path of self-discipline and subduing the baser-self (*nafas-i ammarah*) for complete one year.^{lxxvii}

Khākī refers to him in his *Wird al-Murīdīn* while saying that under the instructions of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, Khwājah Ḥasan tasted the flavour of the remembrance of Allah that illuminated his heart and soul.^{lxxviii} Mishkāṭī testifies this statement while saying that the divine love erased the traces of avarice for the worldly glory from his heart such that he felt distressed upon detaching from the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Allah, even for a single moment.^{lxxix}

In the later years of his life under the command of his master, he settled at the village Shaiva in the *pargana* (area) of Zaingir, where, besides his own spiritual engagements, he guided the people in the Sufī path and thus, contributed greatly in consolidating the Suhrawardiyya Sufi order. Any kind of gift or endowment that reached him was distributed among the poor and destitute. Though his son argued for the legitimacy of these gifts to cover the expenses of his own he family, Qārī would direct him saying, “the needs of one’s family did not entitle one to forfeit other’s rights.”^{lxxx}

While summarising his journey as a Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Khān assesses:

While Hasan Qari regards strict adherence to Shari‘ah as a necessary condition for gaining the ma‘rifah of Allah, he argues the salik to create self-confidence by way of purifying his soul and heart ... In his estimation, equal treatment to the ‘high’ and ‘low’ is humility and doing good to the friend and enemy alike is sincerity.^{lxxxi}

Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī authored a treatise, which is titled as *Rāḥat al-Ṭālibīn*. This book besides dealing with the life of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, explores a number of mystical facts and principles of *taṣawwuf*. From Ḥydar Tūlmūlī’s statement, it appears that *Rāḥat al-Ṭālibīn* is a fine exploration of the different ways and practices followed by the seekers in the Sufi path.^{lxxxii}

Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī has been highly praised by Khākī, Tūlmūlī and Mishkāṭī, for his religious knowledge and unwavering determination and dedication in the path of *taṣawwuf*. He left this worldly abode in 1590-91 C.E. and was entombed at the village, Shaiva.^{lxxxiii}

Khwājah Muḥammad Ishāq: The Miraculous Qārī

Khawājah Ishāq, the younger brother of aforementioned Khawāja Ḥasan Qārī, studied religious sciences (*tafsīr*, *hadīth*, and *fiqh*) under Khākī and Bābā ‘Alī Rainā. Before enrolling himself in the Suhrawardiyya order, like his brother, he used to serve Shaykh Aḥmad Qalandar, an enraptured Sufi and later on, when his whole family entered in the discipleship of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah, he followed the suit. Ishāq Qārī reports in his *Chilchillat al-‘Ārifīn* that in his childhood, he often forgot the lessons of Qur’ān that he received from a local teacher and for this reason, he had to receive daily punishment from his tutor. When her mother learnt about that, she took him to Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah for making prayers in his favour. The Shaykh gave him some leftover water and Khawāja Ishāq drank this water and left this place along with his mother. In the next morning, he took the Qur’ān as usual and began to recite and was surprised to know that the Qur’ān had been committed to his memory in seven different dialects. Famous experts in the recitation of the Qur’ān including Ḥājī Aḥmad Qārī, Khawāja Ḥasan Qārī and some others from Arab were present in Kashmir in those days. They examined Khawāja Ishāq and testified his excellence in the recitation of the Qur’ān and titled him as “Qārī”. From thence Khawāja Ishāq rose to prominence as a *qārī* or the reciter of the the Qur’ān.^{lxxxiv}

Initially Ishāq Qārī was influenced with a *qalandar* or *majzūb*, who was an addict of cannabis (*bhang*) and he used to serve him secretly by providing food, money and other necessary things. He tried to bring Khawāja Ishāq in his own category. However, after sometime, Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah learnt about Khawāja Ishāq’s engagements with the intoxicant *qalandar* and eventually punished the intoxicant *qalandar* and with his, reprimand rescued Khawāja Ishāq from plunging into such anti-Sharī‘ah method of spiritual discipline. Khawāja Ishāq maintains that after this event he wholeheartedly dedicated himself to the service of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm and remained under his auspicious guidance for many years. In the court of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm, Ishāq Qārī’s humbleness and sincerity won him a nearest place to his guide. Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm was pleased with him guided him with love and compassion and urged him to achieve expertise in *‘ilm al-Hadīth* in the meanwhile.^{lxxxv}

As per the reports of *Chilchillat al-‘Ārifīn*, he saw many Sufis of higher ranks but never found any one like his own *murshid*, Makhdūm Ḥamzah.^{lxxxvi} Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī relates that after becoming a devoted disciple of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, Ishāq Qārī traversed the Sufi path successfully and received *khalīfah* (vicegerency). Such was his excellence that his *murshid* often

urged him to lead the daily prayers (*namāz*) in the masjid. Along with his brother, Ḥasan Qārī, he spent almost twenty two years in prayers, meditation, contemplation and other spiritual practices at the village Shaiva in the area of Zainagīr.^{lxxxvii} During the reign of Shiite ruler, Y‘aqūb Shāh Chak, who was well-known for his persecution of Sunni ‘*ulamā*’, Ishāq Qārī left for Sialkot and then made his way to Lahore. After sometime, he visited Makkah for performing Ḥajj, and then went to Madīnah. He remained there for one and half years and finally left for the heavenly abode and was buried in the Mazār-i Baqī’, the sacred graveyard in Madīnah.^{lxxxviii}

Mishkāfī in his *Asrār al-Abrār* relates that Ishāq Qārī used to say that every person influence others with his traits, company of pious makes a person pious and likewise the friendship of vicious people turns a person ill mannered and character-less. So the company of bad people should be avoided in any case.^{lxxxix}

Khwāja Ishāq Qārī’s contribution in preserving and consolidating the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir is remarkable. He authored *Chilchillat al-‘Ārifīn*, which deals with some important teachings and principles of *taṣawwuf*, contains the life and miracles of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, and serves as an essential source for estimating the Sufi dimensions of medieval Kashmir.^{xc}

Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Pāl: The Scholar Turned Sufi

An acclaimed erudite, Shams al-Dīn Pāl had a swaying command on religious sciences and had taught eminent personalities like Bābā Dāwūd Khākī. One of his students Shaykh Dāwūd Ṭūsī, entered the service of Makhdūm Ḥamzah and left attending his teacher Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn. Upon enquiring, Ṭūsī disclosed his displeasure towards the exoteric knowledge arguing that beyond the bookish knowledge there lies much interesting knowledge i.e., the spiritual or esoteric knowledge (*ilm al-m‘arifah*). This knowledge could be achieved by diving into the sea of Divine attributes and receiving the radiance of these attributes on one’s heart. Ṭūsī apprised him about is *murshid* and his spiritual status. This conversation incited Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn to visit Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm and after a short conversation, with the Shaykh, Mawlānā Pāl’s pride of knowledge melted away. He was finally enrolled him in the Suhrawardiyya order. Having received guidance he dedicated himself to the spiritual practices and enjoyed the spiritual benefits and taste of the worship and prayers.^{xc}

Regarding Shams al-Dīn Pāl, Kashmir's renowned historian, Ishāq Khān notes that "his polemics vis-à-vis Shia–Sunni controversies were marked by truthfulness and frankness". He rose to prominence during Mirzā Ḥydar Dughlat's reign (1540-50 C.E.) in Kashmir and received the title *A'lām al-'Ulamā'*. After the death of Mirzā Ḥydar, he left for Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn and breathed his last there. He lies buried in Mazār-i Baqī'.^{xcii}

Shaykh Bāyazīd Shamnāgī:

Belonging to the modern district, Anantnāg in Kashmir, Bāyazīd became a disciple of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah after accepting Islam and received guidance from him in the esoteric affairs. Having performed Ḥajj, he dedicated himself to prayers, litanies and other Sufi practices. In order to perform the worship of Allah without any distraction, he moved to a far-off place called as Shamnāg, in the *pargana* of Uttar in Kashmir and built a small chamber without doors and windows. Once his *murshid*, Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah, visited him and after witnessing his spiritual development was highly delighted. Many sincere people, who received guidance from him in the Sufi path, spread the Suhrawardiyya Sufi order in different parts of the valley. He left this worldly abode in 1585-86 C.E. and was buried at Shamnāg.^{xciii}

Malik Regī Dār

With a discontentment towards the worldly pleasures, Malik Regī, left the aristocracy and became disciple of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah. Having exhibited a firm dedication in performing the spiritual exercises, he became successful in enlightening his inner soul with the Divine radiance. As per the reports of *Toḥfah-i Maḥbūbī'*, he managed to construct *masājīd* (pl. of masjid), in the area of 'Ālī Kadal in Srinagar, at his own expenses. He also established a *khānqāh* to perform worship and prayers. Known for his generosity, he always extended his munificent hands to serve the poor and destitute. He was buried at Ṣowūrā in Srinagar.^{xciv}

Qāḍī Mīr Mūsā

An erudite, Mūsā was endowed with an exceptional expertise in the religious sciences and was appointed as the chief justice (*Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*) of his time. Following his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya fraternity, he received the esoteric guidance from Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah. As

a staunch Sunni scholar, on religious grounds, he refused to follow some orders of Shiite ruler, Y‘aqūb Chak, because of which he was put to death in 1585 C.E.^{xcv}

Inferences

Like other regions, Kashmir, has witnessed a flood of such spiritually enlightened figures since 14th century C.E, and their contribution in perpetuating Islam and its spiritual ethos in Kashmir has remained unparalleled. Thus, understanding the emergence and rise of Islam with its multidimensional aspects in medieval Kashmir would be deficient without referring to the services provided by the Sufis, immigrant as well as indigenous. Pertaining this, the impact and contributions made by the celebrated Kubrawiyya and Rīshī Orders, toward the society, culture, educational and spiritual dimensions of Kashmir between 14th and 15th centuries is undisputed. However, this tradition of learning, social service, reform and spiritual enlightenment was sustained by the Sufis belonging to the Suhrawardiyya *silsilah/order*. This pioneering Sufi order witnessed two main stages including the period of emergence and development with the arrival of Ḥaḍrat Bulbul Shah (RA) up to the era of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah (14th-16th century) and the subsequent period (16th-17th century) of consolidation under the disciples of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm.

The Suhrawardiyya Sufi masters have advocated of a moderate Sufi discipline prescribing its disciples to observe the spiritual directions, fulfilling one’s mundane affairs after traversing the path, establishing cordial relations with the (favourable) rulers, emphasizing the novices to gain knowledge of *sharī‘ah* prior to embarking on the spiritual path (*ṭarīqah*) and avoiding practices that would contradict any *sharī‘ah* ruling. Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm and his disciples appear to have subscribed to these postulates in letter and spirit, hence, preserving the genuine Islamic spiritual discipline and ethos, bringing reform and contributing to an overall development of society through the promotion of knowledge, unconditional social service, morality and self-discipline.

The above study testifies that, nurturing and preserving the genuine Sufi tradition with emphasis on the observance of *sharī‘ah* remained a significant characteristic of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm and his disciples during 16th and 17th centuries. Advocating and promoting *dhikr* (remembrance) of Allah, contemplation and meditation to induce Divine Love, while eschewing the controversial practices like Sufi audition (*samā’*) or using intoxicants popularized, this order was popularised

among the majority, especially the religious scholars/ 'Ulamā. Hence, it is unsurprising to observe that majority of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm disciples were well-acclaimed experts of religious sciences like, sciences of Qur'ān, *Qir'at*/recitation, *tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, Arabic and Persian languages, logic etc. Besides, the scholars like, Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, Bābā 'Alī Rainā, Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī, Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm brought the *Rīshīs*, who had anomalously accustomed to absolute renunciation, under his efficient supervision to display a moderate behavior.

In the footsteps of their master, the disciples of Makhdūm Shaykh Ḥamzah, reached to every corner of the valley, disseminating the Islamic scriptural and spiritual teachings, expanding and consolidating the Suhrawardiyya Sufi brotherhood and enriching it with the spiritual, literary, educational and cultural legacy. Undeniably, their impact has profoundly reflected in the social, political, cultural, educational and religious life of the Kashmiri society. They have set examples for the generations to come for undertaking the process of spiritual realization and awakening by gaining liberation from the snares of the baser-self, which is the root cause of every evil one earth. Serving as genuine models for the seekers of the Ultimate Reality, their lives retain relevance not only for this age but also for the times to come.

References

ⁱ Mohammad Irfan Shah, "Traces of Muslims in Early Medieval Kashmir: A Historical Survey", *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* (Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir), Vol., 26/27, 2019/2020, pp.133-47.

ⁱⁱ For a detailed discussion, see Mohammad Irfan Shah, *Historical development of Suhrawardi Order in Kashmir*, M.phil Dissertation (Aligarh, Department of Islamic Studies, AMU), 2014, Chapter I.

ⁱⁱⁱ The life and contribution of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Ḥamzah has been already discussed by the author. See, *Ibid*.

^{iv} Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, (Persian) *Wird al-Murīdīn*, translated into Urdu with explanatory notes by, Sayyid Qāsim Shāh Bukhārī, as, *Tāj al-'Arīfīn*, (Srinagar, Shaykh Muhammad 'Uthmān and Sons, n.d), Vol.I, p.278f; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Toḥfah-i Maḥbūbī*, (Punjab: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Tājirān-i Kutub, n.d), p.50f; Bābā Ḥydar Tūlmūlī, *Hidāyat al-Mukhlīṣīn*, Ur., tr., as, *Tāj al-'Ashiqīn*, Ghulām Rasūl Farūqī, (Srinagar: Bayt al-Hilāl 'Ilm-o 'Adab,2004), pp.247-55; Mullā Bahā' al-Dīn, *Kitab Mustatāb-i Sultānī*, Ur. tr., as, *Bazm-i 'Irfānī*, Muḥammad Yaḥyā Qādirī, (Srinagar: Shaykh Muḥammad 'Uthmān and Sons,2001), pp.53-58; Ghulām Ḥasan Khuihāmī, (Persian) *Tārīkh-i Ḥassan*, (Srinagar: Director of Libraries, Research and Publication, 1997), Vol.3, p.243; Mohammad Ishaq, Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir*,(Srinagar:2011), p.348.

^v Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.50f; Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.247-55; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.53-58; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.243; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.348.

- ^{vi} Muḥammad Ishāq Qārī, *Chilla Chillat al-‘Ārifīn*, Urt.tr., ‘Abd al-Salām Suhrawardī, (Srinagar,2000), p.161.
- ^{vii} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.348; Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.247-55.
- ^{viii} Khan gives credence to 1503 C.E., as his date of birth, amid conflicting evidences regarding the same. See, Khan, *op.cit.*, p.49.
- ^{ix} As per Prof. Khan, various historians like Ḥasan Shāh Khuihāmī, have wrongly ascribed his birthplace as Kalāshpūrā or Nawpūrā. However, Bābā Nasīb, the outstanding disciple of Khākī, attributes ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Pūrā as his birthplace, which has been testified by Khākī’s *Dastūr al-Sālikīn*. See, Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.235f; Khan,*op.cit.*,p.49.
- ^x Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.1 (prologue), p.25; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.48f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.235-41; Mattū, *op.cit.*,p.92; Khwāja Muḥammad ‘A‘zam Diddamarī, (Persian), *Wāqī‘āt-i Kashmir*, Ur. tr., Shams al-Din Ahmad, (Srinagar: Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Research Centre, 2011), pp.173-75; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.49; Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century*, (Srinagar: Gulshan Books,2009), p.28.
- ^{xi} *Ibid.*, pp.26-28; *Ibid; Ibid;Ibid.*, p.93; *Ibid; Ibid; Ibid.*, p.28; Qārī, *op.cit.*,p.153.
- ^{xii} *Ibid.*, pp.29-32; *Ibid.*, p.49; Qārī, *op.cit.*,p.107f, 153; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.241; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.235-41; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.92-105; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, pp.173-75; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.49.
- ^{xiii} Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.107f; Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*,p.146; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,pp.239,294.
- ^{xiv} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.1.
- ^{xv} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.301.
- ^{xvi} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50.
- ^{xvii} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.39ff and (Persian) *Dastūr al-Sālikīn*, a commentary on *Wird al-Murīdīn*, Ur.tr., Muḥammad Khalīl Qurayshī, (Srinagar,2010), *op.cit.*, p.126f [abbreviated afterwards as DSK].
- ^{xviii} Khākī,*op.cit.*, p.44.
- ^{xix} Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.235-41; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.247; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50.
- ^{xx} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.239; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50; Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p.29f.
- ^{xxi} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50; Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p.29f. See for details, Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit* and *Dastūr al-Sālikīn*, *op.cit*.
- ^{xxii} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.I,p.90ff and DSK, *op.cit.*, p.203ff.
- ^{xxiii} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.59f and DSK, *op.cit.*, p.410f.
- ^{xxiv} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50; Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p.29ff; See for details, Khākī,(Persian) *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, and *Dastūr al-Sālikīn*, *op.cit*.
- ^{xxv} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.50f.
- ^{xxvi} Khan, *Kashmir’s Transition to Islam, Kashmir’s Transition to Islam*, (New Delhi:Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1994), p.149.
- ^{xxvii} For details see, Khākī, (Persian) *Qaṣīdah-Ghushl-i Yūsuf Shāhī*, (Srinagar,2002).
- ^{xxviii} Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir*, *op.cit.*, p.50f.
- ^{xxix} *Ibid.*, p.51.
- ^{xxx} *Rafiqi*, *op.cit.*,p.33.
- ^{xxxi} Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.49; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.241; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.241; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.174; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.52.

^{xxxii} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.308; Mattū, *op.cit.*, p.141f; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.233f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.280; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.74.

^{xxxiii} *Ibid.*, pp.308-12; *Ibid*; *Ibid* ; *Ibid*.

^{xxxiv} *Ibid.*, pp.312f,331; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.234.

^{xxxv} Khan,*op.cit.*,p.74.

^{xxxvi} Khan,*op.cit.*,p.74f.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.*,p.76.

^{xxxviii} *Ibid.*,p.76f.

^{xxxix} See for details, Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.308-34.

^{xl} *Ibid.*

^{xli} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.334; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.234; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.284.

^{xlii} Muhammad Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, (Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2004), p.75.

^{xliii} Khan,*op.cit.*,p.77, and *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, *op.cit.*,p.160.

^{xliv} The village, *Tūlmūla* is situated at a distance of fifteen kilometers to the South of Srinagar. In the ancient times, it remained as a part of *Pargana* (sub-division) *Lār* in Kashmir. After his immigration from Gujrat to Kashmir, Bābā Hydar resided in this village, so he was titled as *Tūlmūlī* or *Lārī*. See, *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*, p.23.

^{xlv} *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*, p.7ff; *Qārī*, *op.cit.*, pp.69,89f; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.44; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.58-64; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.284f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.57f; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.196; Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir*, *op.cit.*, p.206.

^{xlvi} Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.58-64; *Qārī*, *Chilla Chillat al-'Arifīn*, *op.cit.*, pp.69,89f; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.44.

^{xlvii} *Qārī*, *op.cit.*,pp.69,162; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.284f.

^{xlviii} *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*, pp.12-22 ff; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.206.

^{xlix} See for details, *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*

^l Khan, *op.cit.*, p.206.

^{li} *Khākī*, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, p.154; *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*, pp.195-212; *Qārī*, *op.cit.*, pp.158-60; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.46; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.106-12; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.226-38f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.181-83; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.171; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.57ff.

^{lii} Khan, *op.cit.*,p.58.

^{liii} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.228; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.181-83; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.58.

^{liv} *Qārī*, *op.cit.*, pp.158-60; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.46; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.106-12; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.226-38f; Khan, *op.cit.*,p.58.

^{lv} Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, *op.cit.*,p.152.

^{lvi} *Tūlmūlī*, *op.cit.*, pp.195-212; *Qārī*, *op.cit.*, pp.158-60; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.46; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.106-12; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.226-38f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.181-83; Khan, *op.cit.*, pp.145-67 and *Sufis of Kashmir*, *op.cit.*, p.58f.

^{lvii} This refers to remember Allah with consciousness of mind while being busy with worldly affairs and gatherings.

^{lviii} Meaning to take every breathe in the state of God-consciousness.

^{lix} Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.181-83; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*,p.226-38f;Khan, *op.cit.*, p.58f.

^{lx} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.59.

^{lxi} *Qārī*, *op.cit.*, pp.161.

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- ^{lxii} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.58f.
- ^{lxiii} Khākī, (Persian) *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.95f; Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.182-94; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.47; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.119-25; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.279ff; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.185f; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.397f.
- ^{lxiv} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.182-94; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.47; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.119-25; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.279ff; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.194; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.185f; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.397f.
- ^{lxv} Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, pp.185f; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.397f; Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.171f.
- ^{lxvi} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, p.193f; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.281; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.185f.
- ^{lxvii} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.398.
- ^{lxviii} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, p.281; Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.42f; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.53; Mattū, *op.cit.*, p.157f; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.247f; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.41f.
- ^{lxix} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, p.281; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.247f.
- ^{lxx} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, p.282-89; Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.42f.
- ^{lxxi} Abd al-Majīd Sā'ir, *Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Shaykh Bābā 'Alī Rainā*, (Srinagar, 2010), pp.13-35; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.42f.
- ^{lxxii} *Ibid*; *Ibid*. For more details, see Bābā 'Alī Rainā's encomium, *Tadhkirat al 'Arīfīn*, manuscript present in the Research and Publications Department, Srinagar, Acc. No:592.
- ^{lxxiii} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.42f.
- ^{lxxiv} *Ibid*, 43.
- ^{lxxv} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, p.257; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.269f; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.49; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.77-86; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.242; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.155.
- ^{lxxvi} Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.48f.
- ^{lxxvii} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.257-61.
- ^{lxxviii} Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.158f.
- ^{lxxix} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.269f.
- ^{lxxx} Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.49; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.270; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.155.
- ^{lxxxi} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.155f.
- ^{lxxxii} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, 256f.
- ^{lxxxiii} Khan, *op.cit.*, p.156.
- ^{lxxxiv} Qārī, *op.cit.*, pp.23,28; Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.256ff, 286; Khākī, *Wird al-Murīdīn*, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.62f; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.271-74; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.87-91.
- ^{lxxxv} Qārī, *op.cit.*, pp.29-32; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.87-91; Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.271-74; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.158.
- ^{lxxxvi} Qārī, *op.cit.*, p.39.
- ^{lxxxvii} Tūlmūlī, *op.cit.*, pp.263-65; Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.50.
- ^{lxxxviii} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.271-74; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.195; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.242; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.159.
- ^{lxxxix} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.274.
- ^{xc} See, Qārī, *op.cit.*; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.159.
- ^{xci} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, pp.262-65; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.172; Mattū, *op.cit.*, pp.148-53; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.242; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.235.
- ^{xcii} Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.242; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.248.
- ^{xciii} Mishkwātī, *op.cit.*, p.286f; Mattū, *op.cit.*, p.161f; Diddamarī, *op.cit.*, p.196; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.244; Khan, *op.cit.*, p.357.

^{xciv} Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p.54; Khan, *op.cit.*,p.191; Khuihāmī, *op.cit.*, p.254.

^{xcv}*Ibid; Ibid.*, p.259.