

Sources of Kashmir History: An Overview

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This paper aims at an overview of the sources of Kashmir history with special focus on 15th to 18th century. Before attempting a survey of the extant sources for the specified period it seems desirable to make a mention of those contemporary sources which got perished but have been utilised by the later writers. In fact, the period from the reign of Sultan Zainul 'Ābidin' (1420-70) witnessed great literary and artistic activity to the extent that the chronicles in Kashmiri, Sanskrit and Persian began to be composed. In *Jaina Carita*, Notthosoma Pandit recorded the life and achievements of Sultan Zainul Abidin, in Kashmiri. Bodha Bhatta wrote a play in Kashmiri on the same theme.² Similarly, two court poets of the Sultan,³ Mulla Ahmad and Mulla Nādiri completed their histories in Persian. Their chronicles have been referred to in most of the Persian histories of Kashmir. Hasan Shah, a famous historian cum hagiographer of Kashmir, also refers to other works like the *Tarikhi-Qādi Hamid* and *Mantakhabut-Tawārikh* by Hasan Beig.⁴ Histories composed by Qādi Ibrahim in the second tenure of Sultan Fath Shah⁵ (1505-1514 C.E.) and by Mulla Hasan Qāri in the time of Chaks⁶ (1561-1686) are also untraceable. We are however, greatly indebted to later chroniclers like Hasan bin Ali, Haidar Malik, Muhammad A'zam, Hasan Shah and a few others⁷ for their extensive use of the most of these sources on their part.

The archaeological evidence for this period, however, is very scanty. The

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coins of the period, though devoid of chronological importance, furnish us only with the names and titles of the sultans. Most of the palaces, mosques and *khanqāhs*⁸ erected during the period (15th and 16th century) and having been destroyed in the course of civil wars, which flared up in Kashmir and by the foreign invasions, have left the scanty architectural remains. With the exception of the tomb and mosque of Madani⁹ and the *Mazāri-i-Salatin*¹⁰, which too are in a very bad state of preservation, the other monuments like Jamia Masjid and Khanqah-Mualla, in Srinagar have been rebuilt or renovated in later times. The few inscriptions that have been discovered do not substantially make any significant extension in our historical knowledge.

Now, for the sake of convenience the extant sources of Kashmir history can be broadly classified as following:

1. The West Asian Sources

The West Asian scholars like Mas'udi (ob 957 C.E.), Balazuri (d.893 C.E.), Muqaddasi (d.1223 C.E.) and Idrisi (ob. 1166 C.E.) in their respective chronicles like ; *kitab Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*¹¹, *Futūh al-Buldān*¹⁴, *Kitab Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*¹³, and *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Khitraq al-Āfaq*¹⁴ present the West Asian view of Kashmir. Abū Hamid Kūfi in his *Chāch Nāma*¹⁵, which is now extant in its Persian recension only, touches only the margins of Kashmir history and culture and does not give an exhaustive information on socio-economic structure of Kashmir.

The knowledge of 'Arab geographers and compilers of encyclopaedias about Kashmir was not intimate and even their informants were not personally acquainted with the region. Abul Fida does not refer to Kashmir, while Shahryār bin Buzurg¹⁶ refers merely to its geographical location. Another West Asian chronicler Dimashqi in his work entitled *Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Ajaib al Barr wa'l Bahr*¹⁷ divides Kashmir into outer and inner segments comprising of more than seventy thousand and a hundred thousand villages respectively. The author of *Masālik al-Absār* was informed by a traveller that diamonds of good and rare

which describes the events from 1486 to 1512. The history of twenty six years is described only in twenty six *Slokas* and in a confused manner.

Suka Pandit, a pupil of Prajyabhata authored the last Sanskrit chronicle entitled *Rajatrarangini*. He dealt with the period from 1517 to 1596. The history of the Chaks and the Mughal conquest of Kashmir is described very briefly. Very important events like the second invasion of Mirza Haider Dughlat²⁵ and the struggle for power between Idi Raina²⁶ and Daulat Chak²⁷ is not even referred to in this account.

Ksemendra's (d.1066) *Lokaprakasa*²⁸ is a kind of note book in which all kinds of things have been collected together. The language of the book although originally Sanskrit but it is mixed up with Persian and Kashmiri words. Despite the fact that it is difficult to know exactly when different sections were written, its utility for the study of the social life and administration of Kashmir can in no way be underestimated.

3. Persian sources

These can be further sub-divided into (a) contemporary Persian works (b) Later Persian works. The contemporary sources can be studied under the subdivisions; (i) Kashmir chronicles (ii) General Histories of India (iii) Mughal histories (iv) Central Asian histories (v) Histories of Delhi Sultanate.

(i) Kashmir Chronicles: There is no denying the fact that other than Sayyid Ali's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* which was written in the reign of Yusuf Shah,²⁹ all the extant Persian chronicles were composed after 1586, the year of Mughal conquest of the country. But these are very important and must be regarded as original sources, because their authors wrote them either on the basis of their personal observation or utilised the accounts of earlier authorities which are not easily traceable. They had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shah Mir's and the Chaks.

Sayyid Ali's³⁰ *Tarikh Kashmir* gives a detailed account of the arrival of Sayyid Tajud-Din³¹ in the reign of Sultan Shihabud-Din (1354-73). Covering all

quality were found in Kashmir.¹⁸ In fact, Abu Hamid Kūfi, the author of *Chāch Nāma* only looks at Kashmir from India, while all other West Asian accounts view Kashmir from Cairo, Damascus or other such distant places. Kufi refers to the spread of Islam and the building of mosques and pulpits as early as the 8th -9th century C.E.¹⁹ Idrisi and Kufi refer to Kashmir and Qanauj in such a way that these two places seem culturally and commercially linked very closely.²⁰

2. Contemporary Sanskrit Sources

These sources besides Ksemendra's Lokaprakasa consist of Chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka Pandita. The *Raja Tarangini* of Kalhana marks the beginning of the tradition of Kashmir history.²¹ It is a history of Kashmir from earliest times to 1149-50 C.E. The author utilized inscriptions, popular traditions etc. to prepare his account of Kashmir. His most significant contribution was that he evolved a historical perspective out of the existing literature which hardly seemd "historicable". In fact, his work became an ideal and a pattern for others to follow.

Two hundred years after Kalhana, Jonaraja²² continued the narrative down to the reign of Zainul 'Abidin (1420-70) and like Kalhana, entitled it as *Raja Tarangini*. It is the earliest extant and most important source for the history of Kashmir from 1150 to 1459. Despite the fact that it describes the reign of the early Sultans in rather a sketchy manner passing over some of the important events like Rinchana's embracing of Islam and the arrival of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani (Rah. 'A) in Kashmir, it, however, describes events of the period from 1389 to 1459, most of which the author himself witnessed, in a detailed manner. Jonaraja died in 1459 and after him his pupil Srivara²³ continued narrate and entitled it *Jaina Rajatarangini*. He is credited with having translated *Yusuf Zulaikha*²⁴ into Sanskrit under the title *Katha Kautaka*. Srivara gives a detailed account from 1459 to 1486, the year of accession of Fath Shah. It is the only contemporary source of the period it covers.

After the death of Srivara, Prajya bhatta composed his *Rajavalipataka*

the major events upto the arrival of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, it then gives an eyewitness account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's career in Kashmir, for which the author relates the events on the basis of personal observation. Then it relates events upto 1579. The work is also valuable for the religious history of Kashmir as one-third of the book, contains biographical sketches of the *sufis* and *rishis* who flourished during the Sultanate period (1339-1586). For the political history it is important because it is not only the earliest Persian chronicle of Kashmir known to exist but is also based on Qadi Ibrahim's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and on other such works which are lost. Its manuscript in the oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 739) contains 47 folios, 15 lines to each page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by an anonymous writer describes the events from earliest times to the reign of Shamsud-Din-II (1537-40 C.E.). It is one of the earliest histories of Kashmir, being written in 1590. It is based on the Sanskrit chronicles and earlier Persian accounts. The two main demerits are its defective chronological order and ignoring the mention of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, a significant event in the country's social, political and religious history. Still the work is a useful source, for it describes those events in detail which have not been attended to by the reliable chronclers like Tahir, Haidar Malik, and other Persian authorities.

Tahir's *Baharistan-i Shahi*³² is a history of Kashmir from the accession of Rinchana³³ to 1614. It is written in an ornate and verbose style. The author has utilized the Sanskrit Chronicle of Jonaraja and Srivara as well as the Persian accounts of Mulla Ahmad, Mulla Nādiri, Qaḍi Ibrahim and Hasan Qari. Although the author gives only a sketchy account of pre-Sultanate period but for the later Shah Mir and Chak periods and the Mughal conquest he has rendered a detailed account of personal experience or on the basis of information he gathered from the other eyewitness people. It is the only work which relates in details the life of Yusuf Shah Chak and Ya'qub Shah Chak in exile and the manner of their death. Its manuscript in Indian Office Library (No. Ethe. 509) comprises 221 folios, 16 lines to each page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmiri by Hasan bin Ali is a short history of Kashmir from the

earliest times to 1616. The sources of the author are the same as those of Tahir. It gives a detailed history of the Sultanate period upto the end of Hasan Shah's reign and makes only a casual reference to Ya'qub Shah's submission to Akbar. The account was written at the request of Jalalud-Din Malik Muhammad Naji³⁴ who was anxious to preserve a record of the achievements of his ancestors.

Manuscript copy of this work comprises 131 folios, 15 lines to a page. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haidar Malik³⁵ is a well known history of Kashmir completed in 1620-21. Malik's sources seem to be same as that of Tahir and Hasan bin 'Ali. The author was *shi'ah* but he writes dispassionately and freely criticises Ya'qub Shah for his intolerent policy towards Sunnis. He writes in a simple lucid style. His account of the reign of the Chak Sultans particularly their attempts to repel the Mughal invasions, is dealt with in detail.

The Manuscript copy of this work in the India Office Library gives the most detailed account of the Shah Mir and Chak dynasties. The copy in the Research and Publications Department, Srinagar, is only an abridgement of it.

(ii) General Histories of India:

*Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*³⁶ by 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni refers to Kashmir in connection with the account of Akbar's reign. It also gives occasional references to eminent saints and literary figures of Kashmir.

Haft Iqlim by Amin Ahmad Razi is a geographical encyclopaedia completed in 1594³⁷. It not only makes short notes of some Kashmiri rulers, poets and saints but also furnishes a brief account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's conquest of Kashmir in 1540-41. A reference to the shawl industry of Kashmir also finds a place in it.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizamud-Din contains a section that deals with the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to its conquest by Akbar in 1586. The author seems to have based his chronicle partly on Dughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and partly on some Persian chronicle of Kashmir which he does not specify.

Ma'asir-i-Rahimi by Khwaja Abdul Baqi Nihawandi contains a section on the history of Kashmir. Originally it is a biographical account of Abdur-Rahim

Khan-i-Khanan and was completed in 1616. It is based on *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* for its Kashmir section and does not, therefore, add anything more to our knowledge on the subject.

Tarikh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astrabadi known as Firishta also contains a chapter on Kashmir. It is based on *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and has a little additional information to offer.

The *Majālisul-Salātin* by Muhammad Sharif an Najafi contains a portion that gives us detailed account of Rinchana's embracing of Islam. It is basically a brief history of India completed in 1628-29.

(iii) Mughal Histories

Akbar Nāma by Abul Fadl gives a detailed account of invasions on Kashmir by Abul-Ma'ali and Qara Bahadur and the relations of Mughals with Chaks and also the final conquest of Kashmir by Akbar (in 1586). The author also gives a brief account of Haidar Dughlat's rule in Kashmir (1541-1551).

A'in-i-Akbari by the same author acquaints us with the topography of Kashmir and the life of Kashmiri people.

*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*³⁸ by the emperor Jahangir (1605-27) gives an account of political history and social traditions of the inhabitants of the valley.

Ma'asirul Umara' by Shamsamu'd-Daula contains brief notices of some military expeditions on Kashmir by Abul Ma'ali and Mirza Haidar, and of its final conquest during the reign of Akbar in the year 1586C.E.

(iv) Central Asian Histories

The Central Asian appraisal of the history of Kashmir is by far the most valuable and revealing. There were geographic and historic reasons for this awareness.

Abū Rehān al-Birūnī's³⁹ account of India entitled *Kitab al-Hind*⁴⁰ throws valuable light on some important aspects of the intellectual and religious history of Kashmir. Alberuni's is in fact the first detailed account of Kashmir. He wrote at least 125 years before Kalhana. He had even written books for the people of Kashmir⁴¹. Alberuni's account also supplies some indirect evidence for assessing

the economic conditions of Kashmir. It also appears from Alberuni's chronicle that the festivals in Kashmir had either historical or climatic basis. Whether Alberuni visited Kashmir or not is the subject that needs investigation. At a number of places his observations give impression of his having the personal contact with the people of Kashmir.⁴²

Rashid-ud-Din Fadlullah (ob. 1318), the famous Ilkhanid Wazir, wrote about Kashmir inspired as much by his global concept of history as the intriguing phenomenon of Buddhist conversions in Central Asia and Kashmir. He devoted Chapter Vi of his *Tarikh-i Hind wa Sind* to an account of the rulers of Kashmir. It is based on his personal investigations for Kashmir's significance was in the wider context of medieval religious thought, particularly Bhudism.

In fact, in the 13th and 14th centuries Kashmir like other Central Asian lands became the centre of a great religious crisis. The Ilkhans, who were Bhudhists earlier, got converted to Islam and the entire region came in the grip of an unprecedented religious ferment. The fact that Muhammad bin Tughluq⁴³ (1325-51) was contemplating to send missionaries to Kashmir⁴⁴ also, shows the nature of activity going on there.

In *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, believed to have been written by Timur⁴⁵ himself, there are references to his relations with Sultan Sikandar⁴⁶ (1389-1413) of Kashmir and to the topography of the valley.

Sharafud-Din Ali Yazdi's *Zafar Nāma*⁴⁷ is a history of Timur and Khalil Sultan completed in 1424-25. Besides giving a brief description of the geography and people of Kashmir, it sheds light on Sikandar's relations with Timur when the latter invaded India.

Tarikh-i-Rashīdi by Mirza Haidar Dughlat⁴⁸ is a history of the Mongol rulers of Mughalistan and Kashghar. It was completed in 1546. He wrote his history to preserve the memory of the Mughals who in his opinion were speedily declining and their power was becoming a dream of the past'.⁴⁹ He could not imagine of a brilliant future for the Mughals in India. His chapters dealing with the geographical conditions of Kashmir, its wonders, arts and crafts, buildings, agriculture,

transition of Kashmir to Islam, the Sultans of Kashmir and the religious sects of Kashmir are interesting and informative.⁵⁰

(v) Histories of Delhi Sultanate: Despite the fact that Kashmir had political, commercial and cultural relations with India during medieval times yet the historians of Delhi Sultanate provide very little information about Kashmir, but whatever bits of information we find in their works need not to be ignored. Kashmir occurs in the verses of two Persian poets— Zia-ud-Din Abd al-Rafa'y al-Harawi⁵¹ and Hakim Sharaf uz Zaman Qatran al-Azdi al-Tabrizi.⁵² Yahya b. Ahmad b. 'Abdullah Sirhindi in his *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shah-i* only mentions the conflict between Ali Shah⁵³ of Kashmir and Jasrat Khokhar.⁵⁴ Amir Khusru refers to Kashmiri language as one of the main languages of the country.⁵⁵ Ikhtasan's *Basatinul Uns* is important as much to understand the political and cultural perspective of Muhammad bin Tughluq as the life of medieval Kashmir. *Tarikh-i-Da'udi* and *Tarikh-i-Khan-i Jahani*⁵⁶ describe A'zam Humayun's relations with Mirza Haidar and the Kashmir nobles at the time of his revolt against Islam Shah.

(b) Later Persian Works: These include *Tarikh-i Kashmir* by Narayan Kaul 'Ajiz, completed in 1710 C.E; *Nawadiru'l- Akhbār* by Aba Rafiu'd-Din Ahmad, completed in 1723 C.E; *Gauhar-i 'Ālam* by Badi'ud-Din Abul Qasim, completed in 1786 C.E. and *Hashmat-i Kashmir* by 'Abdul Qadir Khan completed in 1859 C.E.

All these works, however, are based on Tahir's *Baharistāni Shahi*, Haidar Malik's *History of Kashmir* and *Tarikh Rashidi* by Daughlat, thereby making no significant extension in our knowledge.

4. Biographies of saints:

Khulāṣatul Manāqib is a biographical account of Sayyid Ali Hamadani⁵⁷ (714/1314—786/1385) written by his prominent disciple Nurud-Din Ja'far Badakhshi. The author also quotes verses of Persian poets such as Sa'di and Attar. It also includes anecdotes of some other important saints such as Najmud-Din Kubra and⁵⁸ 'Alaud-Daula Simnani.⁵⁹

Manuscript copies of the work are available in many libraries of the world including the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 658) and Raza library Rampur (No. 943). Paying tribute to Sayyid Ali Hamadani's impact on Kashmir, 'Allama Iqbal Says:

خطہ را آن شاہ دریا آستین
داد علم و صنعت و تہذیب و دین

Manqabatu'l Jawahir is another work of the same author. It contains an account of life of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. It was written in about 1378 C.E.

*Risala-i-Maktubat*⁶¹ of Sayyid Ali Hamadani is also of great historical value. Among the persons whom he addressed these letters are the rulers of Badakhshan and Kashmir.

Tuhfatul-Ahbab is a biographical account of Mir Shamsud-Din Iraqi,⁶² who introduced Nurbakhshiya teachings into Kashmir. The authors name is not known, but it is quite certain that the hagiographer himself and his father were the disciples of 'Iraqi. Despite certain limitations⁶³ the work is valuable for it contains the history of spread of Islam in Kashmir, brief notices of social life, religious beliefs and Kashmir's political history. The reference to events related to Sultan Fath Shah's second tenure (1505-13) substantiates that the work was completed in 16th century C.E

Hilyatul 'Arifin by Khwaja Ishaq Qari is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum⁶⁴. Qari was a disciple of the celebrated saint. The work besides dealing with the miracles performed by the Shaikh also sheds light on the social conditions in the valley.

Tadhkiratul 'Arifin by Mulla 'Ali is another biography of Shaikh Hamza. It was completed in 1587 C.E. It contains some useful information for the study of the social and religious life of the period.

Majalisul Muimnin by Sayyid Qadi Nurullah Shushtari (d. 1019/1610) contains biographical notes on eminent *shi'ah* and some Sunnis, who according to author had some what *shi'ah* leanings. The author also gives a brief mention of the impact of the teaching of Muhammad Nurbakh on Kashmir and Baltistan.

Wirdul Muridīn by Baba Dawud Khaki is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It is a treatise of 440 verses. In it the author glorifies the spiritual achievements and supernatural feats of Shaikh Hamza

*Dasturu's Sālikin*⁶⁵ is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It was completed by Baba Dawud Khaki⁶⁶ in 962/1545. It was published for the first time in Srinagar in Ramadan 1356/Nov.1937. It was translated into Kashmiri under the title *Dhikru'l Waslin* in 1365/1946.

Rishinama by Baba Dāwūd Khākī deals largely with the miracles of Shaikh Hamza and his father besides giving a brief account of the Rishis. The manuscript copy in Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 954) comprises 135 folios with 16 lines to a page

Rishi Nāma by Baba Nasib (d. 1047/1637) begins with a preliminary discourse on the virtues of the Prophet (ﷺ) and *Khulafa'i Rashidin*. It then gives a detailed account of Rishis with special reference to Shaikh Nurud-Din⁶⁷. Besides giving an account of the growth of Rishi order in Kashmir, it gives a reference to Mirza Haidar's rule and his anti *shi'ah* activities. It was completed in the year 1041/1631.

Manuscript copies are available in the O.R.D, Srinagar (No. 25) and Indian Office Library, Delhi (No. 731), which comprises 414 folios. with 15 lines to a page.

Hidayatul Mukhliṣīn by Haider Tulmuli is a biography of Shaikh Hamza. The author generally follows *Dasturus Salikin*. It was completed in 997/1588-89. The manuscript (No. 593) in O.R.D. Srinagar, comprises 119 folios, 17 lines to a page.

Chillatul 'Arifin is another biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum by his disciple Khwaja Ishaq Qari. It is divided into seven chapters and was completed in 982/1574-75.

Asrārul Abrār by Dawud Mishkati is a biographical work on the *sufi's* of various orders. The author gives a detailed account of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad Hamadani⁶⁸, Shaikh Nurud-Din, Sayyid Sharafud-Din Bulbul Shah⁶⁹

and their disciples.

Khawariqus Salikin by Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur contains a biographical account of sayyids, rishis and *mashaikh-i Kashmir*. It is also known as *Tarikh-i-Hadi* and was completed in 1109/1697-98.

The manuscript copy in O.R.D., Srinagar comprises 196 folios with 17 lines to a page.

Mastūrat is an abridgement of the *Khulsatul Manaqib* of Jaafar Badakhshi. It was completed by Haidar in 1136/1723-24.

The manuscript copy in the Indian Office Library comprises 96 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Waqi'at-i Kashmir by Muhammad A'zam is an abridgement of the earlier works. It was completed in 1747 C.E. In addition to the political history it contains a useful account of the saints and scholars who flourished in Kashmir during the Sultanate period (1339-1586 C.E.)

Futūhat-i-Kubrawiyya by Abdul Wahhab Nuri is a biographical account of 161 Iranian and Kashmiri Kubrawiyya saints. It was completed in 1162/1748-49. The author includes Rishis also in the Kubrawiyya order.

The manuscript in O.R.D., Srinagar (No. 50), comprises 164 folios with 23 lines to a page.

Rishi Nama by Bahaud-Din Mattu is a work on the biographies of the Rishi's, composed in verse. Besides Rishis the biographies of some other Kashmiri saints also find a place in the work. It adds some anecdotes regarding Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, which have not been described in the earlier *Rishi Namas*.

Ms copy in the Indian Office Library (No. 3684) comprises 123 folios with 19 lines to a page.

Futūhāt-i-Qādīri by Muhammad Husain Qadiri is a biography of all important Iranian and Kashmiri Qadiri saints. It was completed in 1282/1867. Besides providing an account of important non-Qadiri saints also it deals with the growth of the Qadiri order in Kashmir from the seventeenth century onwards.

The Ms. copy O.R.D, Srinagar (No. 30) comprises 263 folios, 22 lines

to a page.

Tarikh-i-Hasan by Pir Hasan Khuihami (d. 1898) is a general history of Kashmir. Its third volume deals with the biographies of almost all the Kashmiri Sayyids, Rishis, Mashaikh, 'Ulama and *Majzubs*. It was translated into Urdu by M. Ibrahim, Srinagar, 1960.

Tarikh-i-Kabir also known as *Tuhaiful Abrar* by Muhiud-Din Miskin and completed in 1321/1903-4 provides almost the same information as contained in *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. It was first published from Amritsar, Zeiqad 1322/ January 1905.

5. Kashmiri literature and Folklore

Medieval Kashmir in general and the Sultanate period (1339-1586) in particular was rich in Kashmiri poetic literature, but to our dismay only a little portion of it has come down to us. The songs of Lall 'Arifa⁷⁰ have been collected and translated by Barnett and Grierson; likewise a few mystical verses of Shaikh Nurud-Din (779/1378-842/1439) and lyrics of Habba Khatun have been edited by J.L. Kaul. They bring to some extent, the social conditions of Kashmir in limelight. The Folklores and traditions of the valley collected by Lawrence, Knowles, Grierson and many European travellers also depict a sketch of manners and customs of the Kashmiris.

6. European Accounts

During the whole Sultanate period (1339-1586) no European ever visited Kashmir. Father Jerome Xavier and Benedict deGoes were the first European to visit Kashmir in 1597 C.E. in the company of Akbar, the Mughal emperor of India. An account of their impression about Kashmir, is, however, very useful. Similarly, Francisco Pelsaert gave a brief description of Kashmir. Bernier comparatively relates in detail the social and economic life of Kashmiris. He visited valley with the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 C.E). The descriptions of Father Desideri and Fryre are useful to a larger extent as the former furnishes information about the trade of Kashmir and the latter about the social life of the

people. The accounts of European travellers, who visited Kashmir during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are helpful in identifying some of the old localities which have either disappeared or changed their names and these also contain earlier traditions of the country.

References and Notes

1. He was an illustrious *Sultan* of Shahmir dynasty in Kashmir, founded earlier by Shahmir [Sultan Shamsud-Din-I] in 1339 C.E. Shahmir was originally from Swat and got settled in Kashmir during the reign of Hindu ruler Suhadeva (1301-1320). During foreign invasions of Mongols on Kashmir he won the confidence of people by exhibiting his courage and administrative potential. His descendants ruled over Kashmir for 222 years upto 1561 C.E. with Habib Shah (1557-61 C.E) as the last ruler. Kashmir witnessed overall prosperity under Zainul 'Abidin (1420-70), who became popular as Budshah (Great king).
2. Srivara; *Jain Rajatarangini* [tr. by J.C. Dutt. into English as, *Kings of Kashmir.*] Chap. V, No. 37
3. Zainu'l 'Abidin (1420-70 C.E.)
4. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*; vol, I, f. 152 a, Ms Oriental Research Deptt. (O.R.D.) 'Allama Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir, Srinagar.
5. Fath Shah was grandson of Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-70). He was crowned as the Sultan of Kashmir thrice viz; (i) 1486-1493 (ii) 1505-14 (iii) 1515-17.
6. Chak dyasty replaced the Shahmir dynasty as the ruling one in 1561 C.E. under Ghazi Shah as the founder member. The Chaks had earlier migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan in the reign of Suhadeva (1301-20) under their leader Lankar Chak.
7. The introduction of the works of these authorities is being dealt with in this article.
8. The first such hospice was constructed by Rinchana (1320-23) for Sayyid Bulbul Shah under whose guidance the former embraced Islam and got his Muslim name as Sadrud-Din. The said hospice was constructed on the banks of river Jehlum near Sadrud-Din's own palace. Now, this place is known as Bulbul Lankar in Srinagar.
Jamia Masjid, at present Nowhatta, was for the first time constructed during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 C.E.) with Sadrud-Din Khurasani as its chief architect. It had 372 wooden columns, each 40 yards in height and 6 yards in circumference. There were also four archways;
Sultan Qutub-Din (1373-89 C.E.) had earlier constructed a raised floor in 'Alaud-Dinpur (present Fath Kadal at Srinagar), for the congregational prayers of his preceptor, Sayyid Ali Hamadani (Rah. 'A.). Sultan Sikandar constructed

- there in 799/1396-97 a hospice known a *Khanqah-Mulla*. He endowed with the three villages of Vachi, Shaura and Nunahwani and appointed Maulan Muhammad Sa'id as trustee.
9. Sayyid Muhammad Madani, commonly known in Kashmir as "Madani Sahib" was originally from Madina. He entered the services of Timur. While in India Timur deputed him in 801/1399 as his envoy to the court of Sultan Sikanda (1389-1413) in Kashmir. After completing his mission as an envoy, Madani returned with his family to Kashmir, became a disciple of Mir Muhammad Hamadani. Later, Sultan Zainul Abidin became his devotee and constructed a Khanqah for Madani. When Madani died in 849/1445 a tomb was constructed over his grave near present Hawal, Srinagar.
 10. It is located at Maharaj Gunj in Srinagar. The tomb of the mother of Sultan Zainul Abidin, graves of famous Sultans of Kashmir like, Sikandar, Zainul Abidin, Fath Shah, Muhammad Shah and including that of Mirza Haidar Dughlat are located in this graveyard. However, graves of Sultan Qutubuddin and Sadrud-Din (Rinchana) are not located in this graveyard.
 11. It is originally in Arabic. Its translation into French has been done by C. Barbier de Meynard and Paret de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77
 12. Balazuri in his *Futuh al-Buldan* (pp. 445-46) informs us that Hisham bin Amrul Taghlibi, the 'Arab governor of Sind, sometime after 140/757-58 made a successful attempt to conquer the valley of Kashmir. However, there is no other historical evidence that an 'Arab army ever entered Kashmir and Balazuri's claim is supported by none of the Kashmiri sources.
 13. Edited by M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906.
 14. Portion relating to India edited by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Aligarh, 1954.
 15. Kufi holds that Muslim settlements in Kashmir had started as early as eighth century C.E. Muhammad Alafi, an Arab who had served Raja Dahir of Sind (d. 712), sought refuge in Kashmir under its ruler Candrapida who bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbar. After Alafis death, his estate was inherited by one Jehm, who built many mosques there. (Kufi; *Chach Nama*; Eng. tr. K. Mirza; pp 160, 55-6)
 16. His chronicle is entitled '*Ajaibu'l Hind*.'
 17. Translated into English by M.A.F. Mehren; Copenhagen, 1874.
 18. A Fourteenth century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad bin

- Tughluq (1325-51 C.E.) pp. 69-70.
19. The *Chach Nama* translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredun Beg, p. 6.
 20. Idirisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Khitraq al-Afaq*, p. 64.
 21. English translation with introduction and notes by Sir Aurel Stein, 2 vols, London, 1900.
 22. He was a scholar of Sanskrit and was attached to the court of Zainul 'Abidin, but he wrote his work under the orders of Siryabhata, the superintendent of the court of Justice. He was a man of considerable attainments.
 23. Srivara was a scholar, poet, historian and musician and was attached to the court of Sultan Zainul 'Abidin. He also served Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84) and Muhammad Shah (i. 1484-86 C.E.) and was incharge of music department during Hasan Shah's tenure.
 24. Originally written by Persian Poet-philosopher Nurud-Din Abdul Rahman Jami.
 25. Mirza was originally from Kashgar. He was a cousin of Babar, the founder of Mughal rule in India. During the period of Himayun in the year 1541 C.E. he invaded Kashmir on behalf of Himayun.
 26. Idi Rain assumed the Prime Ministership under Sultan Nazuk Shah (i. 1529-30 (ii) 1540-52), when Mirza Haidar Dughlat was killed in October 1551 C.E.
 27. Daulat Chak assumed the duties of Prime minister on the death of Idi Raina in 1552 and deposed the Sultan Nazuk Shah and installed Ibrahim Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, as the Sultan of Kashmir.
 28. *Lokaprakasa* seems to have been written by a number of persons including Ksemendra, who actually wrote only a portion of it. The mention of Mughal emperor of India, Shah Jahan (1627-58 C.E.) in Book (ii) Suggests that some parts were written as late of seventeenth century.
 29. G.M.D. Sufi opines that his work was written between 1530-37, but manuscript copy also refers to events taking place after 1537 and lists the Chak rulers as far as Yusuf Shah. The work, however, does not refer to Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi, who succeeded Yusuf Shah in 1579, it would naturally appear to have been completed in 1579 or a little before.
 30. The author was a Baihaqi Sayyid and was related to the Shah Mir dynasty through his mother who was the sister of Sultan Nazuk Shah (i. 1529-30 (ii) 1540-52). Both Sayyid Ali and his father Sayyid Muhammad appear to have served Mirza Haidar Dughlat.

31. Sayyid, a cousin of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, was deputed by the latter to Kashmir to explore the socio-religious and political conditions there, while Sultan Shihabud-Din (1354-73) was the ruler of Kashmir.
32. It is popularly believed that Tahir was a Shi'ite, and was probably in the service of Baihaqi Sayyids for he describes their career in greater detail and is fulsome in adulation of their *Taqwa* (piety), *Shuja* (courage) and generosity. The author mentions that Mulla Hasamud-Din, his great grandfather, who had migrated from Ghazni, was a disciple of Haji Ibrahim Adham, a Kubrawi saint of Kashmir.
33. Rinchana was a Ladakhi prince, who took refuge in Kashmir during Suhadeva's period (1301-1320). Due to political turmoil and uncertain conditions, owing to frequent foreign incursions, he succeeded to assassinate Ramachandra, the comm I/C of the Kashmir army. Subsequently, proclaimed himself as the king of Kashmir (1320-23 C.E.). He then embraced Islam under Sayyid Bulbul Shah and got his Muslim name as Sadrud-Din.
34. He is evidently Haidar Malik's grandfather. In Haidar Malik's chronicle he is styled as Kamal-ud-Din. But in the present work (f. 3a) he is called Jalalud-Din. This is probably due to the mistake of copyist.
35. Malik hailed from Chadura and descended from Ramachandra, the commander in chief of Suhadeva (Hindu ruler of Kashmir from 1301-20), and his family played an important part during Sultanate period. It seems worth to mention that Ramachandra's son, Ravan Chandra embraced Islam under the guidance of Sayyid Sharafud-Din Abdul Rahman, popularly known as Bulbul Shah in Kashmir, who had come from Turkestan in about 1313 C.E. and was himself as disciple of Shah Wali Allah Niamatullah of Surawardi silsila of Sufis. The author himself served Yusuf Khan Chak, the son of Husain Shah (i. 1563-70 ii. 1586), for twenty four years, and accompanied him in his exile to India after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir.
36. The three volumes of the book cover the history of India from Ghaznavids down to the fortieth year of Akbar's reign. The 1st vol. translated by George S.A. Ranking and published in 1898, deals with the history of India from Subuktagin (977-97 C.E.) down to the death of Humayun in January 1556 C.E. The second vol. tr. by Lowe and published in 1884 C.E. covers the first forty years of Akbar's rule. The third and the last volume tr. by Sir Wolseley

Haig, and published in 1925 contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who were either known to author or were attached to the Mughal court.

37. It is a priographical account of large number of sufi, scholars and poets, arranged geographically under their towns or countries, in three volumes.
38. Text edited by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 1281/1864; Eng.tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, 2 vols. London; 1909-14.
39. Al-Biruni (362/973—442/1048) born of Persian speaking parents in what today in Uzbekistan, was a universal genuis and polymath who turned his attention to every field of learning. The scope of al-Biruni's enquiries was profound and vast.

When attached to the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, he travelled with the Sultan to India, where he learned Sanskrit and became a bridge between the world of Hindu learning and the Arabic-speaking Islamic civilization. For twelve years he concentrated on studying the wisdom of India and the resulting encyclopaedic "Book of India" (*kitab al-Hind*), besides many other aspects, described Hindu system of philosophy, cosmological theories, and customs. In 387/997 he exchanged letters on Aristotle's physics with Ibn Sina (Avicena) when the two later met, al-Biruni disputed with him some of Aristotle's scientific reasoning, in particular the notion of the "eternity of the world". Al-Biruni's work on astronomy, the *Mas'udic Canon*, is dedicated to the sucessor of Mahmud of Ghaznah. He listed 1029 stars and calculated latitudes and longitudes using instrument of his own making. His treatise on pharmacology, *kitab as-Saydalah* lists names of substances in Greek, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. As for bötany, al-Biruni described five times as many plants as Dioscorides. He calculated the spcific gravity of various substances, wrote on the properties of gems in the *kitab al-Jawahir*, and on the history of nations in the '*Athar al-Baqiya*.

40. Text edited by E.C. Sachau, London, 1887, Engl. trans. *Alberuni's India*, E.C. Sachau, London, 1910, reprint, New Delhi, 1983.
41. Alberuni's India; P. XXIV.
42. At one place he remarks, "The people of Kashmir with whom I have conversed on the subject give a different statement." (ii. p. 181). He remarks at another place, "The distance from Lahur to the capital of Kashmir is 56 miles... what

other latitudes I have been able to observe myself..." (i, p. 317) means his personal knowledge. While describing the mountain Kularjak, he says that the distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two farsakh. "The fortress Rajawari lies south of it, and the fortress Lahur West of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen." (i, p. 208)

43. He belonged to Tughlaq dynasty and was a ruler of India.
44. Sayyid M. Mubarak Kirmani, (known as Mir Khurd) *Siyaru'l Awliya*, p. 288, Delhi, 1302 A.H.
Muhammad bin Tughluq's desire to preach and propagate Islam in Kashmir was perhaps due to his contact with Ilkhimd Sultan Abu Sa'id with whom he had correspondence and whose letters are preserved in *Bayaz-i-Taju'ddin Wazir* (ed. by Afshar and Murtuda Timuri, Tehran, 1353).
45. Timur (737/1336—807/1405) the founder of Timurid dyansty (771/1370—906/1500), was a Turkoman prince of Samarqand in Tranoxiana. His armies ranged over the northern steppes down to Persia and Iran.
46. When Timur occupied Delhi after annihilating the army of Mahmud, the last Tughlaq ruler, he sent Uljah Timur Tufaqqar, Fawlad Bahadur and Zainu'd-Din to Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir (1389-1413) so as to ask him to pay his personal homage to Timur. Accompanied by Sikandar's envoys lead by Maulana Nuru'd-Din they returned. Eventually, Sikandar set out himself to meet Timur, but on reaching Baramulla he learnt that Timur had crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Samarqand. He, therefore returned to Srinagar. For further details see "*Zafar Nama*, pp. 154-65; *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*; f. 319 (a)".
47. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, however, does not approve of the information supplied by Sharafuddin. He remarks, "He (Sharafuddin) is not consistent. He had never been there (in Kashmir) himself, but derived his information from travellers who had not a proper regard of accuracy. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 178).
48. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat was born in 1499-1500, at Tashqand, the capital of the province of Shash, where his father was governor. On his military expedition to Ladakh in 1532, with Prince Sikandar Mirza, he occupied Nubra and eventually marched towards Kashmir with 4000 soldiers early in January 1533 C.E. At the end of May 1533 C.E after having suffered from heavy consultations of his troops, he concluded a treaty with Kashmiri nobles

and left via Ladakh.

Mirza, however, invaded Kashmir again in 1540 C.E. under the orders of Humayun, the Mughal emperor of India. With Nazuk Shah on the throne as the Sultan of Kashmir, Mirza became the defacto ruler of Kashmir for about ten years till his death in October in 1551 C.E. in an encounter with Kashmiri nobles. He lies buried in Mazar-i-Salatin at Maharaj Gunj, Srinagar.

49. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*; (tr) p.1
50. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 423-37
51. Harawi says

گلبن حکایت از بت کشمیر میکند
سوزن نشان ز بعبت فرخار میدهند

Aufi; *Lubab-ul-Albab*, ed Browne; II, p. 333

52. Tabrizi in a qasidah says:

اے بخوبی برتبان کابل و کشمیر میر
ماندم از بس کاوری درو عدھاتا خیر خیر

Aufi; *Ibid*; p. 216

53. Ali Shah was eldest son of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir. His original name was Mir Khan. He succeeded his father as the Sultan of Kashmir in 1413 C.E. and reigned upto 1420 C.E. Jonaraja, p. 61; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. (iii) p. 435, *Firishta*, p. 655
54. Jasrat was one leading figure among Khokhars, who were clever fighters, established near Thanna. Jasrat ostensibly sided with Zainu'l Abidin, Ali Shah's younger brother, in the conflict between 'Ali shah and Zainu'l Abidin. Yahya as-Sirhindi; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shah*, i; P. 194, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*.; (i), p. 271.
55. *Amir Khusrau, Nuh SipIhr*; edited by M. Wahid Mirza, p. 179, Calcutta, 1950.
56. They do not, however, throw any light on the relations between the Kashmiri nobles and Sher Shah and wrongly state that A'zam Humayun was killed in an engagement with Kashmiri forces while Mirza Haidar was still alive.
57. Sayyid 'Ali was born at Hamadan, got his elementary education from his

- maternal uncle Sayyid 'Alaud-Din. Then he studied and underwent Sufi training under the guidance of Shaikh Muzdaqani and Taqiu'd-Din 'Ali Dusti, both disciples of celebrated saint "Alau'd-Dawla Simnani. Hamadani travelled extensively and stayed for sometime in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Qutubu'd-Din there. An author of about 170 works, imparted enormous influence on the religious, social, economic and political outlook of the people there. In fact, he paved the way for the shift in the demography of Kashmir. For further details see; *Khulasatul Manaqib* by Nuru'd-Din Ja'afar Badakhshi
58. His original name was 'Umaru'l-Khayuqi, born in Khwarazam in 540/1145. He travelled extensively. Khayuqi was a prolific writer and passed away in 1221, during a battle with Mongols. For further details see; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823.
Rashidu'd-Din Fadlullah; *Jami'ut-Tawarikh*; Vol.I, pp. 373-4, Tehran, 1338, Iranian era (1959-60).
Jami; *Nafahat al-Uns*; pp. 273-4, ed. Kanpur, 1893 C.E. (d. 898/1492).
Amin Ahmad Razi; *Haft Iqlim*; III, pp 318-9, ed. Tehran, n.d.
59. Simnani (659/1261—736/1336) was an erudite scholar and a prolific writer. cf. Daulat Shah Samarqandi; *Tadhkiratu'l Shu'ara*; p. 280 completed in 892/1487; Edition; Teheran, 1337 Iranian era (1958-59 C.E.)
60. The manuscript comprises 160 pages, 21 lines per page.
61. Three of these *Maktubat* are addressed to Sultan Thghan Shah, Sultan Ghiyathu'd-Din and Sultan 'Alaud-Din. Hamadani; *Risala-i-Maktubat*; ff. 167-68 Ms. British Museum; Add. 16840.
62. Iraqi was born in the village of Kund near Sloghan. He seems to have received good education and became the disciple of Shah Qasim, the son and successor of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbaksh. The 'Iraqi was author of a treatise on sufism, entitled, *fiqh-i-Ahwal*. He visited Kashmir first in 1481 C.E. and stayed there for about 60 years. Second time he went there in 1581 C.E, preached Shi'ism, then he went to Askardu and again returned to Kashmir in 1505 C.E., this time he converted a good number of people to his creed and established a Khanqah at Jadibal (Tahir, *Baharistani Shah-i*; f. 60 b).
63. The author highly exaggerates Iraqi's success in demolishing temples and erecting mosques on their sites. His view that celebrated Kubrawi saint, Shaikh Isma'il had entered into the discipleship of 'Iraqi has no bearing upon reality.

64. The Shaikh popularly known in Kashmir as 'Mahbubul-'Alam, was born in 900/1494 at Tujar, Baramulla. He received his education from Shaikh Fathullah and Maulana Darwesh at the seminary of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi. Shaikh studied books on Fiqh and works of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani under the guidance of Maulana Lutfullah, at *Madrasatu 'l-Daru'-Shifa*. On the arrival of Sayyid Jamiau'd-Din Bukhari in Kashmir, the Shaikh became his disciple who inturn initiated him into Suhrawardi silsila and on his departure from Kashmri bestowed *silsila-name* and *Ijzat nama* upon the Shaikh thus, declaring him as his *khalifa*. Shaikh Hamza breathed his last on 24 safar, 984/23 May, 1576, and was burried on the slopes of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar. (*Tarikh-i Hasan*, III, pp 211-12; *Tarikh-i-Kabir*; p. 154.)
65. It is a *Sharh* (annotation) upon *Wirdu 'l Muridin* by the same author. Besides the glimpses of life and teachings of Shaikh Hamza, it consists of the sayings of the Prophet (SAW), his *Sahaba* (companions) and prominent Sufis. The work also makes copious references to the treatises of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and incorporates his *Risala-Dah Qa'ida* in full. The sayings of Sufi are based on well known Sufi works like; *Ihya 'ulum al-Din*, *Kashfu'l Mahjub*, *Nafahatu'l uns*, and *'Awarifu'l Ma'arif*.
66. Baba Dawud Khaki got his early education from Mulla Basir and Mulla Raziu'ud-Din at Srinagar. He adopted Shaikh Hamza Makhdum as his spiritual preceptor, who later appointed him as his *Khalifa*. He emerged as one of the most eminent scholars of his time. He authored a number of works including *Risala-i-Ghusliya* and *Rishi Nama*.
67. Shaikh Nurud-Din was born on 10 Dhu'l-Hijja 779/9 April, 1378, at Qaimoh, Anantnag, in Keshmir. He died on 26 Ramadan, 842/12 March, 1439 and was burried with almost royal pomp at the village of Chrar, Budgam. He received *Khat-i-Irshad* from Mir Muhammad Hamadani and himself laid the foundation of an indigenous sufi order—the *Rishi silsila*. The sayings of the Shaikh are scattered in the works like; *Rishi Nama*, *Asraru'l Abrar*, *Waqi'at-i Kashmir Futuhat-i Kubrawiyya*, *Tarikh-i-Hasan-III*, *Tarikh-i-Kabir* etc.
68. Mir, the son of 'Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, was born at *Khatlan* in 744/1372. After receiving education and guidance from Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani and Ja'far Badakhshi, he set off with some disciples of his father to Kashmir in

- 766/1393. Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) of Kashmir built a beautiful *Khanqa* for him in Srinagar, where Mir's father had earlier stayed during his visit to the valley. Mir's advent in Kashmir proved a turning point in its history. Under the guidance of Mir, Sultan Sikandar's attitude changed and an orthodox Islamic policy was introduced. Many reforms were introduced. Mir stayed in the valley for about twelve years during which he remained absorbed in preaching and proselytisation and eventually left in the year 808/1405. He went first to Mecca and thence to Khatlan where he died and was buried there near the tomb of his father. For further details of his life and contribution see; *Baharistan-i-Shah-i*; pp 42-43, *Futhuhat-i-Kubrawiyya*; f. 65, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, III, pp. 24-25, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, pp 22-25.
69. Sayyid Shrafu'd-Din was the first to introduce Suharwardi order into Kashmir. He was originally from Turkistan and a disciple of Shah Ni'amatu'llah Farsi. He arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-20). He succeeded to convert not only a significant number of people but even the Rinchana (1320-23), the successor of Suhadeva, and his commander in-chief, Rawanchandra, to Islam. Rinchana (now Sadru'd-Din) constructed a Khanqah (hospice) with *Langer Khana*, for his preceptor. Sayyid popularly known as Bulbul Shah, died in 727/1326 and was buried in Srinagar near this Khanqah, presently known as Bulbul Langar (Lanker), in Srinagar.)
70. Lalla was a senior contemporary of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. Her sayings "*Lal Wakhi*" were first edited and rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in 1920. In 1924, Sir Richard Carnac Temple, published a translation in English verse of Lalla's sayings with a detailed analysis of her teachings. Lalla came of a well-to-do family of Brahmans of Pampur. She was given to an ascetic life right from her childhood. In her sayings she stressed upon self-denial and purity of life. For further details about her life and sayings see, Temple, *The world of Lalla*, Abdul Ahad Azad, *Kashmiri-Zaban aur Sha'iri*, Jonaraja; *Raja-Tarangini*; *Dawud Mishkat-i*; *Asraru'l Abrar*, and G.M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II.