Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's (R.A) Legacy in Kashmir and the Significance of its Revival

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Abstract

The paper attempts to delineate the contours of the legacy of Mir Savvid Ali Hamadani (RA) (1314-1385) in Kashmir and seeks its restoration which owing to numerous socio-economic, political and other factors has been bruised in various phases of its beleaguered history. The legacy is sought to be poised as a panacea in the present predicament. The legacy is approached for being the authentic, genuine and all comprehensive representation of the Prophet of Islam (ملى الله) as the only reliable manifestation of realization of the truth in all gamuts of life in both horizontal and vertical planes of individual and society. The legacy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) could be fathomed from his writings, missionary activities in Kashmir and its wide scale influence on the religious, political, economic, social and cultural ethos of Kashmir. The legacy is nurtured and complemented by the illustrious son of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA), Mir Muhammad Hamadani^(RA) and the hundreds of Sayyids from Iran and other parts of central Asia who labored and settled as the beacons of the new manifestation of truth there. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) has been acknowledged as Amir-e-Kabir, the great leader and a reference point for the religious and cultural legacy of Muslims in Kashmir. His mission, like that of the Prophet (ملى الله) was all pervasive—equally transforming the faith, ethics, ideology, society, economy and polity of the people. On one side it was set to see its flourishing as a vibrant religio-cultural movement of an ethnic group-Kashmiris on the basis of a universal faith and culture and on the other it fostered new religious, political, social and cultural linkages in the region and the world. A new make and break criterion was formulated, which if in action shall foster unity in the ethnic group within and reformulate its relations with the outside world.

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Introduction

Little is known about the religo-cultural and intellectual legacy of Kashmir though famous for its beauty worldwide. Kashmir is also known as "Irani Saghir" (small Iran)-a clear reference to it resemblance in having high aesthetic taste and cultural richness. Though its pre-Islamic period is also known for its occupying high intellectual place: being centre of Hindu Shivite philosophy and also centre of Buddhist learning, yet its Islamic beginnings are related to the great saint scholar Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) (1314-1385), a descendent of Hadrat Ali^(RA) and Hadrat Fatimah^(RA) through seventeen generations, who had not only memorized Qur'an in his early age¹ but had his Islamic learning from Sufi saints of his time, who had initiated him into Kubraviya order of tasawwuf—an offshoot of the Suharwardi Silsilah (order).² Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) initiates a turning point in the history of Kashmir. His inspired mission is successfully complemented by his illustrious son, Mir Muhammad Hamadani^(RA) (1372-1405).³ He has been known to world and Kashmiri in particular by various reverential titles as Amir-e-Kabir(the great leader), Shah-e-Hamadan(king of Hamadan). bani-e-Islam (founder of Islam). Bani-e-Muslamani (founder of Muslim creed) and Ali-thani (the second Ali).⁴ Overwhelming majority of people embracing Islam as a consequence of his mission of bringing all-pervasive transformation of faith, ethics, culture, society, art, economy and polity of Kashmir assumes utmost significance for the succeeding period of its history.⁵ His legacy is the most authentic, genuine and comprehensive manifestation of Islam in time-space frame-work. Though over the period of time this legacy stands bruised from within and from without. There have been efforts by those inimical to his mission and lazy and incompetent followers to either replace his mission or disintegrate its constituents. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's^(RA) legacy included the Islamization of local spiritual order of *Rīshism* and to the cultural and economic prosperity of the people of Kashmir. In that scheme of things there is no conflict

between the mission of Islam represented by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) and Islamized $R\bar{i}shi$ order as represented by Shaykh Nur-ud-Din Wali^(RA)(1377-1440). It is significant to note the Shaykh Nur-ud-Din Wali was a disciple of Mir Muhammad Hamadani^(RA) and had accepted him as his preceptor and genuine and authentic representative of Islam—the last revealed paradigm of thought and action. In case of any discrepancy and conflict between the two logically, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) and Mir Muhammad Hamadani's^(RA) legacy shall be regarded as closer to the truth. Kashmir's almost consensus on the legacy of 'Bani-e-*Musalmani*' (the founder of Islam in Kashmir,⁶ is a single most referential point for solidarity in the space-time frame work. The legacy is formed and framed on the total fidelity to Islam. Hence its constituents, intellectual discourses, spiritual system, political vision and formulations, social and cultural transformations are all integral to the ethos of Islam and cannot be or should not be subject to any delinking or disintegration.

Present Predicament

Kashmir has for long been in turmoil. Hundred and hundred have been killed and maimed. Protests and shutdowns have been so frequent that it is now no news. Why is it so? The answers vary. However, the answers do relate to the religio-cultural ethos of the people. So what is the nature of religio-cultural ethos of people? Usually it is being said that Kashmirs' supreme ethos is defined by Kashmiriat. The term is too loose that its definitions are usually made to show that the universal and regional dimensions and manifestations of Islam are not integral part of the Kashmirait and if at all they are there, they remained subsumed to the supremacy of a localized creed. Further Sufi and Rīshi traditions too get metamorphosed into a creed which at once makes it unique in the sense that it is "Islamic in its own right and sense" and also "it is local and connected to its pre-Islamic Hindu-mystical shivite order of Rīshism". Thus the creed has its cultural, social and political manifestations and mutations dictated by its very complex ethos. Further it is held

that Kashmir ows its 'peace and prosperity' to this ethos. 'External influences of the so-called Shari'ah-conscious Islam' has been designated as a source of trouble and destabilizing factor for the ethos. Hence the need of rejuvenating the sūfi and *Rīshi* cultural trends for restoring the pristine purity of the Kashmiriat is being emphasized. One of the dimensions of the turmoil is that least is discussed and debated by those who are the first party in the conflict—Kashmiris. Probably congenial circumstances are not available for serene and cool contemplation and discussion. Polemics is no substitute for erudite scholarship. Such scholarship pre-supposes certain factors whose absence is quite understandable. In conflict areas, normal becomes abnormal and everything is considered by the parties concerned to favour or disfavour them, hence crucial questions are generally either ignored or answered in a manner which suits the interests of the particular person or group. Academic and honest scholarship, however demands that questions must be probed and right answers sought to address the crucial problems, wherein lie the solution of the problems. Contemporary religio-cultural ethos of Kashmir is like any other place influenced by the Western world-view with its concomitant axioms and value systems through its institutions with serious implications on its life and thought. Like-wise South-Asian ideological and cultural landscape with Hindu-Muslim dynamics of perceptions and interests along with their paraphernalia affects the otherwise secluded and landlocked region of Kashmir.

Yet Kashmir's intrinsic strengths of its historically transmitted religio-cultural ethos is primarily marshaled to 'orient' or 'reorient' or 'disorient' itself based on the particular perception and interest of the particular persons or groups. Hence provides the need for emphasizing the key elements of its ethos and the interplay of the essential elements therein. Truth and reality are absolute values in Islamic scheme of things. Any deviation and perversion from any individual or a group for any period of time

does not preclude it from the correction. Hence Islam's position on the subject is that man is primarily commissioned to recognize and realize the truth in the time space frame work. Man's true legacy is to serve his Creator and sustainer sincerely and exclusively. Islam is the authentic divine channel of ensuring man's facilitation of this world and the Hereafter. So the last Messenger of Allah, Prophet Muhammad (عليه وسلم) did not claim to initiate a new religion rather called people to refurbish their links to their pious predecessors like prophets Abraham (عليه) السلام), Musa (عليه السلام) and 'Īsā (عليه السلام). Musim preachers only reconnect their addresses to the common legacy of mankind, shaped and enriched by the divine guidance. Further Muslim preachers evaluated the local traditions of different people and places for correction, modification, adoption and rejection based upon the universal message and spirit of Islam. Muslim preachers in their wisdom also adopted gradual processes of reform to facilitate people understand, recognize and imbibe the truth of Islam. This has generated the natural development of Islam in various lands and communities in various ways, depending upon multiple factors like the circumstances of the people and place, the ethos of the people, the power groups there and definitely the preachers personalities and their wisdom also. Islam accords primacy to the authenticity of its religious legacy. So it is most important that peoples beliefs and practices which they call 'Islam' is fully authenticated by the legacy of Islam which is universal and also historical; it should be verifiable with its antecedents matching its basic sources al Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (algebra de base de baIslam's genuine reprehensive in the time-space frame work.

Islam the Supreme Definer

Islam is all-embracing religion which escapes the limited definition of the modern world. It goes deep into human soul and spirit and to the deepest recesses of human mind and gets world-view, values, individual and social dispositions of all sorts defined, oriented and developed on its *Tawhīdic* pedestal.

The Prophet (عليه الله) and Islamic Shari 'ah and the authentic and genuine successors and upholders of Islam in the time-space frame work are the linchpin of the legacy of Islam universally. Same is true of Kashmir as well. Advent of Islam in Kashmir and embracing of Islam by its over-whelming majority in timespace frame work must be regarded as a new definer for its past, present and the future. Historically, Muslim incursions into the valley have been traced to early Muslim expeditions in South-Asia.⁷ However, owing to lofty mountains and inclement weather conditions it denied heavy Muslim presence in Kashmir for long. Kashmir being landlocked remained isolated and secluded to its changed environment where Muslims had managed to change the power equations and religio-cultural dynamics. Even al-Beruni hints at the particular psyche developed by Kashmiri's because of this isolation, whereby they did not know of any other nation but themselves, though least travelled outside Kashmir. With the passage of time the arrival of Muslims into Kashmir made their presence felt and caught the attention of the Hindu historians of the time like Kalhana and Jonaraja. Arival of Muslims from Central Asia and Iran into Kashmir got accelerated probably owing to hard times for them because of Mongol invasions in Central Asia. Scholars of Islam had developed the esoteric dimensions of Islam and great luminaries had emerged in this period globally leading to various orders of tasawwuf; Suharawardiya order being one of them. Needless to emphasize upon the integrity of tasawwuf and Sharī'ah and the primacy of Sharī'ah in the actualization of the divine scheme for human felicitation. Islamic spirituality represents the inner and esoteric dimensions of its outer and exoteric dimensions only. Suhrawardiya and Kubravi saints' presence in Kashmir introduced the pristine pure teachings of Islam embodied by pure souls and influenced and impressed high and low of the Kashmiri society alike. Kashmir for long has been enjoying the preponderance of being centre of high learning of Buddhism followed by Hindu Shivite tradition and

scholarship. Arrival of Muslims into this land must have been accompanied by higher scholarship and wisdom. It is precisely so as abundant evidence available to prove that the learnt, urbane and powerful were overwhelmed by the knowledge, scholarship, piety and message of the saint-scholars. Hundreds of outstanding saint scholars contributed heavily in the formative years of Islam based religio-cultural ethos of Kashmir.

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA)—True Representative of Islam

سيد السادات سالار عجم دست او معمار تقدير امم

Before the arrival of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) into Kashmir, an outstanding saint of Kubravi order, Sayyid Abdur Rahman, locally known as Bulbul Shah, had made an impressive presence of Islam in this place leading to embracing of Islam by the ruler, some nobles and sizeable common folk.⁸ However mass embracing of Islam is attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) who is deservingly and lovingly called by the Kashmiris, Bani-e-Muslamani (The real Founder of Islam in Kashmir). He is in tune with Alla-ud-Din Simnani's legacy of Kubravi Saints and basically in the way of the Prophet SAW, took upon himself the gigantic task of remoulding the Kashmiri's population as to the needs of Islam thus affecting all the aspects of its life-spiritual and mundane alike. For him Sharī 'ah and tarīqah are the two sides of the same coin and his scholarship and missionary activities in the valley attempted at transforming the full gamut of human life there. His illustrious son Mir Muhammad Hamadanai^(RA) and his associates consolidated the legacy and mission of his father.⁹ Thus a chain of spiritual centers, Khāngah and centres of learning, Madāris, were established in the nook and the corner of Kashmir. Strenuous efforts were made to remove the dichotomies in the character and conduct of the people including the rulers of the place. Arts and crafts through spiritually elated artisans and

craftsmen from Iran and central Asia transformed not only the religious, spiritual and cultural ethos of Kashmir but rescued its dilapidating economy and directed and oriented the potentialities of its people on a self sufficient, self-satisfying path of self-reliance and spiritual fulfillment so much so now for countries Kashmiri ethos is informed and recognized by the primacy of this Islam-given and Islam-based blessings of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) and his illustrious successors. The legacy is defined by the exoteric and esoteric dimensions of Islam in full.

Islamization of the *Rīshī* Tradition

Shaykh Nur-ud-Din Wali's^(RA) allegiance to the mentor of Islam in Kashmir, Mir Muhammad Hamadani^(RA), after Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) is itself enough to prove that $R\bar{i}sh\bar{i}$ activities in Kashmir are to be placed as the extension of mission of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) there. It is note worthy that *Rīshī* khāngāhs became centres of preaching of Islam and attracted non-Muslims to embrace Islam. If there are any discrepancies and contradiction in the two traditions-one of tasawwuf as represented by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) and the other $R\bar{l}sh\bar{l}$ Tradition as propagated by Shaykh Nur-ud-Din^(RA), need to be looked in the right perspective of the ideal and pragmatic considerations of the propagators and also from the gradual processes of Islamization adopted and practiced by the wise $d\bar{a}$ is (religious preachers) of Islam globally. Certain key elements of Mir Sayyid Ali's legacy is fullness of legacy affecting crucially religion, spirituality, education, economy, politics, law, arts and crafts of the people. Thus individual, society and state must reflect the legacy in full in the changing world, without letting the legacy to get subsumed or truncated in anyway.

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) is equally revered by $Sh\bar{i}$ 'as as well as Sunnis. Hence his legacy fosters Islamic brotherhood which is one of the fundamental principles and teachings of Islam. Further, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) inculcated the culture of hard-work and *akl-e-halal* (earning ones livelihood through sanctioned and legal means) among the faith community so much so that he

refused becoming the guest of the ruler and engaged himself in *Sozankārī* (a kind of fine needle work) of caps and thus earning his livelihood. He managed the ruler to stop providing stipends to the scholars for their maintenance. Hence, ended the culture of economic dependence on others and initiated a self reliant and self sufficient economic system for the Muslim saints and scholars, while leading a simple and contended life of dignity and grace.¹⁰

خطہ را آن شاہ دریا آستیں داد علم وصنعت و تہذیب ودین Later, developments affecting the legacy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) can well be viewed in the light of his mission.

Main Features of the Legacy

مظہر حق است جسم ظاہر ش سریزدان است جان ظاہر ش His body is the manifestation of the truth. (And) his soul is the manifestation of Allah's secret¹¹

The legacy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) which was actually the clear manifestation of Islam and shows his extraordinary character has the following main salient features:

1. Instructed by the Prophet (SAW)

The most important feature of the legacy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) is that his visit to Kashmir was based on the instruction of the Prophet in a dream, thus totally motivated by spiritual cause. He worked with his accompanied scholars and saints with a common purpose of not only introducing faith but helping the faithful to lead a life of spiritual realization and societal and collective reformations in accordance with the laws of *Shari 'ah*.

2. Prolific writer

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) was a prolific writer who according to his biographers was the author of 170 works out of which only few were published and among the published *Zakhiratul Muluk* and *Risala-i-dah Qa'idah*.are frequently referred to. ¹² There is also a collection of letters written by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's^(RA), known as *Risala-i-Maktubat* and 124

Risala-i-Amiriya, which Charles Rieu maintains separate work of the author, has been verified as the part of *Risala-i-Maktubat* after a thorough investigation.¹³ He has written on both complimentary aspects of Islam—Sufism and *Shari'ah*. He wrote about the stages of Sufism including *ma'rifah* and *iradah*¹⁴ and gives a detailed account for principles of government.¹⁵

3. Holistic and Integrationist in nature

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) was both an 'ālim (Scholastic thinker) and a $S\bar{u}fi$.¹⁶ His personality was the integration of both these fields and he had an extra-ordinary hold on both of them. As an '*ālim*, maintains A.Q. Rafiqi, he addressed the common masses and by giving the inner and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers of truth— $arb\bar{a}b$ -e-qulub (men of heart) and sidīqan (the truthful).¹⁷ Contrary to the notion that Sufism is against Shariah, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) proved that mystic mode of living does not run counter to sharī'ah but are complimentary to each other. His personality was a reflection of a great Sufi, purifying the hearts of people from malice, hatred and other spiritual diseases and at the same time he was a statesman par excellence, composing treatises dealing with the nature, form and functions of state and governing institutions. He developed the Khanqahi System where he purified and trained his disciples to attain characters of high spirituality and at the same time trained them to earn their livelihood by laying greater emphasis on earning on akl-i-halal. Thus his excellent qualities of heart, soul, and head made him ideal for the job he had undertaken to present Islam to people in Kashmir and lead them in a holistic way to refashion their total life in accordance with Islam. In nutshell, for Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA), there is no dichotomy between shari'ah, tarīqah, figh and tasawwuf, theoretical and practical.

4. Embodiment of Highest Islamic Values of Piety and Scholarship

Towering saint, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) and his illustrious son, Mir Muhammad Hamadani ^(RA) represent an embodiment of Highest Islamic value of piety and scholarship. He often speaks of the *ma* '*ariftullah* and maintains three different ways to God: (a) $r\bar{a}h$ -*i*-*arbāb*-*e*-*mu* '*āmalāt* (the path of those who observe only external rules of the religion); (b) *arbāb*-*i*-*mujāhadah* (those who undergo self mortification); and (c) *sā* '*irān*-*i*-*ḥadrat*-*i*-*ṣamdiat* (travelers to the court of the Most High).¹⁸ After identifying these paths he like other Sufi maintains the following ten rules:

(i)*Taubah*;(ii)*Zuhd*;(iii)*Tawakkul*;(iv)*Qanā 'at*;(v) *'Uzlat*;(iv)*Dhikr*;(vii)*Tawajjuh*;(viii)*Ṣabr*;(ix)*Murāqabah*; and (x)*Rida*.¹⁹

ہر چہ از گردوں گرداں میں سد از طفیل جان مرداں میں سد گر نباشد نفس ارباب شہود خود نگر دد دور پر کار وجور

Whatever descendents from the ever-revolving Heaven; is only due to the grace of the men [of Allah]. If the existence of these men of sight were not there; the compasses of existence would cease to move around.²⁰

5. High intellectual discourse

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) was an extra-ordinary personality who was able to take care of every state of mind in the society and conveyed the message of Islam to the people taking their level of understanding into consideration. Unlike other $S\bar{u}f\bar{t}s$, he did not confine himself to the esoteric aspect of Islam rather he made every aspect of life his theme for discussion. This high intellectual discourse which primarily exhibited by his books is reflective of Islam's leading role in the definite time space frame work. The books on *Tasawwuf* discuss the subtitles relating to theoretical and practical issues of the subject. *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk* and *Maktubat* to the rulers of Kashmir reflect the reformative plan for the Islamization of governance and statecraft. *Awrad-e-Fathiyyah* fulfills the supplicatory needs of the people.

6. Kafālah

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) did not only wide the circle of Islam on the basis of mere religo-cultural basis rather emphases on *akl-i-halal* to earn ones own livelihood without depending on others as what we call *madad-e-ma'āsh* and rejected *futuh* (unasked for charity) or any other assistance from sultans and *umarā'* because he believed livelihood supported by patronage would make Sufis parasitical on society.²¹ He stresses that every individual should earn his livelihood in a sanctioned and legal way. In this regard he introduced and encouraged handicrafts by which their economic and financial needs were taken care of. He said, writes Prof. Azziz-ud-Din, "Whatever you want you can have but you should have resources under your control because without resources man can do nothing".²²

He developed work-culture in Kashmir and was himself an expert of *sozankāri* (needle-work). The working hours in the khanqah were limited to morning and evening and the rest of day was left to earn livelihood and every disciple was found busy in work or the other during the whole day. It is also maintained that the handicraft industry in Kashmir is the result of Sayyid Hamadani's (R.A) commitment.²³

7. Political reformation

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) made strenuous efforts to reform the social and political ethos of the community. For this he wrote many letters, which are mentioned in *Risale-i-Maktubat*, to the rulers in which he gave them guidance on political matters. Then he wrote on the request of many rulers, nobles and government officers *Zakhiratul Muluk*.²⁴ He raises a just ruler to the position of vice-gerent of God. Sayyid Ali Hamadani^(RA) writes that God with his wisdom made it imperative that there should be among the people a just and perfectly righteous ruler, who would direct the activities of the progeny of Adam into right channels and strive to execute the decrees of the *sharī'ah* strictly.²⁵ In *Zakhiratul Muluk*,Sayyid Hamadani^(RA) provides moral advices to the sultans and other government officers by quoting an ecdote after an ecdote of the prophets and the pious caliphs, full of morals. 26

8. Shari 'ah Consciousness

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA) was much concerned with the *sharī'ah* and its implementation. He stressed on both *iman* and *Islam* Former, according to him, indicates the acceptance of the religion while the later demands the performance of duties associated with the religion.²⁷ He further divides devotion to God into two categories: (a) *Badani* (relating to the body such as prayer and fasting) and (b) *mali* (connected with wealth). He was strict about the religious matters and considers it the duty of rulers to establish the ordinances of *sharī'ah* in the society and in this regard he never showed compromise of any kind. It was for this reason when sultan Qutb-ud-Din did not glorify Islam and implement the *sharī'ah* as Hamadani wished, he, therefore decided not to stay any more in the country, and left via Baramullah, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage."²⁸

9. Non-sectarian Hallmark

Non-sectarian religious approach was hallmark of the mission of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani ^(RA). That is why he is equally revered by *Shia* and *Sunni* Muslims and even claimed by them to belong to their respective group. Even *Hanafi* and *Shafa'i*, though having different ideologies, are agreed upon him.

Conclusion

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's^(RA) legacy of Kashmir represents the most authentic and full expression of the last revealed religion, Islam. It is fully reverberating in the multiple domains of life there. However, there have been forces inimical to the mission through overt and covert means. Inimical forces have been cultivating collaborators to their cause among the gullible segments of the faith community. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's^(RA) legacy has demonstrated that it is panacea for all the ills afflicting Kashmiri society. The time demands

reappropriation of this rich legacy for the benefit of its people and general humanity. Here Islam rules the roost. There is no conflict in sharī 'ah and tarīqah. Rishi tradition does not militate against sharī 'ah and its upholders do not demonise tarīgah and positive contribution of Islamized Rīshī tradition. Spiritual development and temporal welfare go hand in hand. Let us resist temptation and attempts at demonizing it or marginalizing it. The legacy brings khavr (good) of this world and the khavr (good) of the Akhirah (the life Hereafter). Beggars are not choosers. Parasites cannot dream of autonomous and independent life. Politics makes culture and culture makes politics. Muslims have demonstrated umpteen times that they have transformed whole gamut of their lives on the demands of their faith, which has led to the emergence of splendid culture and civilization in the world. Kashmir being part of the Islamic world needs to reassess its potentialities and assets and overcome its inadequacies and handicaps to contribute to the development of stable, prosperous, spiritually rich culture with leaders in the footsteps of its illustrious past.

Notes and References

However, Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Khan maintains that it was actually the Rīshis' liberating role that prompted mass

conversion...but admired that it was by the "egalitarian and philanthropic teachings of Islam as externalized in the Sufi's personality and behavior". see Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The role of Muslim Rishis (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1994), p. 224.

⁶Ibid.

⁷ Islam in Kashmir, op.cit., pp.44-45.

⁸ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., pp.16-17.

⁹ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., pp. 86ff..

¹⁰ S.M. Azziz-ud-Din Husain, 'The Sufi Concept of Monarchy and Governmet, with special Reference to Mir Saivid Ali Hamedani's Zakhiratul Muluk' in Shah-i-Hamedan Mir Saiyid Ali Hamedani: His Life and Works, op.cit., pp.77-78.

¹¹ Baba Da'ud Khaki, Dasturul Salikin [tr. Muhammad tayeeb Kamily, Hirz al Muhibin], vol. 1. P. 321.

¹² Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 40.

¹³ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., P.41 and footnote no. 1.

¹⁴ See Risale-i Dah Qa'idah.

¹⁵ See Zakhiratul Muluk.

¹⁶ Sufism in Kashmir, op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁷ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 42.

¹⁸ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., pp.48-49.

¹⁹ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., pp.49-55.

²⁰ Zakhiratul Muluk.

²¹ S.M. Azziz-ud-Din Husain, 'Introduction' in Shah-i-Hamedan Mir Saiyid Ali Hamedani: His Life and Works, op.cit., p.1-3. Cf. S.M. Azziz-ud-Din Husain, 'The Sufi Concept of Monarchy and Government, with special Reference to Mir Saivid Ali Hamedani's

¹ Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir from 14th to 16th Century, (Delhi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1985), p.31. cf. Jafar Badakhshi, Khulasatul Manaqib.

² I.H. Siddiqui, 'Saiyid Ali Hamadani: His Religious and Political Thoughts' in seminar proceedings Shah-i-Hamedan Mir Saiyid Ali Hamedani: His Life and Works (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers &Distributors, 2003), p. 6.

 ³ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., pp. 98ff.
 ⁴ Muhammad Ashraf wani, Islam in Kashmir from 14th to 16th *Century*, (New Delhi: Oriental Publishing House, 2004), p. 58. ⁵ House Prof. 161

Zakhiratul Muluk' Shah-i-Hamedan Mir Saiyid Ali Hamedani: His Zakhiratul Muluk' Shah-i-Hamedan Mir Saiyid Ali Hamedani: His Life and Works, op.cit., pp.77-78.
²² Introduction, op.cit., p.3.
²³ Ibid., p. 3.
²⁴Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 72.
²⁵ Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Zakhiratul Muluk, p. 94 quoted from Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 74.
²⁶ Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 75.
²⁷ Zakhiratul Muluk, pp. 4-5.
²⁸ Baharistan-i-Shahi ; cf. Sufism in Kashmir, op.cit., p. 84.