

SUFIS TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES:
A STUDY OF
MIR SAYYID 'ALI HAMADANI'S
DA'WAH WORK IN KASHMIR

ALTAF HUSSAIN YATOO¹
MEHBOOBA AKHTER²

ABSTRACT

Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, commonly known as Shah-i Hamadan among Kashmiris, played a crucial role in shaping the Islamic character of the valley. Despite being an indisputable historical fact, recent scholarly studies have cast doubt on his significant influence, suggesting that his mission to Islamize Kashmir may not have been as impactful as traditionally believed. Some scholars argue that his presence in Kashmir was not voluntary, citing the threat from Timer Lank as the reason for his arrival. They contend that a single visit and a brief stay would not have been sufficient for him to transform Kashmir into a predominantly Muslim region. However, these studies overlook the enduring reverence for Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani among the Kashmiri populace. He, along with his associates, not only propagated Islamic teachings but also introduced various arts and crafts from Central Asia, still referred to as *kar-i amiri* (crafts of the Leader) in Kashmir. It is essential to recognize that Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, influenced by 'Alau al-Dawlah al-Simnani in his missionary zeal and drawing from the Sufi theosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi, conducted his missionary activities with the former's spirit and employed the latter's philosophy to persuade Kashmir's Shaivite monists about the reality of monotheism. Thus, understanding the success of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani in Kashmir necessitates considering these influences and perspectives.

Key Words: Islam, Dawah, Sufi, Kashmir, Mir Syed 'Ali Hamadani.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani emerged as a pivotal figure in shaping the socio-religious fabric of Kashmir. While various forms of *d'awah* activities were already underway in the region, his influence significantly intensified these efforts. The confluence of Sayyid's

¹ Assistant Professor, Islamic Studies, Govt. Degree College, Kokernag, Kashmir.
Email: alhusain5161@gmail.com

² Assistant Professor, Islamic Studies, Govt. Degree College, Hadipora, Kashmir.
Email: mehekmehboob@gmail.com

contributions and the spread of Islam in Kashmir became so intertwined that addressing one necessitates a thorough mention of the other. Consequently, an exploration of 'Islam in Kashmir' remains incomplete without a comprehensive analysis of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's profound impact.

Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani was born on Monday, the 12th Rajab, A. H. 712ⁱ at Hamadan in Iran. 'Alau' al-Din Simnaniⁱⁱ and Shaikh Taqi al-Dinⁱⁱⁱ were his teachers. He had distanced himself from his father, Shihab al-Din, for the latter's close relations with the Sultans of the time.^{iv} The *Khulasat al-Manaqib* traces the descent of the Sayyid to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib through 'Ali ibn Husain, Zain al-'Abidin.^v In Tasawwuf, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani 'descended' from Ma'ruf al-Karkhi with Junayd al-Baghdadi and Najm al-Din Kubra as the main Sufis in the line.^{vi}

He spent six years with Shaikh Muhammad Muzdaqani and then became the pupil of Akhi 'Ali Dusti.^{vii} Like most of his predecessors, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani traveled very extensively and is said to have performed the Pilgrimage (*Hajj*) twelve times.^{viii} His most important journey, however, was his visit to Kashmir, which is said to have been caused by the cruelty of Timur (1335-1405) towards the 'Alawi Sayyids of Hamadan.^{ix}

This should not, however, lead us to believe that the Sayyid's mission in Kashmir was an involuntary endeavour just decided by circumstances. It is not so, because we already know that the Sayyid had sent his two cousins, Sayyid Taj al-Din and Sayyid Husayn Simnani,^x to Kashmir and we are also told that Timur, after being greatly influenced by the Sayyid, had requested him to stay, but the Sayyid had already told him about his preaching mission of Kashmir, a mission entrusted to him by God Himself.^{xi} This fact is authenticated by *Khulasat al-Manaqib* in which the Sayyid is recorded as having said that he was continuously inspired from the High-Above "to guide the people!"^{xii} Thus, to actualize his programme, "seven hundred Sayyids are said to have accompanied him to the Valley in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din in 774 A. H. (1372 C.E.)."^{xiii}

The arrival of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani makes new epoch in the history of Kashmir. For it is through him that Islam, although already introduced, takes root in the fertile soil of Kashmir. We see his endeavour multi-dimensional, reforming and reorienting not only the society and culture of Kashmir but revolutionizing the method of preaching itself. Some scholars have, however, opined that "Sayyid Ali's proselytizing activities in Kashmir are highly extolled by both medieval and modern scholars. But none of them give any details of the method adopted by him in his work."^{xiv}

However, the supreme success of the Sayyid, in itself, is a proof of his broad-based preaching scheme which, as will be seen presently, had the following dimensions:

1. Capital-oriented preaching programme meant to reform the Royal Court and the learned body of the City, Srinagar.

2. A programme or preaching drive for the Valley in general; targeting first the important centres of the native faith of Kashmir, Shaivism.
3. Measures to continue the preaching for the generation to come.

2. HIS PREACHING METHODOLOGY

Pursuing the first dimension of his preaching programme the Sayyid first chose the city of Srinagar. We know the cities and their citizens, due to their being advanced in culture and society, have always been imitated by the countryside. Naturally, these have been also the centres of politics and the receivers of the bounty or wrath that came under different political upheavals, thereby affecting the affairs of the people in general. History of religions is also a witness to the fact that it is the cities which have been the hubs of the dissemination of religious learning. Highly learned and aware of the role of the cities as he was,^{xv} Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani initiated his mission from Srinagar. On his arrival Sultan Qutbuddin and his officials received the Sayyid and his associates with honour and brought them to the city. “Sayyid Ali took up his residence in an inn in Ala’u’d-Dinpur. There he constructed a *suffa* (raised floor) where he used to perform his prayers, which were also attended by Qutbu’d-Din.”^{xvi}

However, mere attendance of the Sultan before the Sayyid at the hour of prayer could not satisfy the Sayyid whose concern for the *shari‘ah* had been such that according to him the ruler should not “show laziness and fatigue in executing law and judgment to please people and he should also not consider the opposition of *shari‘ah* lawful to satisfy all and sundry.”^{xvii} For the successful journey on the path of *suluk* too, the Sayyid considered *shari‘ah* as “the law of *bikmah* and *himmah* [*qudra*] ... [which] is the secret of the concentration of heart [to travel on the path of *suluk*].”^{xviii}

The Sayyid, therefore, commenced his task from the Royal Court beginning with the Sultan Qutb al-Din himself. Qutb al-Din, we are told, “had married two sisters contrary to the *shari‘at* or law of Islam.”^{xix} He also used to visit, every morning, the temple at ‘Ala’ al-Dinpur along with his subjects.^{xx} Moreover, he performed the Hindu sacrifice, *yagna* accompanied by large gifts (to Brahmans) to avert famine.^{xxi} The Sayyid did not take these practices lightly. Instead, he “denounced these practices and called upon Qutbu’d-Din to divorce one wife and retain the other. The Sultan, in accordance with the saint’s instructions, divorced the elder sister and re-married the younger named Sura.”^{xxii} The Sultan was also asked to change his dress code.

The change in the etiquettes of the Court began to be felt among the laity very soon. So, “in imitation of the Sultan, the people began to wear the Turkish gown (*choga*) which bore the Sufistic simplicity caused by the person of the Sayyid. This long-loose shirt (*kurta*), with some modifications, is still worn by Kashmiris.”^{xxiii}

Pursuing his main task of Islamic *d'awah*, the Sayyid “held discussions with the Brahman priests and in this way secured many converts to his faith.”^{xxxiv} And this method of preaching that started from the ‘core group’ or ‘sample group’ of the society was quite in accordance with the practice of the prophets of God. To this effect, it has been said that “the holy prophets of God addressed the influential section of their community and made its reform the means of reforming the common people.”^{xxxv} There are different reasons for this system of preaching, because “it is most essential that from the intelligent and the high placed sections of the society, workers be made available for it, failing which the movement of social order is always wanting in stability.”^{xxxvi} According to Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani himself, “the commoners, in vice and virtue, are under the (influence of the) ruler or king. If they see the ruler on righteousness, they get inclined towards virtue....and go astray if he himself is licentious and vicious.”^{xxxvii} This order or sequence of preaching the word of God is, indeed, the very method devised by God Himself. God says, “and when We decide to destroy a population, We (first) send a definite order to those among them who are given the good thing of this life and yet transgress; so that the word is proved true against them: then (it is) We destroy them utterly.”^{xxxviii}

Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, in accordance with these principles, resorted to most suitable means touching the very psyche of the people during the process of proselytization. The Sayyid prescribed the most required medicine for a people that so much valued and trusted the superhuman acts of humans. Different incidents have been reported which show that different “leading *Sanyasis* or Hindu ascetics of the time, together with their followers, accepted Islam at hands of Shah Hamadan.”^{xxxix}

Different superhuman acts have been attributed to the Sayyid which he performed during his preaching mission. However, these supernatural feats should be seen in the light of the religious atmosphere of Kashmir where the religious mentality was greatly governed by “an instinctive search for divinity or religiosity in the supernatural or fantastic.”^{xxx} It was, as if the missionaries concerned had to make provisions to “satisfy within a monotheistic religion a polytheistic need.”^{xxxi}

As such, the feats performed by the Sayyid at different Shaivite sites should be seen in light of the religious environs of Kashmir which were congested with superstition with witchcraft as the decisive phenomenon. Kalhana’s chronicle, *Rajatarangini*, is replete with instances to prove the influence of witchcraft on Kashmiri mentality.^{xxxii} This is the reason that the strict monism of Abhinavagupta could not find currency among the masses who stuck to the popular cult. Lalleshwari too, was unable to affect a thorough change in the psyche of the commoners in spite of her agitation.^{xxxiii} It is surprising that according to Jonaraja Sultan Qutb al-Din, when too old, had a son only through the favours of a *yogi*, Brahmanath.^{xxxv}

Amidst such circumstances of priest-ridden culture, the feats attributed to Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani cannot be refuted outright. However, it may be so that the historians, to explain the supreme success of the Sayyid, have resorted to this scheme of explaining every lofty achievement in terms of miracles, a trend so common in medieval times. Thus it seems that the chroniclers have given a miraculous colouring to every act of intellectual persuasion on the part of the Sayyid in the path of propagation of Islam. Here, it should be borne in mind that the Sayyid was a refined intellectual who might have elaborated to the Purohiths and Pandits of Kashmir the very essence of monism as understood by the Sufis since Bayazid Bistami and Mansur al-Hallaj, transformed into theosophy by Ibn al-‘Arabi.^{xxxvi}

However, contrary to the masses, which were deeply immersed in the popular (ritualistic) cult, the learned gurus had been in touch with the monism of Abhinavagupta. The Sayyid, deeply learned as he was in the Sufi doctrines, took these gurus to monotheism of Islam through monism as understood by the Sufis. Thus these gurus had hardly anything to loose, for it was their journey from polytheism to monotheism through monism. By pursuing such refined methods of head and heart thousands embraced Islam on his hands.^{xxxviii}

In Srinagar the Sayyid performed his main missionary work at the site where now stands the shrine called *Khanaqab-i Mu‘alla*. The shrine evokes the following stanza of a Kashmiri Pandit: “In the heart of the city [Srinagar] is the Masjid [Shrine] of Shah Hamadan. By dint of it, the Muslims’ eye is Resplendent with the light of gnosis [recognition of Allah]; because from every side sounds the Word of God; which lights the (house of) heart with the light of Faith!”^{xxxix}

The second preaching method which Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani resorted to was his targeting the main Shaivite centres of Kashmir. It was, in essence, the expansion of his main preaching method that is, targeting the prominent and influential heads of the society that decided the lot of the masses both socially and religiously. To do so, “he left his deputies at a number of places, which were great Hindu centers of those days, such as Pompur, Awantipora and Vijabrore. These followers of Sayyid Ali established *khanqabs*, and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centers of preaching and proselytization”^{xl}.

The main associates of the Sayyid who worked at different centres, were “Mir Sayyid Haidar, Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, Sayyid Kamal-i-Sani, Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din ‘Alai, Sayyid Rukn-ud-Din, Sayyid Muhammad, Sayyid ‘Azizullah.”^{xli} Among these “Saiyid Muhammad Kazim, commonly known as Saiyid Qazi, was Saiyid Ali’s librarian (*tabwildar-i-kutub*). When Saiyid Ali while journeying through the Valley, reached Latapura, he asked Saiyid Qazi to settle there and propagate Islam.”^{xlii}

Latapura, be it noted, had become a stronghold of Brahmans who were always

known for their influence to bring about political upheavals. Queen Didda (A.D. 980/1-1003) is said to have brought the Brahmans of Latapura to her side to evade a rebellion when she was still the guardian of her son, Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972). Kalhana says that, “with plenty of gold, she [Didda] quickly bought off the Brahmans from Lalitadityapura, and thus broke up the league of her enemies.”^{xliii} As such, Latapura “was a great centre of Hinduism.”^{xliiv} Sayyid Muhammad Kazim “was very much successful there and was buried there on his death.”^{xlv}

Another important and comparatively more significant centre of Hinduism was Vijabror where other two disciples of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, Sayyid Muhammad Quraish and Sayyid ‘Abdullah got settled.^{xlvi} This town had “received its name from the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara (Vijayeśa, Vijayeśana)...The tradition regarding Aśoka’s connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity.... Aśoka.... The great king was also credited with having erected within the enclosure two temples called Aśokeśvara.”^{xlvii} Moreover, King Mihirakula (A.D. 515-about 544-550) is said to have “bestowed a thousand Agarharas on Brahmans from the Gandhara-land at Vijayeśvara.”^{xlviii} The associates of the Sayyid were successful there and they breathed their last thereat pursuing their goal. “Both Saiyid Muhammad Quraish and his co-worker, Saiyid Abdullah, are reported to have been very active there in persuading people to embrace Islam. The dates of their death are not known, but it is said that after their death they were buried near the Jama’-Masjid at Vijabror.”^{xlix}

Yet another important centre of Shaivism in Kashmir was Avantipura, “founded by King Avantivarman (A.D.855-883). Its position is marked by the present village of Vantipur on the Vitasta [Jhelum].... [Here lie] the remains of the two great temples of Avantisvāmin and Avantisvara [dedicated to Visnu and Śiva].”^l Two disciples of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, Sayyid Rukn al-Din and Sayyid Fakhr al-Din, settled here. “Known for both esoteric and exoteric knowledge of Islam, [they] chose to propagate the Faith at this centre of Hinduism and they seem to have made a great work there”.^{li} Both these Sayyids were buried there on their death.

One more disciple of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, namely Sayyid Kamal al-Din Thani, settled down at the village of Naidkhai in north Kashmir. The village falls in the modern district of Baramulla^{lii} (now in Bandipur), north Kashmir. Having a considerable success there, this Sayyid died in 1388. His shrine stands on the right bank of a tributary of the river Jhelum.

This preaching programme of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani seems to have worked good for we see Sayyid Muhammad, a disciple of Makhdum Jahaniyan -Jalal al-Din Bukhari—leaving Srinagar for Khanpur,^{liii} Baramulla during the reign of Sultan Zain al-Abidin (A. D. 1420-1470) to propagate the Word of God. Baramulla, be it mentioned here, was one more seat of Hinduism of the ancient Kashmir. “*Varabamula*, situated on the right river-

bank, has left its name to the present town of Varahmul, usually called Bārāmūla.... Various legends, connect this sacred site and the Tīrthas of the immediate neighbourhood with Varāha or Boar incarnation of Visnu.’^{liv} Sayyid Muhammad is popularly known as Janbaz (one who stakes for the sake of others) by dint of the missionary and social work he did in this town.^{lv}

Among the disciples of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, two brothers, Sayyid Jamal al-Din Muhaddith and Sayyid Kamal al-Din are worth mentioning. The former established a *madrassah* at Srinagar while as the latter traveled extensively throughout the Valley.^{lvi} Being a learned man, Sayyid Jamal al-Din, on the request of King Qutb al-Din, was advised by Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani to adorn the Shahar (the City i.e. Srinagar) and its people, particularly the elite and the courtiers with the gems of knowledge. The particular place where he disseminated knowledge of Islam came to be called as al-*Urwat al-Wuthqa* (literally, the most trustworthy hand-hold or the firmest bond) due to the benefits that bonded the believers with the Sayyid and with each other.^{lvii} The particular place (habitation) is now called Arwat.^{lviii} The Sayyid lies buried there.^{lix}

Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani gifted Kashmir with economic gifts side by side with the religio-spiritual treasure. The host of the Sayyids who had accompanied the Sayyid to Kashmir in no way became a burden on the shoulders of Kashmiris. Instead, they proved to be the transferors of arts and crafts from Central Asia and Iran to Kashmir. It is they who are credited with having made Kashmir the ‘Little Iran or *Iran-i Saghir*.’ Persian becoming the lingua franca of Kashmir producing luminaries of great repute and the influence of this language on Kashmiri should not be lost sight of.^{lx}

It was not an in-volunteer transfer of arts and crafts that happened by chance. But it was a conscious effort on the part of the Sayyid and his associates to make Kashmiris self-confident and self-reliant and pull them out of the economic stress which they were in and which (now) they were supposed to face due to their leaving the ancestral religion. In this regard, we are told that Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani had himself been a cap-maker (*knlah-duz*). He had been instructed to opt for such a ‘profession’ by the Prophet himself. Thus it cannot be denied that the Shawl industry in Kashmir which is ‘said to be as old as the hills of Kashmir’ was reborn due to the efforts of the Sayyid. We are informed: “It was, however, through the efforts of the great saint Shah Hamadan, in the latter part of the fourteenth century that the shawl, as we know it now, was born in Kashmir. Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, who was then the ruler of Kashmir, “patronized, nourished and stimulated it.”^{lxii}

The parting gift of the Sayyid, his own cap,^{lxiii} to Sultan Qutbuddin proved symbolically significant for the religious, political and economic history of Kashmir. Surprisingly enough, the burial of the cap of the Sayyid practically marked the burial (end) of the Shah Mir Dynasty of Kashmiri Sultans.^{lxiv}

Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani gifted Kashmir with another ‘gift’ with tremendous spiritual and devotional importance. This gift is the *Aurad-i Fathiyyah* which, according to Badakhshi, “was collected by the Sayyid and recommended for reciting at a (single) time while as the Prophet, the narrator says, has read it at different periods of time.”^{lxv} The Sayyid is reported to have advised his disciples “to recite it constantly.”^{lxvi}

It would not be an exaggeration if the *Aurad* is declared to be a ‘book of *taubid*’ compiled by the Sayyid for his disciples in general and for Kashmiris in particular; and for the latter to inculcate the concept of monotheism in them. Interestingly enough, the *Aurad* includes sixty-two times the first part of the *Shabadab*, followed by *al-asma’ al-husna*, elaboration of man’s total dependence on Allah here, in this world and in the hereafter and ending in the salutations on the Prophet. Here, it should be borne in mind that *Shabadab* is the attestation of faith, monotheism, and *al-asma’ al-husna* is just its explanation.

Thus the repetition of the term ‘Allah’ in the *Aurad* would have helped first in stirring up the psychological set-up of Kashmiris narrowed down by grave polytheism and its manifestations in the shape of witchcraft, sorcery, superstition, and the like. Then it would have opened the Kashmiris’ mind for the higher horizons of monotheism and the bounties there-from. This could be gauged from the typical utterance of Jonaraja who, in spite of his ‘cherished’ terms of *Maleecha*, *Turuska* and *Yavana* to denote a Muslim, praised Shah Mir’s, the founder of the Kashmir Sultanate, ‘belief in Allah’ in such terms which one could expect only from a poet of his calibre.^{lxviii} Even Srivara, another Pandit chronicler, was so much impressed by the chanting of the *Aurad* in the Jama’ mosque of Srinagar that he said “it was here that the *yavanas* (Muslims) chanted mantras and looked graceful like the thousand lotuses with humming bees.”^{lxix} The popularity of the *Aurad* has multiplied over the years and is loudly recited even today in the mosques of Kashmir.

The Sayyids who had accompanied Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani to Kashmir were skilled in multifarious fields of life. They were architects, carpenters, leather workers, paper makers, book binders and scribes. Some were masters of other arts and crafts. Among them, the ‘*ulamā*’ and *fuqahā*’ worked respectively as the educational and legal activists in the country thereby disseminating knowledge and serving as problem-solving agents. The carpenters and architects built *masjids*, *kebanaqahs* and *madrassahs*. The people who received land grants from the government became cultivators as well. However, it was guidance and *irshad* which the Sayyids mainly devoted themselves to and it is this role of theirs by dint of which they commanded respect, honour and reverence from the Kashmiris.^{lxx}

Leaving Kashmir on account of his ill health, the Sayyid stayed at Pakhli for ten days on the request of its ruler, Sultan Muhammad. Here, the Sayyid died at the age of 73 at

night, on Wednesday, the 6th zi al-Hijjah, A. H. 786 (1384 A. C.) and was laid to rest, finally, in Khatlan on Saturday, the 25th Jamadi al-Awwal (A.H. 787).^{lxxi}

3. CONCLUSION

Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani’s *da‘wah* method was firmly grounded in the principles outlined in the Qur’an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (SA‘AS). The remarkable success of his mission attests to his unwavering commitment to adhering to the Prophetic guidelines in inviting people to the path of Islam. It is imperative to underscore that his mission was not a result of circumstantial compulsion; rather, it was a deliberate, well-planned, and organized undertaking. Notably, the strategic deployment of his two cousins as “path-finders” ahead of his arrival exemplifies the foresightedness of Sayyid’s mission.

A distinctive aspect of Sayyid’s Da‘wah Mission was his inclusion of hundreds of individuals who not only provided crucial support in the primary Da‘wah efforts but also played a pivotal role in enhancing the skill set of the Kashmiri populace. The influence of Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani is indelibly stamped on the arts and crafts of Kashmir, referred to as “*kar-i amiri*” or the “crafts of the Amir (Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani).”

In executing the Da‘wah work across the entire Kashmir Valley, the Sayyid employed a three-pronged approach, cognizant of time constraints. For the rural areas, trained preachers were dispatched to bring the general public into the fold of Islam, providing instruction not only in the fundamental tenets of the faith but also in essential life etiquettes and skills. Specially trained deputies were sent to towns, tasked with both preaching and engaging in intellectual discourse with the erudite “purohits” and “pundits” at Saivite Centers. The conversion of this scholarly body to Islam was facilitated through the intellectual exchanges facilitated by the Sayyid’s disciples. Personally overseeing the City (Srinagar), Sayyid employed both theoretical and practical approaches to convince the urban populace and the Royal Court that Islam represented the “a peaceful code of life.” The *inclusive* approach employed by the Sayyid yielded unprecedented results in the popularity and spread of Islam in Kashmir, setting a benchmark that remains unmatched.

NOTES AND REFERENCE

- ⁱ Although Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir* and Rafiqi, A.Q., *Sufism in Kashmir*, have put it as A. H. 714, but Dr. Sayyidah Ashraf Zafar, drawing from *Khulasat al-Manaqib*, has given the year of birth of the Sayyid as A. H. 713; see Zafar, Dr. Sayyidah Ashraf *Sayyid Mir Ali Hamadani*, Sheikh Mohammad Usman & Sons, Srinagar, (1991), 2007, pp. 13-4.
- ⁱⁱ See Badakhshi, Nur al- Din, *Khulasat al-Manaqib*, Sheikh Mohammad Usman & Sons, Srinagar, 2003, p. 22 & 222.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i Hasan: III (Asrar al-Akhyar)*, Ur. Tr. Tahiri, Abdul Khaliq, Sheikh Mohammad Usman & Sons, Srinagar, 2003, Vol. I, pp. 51-2.
- ^{iv} *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 22.
- ^v *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.
- ^{vii} *Ibid.*, p. 24 & 25.
- ^{viii} *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 186.
- ^{ix} Rafiqi, A. Q., *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, (1976), Al-Rafiq Publishing House, Srinagar, 2003, p. 40.
- ^x *Cf.* Altaf Hussain Yattoo, *Islam in Kashmir: Role of Sufis (An Analytical Study)*, Ph. D. Thesis, Dept. of Islamic Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 2009, Chap. III, nn. 50-1.
- ^{xi} Dr. Sayyidah Ashraf, op. cit., p. 77.
- ^{xii} *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 185.
- ^{xiii} Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashir: A History of Kashmir*, Capital Publishing House, Delhi, Reprint 1996, Vol. I, pp. 86-7. Badakhshi, however, gives the name of this ruler as Malik Khizar Shah; see *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 194. This place (Kunar/ Pakhli) now falls in modern Hazara, Pakistan. See *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 471, n.792.
- ^{xiv} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 44.
- ^{xv} Having traveled extensively, the Sayyid had been in touch with Cities; see *supra*, n. 8.
- ^{xvi} Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (1959), Ali Mohammad & Sons, Srinagar, 2005, p. 56. Ala'u'd-Dinpur was founded by Sultan Alau al-Din ('Ali Shayr). This habitation is now a part of Srinagar; see Jonaraja, Srivara & Suka, *Rajatarangini[s]*, Ur. Tr.(of J. C. Dutt's Eng. Tr. of 1898), Notes, Explanations & Appendices, Prof. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2007, Appendices Vol. (II), op. cit., p. 631.
- ^{xvii} Hamadani, Mir Sayyid 'Ali, *Dhakbirat al-Muluk*, Ur. Tr. Ahmad, Prof. Shamsuddin, Ali Mohammad & Sons, Srinagar, 1993, Vol. I, p. 185.
- ^{xviii} *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 116. For the illustration of the term *suluk*, see *Ibid.*, p. 340, n. 344.
- ^{xix} *Kashir*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 89.
- ^{xx} *The Sultans*, op. cit., p. 56, [loc. cit.]
- ^{xxi} *Rajatarangini[s]*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 114.

- xxii *The Sultans*, op. cit., p. 56, [loc. cit.]
- xxiii Fauq, Muhammad Din, *Tarikh-i Kashmir (Mukammal)*, (1910), Kashmir Book Depot, Srinagar, 2003, pp. 327-8.
- xxiv *The Sultans*, op. cit., p. 56, [loc. cit.]
- xxv Islahi, Maulana Amin Ahsan, *Islamic Faith and its Presentation*, Adam Publishers & Distributors, Delhi, 2002, p. 37.
- xxvi *Ibid.*, pp. 43-5, 47-9, 50 & 52.
- xxvii *Dhakhirat al-Muluk*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 195.
- xxviii Qur'an, 17:6. Cf. 6:123 & 34:34.
- xxix *Kashir*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 89. The *sanyasi* assumed the name of Shah Muhammad Shah according to Sayyid 'Ali, the historian who authored *Tarikh-i Kashmir* in Persian; see Wani, Prof. Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*, Oriental Publishing House, Srinagar, 2004, p. 34. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- xxx Wani, Prof. Muhammad Ashraf, op. cit., p. 220.
- xxxi *Ibid.*, p. 220, [Idem.]
- xxxii Cf. Pandit Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr., Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, M. A. Stein, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1900), Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2007, Vol. I, p. 244 [Book VI, 108-111]. Cf. Book IV, 239 & VII, 133.
- xxxiii Cf. Altaf Hussain Yatoo, op. cit., Chap. II, n. 109.
- xxxiv *Lall Daed*, J & K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, Srinagar, 5th ed., 2005, Vakh 65, pp. 136-7.
- xxxv *Rajatarangini[s]*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 115.
- xxxvi For the Sufi thought of Bistami, Al-Hallaj & Ibn al-'Arabi, see Altaf Husain Yatoo, op. cit., Chap. I.
- xxxvii For his thought, see *Ibid*, Chap. II.
- xxxviii Kapur, M. L., *Kingdom of Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2005, p. 493.
- xxxix Pandit Babu Ram, *Gulzar-i Kashmir in Kashir*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 89.
- xl Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 46.
- xli *Kashir*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 89.
- xlii Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 108.
- xliiii *Rajatarangini*, Book VI, 224 [Vol. I, p. 254]. Cf. Book VI, 188 & 332 and Wani, Prof. Muhammad Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 163-4.
- xliv Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 108.
- xlv *Ibid.*, p. 108, [Idem.]
- xlvi *Ibid.*, p. 109. These two disciples of the Sayyid were Sayyid Muhammad Quraish and Sayyid Abdullah. The importance of Vijbror, officially called Bijbehara, can be gauged from the idols which lie (buried) in and around the town. In April, 2009, a 1400-year-old granite idol of the Hindu goddess, Laxmi, one and a half feet in height and one foot wide was found by the farmers of the town who were tilling their land; see the daily

- Greater Kashmir*, April 12, 2009, pp. 1& 10.
- ^{xlvi} *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 463.
- ^{xlvi} Ibid, Book I, 316 [Vol. I, op. cit., p. 47].
- ^{xlix} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 110.
- ^l *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 460. Cf. Vol. I, Book V, 44-5.
- ^{li} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 111.
- ^{lii} Ibid., pp. 111-2.
- ^{liii} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 21. Cf. Hasan: III, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 76-7.
- ^{liv} *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 482-3.
- ^{lv} Diddamari, Khawajah Muhammad Azam, *Waq'a'at-i Kashmir*, Ur. Tr., Dr. Khawajah Hamid Yazdani, Kashmir Book Depot, Srinagar, 2003, p. 109. Cf. Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 21.
- ^{lvi} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 112.
- ^{lvii} See Hasan: III, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 77.
- ^{lviii} Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 112.
- ^{lix} Diddamari, op. cit., p. 80.
- ^{lx} Dr. Sayyidah Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 144-5. Cf. Shad, Prof. Ghulam Muhammad, *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani aur Kashmir (Kashmir Tabzib wa Thaqafat kay Tanazur mayn)*, Ashraf Book Depot, Srinagar, 2007, pp. 11-24.
- ^{lxi} *Khulasab*, op. cit., pp. 144-5.
- ^{lxii} Pandit Anand Kaul Bamizai in *Kashir*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 562-3. However, as a full-fledged art, "the shawl, silk and carpet industries arrived into this land [Kashmir] along with the Muslim missionaries from the Central Asian states, Persia, Arabian peninsula and other places"; see the daily *Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar, November 24, 2009, p. 8, (Editorial).
- ^{lxiii} Khan, Prof. Muhammad Ishaq, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishbis*, (1994), Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2005, p. 68.
- ^{lxiv} Dr. Sayyidah Ashraf, op. cit., p. 145.
- ^{lxv} *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 130.
- ^{lxvi} Ibid., p. 195.
- ^{lxvii} Hakim, Maulana Ghulam Nabi, *Sbarab-i Aurad-i Fathbiyyah*, Chinar Publications, Srinagar, 1998, p. 53.
- ^{lxviii} *Rajatarangini[s]*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 88. For Shah Mir, see Altaf Hussain Yattoo, op. cit., Chap. III, n. 41 & Wani, Prof. Muhammad Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 195-8.
- ^{lxix} Srivara in *Transition*, op. cit., pp. 68-9.
- ^{lxx} Shad, Prof. Ghulam Muhammad, pp. 117-8. Cf. Wani, Prof. Muhammad Ashraf, op. cit., p. 204.
- ^{lxxi} *Khulasab*, op. cit., p. 191, 194 & 199.