

Dr. Hamid Naseem Rafiabadi,  
Associate Professor

## **SUFISM AND RISHIISM IN KASHMIR THE LESSER KNOWN ASPECT OF SOME SUFI ORDERS**

### **Introduction:**

Sufism, Islamic mysticism that began to develop in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the first century of Islam. The term (Arabic, "man of wool") was coined in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century as a name for mystics whose ascetic practices included wearing coarse woolen garments, or; soon the term referred to all mystics, whether or not they followed ascetic practices. Sufism arose out of various influences, among them a mystical overtone in some of the teachings of Mohammad, the founder of Islam; a desire to escape the hardships due to the social and political upheavals of the time; and a tendency toward quietism in reaction to the worldliness and extravagance of the early caliphs. By the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD the Sufis claimed to have methods of finding mystic knowledge of God, or Allah. The Sufi mystic, described as a pilgrim on a journey, follows a path of seven stages: repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and acquiescence to the will of God. Then, with the grace of God, a higher level of consciousness is attained, in which knowledge, the knower, and the known are realized as one. Some mystics believed that the supreme experience of union with God could not be expressed in words; others who tried to express it scandalized the orthodox by ecstatically proclaiming their identity with God. Eventually, formal pantheistic doctrines merged; statements that the universe and God are actually one further outraged the orthodox, which

believed that God, as creator of the world, transcends it. In addition, although most early Sufis conscientiously observed the religious law, some scorned it outright, proclaiming their inner light a sufficient source of religious guidance.

In the late 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Islamic philosopher and theologian al-Ghazzali finally reconciled the orthodox to mysticism. He de-emphasized the pantheistic aspects of Sufism, maintaining, on the one hand, that the individual should strive to attain the Divine Presence, but, on the other hand, that the good Sufi must live in peace with the rest of the community. The Islamic community accepted his interpretation of Islam, which stressed the personal, emotional relationship of the individual to God, within a century after his death. Sufism then became a vital force, winning over many more people, especially in western Asia, to orthodox Islam. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century Sufi monastic communities were founded where devotees practiced mystical exercises. In the middle Ages the great Sufi orders, which had several million adherents, were established; about 100 orders still exist, many of them in Iran. One of the most influential founders of orders was the Persian poet Jalal-Din Mohammad Rumi, who in addition to composing poetry and other works, instituted devotional dances, particularly those of the whirling dervishes, his disciples, called the order of the Malawiya (in Arabic), or Mevlevi (in Turkish), have their headquarters at Konya, Turkey. In addition to the members of these orders, many wandering Sufi mendicants, or fakirs, have appeared over the centuries. Many have been genuinely pious, but those who were merely fraudulent beggars brought disrepute to Sufism. From the Middle Ages onward, Sufism influenced many poets, especially in Persian (later Iran), where the most brilliant poetry has been Sufi.

The history of Sufism in Kashmir is spread over a long period of time starting from Bulbul Shah to the Sufi poets. Sufi saints are still inspiring people of Kashmir by their subtle mystical insights. The Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadri Sufi Orders

have also played a very great role in the process of Islamisation of Kashmir. The localized Rishi version of Sufi teachings, and a central figure in this regard was Shaykh Noor-ud-Din, popularly known as Nund Reshi took this process to its logical conclusion. Islam came to Kashmir from Central Asia and later on was accommodated within the Kashmirian ethos, which was shaped by diverse factors over a large period of time. The local people of Kashmir received the influences from Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. Even the Sufis had imbibed some elements, which were considered anti-Shariat by some authors. For example, Mirza Haider laments about the "Un-Islamic and anti-Shari" at ways of Sufis"<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, the secularization process started with the coming of the Sufis from other parts of Islamic world. According to G.M.D. Sufi:

".....These Syeds and their followers seem to have stimulated the tendency to mysticism for which Buddhism and Vedantism had already paved the way"<sup>2</sup>.

Another author says,

"Popular saint singers, became the aposties of a synthesis and rapprochement, aided by common points in Advaita and Sufism"<sup>3</sup>.

But it should not be misconstrued by this fact that the role of Islam was marginalized and overshadowed by the local influences, as the problem of Sufism is to be viewed always in its global perspective and Kashmir was not an exception to it. Since the Suharwardi, Naqashbandi, Qadiria, Kubarawi and Rishi schools of Sufi thought flourished side by side in Kashmir, the interplay of various foreign and local elements in the flourishing of Kashmir mysticism can easily be discerned.

Sufism came to Kashmir after the emergence of Khanqahs and Silsilas had taken form of various places in the Islamic world. Though 'almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir (720/1320) Sufism was introduced their. Still there are

evidences that Islam had made its inroads long before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. But there is no doubt that the systematic and well-organized Sufi activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Hence forward Sufis like Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Mir Mohammad, Saiyid Haamaluddin Bukhari and Saiyed Ismail Shari began to enter Kashmir in quick succession<sup>3</sup>. One important ideological framework, which can be discerned running through the all activities of foreign and local Sufis and mystics in Kashmir, was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabi and the Kashmiri Sufis seem to have taken little notice of Shaykh Alaud-Din Simani's criticism of Wahdat-al-Wajud of Ibn Arabi". A different trend, which emerged after the coming of the Sufis from Persia and Central Asia, was the crude synchronized form of it, which came to force with the development of an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishism<sup>4</sup>.

To start with let us take a close view of some Sufi Stalwarts. Much research work has been done on the Kubarawi and Rishi mystical movements of Kashmir. The monumental works of Prof. M. Ishaq Khan, titled as Kashmir's transition to Islam – The Role of Muslim Rishis" (published by Manahor Publication Delhi, 1994 and 1999, 1) Sufism in Kashmir of Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi, (Bharitiya Publishing House, New Delhi) are the books in point. Therefore, I have confined my attention to lesser-know history of Sufism in Kashmir. The role of Sufis belonging to the Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri orders has been elucidated in the following pages.

Sayyid Sharfuddin 'Abdur Rehman, (D.1327 CE), popularly known as Bulbul Shah, was given the title of Bilal, because his extreme love of the Prophet. He was the disciple of the Suharwardi Sufi, Shah Nimatullah Wali Farsi. Bulbul Shah succeeded in attracting to Islam Rinchen Shah (1324 CE), who was instrumental in popularizing Islam in Kashmir. Parimu Says:

“By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happened that Rinchana’s eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Muslim Fakir, so he became a Muslim and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin”<sup>5</sup>.

It is said that after Rinchen came to the throne, he held discussions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain truth but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the first person that he should see the next morning. That person was Bulbul Shah, a Suharwardi Saint, who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchen immediately went to him, and after inquiring about his religion, accepted Islam<sup>6</sup>.

Thus Bulbul Shah, the first Suharwardi Sufi, was able to convert Rinchen to Islam apart from some 10,000 converts, including Rawanchandra, the brother-in-law of Rinchan, Rinchen, in-tum, granted the revenues of certain villages to Bulbul Shah for his maintenance and also built a Khanqah for him near his own palace<sup>7</sup>.

Attached to the Khanqah was a large (kitchen) known as Bulbul Lankar, where the poor were fed free of cost twice a day<sup>8</sup>.

A mosque was also built near the hospice by Rinchen, (Sadruddin, the new name given to him by Bulbul Shah), where he offered congregational prayers at appointed times. Though Prof. Rafiqui attributes Rinchen’s conversion to Islam, to “political reasons”,<sup>9</sup> but the real motive behind the conversion seems to be spiritual yearning of the king rather the “political expediency”<sup>10</sup>.

Thus the first Suhrawardi Sufi, of whom we have any record to have entered Kashmir, was bulbul Shah, who by converting the king, “increased the prestige of Islam and led to the acceptance of the new faith by some of the nobles and, according to one tradition, by 10,000 inhabitants of the Valley”<sup>11</sup>.

Bulbul Shah led a life of complete self-abnegation and preached against superstitious and charlatans widely prevalent amongst the Kashmiris of his period. He helped the poor, and showed immense love towards the down trodden.

During the reign of Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-70), another suharwardi saint, Saiyid Mohammad Isfahani, (or Rifai, b. 735 / 840) arrived in Kashmir. He was the disciple of Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch, propularly called Makhdin Jahaniyan (1308-84). Saiyid Mohammad lived a life of retirement. He first took up his esidence in Srinagar and later on entered the village of Khanpur (Baramullah). Since he applied himself to the most austere spiritual exercises, he is known as Janbaz (one who stakes his life)<sup>12</sup>.

It is said that he came to Kashmir with about 150 saints and entered into Kashmir, from Shopian in AH 827 (1421 AD). He was very fond of providing food to the poor from his Langar; the place where he stayed was called Khanpur, meaning "a place of eating". He established a preaching centre in Baramullah and constructed a mosque and an Eid-gah as well.

The other Suharwardi Sufis who came to Kashmir are:

Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Nuzuk Shah (1529-30, 1540-52). A Khanqah was built for him at Narwara in Srinagar and an annual grant was assigned to it from the State reverne for the maintenance of his Langar. Among his disciples was Bagba Masaud, popularly known as Narwari Sahib".

Another important Suharwardi Sufi was Siyid Jamaluddin bukhari, who arrived in Kashmir in the first half of the sixteenth century. Among his disciples, was Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom, Sheikh Hamza was born in (900/1494) at Tujar, near Sopore Saiyid Hamaluddin, before his departure from Kashmir, gave the Sheiakh authority to enroll disciples into the Suharwardi order. Sheikh Hamza considered the Zikr (remembrance of the name of God) to be medicine for the ailment of the heart on the one hand and known in Kahmir as Mahbubul Alam (beloved of the world). He died in 984/1576. He was buried on the slope of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in mediation<sup>13</sup>.

Makhdoom Hamza called upon people to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious taxes and acquire knowledge<sup>14</sup>.

Among the disciplines of Sheikh Hamza are Sufi's life Baba Dawud Khaki, Maulana Shamsu-din Pal, Khwaja Ishaq Qari, Khawaja Hasan Qari and Baba Haidar Tulmuli. Of these the most distinguished was Baba Dawud Khaki. (D. 1584 AD) 151.

He is author of a number of books like Dastur-u-Salikin, Virdul-Muridin, Qasida-i-eJalaliyya etc. Baba Daud was an outstanding poet as well.

Baba Daud approved of Sama, which was denounced by his teacher Shaykh Hamza and the other Shrawardi Sufis. He argued that, stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by the Sufi masters<sup>16</sup>.

He upheld Zikr-i-Qalbi (inward remembrance of God) and believed that the latter was meant for beginners alone<sup>17</sup>.

Like, the Suharwardi Sufis, he believed that the renouncement of the world did not mean that one should go naked or wear a Longota, (the narrow strip of cloth). Renunciation in fact demands nothing but sincerity on the part of the devotee; wealth in itself was no obstacle to the mystical path<sup>18</sup>.

The Naqashbandi order was introduced in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikander (1389 -1413). It made its presence felt with the advent of Khawaja Mahmud towards the close of the sixteenth century 19<sup>19</sup>.

Saiyid Hilal (D. 861/1457) introduced Naqusbandi order in Kashmir.

Saiyid Hilal left only one disciple, named Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known in Kashmir as Wusi Sahib. He led a life of retirement at Asham. After the death of Saiyid Hilal, Saiyid Amin moved to Srinagar and confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Maran. Saiyid Amin seems to be an ardent advocate of the doctrine of Wahdatul-Wujud (Unity of Being). Some of his verses seem very pertinent to be quoted. For example:

“The world and the man of the world one endowed with the essence of the Eternal, if you look deeply (you) look deeply (you) will find everything in the human being”.

He says further, “The entire Universe is with me. My abode is beyond lamakan (space-less world). O ‘alim (religious scholar)! My body is (itself) a universe. Known! The soul of universe is my soul”<sup>20</sup>.

He was a broad-minded Sufi, above all religious prejudices. He says, “Do not scorn infidelity to those who have found out truth, it is not different from faith”. Again he says, “To an arif (Gnostic) the difference between the mosque and temple are meaningless. Men endowed with spiritual eminence, find both good and even identical”. About the mystical union with God, he says, “I want visal, (union). I do not want either this world or the other. I worship God; I do not worship house or walls”. He was killed in 1484 along with the fifteen members of the family. He was later buried at ‘Alikadal<sup>21</sup>.

Another Naqashbandi saint was Khwaja Khawand Mahmud (d. 1642). He did not stay in Kashmir for a long period and soon left for Agra. However, in the seventeenth century, he made several visits to Kashmir, and helped in the popularization of Naqashbandi order in Kashmir<sup>22</sup>.

The impact of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi was reflected on the Sufis of Kashmir also. For example, Shaykh Murad Teng was the disciple of Shaykh Abdul Ahad Sarhindi Faruqi, who was the son of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi. Apart from this influence, he imbibed impact from Mohammad Yousuf Kawsa, Mulla Abdullah, Khwaja Mohammad Naqashbandi etc.<sup>23</sup>.

Shaykh Ahad Sarhindi came to Kashmir and Shaykh Murad went to Sarhind along with his peer in 1081 A.H. and returned back to Kashmir after getting complete Sufi training and the latter of authority to initiate others in the order of the Sufis he belonged to. Among his illustrious disciples was Khwaja Azam Deedah Mari, who is a famous Kashmiri historian. He remained in the



company of his Shaykh for twelve years. Among the novices of Shaykh Murad were other people like Khawaja Sayyid Sharif, who died in 1114 A.H.<sup>24</sup>.

Sayyid Nimatullah Shah Qadiri introduced the Qadiri order in Kashmir in the second half of the sixteenth century. Before coming to Kashmir, he was living in India, where he was a disciple of Shaykh Mohammad Dervesh Qadiri. Sayyid Nimatullah did not stay long in Kashmir and soon left for India. Among his disciples in Kashmir was Shaykh Mirak Mir. He was the son of one Sayyid Shamsud-din Anadrabi, whose ancestors had migrated to Kashmir from Andrab, Khursan Iran, in the reign of Sultan Sikander. Shaykh Mirak Mir spent most of his time in meditation at a Khanqah in Srinagar, known as Khanqah-i-andrabi. He died in 1582 A.D. and was buried at Mallaratta in Srinagar. Another Qadiri saint, who came to Kashmir in 1581 A.H. from somewhere in India, was Sayyid Ismail Shami. He did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India, but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qadiri order, therefore his disciple Mir Nazuk Niyazi. Mir Nazuk Niyazi. Mir Nazuk did not approve of the practice of Sama, unlike the first Qadiri saint in Kashmir, Sayyid Nimatullah. He died in 1614 A.D. and was buried at Qazi Kadal in Srinagar. His eldest son took up Mir Nazuk's Khanqah at Khanyar, in Srinagar. Mir Yousuf (d. 1617) who was initiated to the Qadiri order by his father. Mir Mohammad Ali (d. 1660 A.D.), the third son of Mir Nazuk, popularized the Qadiri order in Kashmir<sup>25</sup>.

Apart from the above Qadiri saints, mention may be made of Mulla Shah Badakshani, who stayed in Kashmir for more than 22 years. He was among the disciples of Main Mir Qadiri. In this way Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri saints were very important Sufi orders, which influenced Kashmir in several ways and prepared the way for the Sufistic interpretation of Islam, which was the hallmark of the Kubarawi and Rishi Silsilas (orders) of Kashmir.

The Wahadat-al-Wajud (Unity of Being) philosophy was advocated by almost all Sufis, which has several resemblances with Hindu Vedanta, darshan. Even the famous 'Kubarawi, Sufi Sayyid Ali Hamadani (1314-1338) was an ardent advocate of the same philosophy. Although Sayyid Ali's teacher Allaudin simnani was fiercely opposed to the theory of Wahadat-al-Wajud....He wrote a tract in defese of the Wajudi doctrine, entitled as "Risala-i-Wajudiyya". He wrote two commentaries on Ibn Arabi's acclaimed" Fusus-al-Hikam". According to Farooq Bukhari, Sayyid Ali was the first to introduce Ibn Arabi's thoughts in South Asia.

The word Rishi is of Sanskrit origin. In its pre-Islamic sense it refers to wandering ascetics who had renounced the world, taking refuge in caves in the mountains or in the forests, and who sought to commune with the Divine through the practice of stem austerities<sup>26</sup>.

According to Prof. Mohammad Khan the term Rishi is undoubtedly of Sanskrit province 'a singer of hymns, an inspired personages to whom these hymns were revealed and such an expression as 'the Rishi says 'is equivalent to 'so it stands in the sacred text 'In common usage among the Hindus, however, the Rishi meant" a saint or sanctified sage...a ascetic, anchorite..."<sup>27</sup>.

Scholarly opinion is divided regarding the origins of the Rishis. Saqi writes that their genesis can be traced to the Aryans before their invasion of India. He opines that Rishis existed among the ancient Zoroastrians of Persia as well as among the pre-Vedic inhabitants of the Indus Valley civilization. He writes further that the Kashmiris are divided into 199 gotras or lineages, each of which claims descent from a particular Vedic Rishi<sup>28</sup>.

According to Pushp, the Rishis of the Vedic period were not world-renouncing mendicants, but the latter changed in the Upanishadic period, when Rishis set up ashrams in the forests. He writes that these ashrams later turned into Buddhist viharas where sharmans or monks lived and from where they roamed the

countryside engaging in social service. It was under the Buddhist influence that in the period of Brahmanical revivalism in Kashmir the Rishis sought to crusade against the oppression of the Brahmans<sup>29</sup>.

Pushp says that Kashmiri Rishism as we know it today must be traced to the Buddhist period and not to either Shaivism or Vaishnavism<sup>30</sup>.

It seems that Rishism had struck strong roots in Kashmir prior to the advent of Islam in the region, and probably one reason for its popularity was the distinct strain of protest Brahmanical supremacy that is evident in some of the practices and teachings associated with the pre-Islamic Rishis. However, the anti-caste crusade was most forcefully articulated by the founder of the Muslim rishi order, Hazrat Nurud-Din Nurani<sup>31</sup>.

The founder of Rishi movement of Kashmir, Shaykh Noorudin (d 1440 CE) also adopts the Wujudi trend of philosophy in the fourteenth century. He says, for example, "After abandoning myself, I found the Being (Mujud). And he said further.

I looked for my benevolent God with an undivided mind and then alone of recognized the reality of my own self. And he also says,

"Oh fool! Why do you want to waste your life in seclusion. Learn self-introspection and talk to God, Who is within you"<sup>32</sup>.

In his earlier life Nur al Din, the verses composed by him especially in the cave bear an indelible influence of Shavite philosophy". For example he says:

Having forsaken all I sought you,  
While searching  
You the prime of my youth passed away,  
When I found  
You within my own self  
I remained in safely because of  
Your luminations.

According to Prof. Khan the typical matter of the "Shavite way of renunciation" can be seen conspicuously present in the following verse of the Sheikh:

He is near me I am near Him  
I found solace in His nearness  
In vain did I seek Him elsewhere?  
Lo! I found the Beloved within my own consciousness.

In the same manner while the Sheikh establishing a "personal relation between himself and personal and incarnate god, through ascetic training", remarks:

The universe is the objective manifestation of the essence of Shiva

If you realize it through annihilation of self, you will get merged into Him

What will you find after death, if you do not recognize Him in this world?

Search Him in yourself (and) give me keen hearing<sup>33</sup>.

However though there are "elements" in the verses of the Sheikh that may be called "compatible with the Shavite aspiration after self-identification with God". It should be noted that the influence of "ontological monism of Sufis on his inquisitive mind can not be ruled out"<sup>34</sup>.

He does not draw "formal and verbal parallels between Hindu and Muslim idea of unitive experience, but he fully elaborates the spirit that animates the mystical movements in Hindum and Islam". For example he says:

What qualities hast thou found in the world?  
To allow thy body a free, loose rope?  
The Musalman and Hindu sail in the same boat  
Have thy play and let's us go home<sup>35</sup>.

Sheikh sometimes transcends the barriers of "theological ethnocentrism" and says:

Among the brothers of the same parents  
Why did you create a barrier?

Muslims and Hindus are one  
When will God be kind to His servants?<sup>36</sup>  
He shows an inspiration of both Hindu and Muslim sources  
in his fervent desire to have the vision of the transcendent yet  
immanent God.

Nirguna manifest thyself unto me  
Thy name (alone) have I been chanting.  
Lord! Held me to reach the acme of my spiritual desires.  
I do remember (with gratitude) how kind thou art,  
Thou removed all veils between thy self and the prophet  
And Thou revealed Quran unto him.  
Lod the one )Prophet) who remained steadfast in Thy way.  
I do remember with gratitude; how kind Thou art.

Several hagiological works have mentioned what is very  
significant for a researcher here is the close association between  
Noorud-Din and Lal Ded or Laleswari as. This intimate spiritual  
relation between Lala Ded and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din has been  
explicitly discussed in the folklore

(traditions as well as by the prominent historians as well.  
For example it is said that for the days after the birth of Nur-ud-  
Din in 779/1379 A.D., he did not take milk from his mother.

But, then Lal Ded visited the house of Salar Ganai, the  
father of the newly born and addressed him as:

“You were not ashamed by being born; why then are you  
ashamed of sucking (at the mother’s breast)”<sup>37</sup>.

It is said that the baby started taking milk and thereafter Lal  
Ded’s visits to the house of Nur al-Din were quite frequent. When  
this Local tradition is combined with the verses of the Sheikh,  
which pertain to Lal Ded, the debt of the former to the latter can  
easily be acknowledged and we can also consider Lal Ded “the  
earliest source of inspiration for Nu-al-Din”<sup>38</sup>.

For example, in one of his verses, the Sheikh acknowledges  
his debt to Lal Ded when he says:

“Tas Padman purchi Lalay

Yam Gallay Amrit Chawu.....

i.e., That Lalla of Padmanpore who had drunk the fill of nectar; she was an avatar of ours, O God grant me the same spiritual power (as bestowed on Lalia!)<sup>39</sup>.

Here Prof. Khan has brought to fore a very important point to our notice when he says that history cannot be objective or even complete if historians to tally reject the evidence about their so called legendary, figures. He says:

“We have no strong reason to regard the Sheikh as a peddler of myths; on the contrary, we find in his person a mystic with an unerring sense of history.... In fact, the Sheikh’s verses not only embody an enact the age-old forms of rural culture, but they are a major source of discovery and creation. In a society where the learned Brahmans did not deem it necessary to record the activities of the ascetics as, for that matter, even such luminaries of the Valley as Abyinavagupta and Lal Ded in their works, memory must have been the only behicle of integrity and continuity it may be in this context that Sheikh Noorud-Din has treated the ‘Legendary Rishis, like Zulka, Miran, Rum, Pilas etc in the same category in order of merit as the established Sufis like Uways-i-Qarani<sup>40</sup>. Thus he sought to legitimize the term by emphasizing its Islamic origin. He says for example:

“The first Rishi was the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

The second in order was Hazrat Uways,

The third Rishi was Zulka Rishi,

The fourth in order was Hazrat Miran,

And the fifth Rishi was Rum Rishi

The sixth in order was Hazrat Pilas,

The seventh (me) is miscalled a Rishi,

Do I deserve to be called a Rishi?

And if so what is my name?”

While the disciples of the Shaikh who were spread in every nook and corner of the Valley also came to be known as Uwaysis<sup>41</sup>.

'In his recreation of the role of Sufi Sheikh and the founder of a mystic order, Nural-Din defended the social authenticity of the Rishi tradition. XXVII Because the verses of the Sheikh about the Rishis of Yore seem to be definitely rooted in a homogenous body of folk consciousness<sup>42</sup>.

The tradition about some of these rishis is deeply rooted in "a homogenous body of folk consciousness". In this respect Prof. Khan has mentioned a very important fact that whenever a traditional Kashmiri mother wants to bless her child, she is often heard saying: "May you live life like Rum rishi! He says further:

"And, indeed there has always existed a strong belief in folk consciousness that rum Rishi lived for 322 years. It is pointless to argue whether Rum Rishi had such a long span of life, for certainly he did not have it; but the folk belief in Rum rishi' existence is important for a student of social history"<sup>43</sup>.

The reliance on local folk traditions for reconstructing a comprehensive and relatively society-oriented history seems more warranted especially when it appears that "we have reached a dead end in our researches in the history of Kashmir's' sultanate period!" (Preface to the second Edition, and when at the global level the pronouncements about the "End of History" are made. Thus this aspect of Muhibbul Hassan's book is very significant in the context of medieval history of Kashmir. It seems that Prof. Khan was very much influenced by this dimension of his teacher, which can be evidenced by his two important writings<sup>44</sup>.

However, for Prof. Khan, unlike his teacher "Such of the Sufi works as exist are" not "largely naïve tales of miracles performed by the saint and his disciples" and the former does not find any difficulty in picking "out from them some telling fact relevant to historical investigation (preface VIII), to much consternation to the latter<sup>45</sup>.

Because contrary to the author's views that the songs of Lal Ded, mystical verses of Nuru al-Din Rishi and the lyrics of

Habba Khatun, throw "some light" on the social and cultural life of medieval Kashmir<sup>46</sup>.

Prof. Khan seems to tend to believe that these folklores tradition of the valley and the mystical songs and lyrics throw "sufficient light on the social history of Kashmir.

Thus, Sufism in Kashmir was unique in the sense that unlike the Central Asia, it accommodated Suharwardi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri orders within the broader framework of Islam and developed its own school called Rishism, which was the culmination of the indigenous mystical ethos fruited into a universal phenomenon.

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24. Ruqya, (Ed) Tahfutul Fuqra, Mohammad Murad Teng, CCAS, Kashmir University, 1998, p. 15.
25. Tahfutul Fuqura op. Cit.
26. B N Parimoo, Shivmat Aur Rishiyat in Rashid Nazki (ed.), Rishiyat, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of ART, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1992, p. 71. Some people consider Noorud-Din Wli as the Mujadid, i.e., Ghulam Nabi Aatish, Kashir Hazrat Sheikh Noorud-Din Rashid Sandis Kalamas Manz, Al-Qamar Kitab Ghar, Nanil Anantnag, 1997, p.9. He has been likened to the great Muslim "puritan" reformers like Mohammad ibn-e- Wahab, Shah Wali-ullah and Dr. Iqbal rather than mere recluse, i.e., Rashid Afaque, The Ark, Transcreation of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, Rabani Book Stall, Sopore 2003, p. 12. He avoided giving any "sectarian interpretation of Islam" op.cit. p-20. He advocated the cause of equality of the human beings very vehemently. For example he says:

On who does believe creed and colour

Is, in fact, a fool of first water?

His motto, easy come and easy go

On the day of judgement he will find no defender

Your placement will be decided on godly deeds

None can excel him who breeds on that fragrance".

Moreover he exhorted people to avoid materialistic attitude to life:

Standing on a snare you are

How heedlessly you do behave!

Engrossed in wordly pleasure

Beware of the torments of grave. He was initiated into the Awaisi Order, which does not require any Sufi mentor for a novice and rather a person can become its adherent with out any allegiance of obedience. Later on he became initiated in the Kubariwiyah Order. P. – Prof. Noorud-Din Zahid, see Kalam Sheikh – al – Alam, Quran wa Hadith ki roshni main, vol. 1, Darul al-Qalam, Publications, Srinagar, Kashmir, N.D. p-2.

29. Sayyid Muhammad Faruq Bukhari, Kashmir Main Islam: Manzar Aur Pasmanzar, Maktaba Iim-o-Adab, Srinagar, 1998. p- 164.

30. P.N. Pushp, Rishiyat Ka Tarikhi Pasmanzar, in Nazki (ed), Rishyat, p-7

31. Mohier Williams, a Sanskrit English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, pp-226-27, p-120.

(wrong reference numbers)

27. Kashmirs Translition to Islam, op cit. pp.70-73.

28. Bahaud-Din Mattu, Rishinama, edited by Mohammad Assadullah Wani and Massud Samu, CAP, 1982.

29. Khan op. cit, p – 101.

30. Ibid. p – 100.

31. Ibid. p- 107

32. Khaki, Rishinama Manuscript in possession of Pir Ghulam Mohammad Khaki, Nibasti, Islamabad, Kashmir. 41b-42a See also Khan Op. Cit. p-123. Here Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Khan discusses a very important point:

“But understanding the basic components of Kashmiri tradition, it is important to remember that its flowering in the real sense took place in the midst of the traditions set in vogue by the legendary rishis period mentioned by Nur-al-Din in his verses, and mystics like Lal Ded, Sayyid Hussain Simnani, Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani”. See Mohammad Ishaq Khan, the Mystical Career and Poetry of Nur-Al-Din Rishi Kashmiri: Socio-

- Historical Dimensions, Studies in Islam, January / April 1982, p – 102.
33. Ibid. P – 112.
34. Ibid. F. note. P – 123
27. Mohier Williams, a Sanskrit English Dictionary Oxford, 1899, pp – 226 – 27, p-102.
28. Moti Lal Saqi, rishiyat ki Ibtida, in Nazi (ed.) Rishiyat, p – 189.
29. Sayyid Mohammad Faruq Bukhari, Kashmir Main Islam: Manzar Aur Pasmaizar, Maktaba IIm-o-Adab, Srinagar, 1998. p – 164.
30. P.N. Pushp, Rishiyat Ka Tarikh Tarikhi Pasmaizar, in Rashid Nazki (ed.), Rishiyat, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of ART, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1992, p-7.
31. Yoginder Singh Skind, The Role of Kashmiri Sufis in the promotion and Communal Marmony { 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> Century), Centre For Study of Society and Secularism, Mumbai, 1999, p – 26.
32. AQ. Rafiqu Sufism in Kashmir Bhartia Publishing House, Delhi, N.D., P. XNI.
33. Kulliyat-i-Sheikh-ul-Alam, I.C.A.P., 1979. p-10 quoted in Ishaq Khan, op. cit., Studies in Islam, pp – 108-09.
34. Khan, The Mystical Career and Poetry of Nur-al-Din Rishi Kashmiri: Socio-Historical Dimensions, Studies in Islam, January / April 1982, p- 109. “But understanding the basic components of Kashmiri tradition, it is important to remember that its flowering in the real sense took place in the midst of the traditions set in vogue by the legendary rishis period mentioned by Nur al-Din in his verses, and mystics like Lal Ded, Sayyid Husain Simnani, Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani p – 102 .
35. B.N. Parimoo, The Ascent of the Self, Delhi, 1978, p – 90.
36. Kulliyat-i-Sheikh-ul-Alam, 11, C.A.P. 1979, pp – 33-34.

37. See Mohammad Ishaq Khan. The Mystical Career and poetry of Nur-al-Din Rishi Kashmiri: Socio Historical Dimensions, Studies in Islam, January / April 1982, p 102.
38. Rafuqi, op. cit., p. 133. Some people consider Noorud-Din Wali as the mujadid, Ghulam Nabi Aatish, Kashir, Hazrat Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Rashid Sandis Kalamas Manz, Al-Qamar Kitab Ghar, Nanil Anantnag. 1997, p.9. He has been linked to the great Muslim "puritan" reformers like Mohammad Ibn-e- Wahab, Shah Wali-ullah and Dr. Iqbal rather than mere recluse, Rashid Afaque. The Ark, Transcreation of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, Rabani Book Stall, Sopore, 2003, p 12.
39. It is on the basis of these verses that some researchers like Ghulam Rasool Bhat, consider Lal Ded a Muslim, who otherwise could not be regarded as a spiritual guide as an apostolic preceptor for a person none less than Nur al-Din, who was strictly conscious of the religious implications of such an aspiration. But Professor Ishaq Khan and other scholars still regard Lal Ded a "Hindu ascetic", who was among the saints of the Indian subcontinent belonging to that group of saints that played a useful role in fostering common values among Hindus and Muslims in some appreciable degree". Ishaq Mohammad Khan, The Mystical Career and Poetry of Nur-al-Din Rishi Kashmiri: Socio – Historical Dimensions, Studies in Islam, January / April 1982, pp-101-102.
40. Ibid. – 106
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. i.e. Kashmir's Translation to Islam and "Experiencing Islam, sterling publishers New Delhi, 1997, Preface.
45. Ibid. vii.
46. Ibid.