

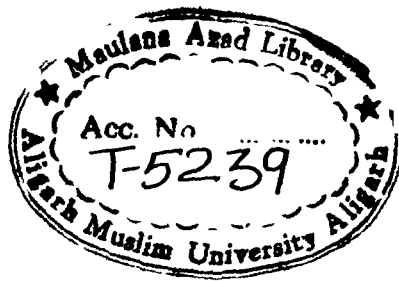
RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE SULTANS OF
KASHMIR
(1320 - 1586 A. D.)

THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR
FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTORATE DEGREE IN HISTORY

BY
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
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T5239

To The Cherished Memory of
My Father
Kh. Mohammad Abdullah
For
His Truthfulness & Immense love
For
Knowledge

CERTIFICATE:

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of Miss Darakshan Abaullah entitled "Religious Policy of the Sultan's of Kashmir (1320-1586 A.D.)" carried out under my supervision embodies the work of the scholar. The research work is of original nature and has neither been submitted for M.Phil nor for Ph.D. programme so far. The thesis is in satisfactory literary form and worthy of consideration for Ph.D. degree.



(Dr. A. M. Mattoo)
SUPERVISOR

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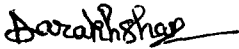
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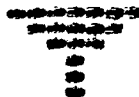
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.. /

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(Darakshan Abdullah)
RESEARCH SCHOLAR



2. INTRODUCTION:

INTRODUCTION

•••

Advent of Islam in Kashmir, beyond doubt transformed the entire social order and as such was a turning point in the history of Kashmir, as elsewhere. Nevertheless, the social system of Kashmir under the Hindus differed in so many ways from the social system of India before the Turkish conquest.

Broadly speaking the Elite Hindu Society in Kashmir was divided into two strong factions, i.e. the Shivites and non-shivitis, while the majority of the population, who did not matter, were followers of Buddhism. The dominating factor was always the Shiva philosophy and as such whenever in power, not only forced the non-Shivits to toe their line, but also demolished their places of worship, even. The glaring examples are found during the rule of Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.), and Susala (1111-1128 A.D.). Similarly, the non-Shivits destroyed the Veharas and built their own places of worship. While coming into contact with the Muslims the trikites (Shivites) preferred Islam and as such there was very speedy mass conversion. It is interesting to note that the conversion was very smooth and the elite lead the way. The commoner also found it easy to enter into the fold of Islam, thus the only faction; non-Shivites (Bhattas) upheld the scepter of their traditional religion.

It is also conspicuous to note that the conversion was not under the influence of any external aggression, but because of the efforts of the Sufis like Bulbul Shah, and Sayyid Ali Hamadani. The establishment of the Muslim rule at the hands of

Sadrud-Din (Rinchana) was virtually a bi-product of the ~~the~~ invasions on Kashmir. The Zuljus invasion (1320 A.D.) and subsequent destruction of the kingdom struck the last nail in the coffin of the Laharas and an eminent personality came forward as a social reformer in the name of Shahmir. The Hindu ruler fled the country and the only hope of the people was the man from Swat, settled in Baramulla. Subsequently, he was assisted by another prince Rinchana hailing from Ladakh in the social service. Thus the two jointly served the cause of Islam.

Rinchana subsequently usurping the power from Ramchandra (the Commander-in-Chief of Hindu King Suhadeva) entered into the fold of Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah. He under the name Sadrud-Din was coronated as the King of Kashmir in the year 1320 A.D. But his life was cut short. However, the credit of the foundation of the Sultanate went to Shamas-ud-Din alias Shahmir. He captured power in 1339 A.D., while persuing the course of events, the establishment of the Muslim rule was based on the mutual trust generated under socio-political fusion. Therefore, devising a religious policy as such was neither required nor conducive. Some of the rulers, despite being Muslims, were following the un-Islamic tradition so much so that even Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-1389 A.D.) had two sisters in his wedlock. Even after a pretty long rule Shams-ud-Din Iraqi complained the adoption of un-Islamic practices by the Sultans, as a strong critic advocated a total transformation of the policies of the rulers. Earlier, Sayyid Ali Hamadani who visited Kashmir during Qutub-ud-Din's reign (1373-89 A.D.) and his son Mir Mohammad Hamadani (1393 A.D.) had similar complaints.

However, it is also a fact that the establishment of the Muslim rule in Kashmir coupled with the contemporary global situation paved the way for the mass influx of ulema, sufis and saints, besides merchant community into Kashmir, thereby influencing the attitude of the rulers. Therefore, even after half a century of Muslim rule, there was not any Islamic institution worth the name. Thus the ulema were instrumental in introducing institutions like the Qazi-ul-Qazat, Muhtasab and Shaikh-ul-Islam. This appears to have been the beginning, but Islam was never declared as a state religion. Some of the ulema like Mir Mohammad Hamadani and Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Iraqi strongly supported the establishment of the tenants of Islam and advocated a state religious policy, but the local polity and other religious leaders like Sayyid Mohammad Hisari did not approve such a harsh policy and advocated a liberal approach relying on the Quranic principle, i.e. "there is no compulsion in the Religion."¹ As a matter of fact, even Sayyid Ali Hamadani stood for a moderate policy which is substantiated by his letters to various contemporary rulers of the region.²

The Muslim world in the 15th century was virtually divided into two ideological framework, the Shism and Sunnism. Prior to this it was not easy to differentiate a Sunni and a Shia. But the dogmatic theological developments resulted in the verticle division

1.

لا إكراه في الدين

2. Maktabati-Sayyid Ali, Danish, pp. 6-23.

of the society and Kashmir as such could not have remained immune. Thus it was on account of the arrival of Iraqi, a disciple of Shah Mohammad Qasim, son and successor of Sayyid Mohammad Nurbakish that Nurbakhshism, a diluted form of Shism was introduced in Kashmir. Henceforth, the sectarian striffs became frequent during Chak rule and the Mughals who had already cast their covetous eyes on Kashmir winnowed this aspect. The people of Kashmir ultimately paid the price of this disunity in the shape of their independence. Thus in this context an attempt has been made to understand the religious views of Sultans of Kashmir and its influences.

Modern works, like G.M.D. Sufi's "Kashir", R. K. Parmu's "Muslim Rule in Kashmir", Mohibul Hasan's "Kashmir Under Sultans" give a sketchy account of this aspect of Sultans, as their works are primarily political and, therefore, due attention has not been paid to the subject, it deserved. Although Dr. A. Q. Rafiqi's "Sufism in Kashmir" gives to some extent an illuminative information about the attitude of the Sultans towards their non-Muslim subjects, but being mainly concerned with the Sufis and their subsequent role in spreading Islam in Kashmir it is not sufficient to know the real position. N. K. Zutshi's "Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir" is really a healthy contribution but being mainly concerned with Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin we cannot expect much about other Sultans especially of later rulers. Therefore, a comprehensive study of religious policy of the Sultans of Kashmir is needed because it was

this part of the world where such a liberal attitude was exhibited not only by Sultans (with exception of few), but by the people as well. Although at times some opportunists like Mirza Haidar Dughlat by adopting a harsh attitude towards the Nurbakshiyas tried to divide the people of Kashmir for his political motives but he did not succeed in his efforts instead paid the price of this nefarious act ^{by} of loosing his own head. It is true that during the last phase of Chak rule some sectarian striff took place but they too were not in fact religious stiffer but politically motivated. Retaliating to the orthodoxy of the last Chak ruler, some disgrunted Kashmiris appealed to Emperor Akbar to intervene. On pretext of which Emperor Akbar annexed Kashmir to his dominion in 1586, who declared in his first visit, that, everybody is free to follow his way of life and religion.

Sources:

The sources which furnish us with some information can be classified as under:-

1. Sanskrit Sources

Kalhana's tradition of history writing was inherited by Jonaraja who after two hundred years continued the narrative down to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin and called it like Kalhana Rajatarangin.

This work of Jonaraja is the earliest extant and most important source for the history of Kashmir from 1150 to about 1459. It furnishes us with a brief but useful account of the social and political conditions of Kashmir prior to the establishment of Muslim rule and thus helps us to understand the circumstances which

led to the establishment of the Sultanate by Shahmir. The reigns of the early Sultans has been given in a sketchy manner, passing over some of the important events like Rinchana's conversion to Islam and the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamadani in Kashmir. However, the period from 1389 to 1459 A.D., during which author himself lived has been discussed in detail. But being a courtier of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, Jonaraja is inclined to exaggerate the virtues of his master and gloss over his failings. He has given a descriptive account of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's liberal attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects and has blamed Suha Bhatt for the harsh treatment meted out to the non-Muslims during Sultan Sikandar's reign. I have consulted the english translation of this work by J.C. Dutt.

Srivara like Jonaraja took the thread where his master has left and called it "Jaina Rajatarangini." He was also attached to the court of Zain-ul-Abidin and after his death served Hasan Shah and Mohammad Shah.

His Rajatarangini gives a detailed account of the remaining years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign from 1459-1470 A.D. and the reigns of his successors till the accession of Fath Shah in 1486. Like Jonaraja, he too is inclined to exaggerate the achievement of Zain-ul-Abidin and gloss over his failings. However, he himself admits that "my purpose in writing history was partly to free myself from my endless obligations to him (Zain-ul-Abidin) and partly because I am attracted by his merits"¹. His work is however,

1. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 99.

inferior to that of Jonaraja, and as Stein observes, "he is a slavish imitator of Kalhana, not above reproducing whole verses from his predecessor. His text looks, in great portion, more like a cento from the Rajatarangini, than an original composition."¹ But inspite of these defects, his work is very valuable, for it is the only contemporary source for the period it covers, and has therefore, been drawn upon liberally by the later Persian chroniclers.

After the death of Srivara, Prajyabhatta composed his "Rajavalipataka" describing the history of the period from 1486 to 1512 A.D. This work is much inferior to Srivara's. The history of the twenty six years is described in a confusing manner. The important events connected with the struggle for the throne between Mohammad Shah and Fath Shah are left out.

Suka is the last chronicler of the Sanskrit tradition of historiography in Kashmir, who brought his narrative entitled "Rajavalipataka" from 1513 A.D. where Prajyabhatta suddenly stopped, down to 1569 A.D. The work is defective because its topography is unreliable and there is much exaggeration of various events.

Despite these defects, his work is valuable, for it throws light on the activities of the Chaks, socio-economic life of the people, and the Mughal attacks to which Kashmiris were subjected. For all the four Sanskrit chronicles I have consulted J.C. Dutt's english translation under the title of "Kings of Kashmira".

1. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. II, p. 373.

2. Local Persian Sources:

Among Persian works Tarikhi-Kashmir by Sayyid Ali is the only extant work which was composed during the Sultanate period.

Tarikhi-Kashmir:

Tarikhi-Kashmir is a history of Kashmir to the time of Yusuf Shah. The author was a Baihaqi Sayyid and was related to the Shah Mir family through his mother who was the sister of Sultan Nazuk Shah. His father's name was Sayyid Muhammad, who served Mirza Haidar in his wars in Kashmir. Sayyid Ali also appears to have been in the service of Mirza Haidar and took part in the last campaign which led to the latter's death. Unfortunately the manuscript lying in Research and Publication Department of Srinagar is defective as it abruptly starts with the arrival of Sayyid Tajud-Din during Shāhab-ud-Din's reign, who was deputed by Sayyid Ali Hamadani to find out if the conditions were favourable for him to visit Kashmir. He describes in detail the role played by Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Mir Mohammad Hamadani in spreading Islam in the Valley and their relations with Sultan Qutub-ud-Din and Sikandar respectively. It also throws light on the policy of Sikandar towards his non-Muslim subjects, but it does not refer to the political events of his reign. Although the history of Zain-ul-Abidin and Hasan Shah has been given in detail, but the reigns of later rulers is dismissed in a few lines. The most valuable portion of the book is Mirza Haidar's account as the author relates the events on the basis of personal observations. As regards, the Chak period, with the exception of the controversy over the execution of Yusuf Aindar which is briefly given it is practically

passed over. However, the work is valuable for religious history of the period as it contains biographical sketches of the Sufis and Rishis who flourished during the Sultanate period.

Another important Persian work which is a mine of information for the Sultanate period is Baharistani-Shahi by an anonymous writer. The work is written in an ornate style and was completed in 1614 A.D. It is the only work which fills the vacuum left by the Sanskrit as well as other contemporary Persian chroniclers. The history of Shah Mir's upto the reign of Hasan Shah is briefly narrated, however, the period from Muhammad Shah onwards is given in detail. The chronicler has given detailed account of Chaks origin, their migration to Kashmir, their rise to power and the administrative and religious policy they perused. The Mughal relation with Kashmir during Chaks has also been given in detail.

Another well known Persian history of Kashmir is Tarikhi-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chaudura from earliest times to 1620-21. The author accompanied Yusuf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of Chughtai and Raisul-Mulk. A study of this work and Baharistani Shahi shows that their authors obtained information from the same sources. He writes in a simple lucid style; his topography is correct, though his chronology is not reliable. Just as the author of Baharistani Shahi exalts the achievements of the Baihaqi Sayyids, so does Haidar Malik eulogise the wisdom and courage of his family. He was a shite, but he writes dispassionately and freely criticises Yaqub Shah for his intolerent policy towards the Sunnis. His account of the reign of the Chak Sultans, particularly of their attempts to repel the Mughal invasion is detailed and valuable.

Tuhfatu'l Ahbab is a biography of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who introduced the Nurbakhshiya teachings in Kashmir. It is written about the middle of the fifteenth century by an anonymous author. However, from his account it appears that his father was an important disciple of Iraqi and he himself was a fanatic Nurbakhshiya. He gives a detailed account of Shams-ud-Din's arrival in Kashmir, the obstacles he encountered in propagating his faith, and the success attained in Kashmir and Baltistan. However, in his zeal to represent Iraqi as champion of Islam, he indulged in imaginary accounts of his iconoclastic activities. Nevertheless, his work is valuable because it contains the history of Islam's progress in Kashmir, brief notices of Kashmir's political history and of the social life and beliefs of its inhabitants. Unfortunately a portion of manuscript lying in Research and Publication Department of Srinagar is missing.

Later Persian Works: Among later Persian work, the Waqati-Kashmir by Muhammad Azam Dadamari, completed in 1747 A.D. is important source. It is an abridgment of the earlier works. In addition to the political history it contains a useful account of the saints and scholars who flourished in Kashmir during the Sultanate period.

Another important source of later period is Tarikhi-Hasan by Pir Hasan Shah. Following the style of Ain-i-Akbari, the manuscript consists of four volumes. The first deals with the geography of Kashmir, its Muslim monuments, its castes, tribes and religious sects. The second volume deals with the political history of rulers from the earliest times to the author's own days. The third part

contains the biographies of saints based on Tazkiras and local traditions. The last part is chiefly concerned with Persian poetry flourished under the Sultans and Mughal Emperor's. For second and third part I have consulted the Moulvi Ibrahim's Urdu translation.

3. General Sources:

Tarikhi-Rashidi by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, is a history of the Mongol rulers of Mughalistan and Kashgar. It was completed in 1546 A.D. by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who twice invaded Kashmir and ultimately conquered Valley in 1540 A.D. and ruled for ten years. A part from giving an account of his invasion on Kashmir and his administration in Kashmir, he gives an interesting picture of the buildings, agriculture, religion and arts and crafts of Kashmir. In fact his account of ancient temples which he counts as 150 helps us to expose the exaggerative account of contemporary as well as modern scholars who charge Sultan Sikandar for the destruction of all idol temples in Kashmir.

Zafarnama by Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi is a history of Timur and Khalil Sultan completed in 1424-25 A.D. It throws light on Sultan Sikandar's relations with Timur when the latter invaded India. It also gives a brief description of the geography and people of Kashmir.

Tabqati-Akbari by Nizam-ud-Din contains a section dealing with the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to its conquest by Akbar. Since his account of Kashmir forms part of his general history of the Mughal provinces, it is not detailed. His chronology is also defective and it is not always possible to identify the names of persons and places mentioned in his work.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badauni does not deal separately with Kashmir, but refers to it in connection with the account of Akbar's reign. The work provides useful information about Akbar's relation with Yusuf Shah Chak. Besides, there are also occasional references to eminent saints and literary figures of Kashmir.

Tarikhi-Firishta by Mohammad Qasim Firishta also contains a chapter on Kashmir. But it mostly follows the Tabqati-Akbari, and has little new information to offer. The description of the agriculture, religion and buildings of Kashmir appears to be based on the Tarikhi-Rashidi.

Akbarnama by Abul Fazl, translated by Beveridge is an important source especially for Chak period. It describes in detail the invasions of Kashmir by Abul Mali and Qari Bahadur, the relations of the Mughals with the Chaks, and the final conquest of the Valley by Akbar. Besides, political, Abul Fazl has given a valuable account of socio-economic, religious and cultural conditions under the Chaks. Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl is no less significant than Akbarnama. Besides giving a vivid description of general conditions of people of Kashmir, the importance of the work for the subject is further enhanced by the fact that it contains biographical notes on the lives of learned scholars, saints and Sufis of the time and their subsequent role. The source has given an accurate topography.

3. FOUNDATION OF THE SULTANATE:

FOUNDATION OF THE SULTANATE

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The foundation of muslim rule in Kashmir in 1339 A.D. presents a unique example in the history; replacement of hindu rule by muslims was effected without any bloodshed. This was purely the outcome of internal revolution as Kashmir on the eve of muslim rule presented a very decadent social and political picture. The transfer of power so peacefully was because of so many cumulative factors.¹ However, this does not mean that Kashmir did not witness any external aggression on the part of muslims who were advancing in all directions. In fact, prior to the establishment of the muslim rule, the muslim forces² while advancing into the sub-continent tried to enter Kashmir as well, but their forces were repulsed, therefore they failed in their designs. The King of Kashmir, candrapida designed to create a confederation of China and Kashmir to forestall the onward march of the muslims.³ This design was ultimately dropped as Mohammad bin Qasim was recalled by the Caliph.⁴ Nevertheless, time and again

1. Desopadese and Nermanala, Kshemendra, Kashmir Series, Edited by Pt. Madhu Sudan Shaortri.
2. In 712 A.D., Mohammad bin Qasim occupied Sindh. He then marched from Multan and carried his armies upto the borders of Kashmir as well. Chach-Nama, Muhammad Ali bin Hamid Abu Bakr Kufi, Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, (Henceforth Chach-Nama, Elliot and Dowson), p. 207.
3. Candrapida is referred in Chines sources as Tehen-to-le pili, vived from Political History of Kashmir, K.S. Saxena, p.47.
4. Chach-Nama, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 209.

whenever the muslim threat increased, Kashmiri ruler's tried to invoke this concept as and when there was any danger of external invasion. Under Hashim (724-43), Junaid, the Governor of Sindh again attempted to conquer Kashmir,¹ but failed. Lalitaditya (724-761 A.D.) particularly was interested in creating a Chino-Kashmir confederation to forestall the Arab march.² Nevertheless, the Arabs did not lay their hands on Kashmir, yet the muslim influence penetrated into the kingdom paving the way for muslim rule.

Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India more than seventeen times also made two futile attempts in 1015 and 1021 A.D.³ to conquer Kashmir. These attempts were made to Punish (Samgramaraja 1003-28 A.D.), the ruler of Kashmir, who had helped the Shahi ruler Trilocanpal in his struggle against Mahmud of Ghazni.⁴ Mahmud while returning from India crossed the Jehlum and entered

1. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 28; Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 1.
2. Classical Age, Majumdar, p. 134. According to Majumdar Lalitaditya, however, was able to repulse the attack by his own efforts.
3. Tarikhi Firishta, Mohammed Qasim Firishta, Eng. Tr. Briggs, (Henceforth Tarikhi Firishta, Firishta), Vol. I, pp. 31-32.
4. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Eng. Tr. Stein, (Henceforth Rajatarangini, Kalhana), Vol. I, VII 47-48, 58.

Kashmir through the Tosamaidan Pass,¹ His progress was checked by the strong fort of Loharakot,² which guarded the pass and had the reputation of being impregnable. Mahmud besieged the fort for a month, but could not reduce it, besides due to untimely snowfall cutting off his communication line forced him to retreat. On his way back he lost his track with the result many of his troops perished³ and himself escaped with great difficulty.⁴

Apparantly, the Arab and the Turk attacks were quite insignificant, but were a turning point as the social and religious life was concerned. On account of Arab occupation of Sindh, some refugees including some muslims come and settled in the territories. Henceforth, the evidence of the muslims coming to Kashmir is quite frequent. Hamima, an Arab is reported to have come and settled in Kashmir. He accordingly, is said to have converted a number of inhabitants in Shakalha.⁵ A mosque

1. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 293-295, 399.
2. Loharakot, the castle of lohara now called Lohrin in the territory of Punch, Ibid., Vol. II, p. 299.
3. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. I, pp. 31-32.
4. Ibid.,
5. Chach-Nama, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, 178.

Shakalha is identified by Cunningham with 'Kullerkahar' in the salt range which at that time belonged to Kashmir. Archaeological Survey of India, Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 192 and V., pp. 79-85.

was also constructed there. Firishta¹ also states that Mahmud Ghazni in persuite of Trilocanpal plundered Kashmir² and forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) However, Kalhana who has described the invasion is silent about the conversion. But it is possible that some of the Turkish soldiers might have settled in Kashmir as it was quite difficult to go back due to heavy snowfall which blocked their way.

Thus by the 11th century a good number of the muslims appear to have settled there in Kashmir and subsequently, were able to found their excess in court as well as army³. Kalhana also refers the presence of Shahi Princes in Anantas and Kalasa's court who wielded a great deal of influence in the court.⁴ During Harsha's reign (1089-1101) this influence accelerated, with the employment of a number of Turks in the army.⁵ Kalhana refers the presence of Turkish slave girls in Harsha's court.⁶ He has even gone to the extent of saying that the demolition of temples at

1. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. I, p. 32.
2. The place has been identified by Stein as 'Tohi' in Punch near the border of present Kashmir Valley, Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, p. 271n.
3. Op.cit., Vol. I, p. 357.
4. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, pp. 280-281.
5. Ibid., p. 357.
6. Ibid., pp. 355-356.

the hands of Harsha took place due to the influence of Turushkas, who were his close associates.¹ He even calls him Harsh Tursaki. Later Bhiksacara (1120-21 A.D.) also engaged some Turks in his struggle against Sussala.² Moreover, from the account of Marcopolo it becomes evident that by the end of thirteenth century a colony of muslims had already sprang up in the Valley.³

On account of hospitable attitude of the Kashmiri kings their influx appears to have been on ever increase. The reign of Suhadeva is especially remarkable in this respect.⁴ Incidentally Shahmir, who played a magnificent role during the latter phase of Hindu rule and subsequently, laid the foundation of first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir, was one who came and settled in Kashmir during his reign.

The ancestry of Shahmir is shrouded in mystery. Different versions have been put forward in this respect.

1. Ibid., p. 353.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 121., Vol. II, p. 70.

3. Travels of Marcopolo, H. Yule, Vol. I, p. 167. He states that the people of Kashmir do not kill animals nor spill blood, so if they want to eat meat, they get the saracens who dwell among them to play butcher. These saracens probably were from far off lands or hindus converted to Islam by missionaries, who came in the wake of missionaries and traders from India and Central Asia.

4. State and Culture in Medieval India, Nizami, p. 246.

According to Jonaraja, Shahmir was the descendent of parth¹ (Arjun) of Mahabarata fame. Nizam-ud-Din, Firishta and Abul Fazl holds the similar view.² According to Persian chroniclers of Kashmir, Shahmir hailed from Swat.³ Modern scholars too differ regarding his origin. Mohibul Hasan opine that he was of Turkish origin.⁴ Another view is put forth by Parmu identifying Kurshaha of Jonaraja with Gurshasap of Nizam-ud-Din and states that Shahmir appears to have been of Iranian origin.⁵ According to another scholar Shahmir was originally of a Khasa tribe.⁶ The Panchagahavar⁷ of Jonaraja is identified by him with the Valley of Panjgabber lying between

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 15, eng. tr. J.C. Dutt under the title of Kings of Kashmira 2nd series (Henceforth Rajatarangini, Jonaraja). He gives the ancestry of Shahmir as follows:
 "Kurshaha was born of noble family, from him was born Taharaja and then from ^{from} Shahamers."
2. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 4.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 8.; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik Chadura, Eng. tr. Raja Bano (unpublished) thesis, p. 78 (Henceforth, Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik).
4. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 43.
5. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 88.
6. Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 6.
7. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 15.

Rajouri and Budil area.¹ This place is mentioned to have been inhabited by the Khasa tribe, originally the Hindu, who afterwards embraced Islam.² Yet Dr. Rafiqui opines that Shahmir's ancestor must have been of Turkish or Persian origin, who afterwards had migrated to Swat, where they enjoyed political power for some time.³

Shahmir arrived Kashmir in or around 1313 A.D., alongwith his family during Suhadeva's reign⁴ (1301-1320) who employed him⁵ and assigned the Jagir of Dwaravir⁶ near Baramulla to him.⁷

It will not be out of place to discuss the state of affairs in Kashmir prior to the establishment of Muslim rule in 1320 A.D., as it was this instable state of affairs which helped Shahmir to rise to prominence and ultimately the foundation of Muslim sultanate was laid by him in 1339 A.D.

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1. Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin of Kashmir, p. 6.
 2. Ibid., p. 7.
 3. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqui, pp. 4-5.
 4. According to Persian chronicles the reason for the arrival of Shahmir to Kashmir was that he was informed by his grand father Waqur Shah that he will become the ruler of Kashmir. Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, p. 8., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 78. Jonaraja with a legendary concept states 'one day the great goddess in a dream gave him prophecy that he and his descendants will rule Kashmir. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 15.
 5. Ibid., p. 15.
 6. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 8; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 79.
 7. Ibid., p. 8.

As already stated, the history of hindu rule in Kashmir before the advent of muslim rule presents a very disappointing and agonising picture. It was characterized by intrigues at court, revolts of Damras, exploitation of common masses by weak kings as well as their corrupt ministers. The signs of internal decay began with the dawn of Lohra rule in 1003 A.D. and ultimately met its overthrow in about 1320 A.D. under Suhadeva. Although some capable and efficient kings like Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.),¹ Jayasimha (1128-55 A.D.)², and Jagadeva (1199-1213)³ tried to restore internal peace and tranquility, but "with robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure", they found it impossible to establish law and order in the country.⁴ The rulers who during this period occupied the throne were for the most part weak, incompetent and ease-loving. They neglected their duty of protecting the people, instead allowed themselves to be dominated by their corrupt officials, as such became mere puppets at the hands of these ministers and feudal chiefs. To add this the rulers were morally degenerated. According to Kalhana, Kalasa (1063-89 A.D.) in his lust after

1. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. II, VIII, 8.

2. Ibid., Jonaraja, pp. 4-5.

3. Ibid., p. 8.

4. Ibid., Kalhana, Vol. II, VIII, p. 7.

illicit amorous used to roam from house to house during nights.¹ His son and successor, Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) was worse even than his father. He committed incest with his own cousins and fathers wives.² His amorous nature led him to introduce some three hundred and sixty women of doubtful character in his court.³ The expenditures incurred on the fancies of the court led to serious bankruptcy. To fill the vacuum oppressive taxes were imposed besides looting the wealth of temples.⁴

The dangerous consequences of this policy was the emergence of the Damaras. The Damaras were indigeneous land lords wielding a great deal of influence because of their large estates. They were instrumental in exacting humiliating taxes from the peasantry, had their own standing army and raise the banner of revolt. The weak kings were puppets in their hands. Since they were experts in fishing in the troubled waters so creation of confusion was their routine brain game. Although some kings like Sussala tried to crush their power but could not subdue them.

1. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, p. 293.

2. Ibid., p. 278.

3. Ibid., Vol. I, VII, 1147-48.

4. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, VII, 1091; According to Kalhana, Harsha has even gone to the extent of tending the night soil. (Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, p. 1107.)

Due to the political instability and inefficient administration, the life and property of the people were not safe, agriculture declined and trade and commerce came to stand still. To add to this catastrophe, unprotected passes provided an opportunity to external aggressors to take Kashmir by storm which sealed the future of Hindu rulers.

One of the worst effects of this state of affairs was the invasion of Zulju,¹ which changed the course of the history of Kashmir. Regarding his identity, Jonaraja writes that he was Commander of the army of the great king Karmanagena.² Abul Fazl refers to Zulju as Chief Commander of the Qandhar.³ But this is not convincing, as Qandhar at that time was in the possession of Ghiyas-ud-Din, the Kurt ruler of Herat, a tributary of the Ilkhans

1. The Persian chroniclers call him Zulchu, Baharistan-i-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 9; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 8.

Jonaraja calls him Dulacha, Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 16; whereas Abul Fazl calls him Delju, Akbar-Nama, Abul Fazl, Eng. Tr. Blockman, Vol. II, p. 582; (Henceforth, Akbar-Nama, Abul Fazl)

2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 16. He also calls him "the king of Mlechas", which means he was a muslim. But Muhibul Hasan rejects this view on the ground that by that time only few Mongols had accepted Islam. (Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 34). However, Dr. Rafiqi argues that even if only few Mongols had accepted Islam by that time, it does not necessarily mean that he was not a muslim. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 6n.
3. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 33.

of Persia.¹ Moreover, Ghiyas-ud-Din himself was not so powerful to despatch an army for the conquest of Kashmir. Secondly, he himself was under the threat of prince Yasid's invasion.²

According to Persian sources Zulju was a Mongol from Turkistan³ and this view seems to be correct as Mongols have repeatedly invaded Kashmir. Zulju invaded Kashmir in 1320 A.D. via Baramulla⁴ at the head of 10,000 army. As Kashmir at that time was plunged into internal disturbances, he met with practically no resistance on the way. Jonaraja has rightly stated, "he came to Kashmir as comes a lion into the cave of the deer".⁵ The internal squabbling had rendered the state demoralized and as such the king tried to save off ruin by compromise. A large sum of money by imposing tax on the people of all caste⁶ was collected. This increased the invader's appetite for loot and plunder.⁷ Suhadeva, finding difficult to face

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1. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 33.,
Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 6.
 2. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 6.
 3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 9. Tarikhi-Kashmir,
Haider Malik, p. 80.
 4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 80., Tarikhi-Kashmir Haider
Malik, p. 80.
 5. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 16.
 6. Ibid.,
 7. Ibid.,

the invader, fled to Kashtwar¹ leaving people at the mercy of invader², who perpetrated all kinds of atrocities upon them. The impact of the menace was so deep that the historians of Kashmir have at no time given account of an event more disastrous than the invasion of Zulju. He set fire to the dwellings, massacred the men and made women and children slaves.³ They ate as much of corn and rice as they could, and whatever was left they burnt and destroyed.⁴ After stay of eight months⁵ in the Valley, Zulju left via Banihal⁶ abandoning the Pakhli⁷ road while he perished alongwith the prisoners in a heavy snow storm. After the withdrawal of Zulju, the people found themselves in a grip of famine and in social and economic disaster. They found life worse than death.⁸

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1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 16; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 9; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 80.
 2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 9; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 80; Tarikhi-Hasan, Pir Hasan, Vol. II, p. 144, Urdu tr. Molvi Ibrahim (Henceforth Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan).
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 17; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 10; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 81.
 5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 10; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 81.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 82, 81.
 7. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 81.
 8. Ibid., p. 81; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 10.

This invasion shattered the Hindu rule and paved the way for the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir in 1320 A.D. at the hands of a Tibetan prince Rinchana.¹ He had taken refuge in Kashmir after the murder of his father by his enemies² during the reign of Suhadeva. During Zulju's invasion Ramchandra, the Commander-in-Chief of Suhadeva deployed him at Lar in order to maintain peace and order.³ After the departure of Zulju when Ramchandra tried to establish his own authority⁴ as Suhadeva had fled to Kishtawar, Rinchana in a dramatic situation killed him and captured the throne.⁵ In a diplomatic manner to avoid the animosity of Rawanchandra, the son of Ramchandra, Rinchana conferred upon him the title of Malik⁶ and made him Commander in-Chief of his army, gave him the pergana of Lar as Jagir.⁷ He himself married Rawanchandra's sister Kota Rani.⁸

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 82; Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 18.
 2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 79. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
 3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 79.
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 17-18; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 82; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 11.
 5. According to Jonaraja, finding Ramchandra as his strong oponent Rinchana played a trick against him. He sent a group of Tibetans in the grab of merchants to the fort of Ramchandra to kill him at an opportunate time. Rajatarangini Jonaraja, p. 18; See also Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 18. Baharistan-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 11.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 83.
 7. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 37; Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 8.
 8. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 18; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 82. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 146.

The advent of Rinchana marks the beginning of new era in the history of Kashmir. He proved an able ruler and restored peace and prosperity in the country.¹ The most important event of his reign was his conversion to Islam. According to Jonaraja, Rinchana wanted to become Hindu, but Devaswami, a Brahman, refused to take him into the fold of Hinduism on the ground that he was a Bhatta.² But the story seems to have been fabricated by Jonaraja out of bitterness and jealousy that Rinchana had accepted Islam. Infact if Rinchana wanted to become a Hindu, there was no difficulty for him to do so especially at a time when he was a king. Secondly, the conversion from Buddhism to Hinduism was not new thing. Mihrakula of a White Hun Stock is said to have been converted to Hinduism in Kashmir long before³.

Persian chroniclers including most of the medieval scholars opine that Rincha accepted Islam because of "Divine grace"⁴. It is said that after ascending the throne, Rinchana made an effort to know the truth and for this purpose he held discussions with the Hindu and Buddhist priests. But none of them could satisfy his inner mind. As a result, he was passing his

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 18; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 83;
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 20.
3. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 9.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 84; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 12-13; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 4. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohamad Azam Dadamari, f. 33a-b.

nights restlessly. At last he decided that he would adopt the religion of a person whom he would see first in the morning. So it happened that next morning when he came out of his palace, Rinchana's eyes fell on Sayyid Sharif-ud-Din,¹ commonly known as Bulbul Shah, who at that time was busy in offering prayers. Rinchana immediately went to him, and after enquiring about his religion accepted Islam.²

The story seems to have been manipulated in order to glorify the Islam. It seems impossible that Rinchana with his inquisitive mind should have accepted Islam in this way. Secondly, the^{“bcv”} mention of account of Persian sources gives the impression that Rinchana was a religious minded person, which he really was not. He was a great opportunist, possessing a vigilant eye on all developments. Thus it was not just a freak of Hindu refusal to take him into the fold of Hinduism or a mere chance of meeting with Bulbul Shah that he accepted Islam. It should be seen into broader context. The political expediency of the land appears to have been the main reason of his conversion to Islam.

As stated elsewhere, the spread of Islam around this tiny kingdom on the one hand and subsequent role of Muslim missionaries had led to the establishment of a various Muslim

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1. See for his biography Chapter III.
 2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 12-13; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 84; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 33. Tarikhi Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 4.

colonies in Kashmir. By the time of Zuljus invasion, Muslims appears to have become a force to be reckoned with. Rinchana might have tried to win over the Brahman factor, and having failed, he had left with no choice but to seek the good will of the Muslims, and as such Bulbul Shah's Khanqah provided him asylum. This assertion is further supported by the fact that just in 1339 A.D., Shahmir founded the Shahmir dynasty, despite the fact that after the death of Rinchana (Sadr-ud-Din) in 1322 A.D., Kashmir had once again passed into the hands of the Hindus.¹ His son Haider, who was a minor² was not declared the king,^{2a} instead Udayandeva, the brother of Suhadeva, with the consent of Kota Rani (the widow of Rinchana) was recalled by Shahmir to ascend the throne of Kashmir.³ Shahmir as an astitute diplomate very well realized that it was too early for him to bid the throne for himself. So in order to gain popularity he proclaimed Udayandeva as the ruler of Kashmir and managed the marriage of Kota Rani with Udayandeva.⁴ However, Udayandeva was ultra-religious minded person. He spent most of his time in bathing, penance and in prayer.⁵ He dressed himself like a hermit and tied bells in the

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1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 24.
 2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 24; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 14.
 - 2a. Rajatarangini, p. 24; Ibid., p. 14.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 24.
 4. Ibid., p. 24.
 5. Ibid., p. 24.

neck of horses¹ in order to avoid the death of living beings. He did not perform his kingly duties well at all. The real power was in the hands of Kota Rani.² During his reign (1323-28 A.D.) Kashmir was once again threatned with a Mongol invader Achala.³ Udayandeva became terror stricken and fled to Ladakh.⁴ Kota Rani rose equal to the occasion and with the help of Shahmir and Bhikshana.⁵ She was able to repluse the invader.⁶ After the withdrawal of Achala, Udayandeva returned but his cowardly flight had made him unpopular. On the other hand the invasion of Achala increased the prestige and popularity of Shahmir, for he had saved the people from the wrath of Achala. To quote Jonaraja,

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. According to Jonaraja, Achala was supplied with the soldiers by the Lord of Mugodhapura and forcibly entered Kashmir like another "Dulacha." Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p.25. The Persian chroniclers call him Urdal, a Turkic who entered Kashmir via ~~the~~ Hirapur. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p.85; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15; According to Parmu, the invader was Turko-Mongol Soldier, who was employed by some Muslim chief of Punjab or Delhi. For further details see, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 83n.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 25.
5. Bhikshana was a Hindu noble, Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p.28. Persian chroniclers call him "Bijubat Kapapuri", and state that he was her milk-brother." Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 85; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15.
6. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 86.

Jonaraja has given a controdictory statement. At one place he writers, that Achala was asked to withdraw his army as by doing so he will be declared the king of Kashmir, however, lateron he was imprisoned (Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 25); Later he writes that "Achala", like "Dulacha" devastated the country (Ibid., p. 26).

"This believer in Allah became saviour of the people and protected the terrified subjects"¹. To consolidate his position further, he entered into the matrimonial alliance² with the important chiefs of the Valley and fortified the Chakdara fort.³

After the death of Udayandeva, in 1338 A.D., Kota Rani took the reins of government, in her own hands.⁴ However, to check the growing power of Shahmir, she appointed Bhatta Bikshen as Prime Minister.⁵ In order to be safe from the proximity of Shahmir, who was very powerful in Srinagar, she even transferred her capital to Indarkot.⁶

The rise of Bikshen to power was an open challenge to Shahmir,⁷ so he made up his mind to overthrow both Bikshen and Kota Rani.⁸ He succeeded in securing the assassination of Bhatta

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 26.
2. For details See Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 27; Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 15-16.
3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 27.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 28.
5. Ibid.
6. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 86.
7. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 13.
8. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibu'l Hasan, p. 41.

Bhiksha through a conspiracy¹. After his death, Shahmir sent a proposal of marriage to Kota Rani, which she declined² as she did not want to marry a person who had been in her service, Shahmir, therefore, set out from Srinagar with an army against her to Indarkot. The advance guard of Kota Rani were defeated by Shahmir. He beseiged the fort and Kota Rani afterwards accepted his proposal³. Shahmir, however, suspected her loyalty as she had married him under duress. He, therefore, imprisoned her⁴ and ascended the throne himself in 1339 A.D.⁵ under the title of Shams-ud-Din⁶ and laid the foundation of Sultanate in Kashmir. This dynasty ruled nearly about two centuries (1339-1561 A.D.)

1. According to Jonaraja, Shahmir feigned illness and "caused it to be known that his end was near" and Kota Rani sent Bhikshen to see him. Shahmir took full advantage of the opportunity and removed his political rival, Rajatarangini Jonaraja, p. 29; But Mohibu'l Hasan, rejects the story and states that since relations were not cordial, it is unlikely that Bhikshen would have visited, Shahmir. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibu'l Hasan, p. 44a.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 31-32. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 86.
3. Rajatarangini, p. 32; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 15.
4. According to Jonaraja, "She spent one night with him and in morning Shahmir caused her to be captured by the Trikshan, Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 32. Haidar Malik writes, that she committed suicide. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 86.
5. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 32.
6. Ibid.

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FORMATIVE PERIOD AND MISSIONARY IMMIGRATION
FROM CENTRAL ASIA:

- a) Shaikh Sharfu'd- Din Bulbul Shah
- b) Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his Companions
- c) Political Thought of Sayyid Ali Hamadani
- d) Mir Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani and his
Companions.

Missionary Immigration From Central Asia
and Persia-- Formative Period:

Islam ordains its followers the responsibility of the preaching of the faith and as such right from the very advent of Islam by Prophet (p.b.u.h.) in Arabia, missionaries were deputed to spread the teachings of Islam in the four corners of the earth.¹

The social appeal of the religion of Islam suited the disturbed minds of the people and there is no wonder that the disintegrated tribal society was converted into the most powerful force and ventured to establish an empire surpassing even the Bazantine and Roman Empires.

There were many cumulative factors other than the missionary zeal and social appeal of the faith resulting in the fall of one country after other before the sceptre of Islam. Nevertheless, it was always borne on the minds of the Muslims that the propogation of the faith among non-muslims is an integral part of the duties of a true Muslim.² Therefore, the knowledgeable personalities, technically called the ulema either proceeded or followed the Muslim forces.

1. Al-Quran (Al-Amran, Banu Israel).

2. Ibid.

In the case¹ of Kashmir, it was perfectly the legacy of this class that Islam was introduced and institutionalized in the fertile soil of Kashmir. However, this credit goes to the Ulama, Sufis and saints of Central Asia. They came individually and collectively, while most of them settled down in the kingdom. Needless to say that the Arabs while conquering the Sindh and Mahmud of Ghazni failed to bring Kashmir under their sway.¹

It is a misnomer, that the tiny kingdom of Kashmir was politically, culturally and socially an isolated mass of land. Being located on a very important link of Central Asia silk route, there was frequent movement of men and ideas between Kashmir and Central Asia. However, the social mobilisation from Central Asia towards northern India was further accelerated on account of tribal pressures, love of learning, commercial consideration and above all employment prospects.²

Kashmir was heart-land of Buddhism for centuries and an abode of Shavemet. It also occupied the highest place in the Hindu India as far as the learning and philosophy was concerned. But after the fall of Lohra dynasty, the socio-economic fibre of the kingdom was dampened beyond the capacity of repairs, and the political system was falling under its own weight.³ So the

1. For Details See Chapter II.

2. State and Culture in Medieval India, Nizami, p. 246.

3. Desopadesa and Narmamala of Kshemendra.

land and the people were looking forward to a new message. Thus the Central Asian missionaries could not find any conducive place to propogate Islam other than Kashmir. Obviously, their arrival was welcomed and with a couple of centuries, the entire population was converted at the hands of the missionaries. They established Khanqahs in different parts of the Valley, where they acquainted the neophytes with the basic tenets of Islam and attracted them by their simplicity and piety. It is difficult to have a vivid account of their life and activities and as such our account is wanting in many respects. In 12th century an account of a prominent person Sayyid Sharfu-Din¹ by name is found in many chroniclers. However, his popular name was Bulbul Shah². He hailed from Turkistan.³ Opinions are divergent with regard to his preceptor as some writes that he was a direct disciple of Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi,⁴ while others say that his spiritual

1. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 4; Tazkirat-ul-Arifin, Mulla Ali Raina, p. 137; Tarikhi-Azimi, Azami, p. 345., Miskin and Mishkati believes that his original name was Abdur Rehman, Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 6., Asrar-ul-Abrar Daud Mishkati, Urdu Tr. Mahboo-ul-Alam (Henceforth Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati), p. 72.
2. The Mulla Ali Raina has given a legendary account regarding his popular name Bulbul-Shah, Tazkirat-ul-Arifin, Mulla Ali Raina, pp. 137-38.
3. Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 6.
4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 4.

teacher was Mulla Ahmad Allama.¹ But these views are refuted on the ground that firstly there appears almost a gape of ninety two years (632-725 A.H.) between Shihab-ud-Din and Bulbul Shah's period.² Therefore, the Shaikh does not appear to have guided Bulbul Shah.

Secondly, if Mulla Ahmad was the teacher, then Bulbul Shah would not have taken lead in the conversion of Rinchana in the presence of his spiritual guide (Mulla Ahmad) who would be thus relegated to the secondary position on such important occasion. A modern scholar suggests that Mulla Ahmad was a lieutenant of Bulbul Shah.³ The most accepted view is that he was a disciple of Shah Nimat-Ullah Farsi,⁴ a descendant of Shahabu-Din Suhrawardi, who belonged to Suhrawardi school of Sufis.⁵ Bulbul Shah in accordance to the directives of his teacher travelled extensively and reached Kashmir during the reign of Suhedava⁶ (1301-20 A.D.) with one thousand followers.⁷ Gifted with spiritual power and

1. Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 6.
2. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 17n.
3. Kashir, G.M.D. Sufi, p. 81.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 7a, Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 72.
5. "Encycloepadia of Islam" p. 156; Kashir, Sufi, p. 81.
6. Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 33b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, III, p. 4; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 73.
7. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibu'l Hasan, p. 39.

attainments of high moral standards Bulbul Shah exercised great influence on those people among whom he worked and lived, and converted a number of people to the fold of Islam.

Fortunately, the conditions prevailing in Kashmir were also favourable to him as the Hindu rule was at the verge of its decline due to continuous intrigues and extravagance of its rulers, which resulted in delapidation of the resources of the country. In order to meet the expenses, heavy taxes were imposed. This heavy burden of over taxation was ultimately passed on to the common man as the Brahmans and officials of the state were exempted.¹ The net result of the scheme was economic breakdown. The over exploitation of the social system has further deteriorated its fibre.

The observation of S. W. Lawrence with regard to the 12th century Kashmir are befitting. He states, "Kashmir was a country of drunkards, gamblers" and where "women were no better than they should be".² Therefore, the Hindus on the one hand were fed up with the misrule of their kings and on the other hand the ill-treatment meted out to them at the hands of Brahmans compelled them to come out of the existing social order in which their position was not better than cattle. Low caste Hindus were

1. For details see, History of Medieval Kashmir, Krishna Mohan, p. 67.

2. The Valley of Kashmir, Lawrence, p. 189.

not allowed to recite the verses of sacred scriptures¹ as it was only the privilege of upper class, and if he was heard of doing so, his tongue was cut off. While on the other hand, the social appeal of Islam was a great force of attraction to them. The unity of God or equality of human beings provided them an equal status before God with their co-religionist immaterial of their social status. They experienced a satisfaction while standing by their master or a religious leader while offering prayers, without any inhibition. According to one tradition as many as ten thousand² people embraced the creed of Bulbul Shah, and the most important personality who was brought to the fold of Islam by him was Rinchan³ (a Ladakhi Buddhist). This singular achievement surpassed the records as this ultimately paved the way for the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Different people have attributed different motives to Rinchana for accepting Islam.⁴ But it is certain that Rinchana embraced Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah and adopted the name

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1. Heritage of Kashmir, "Islam in Kashmir", Mohi-ud-Din, p. 47.
 2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 156; Kashir, Sufi, p. 83.
 3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 7a; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 85; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 74; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 4; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 33b.
 4. For instance, Jonaraja alleged that he wanted to become Hindu, but Devaswami refused to take him into the fold of Islam on the ground that he was a Buddhist. (Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p.) But Persian chroniclers including modern Muslim scholars did not accept this view. They state that Rinchan's mind was inquisitive, and he wanted to know the truth. One day he cheered upto see Bulbul Shah who at that time was offering prayers. He came to Bulbul Shah and enquired about his religion, so impressed by the simple teachings of Islam, he at once embraced the creed. (Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 7a; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 84).

of Sadru-ud-Din.¹ The royal patronage which Islam secured, won for it many new converts as ancient and medieval history is full of examples when the subjects invariably followed the foot-steps of their ruler who had undergone a religious conversion.² Rinchana after conversion, on the instigation of his preceptor constructed a Khanqah on the bank of river Jehlum known as Bulbul Lankar³, where he offered his congregation prayers five times a day. This was first mosque ever to have been built in Kashmir.⁴ A Langer (free kitchen) was also attached to Khanqah for the maintenance of which Rinchana has assigned the revenues of few villages.⁵ Throughout the Sultanate period the auspice turned to be the centre of the inmates. Bulbul Shah died in 727/1326 A.D.⁶ and was buried in this Khanqah.⁷

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1. Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 34b.
 2. Heritage of Kashmir, "Islam in Kashmir", Mohi-ud-Din, p. 47.
 3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ex f. 7a-b, Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 85; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 33b; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 6; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 74.
 4. Tarikhi Azami, Azami, f. 33b.
 5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 7b, Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 33b.
 6. Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 7; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 83.
 7. Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 34a; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 7.

Sayyid Ali Hamadani:

Another important landmark in the spread of Islam in Kashmir was the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamadani alongwith hundreds of his disciples. He was one of the most remarkable personalities, Muslim world has produced in the fourteenth century.¹ He exercised tremendous influence in converting people in Central Asia and Kashmir and as such a new era was ushered in Kashmir by his missionary activities. He is infact regarded as the founder of Islam in Kashmir.²

Sayyid Ali Hamadani, popularly known as "Shahi-Hamadan" in Kashmir was born at Hamadan on 12 Rajab 714 A.H.³ (22nd October 1314). He was descendant of Ali, the fourth Caliph.⁴ His father Shihab-ud-Din was Governor of Hamadan.⁵ But Sayyid Ali did not show any interest in the affairs of his father, instead he came under

1. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, p. 55; The Culture of Kashmir, "Advent of Islam in Kashmir", Muhammad Iqbal, p. 220.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 3; Tarikh-Kabir, Miskin, p. 3
3. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 11; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 10.
4. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 11; Ibid., p. 10; Munakibatu'l-Jawahar, Haider Badakhshi, Urdu Tr. Moulvi Ibrahim (Henceforth, Munakibatu'l-Jawahar, Haider Badakhshi, p. 5.
5. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 11; Ibid., p. 100. According to Sayyida Ashraf it appears that he was not a Governor, but a Deputy or Higher Officer. Sayyida Mir Ali Hamadani, Sayyida Ashraf, Urdu. p. 17.

the influence of his maternal uncle Ala-ud-Din¹, who was a great saint and well versed Sufi. Some modern scholars wrongly identify him with the celebrated Ala-ud-Din Simnani². Ala-ud-Din was his first teacher and at the age of 12 years he committed the memory of holy Quran.³ Later he became a disciple of Shaikh Muzdaqani⁴ and after learning the elementary principles of Sufism he went to Taqiud-Din Dusti and remained with him for two years.⁵ After the latter's death he went back to Shaikh Muzdaqani, who put a finishing touch to his education.⁶ Under him Sayyid Ali spent most valuable part of his life and undertook several travels⁷ and made several pilgrimages to Mecca. According to some authorities⁸ he travelled the world three times and met with the prominent

1. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 11; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 11.
2. Sayyid Mir Ali Hamadani, Sayyida Ashraf, p. 17; Kashir, G. M. D. Sufi, Vol. I, p. 85.
3. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 11; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 11.
4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 12; Zikri Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Mustafa, p. 1. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Daud Mishkati, p. 18; Miskin wrongly says that the Sayyid first went to Taqi-ud-Din Ali Dusti, Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 11.
5. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 18; Zikri Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Mustafa, pp. 1-2.
6. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 32.
7. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 12; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 18; Zikri Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Mustafa, pp. 1-2.
8. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 18; Mankibat-ul-Jawahar, Haidar Badakhshi, p. 83; Its author has given an exaggerated account by stating that during his first visit Sayyid Ali went city to city. Second time town to town and third time home to home which really is unbelievable thing.

persons of the time and got benefitted by their enlightened company. He is said to have collected four thousand traditions of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) from them.¹

The most important travel of Shahi-Hamadani was his visit to Kashmir which had far reaching consequences for the people of that country. Sayyid Ali is said to have visited Kashmir three times. But the chronology of Sayyid Ali's visit to Kashmir does not substantiate this fact, besides the confusion created by the primary sources by giving contradictory dates of his visit to Kashmir. According to latter authorities², Sayyid Ali visited Kashmir three times first in 774 A.H. (1372), second time in 781/1379 and third time in 785/1383. The early sources are unanimous in saying that Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir only once but they do not agree among themselves about the date of his arrival.³

1. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 18; Zikri Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Mustafa, p. 2.
2. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 14-15; Tarikhi-Kabir Miskin, pp. 12-14.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 3; He gives the date of arrival as 1372. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. gives the date of arrival 783/1381. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33; gives the date as 1379. Abul Fazl and Mirza ~~Kak~~ Haidar Dughlat writes that Sayyid Ali came to Kashmir during the reign of Qutub-ud-Din, Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, Vol. II (Jarrett), p. 185; Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, pp. 432-33.

Modern scholars also differ about Sayyid's visit to Kashmir. While Muhibu'l Hasan and G.M.D. Sufi¹ agree with Hasan and Miskin, Dr. Rafiqi rejects the statement and suggests that Sayyid Ali visited Kashmir only once during the reign of Qutub-ud-Din (1373-1389).² He states that their statement is not free from doubt as on the one hand they state that Sayyid Ali came to Kashmir in 1372 A.D. and on the other hand they say that the ruler was Qutub-ud-Din. Qutub-ud-Din came to the throne in 1373 A.D. and not in 1372.³ While rejecting the views of Hasan and Miskin, Dr. Rafiqi points out that both of them do not mention any account of Sayyid Ali's first two visits.⁴ Hasan and Miskin^{Seem} to have based their assertion on the legend that Sayyid Ali toured the world three times.

What appears the fact is that as Sayyid Ali travelled extensively, he undertook his travel in three instalments in order to teach and preach the truth to the people. But his most important journey was his visit to Kashmir, which is said to have

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1. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibu'l Hasan, pp. 55-56; Kashir, Sufi, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.
 2. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 35.
 3. However, Hasan asserts in 1372 Qutub-~~ud~~-Din was a acting ruler as the reigning monarch had gone an expedition. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 14.
 4. This needs further examination as Hasan has given some account of his activities and have also referred that he left Kashmir via India to Mecca during his first visit to Kashmir. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 14.

been caused by the cruelty of Timur (1335-1405) towards the Alawi Sayyids of Hamadan.¹ Muhibu'l Hasan suggests that when Timur for the first time invaded Persia and Iraq in 1383, he expelled the powerful Alawi Sayyid from there², and therefore, Sayyid~~x~~ left Kashmir and took refuge in Kashmir.³ However, this claim is not reconcilable with the presence of facts⁴ and prevents to believe that Timur would have been hostile to the Sayyids and forced them to quit. One important factor which must have attracted Sayyid Ali to come Kashmir was that Muslim rule was newly established there and this offered a considerable opportunity

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 1a.
2. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibu'l Hasan, p. 56.
3. According to a popular legend Timur once invited Sayyid Ali at his palace in order to test his spiritual power. When Sayyid came, the arrangement for his sitting was made in a way that qibla would be behind him. It is said that Sayyid Ali used to face qibla always when Sayyid Ali sat down, the palace rotated and he faced the qibla. After the meal was served, Timur asked Sayyid whether he had taken lawful or unlawful food. Before Sayyid Ali could answer, a widow came to the court crying that she had kept a lamb for his pir Sayyid Ali, which was taken away by king's officials forcibly from her. Sayyid Ali at once remarked, it was served to him. Thus Timur was annoyed and he at once ordered Sayyid to leave his kingdom. Thereupon Sayyid Ali returned to Kashmir. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 13; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 16. But this legend is absurd and deserves no attention.
4. In Mulfuzat-i-Timuri, Timur at one place writes: "I (Timur) ordered that on all occasions of ceremony the Syeds and learned body should be seated on right hand--I, however, took care that the Syeds were never to be treated with contempt or abused, and forbade their ever being bound or put to death." Mulfuzat-i-Timuri, Timur, Eng. Tr. Stewart, (Memories of Timur), p. 14.

to him to propagate his faith. According to Jafar Badakhshi, Sayyid Ali took this mission at the instigation of his preceptor who advised him to popularize Islam as much as possible.¹ Moreover, Sayyid Ali himself is said to have admitted that wherever, he went, God the most powerful commanded him to travel and preach truth to the people.²

Nevertheless, long before Timur initiated his policy of repulsion of Alawi Sayyids, Sayyid Ali had deputed his two cousins Sayyid Tajud-Din and Sayyid Husain to investigate the religious atmosphere of Kashmir.³ The report must have been encouraging for Sayyid Ali who came to Kashmir with the band of his followers. The purpose of his coming to Kashmir was purely to preach Islam which he considered his first and foremost duty. A scholar⁴ has pointed out that had Sayyid Ali left his native land for the fear of Timur, he would not have left Kashmir at all.

F.N. 4 Contd.

At other place while giving the description of Indian invasion he writes, "when my Wazir fixed the ransom from the citizens of Tulamba, I gave orders, whatever is written against the names of the Sayyids and ulama, should be stuck out to be account as they are descendant of our Lord Muhammad(PBUH). Mulfuzati-Timuri, Timur, Eng. Tr. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, p. 414. So this hardly makes to believe that Timur would have expelled Sayyid Ali and his followers.

1. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 33.
2. Manaqibat-u-Jawaha, Haidar Badakhshi, p. 17. According to the author "Sayyid Ali is said to have remarked that one day Prophet (PBUH) appeared me in a dream and urged me to go Kashmir and preach truth there.
3. Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1a., For their biographies see Infra, pp. _____.
4. Danish, Shams-u-Din, p. 4.

Besides, it is also a matter of controversy whether Timur met Sayyid in Hamadan or not. Saiyida Ashraf on the authority of Brown suggests that Timur would have met Sayyid Ali in Transoxiana and not in Hamadan.¹

On reaching Kashmir, Qutub-ud-Din received him with great honour and respect² and Sayyid Ali alighted in Mohalla Alau'd-Dinpura³, where a Suffa (raised floor) was constructed to perform his daily five prayers which were attended by King also.⁴

At this time the number of Muslims in Kashmir was very small and majority of the people were Hindus. But with the coming of Sayyid Ali, Islam received a great phillip. He as a Persian source⁵ puts it, "cleaned the mirrors of the hearts of the converts of Kashmir from the rust of darkness by showing them the right path."

1. Sayyid Mir Ali Hamadani, Saiyada Ashraf, p. 63.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92; Baharistani-Shahi, f. 11a-b.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 11b., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 4b; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 15.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, f. 11b., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 4.

It is true that the throne of Kashmir was under the occupation of Muslim rulers since 1339, but beyond building few mosques no progress was made.¹ The rulers were interested in strengthening their own rule rather to the spread of Islam. Moreover, there was very little to distinguish a Muslim in dress, manners and customs from Hindu.² Qutub-ud-Din himself used to dress like Hindu kings³ and visited Hindu temples and distributed alams there.⁴ He had also two real sisters in marriage,⁵ which is contrary to the Shariat.

Sayyid Ali denounced all these practices and put himself the task of transforming Kashmir into a really Islamic country. He urged Qutub-ud-Din to divorce one wife and retain only one. The Sultan in accordance with the saints advice divorced the elder sister and remarried the younger named Sura, who became the mother of his two sons, Sikandar and Haibat.⁶ He also asked the

1. Ibid., p. 8.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92; Baharistani-Shahi, p. 11a.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 11a; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 7; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 53.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 13a. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 267. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33.
6. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 11a., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92.

Sultan to restyle his dress like Muslim monarchs and give up the traditional dress which was worn by the non-Muslims.¹ The Sayyid also gave him his cap as token of love (Tabaruk) and Sultan used to wear it under his crown.²

Sayyid Ali is said to have converted not only common masses but has impressed even Hindu priest and Brahmins by his spiritual knowledge and power who accepted Islam alongwith the hundreds of followers.³

While glorifying Sayyid Ali some Persian sources⁴, assert that it was because of absence of Muslim scholars in Kashmir at that time that Sultan Qutub-ud-Din used to follow certain un-Islamic practices. But a modern scholar⁵ rejects this view on the ground that Sayyid Ali is said to have held discussion with some Muslim scholars in Kashmir.

1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 11a-b.
2. Ibid., p. 267. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 93., Asrar-ul-Abrar, Miskhati, p. 33.
3. Ibid.,
4. One anecdote common in all sources reveal that Sayyid Ali resorted to miracles in order to obtain converts. It is said that the monk of Kali Mandir in Srinagar was most famous ascetic of Kashmir in those days. Sayyid Ali on hearing of his virtues decided to visit him. The monk, trying to impress the Sayyid claimed that he could fly into the sky and performed the same. The Sayyid pointed towards Muhammad Baihaqi (one of his disciples) who picked his shoe and threw it into the air. The shoe began to beat the head of monk and brought him down on the earth. This miracle convinced the monk and he alongwith his followers accepted Islam. It is said that four thousand people accepted Islam on that day. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 7. Tarikhi-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 15. This miracle is also attributed to Khwaja Muinu'd-Din Chisti and other Sufis.
5. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqqi, p. 38.

There is no doubt that the ulema were in not large number, but to assert that Kashmir was devoid of Muslim scholars is incorrect. Infact, if Sultan Qutub-ud-Din visited the Hindu temples and dressed himself like his Hindu subjects, he was motivated by political reasons. As chronicle Sayyid Ali points out "a large majority of his subjects were kafir and most of his officials were polytheists,¹ so for maintaining a cordial relations he considered it necessary to follow such a policy. It was on this ground that Qutub-ud-Din did not follow every advice of Sayyid Ali regarding state matters. Dissatisfied with Sultan's response to his directives, Sayyid Ali decided to leave Kashmir.² He left via Baramulla with the intention of performing pilgrimage.³ On reaching Kunar⁴, Sayyid Ali was requested by its chief,⁵ to stay there for few days, where he fell ill and died on 6 Zulhij 786/19 January 1385.⁶

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 8.
 2. Baharistan-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 116. According to Haidar Malik, since Sayyid was not pleased with Sultan because his orders of Islamic law were not enforced and implemented by Sultan, so he decided to quite from Kashmir. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 93; See for condition imposed on non-Muslims by Sayyid Ali in his ~~Zakir~~ Zakhirat-ul-Muluk, Infra, p.
 3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 9; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p.-116.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir Sayyid Ali, p. 12. Kunar is in the north vicinity of Pakhli, which is in north west of Kashmir. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 39.
 5. Saiyda Ashraf on the authority of Jafar Badakshi calls the chief by the name of Sultan Khizr Shah. Sayyid Mir Ali Hamadani, Saiyda Ashraf, p. 65. But Sayyid Ali Miskin and Hasan gives the name as Sultan Mohammad; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 12; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 14. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 16.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 12; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 16; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 35.

After his death dispute arose between the parties about his burial place.¹ At last an amicable settlement was made and his body was carried to Khatlan where he was buried on 25 Jamad-ul-Awwal 787/14 July, 1385.²

Political Thought of Sayyid Ali Hamadani:

Sayyid Ali Hamadani, the erudite scholar of his time had very minutely studied the process of social, political, cultural and ideological changes which had taken place in the world of Islam since its advent in Arabia. With the expansion of frontiers of the Islamic world, new ideas coupled with the ancient Greek philosophy had crept into the minds of Muslim thinkers. According to the changing circumstances various changes and developments were taking place. The ideological frame work was undergoing a chain of changes. The institution of Khilafat was replaced by monarchy. The rulers were facing emence problems on account of multiplicity of their subjects, who belonged to different religious,

1. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 39.

At last it was decided that whosoever can lift the coffin will take it to his native place. Thus every body tried its luck but could not lift. At last Qawam-ud-Din Badakshi lifted the coffin alone. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 12.

2. Sufism in Kashmiri, Rafiqi, p. 39. Azami, however, gives the date as 8 Jamad-ul-Awwal, 787/16, June, 1385; Tarikhi Azami, Mohammad Azam, p. 39.

But Dr. Rafiqi, who on the authority of Jafar Badakshi has given the date as 25 Jamad-ul-Awwal is more reliable as Jafar Badakshi was Sayyid Ali's contemporary and attended his burial prayer.

social and cultural backgrounds. The influence of ancient Sassanids over Abbasides and the subsequent Muslim monarchs were also there. These problems were upper most in the minds of the political thinkers of the period. The rulers very often were finding solace in avoiding the strict ethics of Islam. The monarchs were laying stress on secular laws rather than shariat. Nizamu'l-Muluk Tusi in Siyasat-Nama, had tried to laid down certain rules for the rulers. Accordingly, later on, in the sub-continent Zia'ud-Din Barani compiled Fatawa-i-Jahandari. He in his own way has tried to draw a line between the Shariat laws and the Zawabit laws. Besides, he also has prepared a code of conduct for the Sultans in India.

Sayyid Ali Hamadani, an erudite scholar and original thinker could not have left this chapter void. Coming across with a varied section of ulama, administrators and rulers in the Muslim world he developed his own political thought and the expression is in the shape of Zakhira'tul-Muluk. In Zakhira'tul-Muluk, he has tried to explain the duties of an individual as a subject, as an administrator and also as a ruler. He has further elaborated his point of view in his Risala-i-Maktubat (collection of his letters), addressed to different individuals including the Sultans of bigger and smaller kingdoms of the east.¹

1. Three of these letters are addressed to the Sultan Tughan Shah, Sultan Ghiya's-ud-Din and Sultan Aliu'd-Din. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 72.

Having been disgusted with the political trends, contrary to the tenets of Islam in different parts of the Muslim world he tried to draw the attention of the rulers towards such discrepancies.² Essentially an Islamic thinker, a scholar of eminence he puts forward his point of view to the rulers explaining the code of conduct prescribed for them in the Islamic context.

Like all other Muslim theorists², Sayyid Ali believes that the responsibility of implementation of Shariat laws rest on the government and as such the implementation of the Shariat laws and execution of justice are the principal duties of a ruler. He raises a just ruler to the position of the naib (deputy) of God. But in case he turns away from the path of justice, he has no right to call himself the naib of God.³ In Zakhirat'ul-Muluk, he quotes anecdote after anecdote of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and pious Caliphs full of advice and morals for Sultans and their subjects and reminds them that "the doors of the paradise will be

1. In the introduction of Zakhirat'ul Muluk Sayyid Ali writes that he was requested by many nobles and rulers to write something for their guidance, but he could not find time to write. Ultimately at the request of his pupil he decided to write ~~Zakhirat~~ Zakhirat'ul-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, p. 1b.
2. Fatawa-i-Jahandari, Zia-ud-Din Barani, Eng. Tr. M. Habib, and Dr. Afsar Begum, p. 34.
3. Zakhirat'ul-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, p. 76b.

closed to those rulers who do not try to make the life of their subjects comfortable¹ and severe punishments would be inflicted on them.² He urges a Muslim ruler to live strictly in accordance with the standard of living of his subjects,³ and should make every effort to safeguard the interests of his subjects. In Zakhirat'ul Muluk he has enumerated ten conditions which should guide a Muslim monarch while dealing with his subjects. These are as Under:⁴

1. As long as the dispensing of justice and administrating of the state is concerned, the ruler should consider himself the ruled like the person whose case is under consideration and think him the ruler. This will lead him to the correct conclusion as he will not like injustice for himself;
2. Next responsibility of the ruler is to take full care of the needs and requirements of the Muslims and only after discharging this duty he should discharge obligatory prayers;
3. In matters of food and dress he should follow the Khulfa'i-Rashideen and should avoid tasty dishes, costly clothes and undue rest;

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1. Zakhiratu'l Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, f. 68b.
 2. Zakhiratu'l Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, f. 69b.
 3. Zakhiratu'l Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, f. 76b.
 4. Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid, Ali, Chapter V, ff. 78b-80b.

4. He should be polite to his subjects and in no case harsh to them. He should not feel shy of contacting and discussing matters with the weak and the poor;
5. In securing the pleasure of the subjects he should not be lazy in administration, and should not try to please everyone, in the sense to please one he has to displease the other. It is a matter of fact that a portion of the people will not be happy with the ruler and if he tries to please one section the other would automatically turn his enemies and it is not humanly possible for a ruler to listen all the people and redress the grievances of all. Therefore, while issuing orders he should be honest and without personal prejudices. His aim should be to please his creator (God). Thus if God is pleased, his subjects will also be pleased;
6. The rulers should not remain indifferent towards their countries. They should think that the Mansabi-Imarat is by the Divine command and this will be rewarded in the next world. If he is not honest in his dealings he will be punished;

Many rulers, Sayyid Ali points out have turned Magrur (haughty), with the dirty wealth of this mortal world. They have not only spoiled their personalities, but also their Deen. So the rulers of the time should take full advantage of the present and should try to dispense the justice without any prejudices;

7. The rulers should be inclined towards the ulama and sulaha. Though they are not numerous these days, yet if anyone comes across the ruler, he should be greedy in meeting him. He should avoid the company of illiterate, ignorant and hypocrites who pretended to be Shaikhs and Masheekhs.
8. The ruler should not draw the attention of people towards him by force. But he should win the hearts of poor and weak by extending love, affection and benevolence to them.
9. The rulers should be extra-ordinarily vigilant as far as the dishonesty of courtiers and harshness of ulama is concerned. He should not appoint cruel officers for the collecting revenues from the masses, and in case dishonesty of any one is proved he should be punished in such a way that others may learn a lesson;
10. The ruler himself should possess enough wisdom so that he may be able to distinguish between good and bad. He should not be an imitator of others but should have capacity to use his intuition.

Thus a ruler, according to Sayyid Ali is not merely to serve his own ends and satisfaction. The heavy responsibilities are imposed on him and in case of contradiction he is warned of the next world and the punishments awarded to him on the day of Judgement.

Sayyid Ali divides the subjects under a Muslim rule into two categories, Muslims and Kafirs and states that their respective rights differ according to their religion.¹ The Muslim subjects according to him are entitled to enjoy twenty rights under a Muslim ruler and it is imperative for the rulers to grant these². The obligations of the Muslim subjects are not different from the duties of a ruler as described by Sayyid Ali. The rights of the Muslim subjects given by Sayyid Ali are as under:³

1. A ruler should be polite to the Muslims and should not boast as God does not like those who possess Takabur (haughtiness);
2. He should not listen to trivial things and the street gossip as it results in destruction and Fetneh (sedition);
3. If the ruler punishes any Muslim for any crime and there is any let out of forgiving than he should not prolong it more than three days. If for any major crime which effects the Deen, the culprit should not be forgiven. However, to for-give for minor offences should be encouraged as Almighty prefer those who forgive;

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1. Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, f. 82a.
 2. Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, f. 82a.
 3. Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, ff. 82b-87b.

4. He should be liberal in justice and should do Adl, Ehsan without any discretion on the basis of Ahal and Mahal.¹ As the king is the shadow of God and this shadow benefits the entire creation, a kafir and a mumin. Similarly the two qualities of a ruler i.e. Adal (justice) and Ehsan (benevolence) are not restricted to the Muslim alone but it should benefit non-believers alike.²
5. The rulers on account of their regality should not enter the houses of Muslims without permission as the Great (Prophet) (p.b.u.h.) never entered any house without permission;
6. He should not treat the wicked and the civilized at par, i.e. he should not expect the same behaviour from a man of the mountain like a man from the civilized area. So he should give some margin to the ignorance of the subjects;
7. The king should respect the elders and should extend his parental love to the children.
8. He should fulfil the promises which he makes with the Muslims as it is a binding on every Muslim.

1. Literary Ahal means wealthy. But Sayyid Al^h had used the term in sense of believer or unbeliever.
2. In support of this he quotes the tradition of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) "to befriend the Khalk ~~xxxxxx~~ irrespective of their affiliation." Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter, V, f. 83a.

9. The king should be polite and polished while addressing to the Muslims and a man with such habits will be highly rewarded in the next world;
10. He should dispense justice and exercise his authority fairly. As he expects his subjects to be fair to him, he also should in turn be fair to them;
11. He should be quick in dispensing justice as delay in justice will create bad blood among the parties which is not liked by Almighty. Justice delayed is justice denied.¹
12. He should not tease the Muslims on ordinary things and should not peep into their faults. As Satar is liked by Almighty.
13. The king should avoid accusation lest he becomes a sinner. It is an admitted fact that if a ruler is interested in bringing people closer, the subjects follow the suit and vice-versa.²
14. The king should come forward to the help of the people whenever required as it is the responsibility of government to help the needy.

1. According to the tradition of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) "a person who tries to bring the two parties closer is ^{rather} better than a person who always keeps fasts and gives alms to others." Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V., f.

15. The king should instigate the rich to depute the poor to the performance of the Hajj on their behalf. As government deals with all kinds of people, especially the company of the rich and worldly, he should spare few moments every day to listen to the advise of the learned and pious people as it will enlighten his heart;
16. The king should take care of those who do not possess anything and are starving. Sayyid Ali writes, "It is the responsibility of Hakim to attend to their problems and he reminds them of the tradition of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) that on the day of Judgement the mighty God will enquire from them, "I wanted some bread and cloth and you did not give", the man will reply, "How it is possible"? God will say that "Your neighbour was thirsty and naked, did you ever care for him"?
17. The king should take care of the roads and should clear them from decoits and robbers. Where-ever possible the inns should be constructed on the roads to ensure the safety of the travellers.
18. The bridges on the roads should be constructed as urgently as possible within the limits of his empire.
19. He should construct a masjid, appoint an Imman and a Mu'azzin in all the localities inhabited by the Muslims. A stipends should be provided to them, so that they may perform their duties without any worry about their livelihood

20. A king should not neglect his duty to enforce the lawful and prohibit the unlawful acts. He should prevent them from committing any sin by inflicting on them harsh punishments.

Likewise Sayyid Ali had given a separate mandate to the Sultans for dealing with the Zimmis.¹ The mandate is composed of twenty rules and Sayyid Ali states that the mandate is based on the agreement concluded between the Caliph Umar and newly conquered Arab nations. The provisions of Ahadnama are as under:²

1. Construction of new temples should not be allowed;
2. The renovation of delapidated temples should not be allowed;
3. The Zimmis will not stop the Muslims in alighting them in their temples and rest,^{houses}
4. In case a Muslim comes to the residence of any non-Muslim he should accord three days hospitality to him;
5. The non-Muslims should not be allowed to spy in the Muslim countries;
6. In case the relatives of non-Muslims are inclined to accept Islam they should not stop or discourage them;
7. They should respect Muslims.
8. If they are enjoying any company and a Muslim comes, they should disburse in order to show their regard to him.

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1. Zakhratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter V, p 87b;
 2. Zakiratu'l-Muluk, Sayyid Ali, Chapter, V, ff. 88a-88b.

9. They should not imitate the dress of Muslims;
10. They should not adopt Muslim names;
11. They should not ride any horse with saddle and bridle;
12. They should not put on swords, arrows and bows.
13. They should not use signet rings.
14. They should not sell or take wine in the vicinity of the Muslims.
15. They should use their traditional dress, so as they are distinguished among the Muslims.
16. They should not exhibit their rites and rituals among the Muslims.
17. They should not construct houses in the vicinity of the Muslims.
18. They should not be allowed to carry their dead in the graveyards of the Muslims.
19. They should not mourn over the death of their deceased loudly.
20. They should not purchase any slave of Muslim.

Sayyid Ali concludes that if they do not abide by these conditions, they are not to be protected and there is no guarantee of security to their lives and property.

After a thorough perusal of Wassya of Sayyid Ali Hamadani it can be concluded that his approach was rigid and orthodox. He urges a ruler to follow the Shariat in strict sense. Sayyid Ali's model of an ideal king is to a greater extent resembling with the

model represented by Barani in Fatawa-i-Jahandari, and he is not as such the first Muslim political thinker to call the king as shadow of God¹; despite the fact that monarchy in any form was illegal as far as Sheriat is concerned.

Sayyid Ali advocates that a ruler should be impartial while dispensing justice, as he is the shadow of God. Since God does not discriminate his creatures on the basis of their faith and accordingly the ruler should follow His ways. Nevertheless, Sayyid Ali simultaneously expects from the rulers to take every measure for the glorification of Islam and the Muslims. In this regard he suggests certain measures, which were sanctioned by Umar, II Caliph of Islam, while entering into an agreement with the Persians after their defeat in the battle Nehawand.²

Nevertheless, the impact of his political thought has not left any remarkable effect on the rulers of Pakhli and Kashmir.³

1. In Tarikhi-Peroze Shahi, p. 34, Barani declared kingship as vice-regent of God. Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Medieval India, Nizami, p. 95; Amir Khusru in Qiranu's Sadain calls Kiakubad as Saiyi Yazdan (Shadow of God), Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Medieval India, Nizami, p. 95.
2. History of Saracens, Amir Ali, p. 33.
3. According to Dr. Rafiqi, "Sayyid Ali's political thought was altogether theoretical and had no bearing upon actual practice", Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 84.

Disciples of Sayyid Ali:

As stated elsewhere the arrival of Sayyid Ali in Kashmir marked an important land mark in the religious history of Kashmir. However, after his departure this process of Islamizing which he ushered, did not stop but it continued. Sayyid Ali directed his companions to settle in Kashmir and continue the process of proselitization. Therefore, these Sayyids in accordance with the instructions of their murshid (spiritual guide) itinerated different parts of Valley and established their Khanqahs at different places which were important centres of Hinduism. These Sayyids won the hearts of many people by virtue of their moral and spiritual qualities and as such in a course of time many people by virtue of their moral and spiritual qualities and as such in a course of time many temples were replaced in mosques as majority of people embraced their creed. According to hagiologists¹, some seven hundred disciples had accompanied Sayyid Ali Hamadani in his mystic journey of Kashmir. However, one had given a complete list of these Sayyids and only following are referred in different sources:

Sayyid Taju-Din:

Sayyid Taju-Din, the cousin of Sayyid Ali Hamadani² was sent to Kashmir in advance to investigate the prospects of propagation of Islam in Kashmir.³ He was greeted by Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1354-1373) and a magnificent Khanqah was built for him in the locality of Shihab-ud-Dinpora near his own palace.⁴ Pargana Nagam was assigned to the waqa of Khanqah for its maintenance.⁵ The Khanqah was open to all without any discrimination. This was a new experience to the caste ridden society

1. Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 10a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 15.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 42; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 6-7.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 42.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 2; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 6-7.
5. Ibid.

acted as a social appeal. It is said that Sultan himself used to visit him and took his consultation on important religious and administrative affairs.¹

Sayyid Hussain Samani:

Another eminent saint who came to Kashmir during Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's reign was Sayyid Hussain Samani², the brother of Tajud-Din.³ Finding the favourable circumstances Sayyid Tajud-Din invited his brother who accompanied by a large number of his relatives.⁴ The Sultan offered him a warm welcome and got alighted him in Kulgam and allotted the revenues of that pargana for his personal maintenance.⁵ Sayyid Hussain Samani was endorsed with great esortic powers which helped him in motivating people towards his religion. The people of Kulgam lived near river bank of Vishnu.⁶ One day Sayyid Hussain Samani asked the people to left the place as a catestroph is likely to befell on them. But the villagers did not turn out. Shortly after this the flood in river Vishnu occured where large number of people were drowned.

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1. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 6-7.
 2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 41.
 3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 9; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 42.
 4. Ibid., p. 42.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 9.
 6. The ancient "Visok" of Kalhana, Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. II, p. 405.

This incident convinced the villagers of the spiritual power of Sayyid Hussain and embraced Islam in large number.¹ Sayyid Hussain breathed his last in 792/1390 A.D.² and remains buried in village Kulgam³, where a magnificent shrine has been built which represents a symbol of reverence towards him by the people of Kashmir.⁴

Sayyid Kamal-ud-Din:

Another prominent disciple of Sayyid Ali who accompanied him in Kashmir was Sayyid Kamal-ud-Din.⁵ He travelled different parts of the Valley⁶ and at last when Sayyid Ali left, was detained at the request of Qutub-ud-Din to advise and guide the Sultan in the affairs of Shariat.^{6a} He breathed his last in the Valley and was buried in Qutub-ud-Dinpora.⁷

1. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33b.
2. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 9.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 1.
4. The Valley of Kashmir, Lawrence, p. 288.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 43b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 18.
6. Ibid., p. 18.
- 6a. Ibid.
7. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6a. Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 43b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 20.

Sayyid Muhammad Qazim:

Commonly known as Sayyid Qazi, was a renowned Sufi and Librarian of Sayyid Ali.¹ He was a possessor of high rank and miraculous powers.² In accordance with the advise of his preceptor he settled in Latapura, which according to medieval historians was a great centre of Hinduism.³ Sayyid Muhammad Qazim resorted his mission of teaching and preaching among the local people⁴ and at last passed away in the same village.⁵

Sayyid Kabir Baihaqi:

Was another leading disciple of Sayyid Ali Hamadani.⁶ After the conversion of monk of Kali mandir at the hands of Sayyid Ali⁷, Sayyid Kabir at the instigation of his guide settled

1. Ibid.,
2. It is believed that Sayyid Ali while discussing with eminent scholar at Pampore asked Sayyid Qazim to bring the book Fatuhah from Taliqan immediately. Sayyid Qazim instantaneously through his spiritual power presented the book before Sayyid Ali. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6b. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19; The ancient "Latipora" which lies seventeen miles south east of Srinagar.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19.
5. Ibid.,
6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 5b. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 44a.
7. See Supra, p.

in that area and preached religious knowledge and its principles to the newly converted people.¹

Pir Haji Mohammad Qari:

Was another eminent disciple of Sayyid Ali. He was an excellent scholar of Islamic theology and an expert Qari.² At the instigation of his murshid, he remained in Kashmir and became a source of enlightenment to many. According to one tradition he was also appointed as a tutor of royal family to teach them holy Quran.³ Sultan Qutub-ud-Din built a Khanqah for him near the vicinity of his own palace and for its maintenance granted the income of two parganas.⁴ This Khanqah is still known as Langarhat.⁵ He is believed to have built several Khanqahs and mosques where teachings of Islam was imparted to the newly converts.⁶ At last he passed away on 8th Rajab 792 A.H./22 June, 1390⁷ and remained buried in his own Khanqah at Langarhat.⁸

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 4b.
 2. Qari literary means one who reads the Quran according to prescribed rules. See also Dictionary of Islam, p. 478.
 3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 5b.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 5b. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 44a.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 5b., Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 21.
 6. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 21.
 7. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; According to Miskin he died on 8 Rajab, 794/31 May, 1392, Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 21.
 8. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 44a.

Sayyid Mohammad Qurashi and Sayyid Abdullah:

The other two disciples of Sayyid Ali were Sayyid Mohammad and Sayyid Abdullah.¹ Both of them were renowned Sufis and ~~spk~~ spiritually an accomplished personality. Vijabrar,² an important centre of Hindu learning became nucleus of their proselytative activities. According to hagiologists there existed a big temple of Vijayesvara containing some 360 idols,³ and these two Sayyids demolished the temple at the instigation of Sayyid Ali and constructed a mosque from its material.⁴ However, according to some others Sayyid Ali himself performed this task.⁵ However, a modern scholar has rejected both statements on the ground that had Sayyid Ali or his disciples demolished the particular temple, Jonaraja who has given a list of temples destroyed from time to time would not have neglected the name of such an important temples. Moreover, he points out that although demolition of temples and construction of mosques was common practice of time but the statement is not incorporated by facts as mosque which still stands is in the middle of town whereas temple was on the bank of river Jehlum and its material existed as late as Ranbir Singh's period (1857-1885).⁶

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 7a; Hasan and Miskin refers only Sayyid Mohammad Qurashi (Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III f. 1a; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 21.
 2. Vijabrar is twenty-nine miles to the south of Srinagar, Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. II, p. 463.
 3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 7a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 7a; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 19.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 7a.
 6. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 90.

Sayyid Fakhar-ud-Din and Rukn-ud-Din:

The two brothers were also among the leading disciples of Sayyid Ali.¹ They were asked to settle down in Avantipura², a celebrated centre of Hinduism³, where they started to guide and train the people in the ways of Islam.⁴

Mir Mohammad Hamadani:

Another important missionary who made a notable contribution towards the spread of Islam in Kashmir was Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani Son of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. He came to Kashmir in 796 A.H/1393-94 A.D.⁵ and was accompanied by more than three hundred camp followers.⁶ His arrival and subsequent interest in the development of Islam can really be considered a turning point in the history of Islam. His teachings have had far reaching consequences on Sultan Sikandar and the Kashmiri society as well.

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 6b. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 44a.
2. Ibid., Avantipura is seventeen miles to the south-east of Kashmir. This village was founded by Avantivarman. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. II, p. 460.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 6b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 44a.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 19;
5. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 240.
6. Ibid., p. 23., Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 3a. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, p. 433; N. I.

Mir Mohammad Hamadani¹ was born at Khatlan in 774/1372 A.D.² He was only twelve years of age when his father passed away.³ Before his death Sayyid Ali had left two documents for his son, Wasiyat-nama and Khilafat-nama. Sayyid Ali Hamadani got these documents scribed on his death bed and directed Maulana Sarai to hand-over the same to Khwaja Ishaq and Jafar Badakhshi.⁴ The Wasiyat-nama was given to Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani while Khilafat-nama was retained by them.⁵ In this Wasiyat-nama Sayyid Ali had advised his son to travel extensively as it will help him to acquire religious knowledge and wisdom.⁶ This was apparently a hint to Sayyid that he should follow the footsteps of his illustrious father. Accordingly Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani studied under Khawaja Ishaq and remained under this eminent scholar for three years and five months.⁷ After this he went to Jafar Badakhshi and remained under his guidance

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1. He is also called as Mir Mohammad Talqani. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Sayyid Ali, p. 17.
 2. Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 23; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23; In Sufism in Kashmir, the date is given as 744 A.H., but it appears to be a clerical mistaken.
 3. Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 39b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23.
 4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23.
 5. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23; Zikri-Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani, Anonymous, p. 3.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 17.
 7. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, pp. 23-24.

for seven months¹. Having thus completed the religious learning and preliminary education in mysticism from eminent scholars of the age, he was given Khilafat-nama of his father at the age of sixteen.² This obviously, was the recognition of his maturity in Saluk and henceforth Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani started his mystic journey in accordance with the wishes of his father.

In 796/1393 A.D.³ at the age of twenty-two,⁴ Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani reached Kashmir where Sultan Sikandar received him warmly and himself became his disciple⁵. To quote Jonaraja, "the King waited upon him daily, as humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him and was attentive to him like a slave⁶". The Sultan constructed a magnificent Khanqah for him at the site where Sayyid Ali used to stay earlier during his visit to Kashmir. The Sultan also allotted the villages of Wachi, Tral and Matan to the Sayyid which he declared as Waqf.⁷

1. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 98.
2. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23.
3. Ibid.,
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd, Azam, f. 3a. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Daud Mishkati, p. 63; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 95.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16.
6. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 57.
7. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 20; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 40; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 31; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 16a.

The income from Waqf was spent on the langar and portion of it was also spent for the welfare of poor and needy people.¹ A beautiful garden was also laid near the Khanqah of Matan on the bank of the spring.² Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani, in recognition of Sultans services gave as costly Badakshan ruby³ and also wrote for Sultan a book in Persian entitled Risala-i-Sikandari⁴. He has compiled about forty five treatises on sufism⁵, the most important of them is Sharahi-Sunah, a book on logic in Arabic.⁶ It is an admitted fact that Islam was introduced into Kashmir almost a century before his arrival, yet the newly converted Muslims were hardly following the Shariat. The process of Islamisation had only affected the ideological change and the Hindu customs, traditions and even rites were equally followed.⁷ Therefore, it was a herculian task for him to initiate the people into Islamic way of life. Soon after his arrival he put

1. Ibid., p. 21.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 39b; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 62.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 20; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 20; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 39b; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 62.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 18; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25.
6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 6.
7. Ibid., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63.

himself and companions in this direction. As a result of his missionary zeal coupled with piety a large number of Hindus were influenced and as such process of mass scale conversion started. It was not only the lower sections of the society who got initiated into the discipline of Islam, but personalities like Suha Bhat also accepted the new faith alongwith his family.¹ Suha Bhat was Commander-in-Chief of Sultan Sikandar.² After conversion Suha Bhat adopted the Islamic name of Saifu'd-Din.³ His daughter, Bibi Baria⁴ was married to Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani after the death of Taj Khatun.⁵

The arrival of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani in Kashmir is marked as a turning point in the history of Sultan Sikandar. In the beginning Sultan followed a liberal policy like his predecessors towards non-Muslim subjects. His important officers, Suha Bhat, Udaka and Shankra were all Hindus,⁶ which speaks his

1. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 30; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 75. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63;
2. Jonaraja calls him a Counsellor of Sikandar (Rajatarangini Jonaraja, p. 58); whereas Persian chroniclers call him as a Wazir and Sipahsalar., Zikri Sayyid Mohammed Hamadani, Shaikh Wahab, p. 3; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 24; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 75; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 24; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24.
5. She was daughter of Syed Hasan Bahaqi and was buried near the grave of Malik Masood Thakur. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 23; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39.
6. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 58.

indiscrimination to them.¹ Latter under the influence of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani a deviation in the traditional policy was initiated.² Contemporary Hindu³ as well as Muslim⁴ sources reveal that Sultan Sikandar adopted an orthodox approach on the advice of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani. It was at his instance that Sultan Sikandar banned the distillation sale and use of wine. The Hindu practice of Sati, playing of musical instruments and dancing of women were forbidden. In this way Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani was instrumental in bringing change in state policy and society as well.⁵ The Jizya was also imposed on non-Muslim subjects.⁶ Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani remained in Kashmir for twelve years⁷ and left in 808/1405 A.D., first proceeded to Mecca to

1. Ibid., p. 54.
2. Ibid., p. 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 62.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, pp. 16, 23; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39.
6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 22; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 75; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63.
7. Jonaraja uses the term fine which obviously means Jaziya. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 60.
7. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 23; Hasan and Miskeen asserts that he remained in Kashmir for 22 years and left in 817/1414 A.D. Wahab opines that Sayyid Mohammad arrived in 811 A.H. and remained here twelve years. Even if we accept his date of arrival 811+2 = 823 then he should have left in 823 and not in 819 as Wahab states. Rukam in Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 103n.

perform pilgrimage and from there to Khatlan where he died,¹ He was buried near the tomb of his father.² It is believed that Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani left Kashmir because of his some differences³ with Sayyid Mohammad Hisari, a famous mystic who came to Kashmir during Sikandar's reign.⁴ The Sultan held Sayyid Hisari in high esteem, constructed a house for him in the vicinity of his own palace and used to visit him daily.⁵ However, after the arrival of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani, Sultan was greatly inclined towards him and according to Persian sources⁶ this brought Sayyid Hisari into conflict both with the Sultan and Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani.

1. There is some controversy regarding the date of his death Hasan and Miskin assert that he died on 17 Rabi'u'l Auwal 854/30 April, 1450 A.D., Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, P. 25; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 25; whereas Wahab gives the date of his death as 17 Rabi'u'l-Auwal 887/6 May, 1474 A.D., Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 103n.
2. Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 25; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III p. 25; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63.
3. It is said that in a discussion, Sayyid Hisari, accused Sayyid Mohammad of being ignorant of religious knowledge. As a result, Sayyid Mohammad became disappointed and in a dream he saw Sayyid Ali who said him, since I had advised you^{to} to undertake any journey before completing your education full. So now what you are facing today is the result of neglecting my advice. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10a-b. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63.
4. ~~Sayyid Ali~~ Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, p. 22; The date of his arrival is not known but apparently he came from Hisar during Sikandar's reign before Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10a.
6. It is said that Sayyid Hisari complaint Sultan for showing greater regard to young men then he did himself who was very old. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10a.

From the accounts of Persian sources, one gets impression that their differences were personal. But a modern scholar¹ has rightly pointed out that "the life of retirement and asceticism which Sayyid Hisari led, prevents us from concluding that he should have opposed Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani for worldly motives." Moreover, Mohammad Hamadani himself had recognized Sayyid Hisari as his superior when he sought a *Khilafat-nama* from him.² What appears consonant is that Sayyid Hisari did not have liked the way in which Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani and Sultan Sikandar were preaching Islam and his complaint to the Sultan must have been against this aggressive approach. This view is further supported by subsequent change in Sultan Sikandar's attitude as Jonaraja writes, fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavana³, the Sultan abolished *Jurushkadarada*⁴ (Jizya).

1. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 103.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10b., Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 25; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39.
3. Jonaraja has used the term "Yavana" for Sayyid although "Yavanas" was applied to foreign Muslims.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, Srikanth Koul, p. 609; Wived from Sufism in Kashmir, p. 103n.

Companions of Mir Mohammad Hamadani:

This change in state policy is believed to have disappointed Mir Mohammad Hamadani who, therefore, decided to leave Kashmir after twelve years stay. However, the companions who stayed behind him continued his mission and in the course of time, were able to impress the caste ridden and down trodden people of Kashmir by their simple monotheistic creed, free from caste, ceremonials and priesthood. Although, Persian sources have given their number as three hundred¹, however, only following have been referred by different sources, most probably the prominent among them.

Sayyid Hussain Shirazi:

A prominent Sayyid who hailed from Shiraz² where he was holding the office of Qazi-ul-Quzat,³ He came to Kashmir during Sikandar's reign⁴ and was received by him warmly. On account of his sound knowledge of Fiqh,⁵ he was appointed as a Qazi.

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 12b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 42.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 26.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15a.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15a; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 42; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 23.
5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15a; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 26.

Being fully conversant with the Shariat, he had compiled a book Ratniyeh which is a collection of traditions.¹

Sayyid Mohammad Khawri:

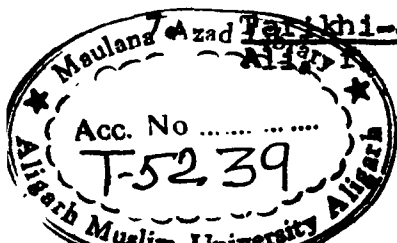
He was a man of caliber and a Sufi of high repute.² He was author of so many books including Khawar-nama and comments on Lamat.³ After his death he was buried at Fateh Kadal⁴ near the burial of Sayyid Ala-ud-Din, who happened to be among the sons of great Makhdum Jahanani Jahangasht.⁵

Sayyid Ahmad Samani

Another outstanding scholar of the time was Sayyid Ahmad Samani bin Sayyid Muhammad.⁵ He was commentator of Tanwiri-Sharhi-Paraiz, in which he has tried to solve intricate problems of divine knowledge.⁶ He was buried at Fateh Kadal near the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Khawari.⁷

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 26, Baharistan-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15a.
 2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 11a; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25.
 3. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10b; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 17; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 10b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 25.

7. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 39; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 12a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 39.



Sayyid Hussain Khwarazmi:

Another distinguished saint of the time was Sayyid Hussain Khwarazmi. Sultan Sikandar on the advise of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani appointed him as a tutor of his two sons Ali Shah and Zainu'l-Abidin.¹ It is also said that at the instigation of his preceptor Sayyid Hussain Khwarazmi demolished a big idol temple at Muniwar in Srinagar and started imparting religious education to the people of the locality,² and after his death, he was buried there.³

Sayyid Muhammad Luristani and Sayyid Sadru'd-Din:

The two eminent companions of Mir Mohammad Hamadani were Sayyid Muhammad Luristani⁴ and Khawja Sadru'd-Din.⁵ Both of them were competent architects and masons.⁶ When Sultan Sikandar decided to construct a grand mosque at Sikandarpore⁷, both of them assisted by local labourers worked without wages.

1. Ibid.,
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 12a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29;
3. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 13a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 28; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40a.
5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 13a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29.
6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 13a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40a.
7. Ibid., According to Lawrence it was a Buddhist shrine, The Valley of Kashmir, Lawrence, p. 291.

This mosque was completed in 804/1401 A.D.,¹ Sayyid Mohammad Luristani died in 819/1416 A.D.² and remains buried in Jamia Masjid.³ Khawaja Sadru'd-Din passed away in 821/1418A.D.⁴ and was buried near Zainakadal.⁵

Sayyid Mohammad Madani:

He was another distinguished companion of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani.⁶ He is believed to have come to Kashmir as an ~~amb~~ ambassador of Timur during Sikandar's reign,⁷ and after some time left for Transoxiana.⁸ However, being impressed by the patronage of Sultan Sikandar he returned alongwith his family and settled in Rainawari where a Khangah was constructed for him⁹ which was open to all sections of society. He became

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 13a.
2. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, p. 40; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 28;
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 20a; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 28.
4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 20.
5. Ibid.,
6. Baharistan-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 15b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40b.
7. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40b.
8. Ibid.,
9. Ibid.,

the disciple of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani.¹ He is also believed to have lived for some time in village Malmah pargana Bangil and at the request of Zainu'l-Abidin (then ruler of Kashmir), he came to Srinagar. Sultan also built a Khanqah for him in the vicinity of his capital Naushahra.²

There is some controversy regarding his date of death. According to some sources he died on 11 Rajab, 894/10 June, 1488 A.D.,³ but Dr. Rafiqui on the authority of Asrar-ul-Abrar and Futuhati-Kubraviya gives the date as 11 Rajab 849/13 October, 1445A.D.,⁴ his tomb exists in Naushahra.

1. Ibid., Sayyid Ali wrongly says that Sayyid Madeni had come to Kashmir alongwith Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani, Tarikhi Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 28b.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 28b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 29.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 30; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azam, f. 40b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 30;
4. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqui, p. 108.



5. ORTHODOXY—AN EXPERIMENT

ORTHODOXY AN EXPERIMENT;

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Although Muslim rule in Kashmir was firmly established in 1339 A.D., yet upto the reign of Sultan Sikandar it was almost very difficult to distinguish between one community and the other, not only as far as their dress and habits were concerned, but ideologically too. Even the rulers were Muslims in the name and as such distinction on the part of Sultan towards non-Muslims did not picture at all. The very founder of Muslim sultanate, known as S-hahmir, followed very liberal policy towards his non-Muslim subjects. He came to Kashmir in 1313 A.D.¹ not to raise the banner of Islam in Kashmir², but in search of fame and fortune. In the subsequent years he played a vital role in the local politics³ and ultimately in 1339 A.D.⁴ gave a final blow to the Hindu rule and laid the foundation of Sultanate in Kashmir. Although Kashmir

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 15; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 9a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 143.
2. Sir Wolsey Haig wrongly says that Islam in Kashmir was introduced by Shah Mirza in 14th century, Cambridge History of India, Wolsey Haig, Vol. II, p. 279; In fact long before Shahmir, Islam has rackned the doors of Kashmir. Moreover, Shahmir never came to Kashmir as a representative of Islam.
3. For details see Chapter II.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonrāja, p. 32; Abul Fazl gives the date of his accession as 742/13-41, Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, Vol. II, p. 185; Wolsey Haig gives the date 1346. Cambridge History of India, Wolsey Haig, Vol. III, p. 277.

passed into the hands of Muslim ruler, but no major change was introduced in the nature of country's administrative structure, except the replacement of laukika era by Kashmiri Sanah.¹ His ministers were Hindus and no discrimination was exhibited by him.

He ruled for a very short period (1339-42 A.D.), but his reign proved a blessing for the people of Kashmir who had suffered greatly on account of the internal strifes and foreign aggressions. He was bent upon to change the destiny of his subjects irrespective of their faith. He re-organized the whole fiscal system of the country and abolished many oppressive taxes. In order to strengthen his position he entered into the matrimonial alliances with the Hindus not only by taking their girls but also giving those of his family to them.² It appears to be a unique phenomena as far as the history of matrimonial alliances is concerned, as it was always the stronger who had the upper hand.

He was succeeded by his elder son Jamshed and during his short reign (1342-43 A.D.)³ there is no evidence of discrimination or distinction on the basis of faith towards his non-muslim subjects. Instead we have the reference that his two ministers, Savyaraja and Lakshmbhatt whom he trusted very much were Hindus.⁴

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1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 35.
 2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 27.
 3. Ibid., pp. 33-35.
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 34-35.

After Jamshed, Alau'd-Din ascended the throne of Kashmir (1343-54 A.D.) He was a just ruler and to quote Jonaraja, "It is owing to the merit of the subjects that such a king was born, who raise the prosperity of the kingdom and deliver the people sunk in the gloom of injustice"². He continued the work of consolidation started by his predecessors and abolished the evil customs of the time.³ He rehabilitated the towns which were depopulated due to Zuljus invasion.³ During his reign we do not come across any reference of the demolition of a single temple.

After a rule of eleven years Alau'd-Din died in 1354 A.D.⁴ and was succeeded by his son Shihabu'd-Din. He too followed the policy of tolerance towards his non-muslim subjects. Most of his army commanders, ministers and high officials were Hindus, the most prominent of them were Chandra, Laulaka, Suhhura, Damara, Kotabhatt and Udayashir.⁵

Persian chronicler of Kashmir⁶ accused him for indulging in iconoclastic activities towards the end of his reign. But we do not find any such reference in the histories of Niza-ud-Din and Abul Fazl. Even from the account of Jonaraja, who is the earliest

1. Ibid., p. 36.

2. Ibid., p. 37.

3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 90.

4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 37.

5. Ibid., p. 40.

6. Beharistani Shahi, Anonymous, p. 19, Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 156.

and most reliable authority for the period, it is clear that no discrimination was shown towards the Hindus. He states that heavy expenses incurred in his foreign campaign caused kings treasury empty and Udayashri, his minister suggested to melt the brass image of Buddha and coin the metal into money. The Sultan replied abhorrently "past generations have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them. Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, and others, by worshiping them and some by demolishing them. How great is the enormity of such a deed¹." What is more significant is that the Sultan got some dilapidated temples repaired.² Under these circumstances, it is quite ridiculous to accuse him of the persecution of the Hindus. As a just and strong ruler Shihabu'd-Din crushed all those who tried to disturb the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, no matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims³. Besides, it also shows his great sense of justice and tolerance that he forgave those Hindus who took the oath of alligance to him.⁴

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 44.

2. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu.

In support of his view Dr. Parmu has given the reference of the inscription which was found on a stone that "this temple was repaired by Sultan Shihabu'd-Din". The stone was excavated at Kuthiar (Stein's note, Rajatarangini, Vol. I, p. 32), and is at present available in the Srinagar Archaeological Department, History of Muslim Rule, Parmu, p. 98n.

3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 45.

4. Ibid., p. 47.

Sultan Shihabu'd-Din was succeeded by his brother Qutubu'd-Din in 1373 A.D. Although a Muslim, there was very little to distinguish him from Hindu subjects.¹ During his reign famines occurred frequently and Sultan used to perform yagnyas and distribute cooked food amongst the starving people.² The Sultan also dressed like Hindu kings and had two real sisters in marriage at a time,^{2a} contrary to shariat.³

The performance of yagnas and continuance of the Hindu dress, manners and customs shows the liberal and the tolerant attitude of a Muslim ruler towards his non-muslim subjects. At the instance of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Sultan divorced one of his queen and remarried the younger and adopted the dress current among the Muslim monarchs.⁴ Although the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, resulted in the mass scale conversion in Kashmir, but there is no reference as far as the interference of the state in the religious matters of the people during this period is concerned.

1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 21. Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 53.
- 2a. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 20-21. Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33.
3. Al-Quran, Surah "Nisa", Parah-4.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 20-21; Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 33.

Sultan Sikandar:

Thus upto Sultan Qutubu'd-Din's reign the propagation of Islam in Kashmir had not received the serious attention of the rulers beyond the construction of few mosques. The task of proselytizing activities was limited to the efforts of Muslim missionaries who were pouring into Kashmir in ever increasing numbers. But Sikandar's reign, says A. K. Majumdar, 'marks a turning point in the history of Kashmir from social and religious point of view'.¹

On Qutubu'd-Din's death his elder son Sikandar² ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1389 A.D.³ He was minor, therefore, his mother Shabah Devi assisted by two powerful ministers, Sahaka and Uddak⁴, acted as a regent⁵, and exercised all royal powers. The chroniclers do not describe the events of regency in full. She, however, appears to have been very energetic lady and ruled the kingdom with firm hand. She put to death her own daughter and son-in-law for conspiring against Sikandar.⁶ Meanwhile Uddak had grown

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1. History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 36.
 2. Jonaraja calls him Shringara, Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 53.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 54; Hasan and Miskeen who are also quoted by Sufi gives the date as 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.), Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 160; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskeen, f. 38a.
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 54; Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din, refers him by the name of Rai Madari, Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 462, Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol., III, Part II, p. 645.
 5. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 54; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 460.
 6. Ibid., Dutt's Translation is here somewhat confusing.

powerful and poisoned prince Haibat Khan and Saha treachously.¹ Udda now aimed at the life of Sikandar too. However, he did not succeed in this nefarious act. In 1393 A.D.² Sultan took the reins of government in his own hands and got khutba read and the coins minted in his own name.³

During the early years of his reign Sultan Sikandar was chiefly busy in the suppression of revolts and destruction of his inveterate enemies.⁴ But Sultan Sikandar's reign is chiefly memorable for his religious policy which has become most controversial issue for the posterity. He is renowned in the annals of history as "Butshikan" or "Iconoclast" and is often compared with Aurengzeb, the Mughal emperor of India. It is quite an interesting period of the history of Kashmir. The social structure was undergoing a systematic change before his accession. Therefore, by the time of his accession the kingdom was not the same as it was century earlier. Obviously, it is rather difficult to estimate his career as such. The social stratification had undergone a change

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1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 54. The chroniclers do not mention whether queen took any step to check the growing power to Udda.
 2. Comprehensive History of India, Mohd Habib and K.A. Nizami, p. 745; History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 34.
 3. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 116; History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 34.
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 55-56; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 463.

and he was to rule not the Hindu majority state, but a Muslim dominant kingdom. For the stability of his rule under such circumstances besides the global situation around his kingdom demanded a change in his policies both religious and political. However, to catagorise him as a total antagonist of the policies of his predecessors and successors, is erroneous. His religious policy can be divided into two phases.

First Phase (1339-1398 A.D.)

The first phase of his policy can be studied in the light of following three events:

1. Arrival of Mir Mohammad Hamadani;
2. Conversion of Suha Bhat to Islam; and
3. Invasion of Timur in 1398-99 A.D.

Arrival of Mir Mohammad Hamadani

The overthrow of the regency proved to be an event of tremendous importance. It marked the triumph of the Bihaqi Sayyids who flocked to his court from Central Asia.¹ These Sayyids were attracted to Kashmir due to the liberal patronage of Sikandar who was very fond of learned men.² They were in the words of J.P. Ferguson, "no doubt astonished to see that in a muslim state Islam did not have the domination, but existed side by side with the practices of the infidels."³

1. Tabqati Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 647.

2. In the words of Jonaraja, "the malechas ebered Kashmir even as locusts enter a good field of corn, "Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 57-58.

3. Kashmir, J.P. Ferguson, p. 32.

The most prominent personality who came to Kashmir in his reign in 1393 A.D. was Mir Mohammad Hamadani¹. Both Muslim and non-muslim chroniclers² reveal that Sultan Sikandar adopted orthodox religious policy under the influence of Mir Mohammad Hamadani. At first Sultan like his predecessors was liberal in matters of religion. This is evident by the fact that his Chief Officers, Laddaraja, Shankara and Suha Bhatt were Hindus³, and no discrimination was exhibited by Sultan towards them. Instead they were trusted ministers of Sultan. Later on Sultan was greatly inclined towards Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani. Jonaraja express that, "the King waited on him daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him"⁴. The Sultan also assigned the villages of Wachi, Tral and Matan to Sayyid Mohammad for the maintenance of the langar.⁵ Mir Mohammad presented a costly Badakshan ruby⁶ and wrote for the Sultan a book entitled Risala-i-Sikandari.⁷

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1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 248; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 15; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskeen, f. 31b; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 647. In the words of Jonaraja, he was "As the bright moon is among the stars." Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p.57.
 2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 23; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 94; Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 59.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 58.
 4. Ibid., p. 57.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 20; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskeen, p. 31.
 6. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 20; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24.
 7. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 23; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95. Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 62.

Henceforth, the influence began to increase rapidly and ultimately resulted in strengthening of the Islamic tradition and introduction of the Islamic institutions.¹

Conversion of Suha Bhatta:

The most significant achievement of the Sayyid was conversion of Suha Bhatta.² He embraced the new faith alongwith his family and adopted the Islamic name of Saif-ud-Din.³ Later on he married his daughter to Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani.⁴ Suha Bhat as a zealous convert did not leave any stone unturned for the propagation of Islam. By the time only low cast hindus were mainly influenced by the new faith, but this singular conversion provided a new base to the process of proselyteization. To win over more and more high cast Hindus Suha Bhatta applied the force of motivation and necessary persecution.

Invasion of Timur:

In 1398 Timur invaded India. He encamped on the bank of the Indus where ambassadors of several Indian rulers assembled to

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 59. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, pp. 464-65.
2. Jonaraja calls him the Counsellor of Sikandar, Rajatarangini Jonaraja, p. 58; whereas Persian chroniclers call him Sipah-salar, Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 24; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 63; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 464.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 24; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 24; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, p. 39.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 24; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 24.

offer their allegiance.¹ Sikandar also sent Maulana Nuru'd-Din as an envoy to Timur with a letter professing his humble submission.² Jonaraja refers "King of Mlechas" who sacked Delhi and presented two elephants to Sultan Sikandar out of fear.³ He was obviously, Timur, who is said to have distributed elephants as a mark of his victory in India.⁴ But the assertion of Jonaraja that he did so out of fear is fantastic. The envoy's were received cordially and were dismissed after issuing a farman that his master should join him at Dipalpur.⁵

Accordingly, Sikandar set out from Sringar, but on reaching the village of Jabhan he was informed that finance minister of Timur wanted from him a contribution of 30,000 horses and 10,000 silver tanks weighing two and half maseals.⁶ He, therefore, returned to Kashmir to collect the sum.⁷

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1. Malfuzat-Timur, Timur, vivid from History of India, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 408-409 (Henceforth Malfuzati-Timur, Timur), Elliot and Dowson.
 2. Ibid., p. 469.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 56. The gift of one elephant is also mentioned by the Mughal sources. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 463; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 645.
 4. Malfuzati-Timuri, Timur, (Elliot and Dowson), pp. 470-475.
 5. Zafarnama, Sharifu'd-Din Yazdi, vivid from History of India, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 518; Henceforth, Zafarnama, Yazdi, (tr. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I),
 6. Mulfuzati-Timuri, Timur (tr. Elliot and Dowson), p. 470; Sharfu'd-Din Yazdi mentions thirty thousand ~~and~~ ^{and} horses and one lakh gold mohars. Zafarnama, Yazdi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, p. 518; Nizam-ud-Din mentions only 10,000 horses, Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 647, and Firishta only three thousand horses and one hundred thousand gold dirham, Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 463.
 7. Malfuzati-Timuri, Timur, (tr. Elliot and Dowson), p. 470; Zafarnama, Yazdi (tr. Elliot and Dowson), p. 518, Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 467.

Meanwhile Timur sacked Delhi. Subsequently, he sent Uljah Timur, Faulad Bahadur and Zainu'd-Din to demand an explanation why he had not come to pay his homage. In Srinagar the envoys were well received and after some time were sent back alongwith Maulana Nuru'd-Din, as a representative of Sultan who carried a letter of his master.¹ In the meantime Timur had left Delhi and the envoy's joined him at Jammu. The Maulana informed Timur that Sikandar could not proceed Dilapur as ordered, because he returned from Jabhan to collect money and horses which he was asked to present to his majesty. On hearing this, Timur rebuked his minister and instructed them that the demand should have been ~~according to~~ made within the capacity of the kingdom.² Timur sent Mutamid Zain-ud-Din with a message that Sikandar should not consider himself bound to fulfil the demands made by his officers, but should proceed atonce and meet him on the banks of the Indus after twenty eight days.³ Accordingly, Sikandar set out from Srinagar, but on reaching Baramulla⁴, he learnt that Timur had crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Samargand. He, therefore, returned to Srinagar.⁵

1. Malfuzati-Timuri, Timur (tr. Elliot and Dowson), p. 470; Zafarnama, Yazdi, (Elliot and Dowson), p. 518.

2. Ibid.

3. Malfuzati-Timuri, Timur (Ellit and Dowson), p. 470; Zafarnama, Yazdi (Elliot and Dowson), p. 518.

4. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 647.

5. Terikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 464; Tabqati Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 647.

According to some authorities¹, Sikandar then sent Shahi-Khan (the future Zainu'l-Abidin) to the court of Timur with heavy tribute where he remained for seven years. But this view is rejected by modern scholars on the ground that Shahi-Khan was not even born at that time.²

Second Phase (1398-1413 A.D.)

Although Kashmir was saved from the wrath of Timur, but its aftermath was very significant.³ It is true that Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani had come to Kashmir long before Timur's invasion, but it was not upto 1398 A.D. that Sayyid Mohammad was able to wedge his hold over Sikandar.⁴ Taking these events collectively into consideration the Sultan remodelled his policy.

It needs a thorough investigation whether Sultan Sikandar followed a policy of persecution towards non-muslims on the instigation of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani, before any judgement is passed. As stated elsewhere, there was no need of implimentation of Shariat law in the early phase of the establishment of the Sultanate, as the

1. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 166.
2. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibu'l Hasan, p. 61n. History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 36.
3. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 120.
4. Although Jonaraja has not mentioned any date from which Sultan initiated his orthodox policy, but he clearly writes that a change in Sikandar's attitude took place under the influence of Mlechhas. Modern scholars had mostly come to the conclusion that policy of persecution was adopted in or around 1398. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmue, p. 120.

Islam was in infancy and the majority of the population comprised of non-muslims. Henceforth, the circumstances were quite different. Not only the low caste Hindus were embracing Islam, but the highest Brahmins were equally taking interest in the new faith. Besides, there was also a large number of ulema living in the kingdom who hailed from different colonies of Islamic world. Consequently, Sultan Sikandar somehow, reshaped the state policy. This change was initiated in the shape of social reforms. The traditional Hindu customs and rituals were considered to be inhuman and contrary to the teaching of Islam and as such restrictions were imposed for the performance of these practices.¹ He baned the use of wine and other intoxicants, prohibited the playing of musical instruments like the flute, lute gaiter. Secondly tika was prohibited and performance

1. Persian sources states that the evils of infidelity were uprooted and hearts of the people were cleaned from the rust of darkness and other evil practices. Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, p. 24., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 24.

Mirza Haider Dughalt writes, Qutubu'd-Din was succeeded by his son Sikandar who established the Musalman faith and destroyed the idol temples. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haider, p. 432.

Firishta has given a descriptive account of restrictions imposed by Sultan Sikandar. He writes, "The Sultan offered choice between Islam and exile. He forbade the application of tika and performance of sati. Many temples were demolished and idols made of gold and silver were melted. Many Brahmins committed suicide rather than to loose their caste. Some became Musalmans out of fear. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, pp. 464-65.

of Sati was banned¹ and for the first time Jaziya was imposed on the non-muslims.² The office of Shaikhu'l-Islam was created³ and a mosque of Jame Masjid⁴ and Khangah-Maula⁵ were constructed.

Demolition of Temples:

The near contemporary Muslim sources are bold enough to highlight the activities of Sultan Sikandar as a champion of Islam. It is stated that in his zeal for the glorification of Islam, Sikandar demolished Hindu temples. Jonaraja, a contemporary Sanskrit chronicler remarks, "The King forgot his kingly duties and took delight, day and night in breaking images. The good fortune of the people left them-- there was no city, no town, no villege, no wood, where Suha the Turshika left the temples of gods unbroken. Of the

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1. G.M.D. Sufi, while defending the religious policy of Sultan Sikandar writes that if Sikandar abolished sati, may be he did it on humanitarian grounds and in that matter he therefore, anticipated Akbar and Lord William Bentinck (Kashir, Sufi, Vol. I, p. 149). But Dr. Rafiqi, rejects the view on the ground that if Akbar and Bentinck abolished sati, they did not abolish it as a champion of any religion, like Sikandar., Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 100n.
 2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 16. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 95; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 16. Jonaraja uses the term fine which obviously means Jaziya. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 60.
 3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 31.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 96; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 21; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 33.
 5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 96; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 33.

images which once had existed, the name alone was left¹.

The famous temples which according to him were either completely destroyed or ruthlessly damaged were those of Martand, Tripureshvara, Sureshvara, Cakaradhara and one at Avantipura.²

Mirza Haidar Dughlat writes, Sultan Sikandar established the Musalman faith and destroyed all idol temples.³ But while giving the description of wonders of Kashmir he places the idol temples of the country "first and foremost" and states that in and around Kashmir, there are more than 150 temples. After giving a description of their size, style and beauty, he shows great astonishment when he counts hundred and fifty temples. Nizamu'd-Din

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 59-60.

2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 60.

The famous temple of Martand is situated in Maton in the Anantnag district. For the architectural and historical notices of the temple see Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, R.C. Kak, pp. 132-34.

"Cakaradhara", is situated in Bijbihara, Travels in Kashmir, Vigne, Vol. II, p. 23.

"Tripureshvara" and "Sureshvara" temples are situated in the village of Triphar at a distance of about three miles from Dull lake and in a village of Isbar, on the bank of Dull lake respectively. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. V, pp. 37-46.

Avantipur, was originally founded by Avantivarman. It is situated on the right bank of the Behat, 17 miles to the south east of the Srinagar (present capital). The Ancient Geography of India, Alexander Cunningham, p. 87. Travels in Hindustan, Moorcraft, Vol. II, p. 244. Although Baharistani Shahi and Haidar Malik has not mentioned the names of temples demolished in his reign, but Hasan has included the name of Paraspur. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol., II, pp. 60-61. Parashpor of the Persian chroniclers lays on the left bank of Jhelum close to the Shadipur. For its ancient history see Dr. Stein's Note IV.

3. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar, p. 433.

states that Sultan was thorough in demolishing the temples and persecuting the Hindus.¹ Abul Fazi writes that Sultan was a rigid follower of religion and a bigot, and he overthrew the temples and persecuted the people not of his faith.²

Firishta adds that all the temples were pulled down and idols of gold and silver were melted down.³ These historians have also recorded curious stories about Sanskrit inscription on the copper plates which were discovered when the temples at Bijbihara and Paraspora were being demolished in the time of Sikandar. The statement of these historians have been generally reproduced by the local chronicler⁴ of the latter period and modern scholars⁵ without any investigation. Some of the scholars go even to the extent of saying that gun-powder was used to demolish the temples.⁶

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1. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizamu'd-Din, Vol. III, p. 648.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazi, Vol. II, p. 387.
 3. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 464.
 4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, pp. 60-61.
 5. Cambridge History of India, Walsey Haig, Vol. III, p. 280; Kashmir and Jammu, Lawrence, p. 190.
 6. Journal Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nipal, Richard Temple, p. 126.

As regards the question of responsibility for the demolition of temples, Jonaraja, Baharistani-Shahi and Firishta put the blame on Saifu'd-Din. To quote Jonaraja, "Suha Bhatt (after demolishing the temples) felt the satisfaction which one feels on recovering from illness, and with the help of the leaders of army tried to destroy the caste of the people, the Brahmans declared that they would die rather to loose their caste and Suha Bhatt subjected them to a heavy fine (jaziya) because they held to their caste"¹.

Modern historians, such as Rodeger, Walesy Haig, T. W. Arnold, Muhibu'l Hasan and Sufi reproduce the Jonaraja and Firishta and hold similar views. In the words of Rodger, "This Minister signalized his term of office by a zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists such has seldom been seen in the history of religious turn-coasts"². And T. W. Arnold says, "Suha Bhatt, set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith,

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 60.

At an other place Jonaraja writes, "Though the king Sikandar was often instigated by Suha to persecute the twice born, he, whose purpose was tempered by kindness, fixed with some difficulty, a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas. But Suha passed the limit by levying fines on the twice born. As great night prevents people from seeing anything but darkness, so this evil man forbade ceremonies and processions during new moon". Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 65. In the words of Firishta, "Suha Bhatt, embracing Islam became such a persecuter of Hindus that he induced Sikandar to issue orders to persecute the Hindus and made practically impossible for the Hindus to live. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 464.

2. "Square Silver Coins of Sultans of Kashmir", Chas J., Rodgers, quoted in Kashir, by Sufi, p. 106.

this he did probably, in order to show his zeal for his new religion¹. In the words of Muhibu'l-Hasan, the chief person who prevailed upon Sikandar to adopt an intolerant attitude towards the non-muslims was Saifu'd-Din, who was in this respect his evil genius. The Sultan at first resisted him, but in the end gave in, and allowed himself to be used as an instrument of his minister's religious fanaticism². Sufi also comes to the conclusion that Suha Bhatt, Sikandar's minister appears to be responsible for the persecution of the Hindus and demolition of few temples.³

Resentment of Jonaraja is justified in the light of Suha Bhatt's conversion to Islam. Obviously, he had exaggerated the iconoclastic activities of Suha Bhatt. However, he alone cannot be held responsible for persecution of non-muslim despite of his personal grudge against the high caste Brahmins.⁴ Besides the iconoclastic activities and policy of ruthless persecution is highly magnified.

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1. The Preachings of Islam, Arnold, p. 292.
 2. Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibu'l-Hasan, p. 65.
 3. Kashir, Sufi, Vol. I, p. 106.
 4. It is a living tradition among the Hindus of the Valley that one day Suha Bhatt fell ~~kk~~ ill and nobody was able to cure him. One day a Hakim from Khursasan agreed to cure him and prescribed the soup of meat as a medicine. As it was contrary to the Hindu religion, so Suha Bhatt decided to consult his so called community. He was suggested by them to take the soup. As a result, he recovered from his illness. Later on nobody was ready to accept his daughter in marriage as he has got impure and polluted by taking the soup. This hurted the feelings of Suha Bhatt. Subsequently, Mir Mohammad Hamadani came to Kashmir and being disgusted with his own community Suha Bhatt got converted alongwith his family at the hands of Sayyid. Lateron, his daughter was married to the Sayyid.

Another group of historians led by Abul Fazl Nizamu'd-Din and A. K. Majumdar held Sikandar wholly and solely responsible for the destruction of temples.¹ Though the anti-Hindu policy carried out by Sikandar or his minister has been greatly exaggerated but Dr. Parmu states that, Jonaraja does not make any mention of the ultra communal legislation of Sultan beyond his interference with the Brahmanical caste.² Persian chroniclers on the other hand state that Sultan made it practically impossible for the Hindu to live freely in Hindu environment and Shariat laws were enforced in the strict sense.

But as a matter of fact it was a medieval style of illuminating the muslim rulers as a champion of Islam. Secondly, Jonaraja apparently had no cause to conceal the facts as he compiled his work during Zainu'l-Abidin's reign (1420-70 A.D.) about 46 years after the death of Sultan Sikandar.

Moreover, the enforcement of Shariat laws does not necessarily mean conversion by compulsion. Mere appointment of Qazi does not mean that their duty was to enforce the orders of

1. In the words of Majumdar, "Sikandar was not as innocent in the matter as is presented by his supporters, for he personally supervised the demolition of temples--After all, it was not Suha Bhatt but Sikandar who was honoured by his co-religionists with Sobriquet. But Shikan (destroyer of idols). Vivid from History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 40.
2. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 129.

prohibiting the gambling, intoxicants, sati and applying of tika etc. It simply mean the enforcement of personal laws of Muslims like marriage, inheritence etc. In the words of Dr. Parmu, it simply mean "that in case of litigation between the persons of two different communities, the law of defendant would prevail"¹.

It is true that certain restrictions were imposed on the non-muslims during Sikandar's rule but the statement of some Persian² and later scholars³ that religious material of the Hindus was sunk in the Dal lake to form a crossway, the burning of seven mounds of sacred threads worn by murdered Brahmans seem to be nothing but fantasy.

The charge of destruction of temples carried out by Sikandar by Muslim as well as non-muslims writers have blurred the vision to the extent that Sikandar appears to be a champion of Islam and a fanatic muslim not tolerating the people of other faiths at all.

The statement of wholesale destruction of temples needs re-examination under the following circumstances:

1. Comprehensive History of India, Mohd Habib and K.A. Nizami, Vol. VI, p. 748.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayid Ali, p. 23.
3. History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, p. 193.

Jahangir in 1623 A.D. writes, "The lofty temples of Kashmir which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence¹. Moreover, Mirza Haidar Dughlat does not seem to have made any exaggeration when he counts 150 temples².

Some modern scholars like Kapur has pointed out that the temples referred by Mirza Haidar and Jahangir were mostly those built or rebuilt by Zainu'l-Abidin, as his reign is renowned for the construction of temples³. This can be accepted partially as it was neither practicable to have repaired so many temples nor reconstructed so many temples which were pulled down.

Besides in one of his recent research, J. L. Bhan has raised the question that if wholesale destruction of temples was carried out by Sikandar then why he spared the temples like Shankracharya, and Panderathan, which were situated in the vicinity of Srinagar and are still in existence⁴. He refuted the view of

1. Tuzki-Jahangiri, Jahangir, Eng. Tr. Beveridge (Henceforth Tuzki-Jahangiri, Vol. II, p. 150.
2. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar, p. 426. While giving the description of these temples he places them among the foremost wonders of Kashmir.
3. History of Medieval Kashmir, Kapur, pp. 42-43.
4. "A rare image of Brahma belonging to the reign of Sikandar Shah", J. L. Bhan, p. 5.

some modern scholars,¹ that the temples which were destroyed by Sikandar contained precious images of gold and silver, on the ground that they were already plundered by the early kings like Harsha etc.

Dr. Sufi has very rightly pointed out that even if Sultan had pulled down few temples he was not making any innovation, but simply reviving the old tradition.² In fact, long before Sikandar, Harsha (1029-1101 A.D.), plundered the temples and confiscated the divine images in order to secure the valuable wealth.³

Again the invasion of Zulju who slaughtered the people and set fire to the city⁴ also caused the ruin of several temples, a fact which is almost neglected by modern scholars. Moreover on the authority of Jonaraja we come to know that Shobha Devi, the wife of Sultan Sikandar had constructed a Shiva temple with a golden linga.⁵ This clearly shows that had Sikandar been fanatic he would not have allowed his wife to construct the temple.

1. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 129.
2. Kashir, Sufi, Vol. I, p. 104.
3. Rajatarangini, Kalhana, Vol. I, p. 353 verse, 1095.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 17-18; Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 80; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 9.
5. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja (St.) Vivid from Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 25.

Again, a sculpture found at Ganesh Mandir, Srinagar¹ is also thought provoking. The image bears a dedicatory description to Sultan Sikandar in a Sarda script-- "(SAW) 85 SRI SAKANDAR SAHA RAJYE SAMGHA PATI RAHULA KASTAVE KA TA THA."²

This inscription is of a considerable historical importance as it exposes the exaggerating statement of those who claim that religious freedom and consecration of images by Hindus was prohibited by Sultan Sikandar.

Therefore, the iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar have been greatly exaggerated and the trend of eulogizing has done great harm. What actually appeared to have occurred is that during Sikandar's reign a convoy of Muslim missionaries led by Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani came to Kashmir. It is an established fact that under his influence a good proportion of people entered into the fold of Islam. Therefore, Islam dominated the Hinduism and resulted in the ruin of Hindu places of worship. Moreover, in many cases when the inhabitants of a particular locality embraced Islam, they themselves either converted temples

1. Referred by J. L. Bhan in "A Rare Image of Brahma Belonging to the Reign of Sikandar Shaha"
2. For details see "A Rare Image of Brahma Belonging to the reign of Sikandar Shaha," J. L. Bhan.

into the mosques, or due to negligence went into ruins.¹ It is, obviously, misleading to hold Sikandar responsible for the destruction of every temple that was found in a dilapidated manner or in ruins.

Sultan Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah in 1413 A.D. However, Suha Bhatt who retained his post of Prime Ministership continued his policy of persecution.² To quote Jonaraja, "The Brahmens" in order to 'prevent' from committing sins (i.e. to embrace Islam) fled to foreign countries, the son leaving his father behind and the father leaving his son, to the death like Suha who sorrowed at the escape of the Brahmans.³ "Not only this, he also closed the main roads and imposed fine for leaving the country."⁴ However, his policy of persecution came to an end soon after his death in 1417 A.D. and ultimately the traditional policy of tolerance was adopted with the accession of Zain-ul-Abidin.

1. Since traditions die hard and as such the neo-converts most probably out of their respect rebuilt their new places of worship either with the material of their old worship houses or on the ruins of these places.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 65-66; Tarikhi-Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 269; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, pp. 167-68.
3. Ibid.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 66; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol., II, p. 168; Jonaraja has given an exaggerating account of the lamentable of the Brahmans who could not offered to pay a fine and as such was forced by circumstances to remain in Kashmir. For details see Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 61-67.

6. SAGA OF LIBERAL IDEOLOGY:

SAGA OF LIBERAL AGE:

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The age of Sultan Sikandar was a period of transition. The socio-cultural milieu of the society was experiencing a change. The ulema had their own model of the social order. The trial of this order during the reign of Sultan Sikandar obviously did not bring the desired results.

This model represented a primary role for the ulema and secondary role for the aristocracy. On the other hand, the native intelligentsia was not ready to toe the line of aliens to this extent that their own existence was in jeopardy. This section expressed their feelings and the result was the rise of the local Sufi order. There were, besides many cumulative factors responsible for the foundation of this Sufi order.

There were, therefore, reasons for a change in the approach of Sultan Sikandar at the end of his rule.¹ Ali Shah subsequently adopted the same policy, but the contours of the policy were visible during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin² only and

1. The change in Sultan Sikandar's policy becomes visible by abolition of Jaziya. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, Eng. Tr. Srikanth Koul, Vivid from Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p.103.
2. Zain-ul-Abidin was most illustrious of five sons of Sultan Sikandar. After Sikandar's death, his elder son Ali Shah ascended the throne for a short period. (1413-19). However, he soon abdicated in favour of his brother Shahi-Khan who assumed the sovereignty of Kashmir under the title of Zain-ul-Abidin. For details see Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, pp. 30-36; Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, pp. 69-70.

as such his reign was unique. The tides of social order were calming down and a half century rule of Zain-ul-Abidin perfected the system. It appears that the age was of maturity and there is no wonder that Zain-ul-Abidin held an outstanding position among the contemporaries. Leaving the material and cultural achievement aside, his policy of universal brotherhood, equality of human beings and religious tolerance alone is sufficient to prove our assumption. The comparative study of times shows clearly that he can be called the torch bearer of the new age.

A thorough perusal of history of Muslim rule in India reveals that although Muslim rulers in general adopted a conciliatory attitude towards their non-muslim subjects owing to the political expediency of the land¹, but even then certain restrictions were imposed on them especially during the zealous rulers like Firoze Shah Tughlaq (1357-1388 A.D.) Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.) etc. The Jizya and the pilgrimage tax was imposed on them²

1. The assertion is substantiated by the reply of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, a wazir of Sultan Iltimush to the ulema who demanded that the Hindus should be treated according to Quranic law, who argued that "the muslims are so few that they are like salt in a large dish. If the above orders are to be applied to the Hindus, it is possible, they might combine and a general confusion might ensue and the muslims would be too few in number to suppress this general confusion. However, after a few years when in the capital and in the regions, the muslims are well established and the troops are larger, it will be possible to give the Hindus the choice of "death or Islam". Government of the Sultanate. U.N.Day, p. 201; Society and Culture in Medieval India. Srivastava, p. 149.
2. Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors. Sharma, p. 6.

They were not allowed to wear fine cloths, ride on horse back or even to possess good arms. They were also prohibited to perform idol worship openly and were not also allowed to built or reconstruct temples in the vicinity of muslims.¹ According to Srivastava even their evidence in the court of law in suits against muslims was not accepted and it denied the hindu subjects equal status with their muslim subjects.²

In Europe the situation was the worst where church was a seat of both temporal as well as spiritual power. In most of the European countries the state was subordinate to the church and it was considered to be a sin, if its institutions were not used for the propagation of the state religion. Even after the reformation when the church power diminished, the rulers claimed divine right for their positions as head of church and state.³ Common religious standards were looked upon as a principle supports of the political power. After reformation the majority of the population was Roman Catholic under protestant rulers as such their faith was penalized, they were excluded from the higher appointment and were treated as

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1. Government of Sultanate, U.N. Day, p. 205; Society and Culture in Medieval India, Srivastava, p. 151.
 2. Ibid.
 3. "Encyclopaedia of Britannica", Vol. III, p. 305.

aliens in their own country. Even in England which was emerging a world power, the condition of Roman Catholics was not enviable. Under the prudent Elizabeth a fine was imposed on Roman Catholics for their abstainment from protestant church.¹

Contrary to this Zain-ul-Abidin, a man of high ideals with an imaginative mind would have never thought of discrimination of his own subjects on the grounds of caste, creed, colour or faith. Therefore, his earnest effort was to repose confidence in them and allow them, to return to their own faith if they liked, revived their religious activities not at the cost of the muslims. In fact, he was himself a devout muslim, punctual in the observance of religious duties, praying and observing Ramzan fasts, respecting the learned men of Islam and regarding them as his "guide and preceptors"². He retained the office of Shaikhul-Islam and received the title of Naib-i-Amir-ul-Mumineen from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt.³

However, Zain-ul-Abidin's liberalism was not just the freak of a light-hearted sovereign, but a logical outcome of an open and respectful mind. According to Dr. Zutshi, "it was by no means a case of the abandoning of fanaticism, or a conversion to

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1. "Encyclopaedia of Britannica", Vol. III, p. 305; See also Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors, Sharma, p. 6.
 2. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, Part II, p. 656.
 3. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 67.

liberalism of a political strategist, but a gradual evolution of a noble and perceptive mind increasingly sharpened by every wave of wholesome influence¹. Many cumulative factors were responsible in making of this illustrious monarch such a liberal and humanist sovereign.

Zain-ul-Abidin inherited the spirit of liberalism from his predecessors i.e. Shahmir, Qutub-ud-Din² and to some extent even his father Sultan Sikandar, who later on was forced by circumstances to reshape his policy³. But this was only an experiment and was later on given up by Sultan Sikandar himself which is evident by the fact that he abolished Jaziya in the last days of his reign⁴. In fact fundamentalism in any form, never befitted the liberal nature of Kashmiris, so Zain-ul-Abidin very gingerly realized this fact and opted for liberal and tolerant policy towards his subjects. Secondly the role of Shoba Devi, Zain-ul-Abidin's step mother in nurturing the personality of her son cannot be under-estimated. She was a virtuous lady⁵ with a strong religious bent of mind and her association really infused a spirit of tolerance in Zain-ul-Abidin towards his subjects.

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1. Ibid., p. 221.
 2. See for their liberal policy Chapter "Orthodoxy an Experiment",
 3. For Sikandar's Religious Policy See Chapter "Orthodoxy an Experiment".
 4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, Eng. Tr. Srikanth Koul, Vivid from Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 103.
 5. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 26.

Similarly, he was initiated in the deep Islamic philosophy by Maulana Kabir,² an erudit scholar of time. He greatly helped Zain-ul-Abidin in developing a liberal and humane outlook. It was the influence of his teachings that enabled Zain-ul-Abidin to come over the prejudices of the age. Above all, the impact of the local Sufi scholars and men of piety chiselled his personality and he emerged as a torch bearer. Shaikh Noor-ud-Din the founder of the local Sufi order know as Rishi order has highly influenced Zain-ul-Abidin. He was the most popular and multidimensional personality of Kashmir. He was loved and revered by all people of Kashmir irrespective of faith. For local muslim he is known as Shamsul-Arifin (the sun among saints), but the other community has found Lord Budha in carnate in his person and so call him Seha-Janand (the Blissful).² A contemporary historian estimates Noor-ud-Din as "the greatest saga of his time."³ It is peculiar to note that the historian has never bothered to mention name of muslim repute of the period.

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1. Maulana Kabir was eminent scholar, was the head of a prestigious University of Naushahra. For details see Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 101; Kashmir, Sufi, Vol. I, p. 162.
 2. Daily Kashmir Times, "Life and Message of Nur-ud-Din Wali" Ganhar.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, (Eng. Tr.) Kaul, Vivid from Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 145.

Noor-ud-Din¹ was born in a village called Kaimuh in 779/1377-78.² His parents Salar'd-Din and Sadra originally hindus embraced Islam at the hands of a Sufi named Yasmen.³ Noor-ud-Din was a great mystic and his sayings reveal that his conversion to mystic life was not accidental but out of conviction. From the very beginning of his life Shaikh did not show any interest in the wordly affairs⁴ and at the age of thirty he completely renounced the world and took to meditation in a remote cave.⁵ For some time he subsisted upon wild vegetables⁶, later on he gave them up and sustained life on a single cup of milk.⁷ Finally he reduced his diet to water alone.⁸

1. According to Dr. Rafiqui his original name seems to have been Nand as his elder brother were named as Shesh and Kundar. Therefore, it is unlikely that younger would have been given Arabic name. Moreover, Prophet (p.b.u.h.) in a dream is said to have addressed him as Nand and not Noor-ud-Din, Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqui, pp. 136-137.
2. There is difference of opinion regarding his date of birth. However, generally accepted view is that he was born in 779 A.B. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqui, p. 137. Islamic Culture in Kashmir, Sufi, p. 41; Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 327.
3. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 114.
4. Persian chroniclers have recorded curious stories about Shaikh's disinterest in the worldly affairs. For details see Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, pp. 58-59; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 117-118; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskin, p. 92-93.
5. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 119.
6. Ibid., p. 121; Tarikhi-Azami, Azami, f. 63a; Asrar-ul-Abrar, f. 63b.
7. Ibid.
8. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 123; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, f. 64a-b.

The message of Noor-ud-Din was simple and based on a complete understanding, love and harmony among all sections of the society. He was pained to see that division was being made on socio-economic and religious basis. On the one hand the caste ridden hindu society had shattered completely but Brahman still boasted of his superior caste. On the other hand muslim society had no such element but the foreign scholars who flocked in Kashmir during period under review, were culturally sophisticated and politically privileged developed a sort of superiority complex and dubbed local masses as the illiterates. They claimed for a special status and their actions and claims demonstrated their superiority and considered others as inferior. The Shaikh dubbed so-called higher caste people as the mean. It is at social front that Shaikh saved the fast developing Muslim society from falling a prey to caste division. He warned his contemporaries in these verses:

Distinction enjoyed the geneology of Qureish
Yet the Abu-lahab and Abu-Jahal are the sons
of the same clan¹

However, his message was not confined to a particular class or religion, but addressed to mankind as a whole. He believes that:

We belong to the same parents
Then Why this difference?

"Let Hindu and Muslim (together)
worship God alone"²

Daily Kashmir Times.

1. Nurnama, Vivid from/"Life and Message of Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Wali", P. N. Ganhar.
2. Nurnama, p. 42, Vivid from "Sufism in Kashmir", Rafiqi, p. 158.

In another place he writes:

"We came to this world like partners,
We should have shared our joys and sorrows
together."¹

He vehemently criticises against those elements who created division in society. He points out:

Between the two children from the
same parents , Among Hindus and Muslims
they sowed seeds of hatred. How shall Lord
be pleased with them?²

Similarly due to his liberal ideas and his consistent opposition against the discriminatory policy, Noor-ud-Din was arrested and detained.³ Shaikh Noor-ud-Din died on 26 Ramzan, 842/12 March, 1439 at the age of sixty three.⁴ He was buried at the village of Charar. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin himself accompanied his bier to the grave, which recalls the honour of the saint in the mind of Zain-ul-Abidin. Thus Shaikh Noor-ud-Din was also instrumental in shaping the broad based policies of Zain-ul-Abidin, who wanted to abridge the warring groups and tried to bring them on one platform.

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1. Ibid.,
 2. Vivid from Daily Kashmir Times, "Life and Message of Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Wali", P.N. Ganhar.
 3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja (ed. by Koul), Vivid from Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 158.
 4. Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, p. 148.

The influence of the court physician Shivabhatt¹ was also responsible to infuriated liberalism in Zain-ul-Abidin. Jonaraja has given a detailed account of this incident.² During early days of his reign Zain-ul-Abidin was infected by a malignant boil on his fore-arm. All muslim physicians were tried, however, no one could cure him. Therefore, after a vigorous search³ a hindu physician Shiva Bhatta was found who cured the Sultan. In reward of his services Zain-ul-Abidin offered him large sum of money and other gifts which he declined. The reason of his refusal is not clear in Jonaraja's account.⁴ However, the study of some persian sources reveal that in return of his services Shiva Bhatt pleaded for the rehabilitation and restoration of his co-religionists who had suffered much under Sikandar and Ali Shah.⁵ Eventually, Shiva

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1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 82; Persian Chroniclers refer him as Sri Bhat, Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 653.
 2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 81-82.
 3. Jonaraja writes, "as flowers are not obtainable in the month of Magha so physician who knew abouts poison could not be found in the country owing to the oppression of the mlechhas." Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 82.
 4. A part of the stanza in Jonaraja's chronicle in this sequence is missing. Dutt, however, fills up the gap by conjectual translation of the stanza that physician "spent the gold and silver in payment of fines, by which the twice born preserved the purity of their caste." Rajatarangini, Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 82.
 5. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, pp. 653-54; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 270.

Bhatt became a trusted minister of Zain-ul-Abidin. He consulted him on all important issues.¹ On his death, Sultan is said to have distributed large sum of money in his memory.²

Restoration of Confidence Among Non-Muslims:

A glance over the global scene in general and the Asian scene in particular provides a better understanding about the enlightened role of Zain-ul-Abidin with regard to socio-religious reformation initiated by him in restoring the confidence of the non-muslims. On the global level bloody wars were waged in order to achieve the title of Ghazi or a martyr. Even Timur the great conquerer³ has admitted that his intention to invade India was to purify the land from infidels.⁴ After the sack of Delhi he resorted to the reign of terror, massacred the masses and took women and

1. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 661.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 97; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 661.
3. Timur was born in 1335 A.D. at Kesh in Transxiana, fifty miles of south of Samarqand. He was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Gurkan branch of the Barks, a noble Turkish tribe. At the age of 33 he became the head of the Chaghtai Turk and constantly waged war against Persia and the adjoining lands. Having made himself master of the countries of Central Asia, he resolved on the invasion of Hindustan which was at the time in a state of anarchy. Short History of Muslim Rule, Ishwari Prasa, p. 167.
4. Mulfuzati-Timuri, Timur, Vivid from History of India, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 433-435.

children as prisoners, who were either converted to Islam or kept as slaves. According to Malfuzati-Timuri one lakh infidels were massacred on that day.¹ As a result, of severity of Timur many Rajputs burned their wives and children alive.²

However, to streamline the state of his kingdom Zain-ul-Abidin's earnest effort was restoration and rehabilitation of his hindu subjects in order to redeem them of their previous sufferings.³ He initiated the move by according a complete freedom of religion and declared "every one is free to worship according to his own faith in which he is educated".⁴ He then gave a general call to all those Hindus who had fled to Jammu and Kishtwar to come back.⁵ The response was positive and Brahmans began to pour into their native land.⁶ Sultan made vigorous efforts to rehabilitate them.

1. Ibid., p. 436.
2. Malfuzati-Timuri, Timur, Vivid from History of India, Elliot and Douson, Vol. III, p. 435.
3. Jonaraja while praising Zain-ul-Abidin for his work of restoration writes: "The King saved the world oppressed by the mlechhas, even as Narayana saved the world oppressed by the Danavas". Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 83.
4. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 77; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 37b; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 270. Tarikhi Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 178.
5. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 145; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, Part II, p. 654; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol., IV, p. 270.
6. Cambridge History of India, Haigs, Vol. III, p. 281. It was only after this step of Zain-ul-Abidin that there appear a fraction in hindu community. The descendants of those who had returned to Kashmir at Zain-ul-Abidin's call are distinguished as Banamas and those who remained in Kashmir are known as Malamas. This distinction became marked after every 2½ year on the 13th dark of fortnight of Phagan when two Shivartris take place with one month. The Malmasis observes the first and Banamasis on the second. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 142; f.n-2.

Some of them took up their residence in temples. Those who deserved were given land assignments and other were provided with stipends and rent free lands.¹ He took a bold step by allowing all those hindus who had accepted Islam under pressure in the past, to come back to their original religion if they desire so.² In the words of Nizam-ud-Din "most of Brahmins, who had become Musalman in the reign of Sikandar apostatised again, and none of the (Musalmanis) learned men had any power or hold over them".³ Although Jonaraja and Srivara are silent on this point, but we find the corroboration of this fact in local persian source who writes with regret that "infidelity which was wiped out from this land during Sikandar's reign were again revived in Zain-ul-Abidin's reign and gradually, their customs became so popular that even muslim scholars, ulama and Qazis began to follow these customs without any hesitation".⁴ This was obviously, because of the re-call and reconversion of the hindus. He cancelled all odious persecutory laws enacted in past. To quote Jonaraja, "he preserved the good usages of Kashmir (i.e. hindus) even as a

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 88; Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 138; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 654.
2. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 655; Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 212.
3. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 655.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 57a-b; See also Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 211.

physician helps our digestive functions by medicine"¹. They could now apply tilak on their foreheads, put on dress in accordance with their tradition and could educate their children as they liked.² In order to stimulate the hindu learning and culture Sultan made special arrangements. It is alleged that during Sikandar's reign all religious literature of the hindus was either burnt or was taken away by the hindus alongwith them. The books ^{were} procured ~~were~~ and distributed at the state expense to learned hindus in original Sanskrit and to muslims in the Persian translation for study. The result of his efforts was that after a long time "one hears", writes Srivara, "the pure and beautiful Dharmashastra recited, and holds the impression of colours and acts according to its injunctions"³. Being fond of hindu philosophy king himself used to study the Nilamatpurena, Gita Govinda and other Shastras, which he got translated into Persian.⁴ He also banned the cow-slaughter and killing of birds and fishes in sacred springs of Hindus.⁵ Sultan also abolished cremation tax imposed on

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 78.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 146.

4. Ibid., p. 148.

5. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 95; Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, Vol. II, p. 383; Tabaqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 657.

non-muslims,¹ The currency which had been debased indiscriminate conversion into coin idols composed of metal of varying degree of fineness, was gradually prohibited and order was issued that coins should be struck of pure copper.² In Sikandar's reign Jaziya was imposed on non-muslim at the rate of two pails of silver. Although, Zain-ul-Abidin retained the Jaziya, however, it was reduced to a very low rate of one mash of silver.³ The question here arises that as an enlightened and a benevolent king Zain-ul-Abidin should have abolished this tax completely. A modern scholar in support of Zain-ul-Abidin's policy writes that he retained the Jaziya to a nominal amount due to the respect for the sentiments of ulema and did not wish to offend them.⁴ However, this argument can not be sustained as Zain-ul-Abidin had already antagonized the ulema and orthodox community of muslims by his extraordinary interest in the revival of hindu religion, by allowing them to reconvert, repairing their dilapidated temples and by participating in their festivals. In fact, the retention of Jaziya was not an issue of sentiments and opinions. In the words of a modern scholar, "it was purely motivated

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1. This was a tax paid by the hindus of Srinagar to the owner of land near Mar Canal where they used the cremation of their deceased. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 143.
 2. Tabqati-Akbari, Nizamud-Din, Vol. III, Part II, p. 655.
 3. Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
 4. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 87.

by Zain-ul-Abidin's strong conviction to put a semblance of an Islamic state in which all enjoyed equal rights, for even the substantially reduced amount of Jaziya was never followed by its collection in his reign¹.

While Zain-ul-Abidin enthusiastically encouraged all attempts to revive the hindu religion and traditions, unfortunately he allowed the cruel and inhuman practice of sati to be continued.² He could have abolished it without much difficulty partly because the custom did not seem to have much favour from the hindus of Kashmir as is corroborated from Srivara's words, "there (in Kashmir) according to the custom of the distant countries, females immolated themselves in the pyre of their beloved and were not forbidden by the king "(Zain-ul-Abidin)"³ In fact its discontinuance would have been a great service to humanity and would have perhaps given him more honour and credit. However, from the above fact it can be inferred that Zain-ul-Abidin did not wish to interfere in the religious affairs of his subjects even in a smallest measure which will be-little his image of liberal and ideal king.

1. Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 71.
2. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 143; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, Part II, p. 654.
3. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 143.

Reconstruction of Temples:

Zain-ul-Abidin, in his zeal of religious toleration did a lot to restore their sacred places of worship. A persian chronicler writes, "All those temples and idol houses which were destroyed and razed to the ground during Sikandar's reign were repaired and rebuilt by Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin)".¹ Sanskrit sources as well supports this statement. Jonaraja has made several references to the construction of temples by the Sultan in newly-built cities of Zainagar and Siddhapuri.² Srivara while praising Zain-ul-Abidin for his extraordinary zeal of reconstructing the hindu places of worship writes, "The king made this land like a heaven by adorning it with Viharas, and villages given to Brahmans, with monasteries which help in the performance of pious acts, and with hermitages where the inmates have not to labour".³

The Sultans Visit to the Hindu Shrines and his participation in their festivals:

The Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin not only allowed his non-muslim subjects to celebrate their social and religious festivals, but himself took part in their festivals and undertook pilgrimages

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1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 46.
 2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 88.
 3. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 142.

to their shrines.¹ Describing the account of Sultan's participation in hindu festivals Srivara writes, "Every year on the day of Nagayatra and Ganachakra, the Sultan participated himself and fed the devotees for five days with rice, meat, vegetables and fruit or food. On the last day Sultan dismissed the devotees after presenting them with quilts money and other things.²

The Sultan also participated in the festival of lamps which was celebrated to commenserate the legendary birth of Jehlum. Seated in a boat on the river, the Sultan spent the whole night listening the songs and witnessing worship performed by the citizens.³ Another festival in which he participated was the Chitra festival celebrated with great pomp and show in the spring. On this occasion he visited number of places in order to witness the display of flowers and to enjoy music and dancing.⁴

Abolition of Discriminatory Practices:

Zain-ul-Abidin, as rightly called the fore-runner of Akbar, did not introduce the reforms as an eye wash. Therefore, his reforms were deep rooted. During the previous reigns the court was dominated by the ~~msi~~ ulema of foreign countries and the hindu polity was subjugated to a secondary position. He did not appreciate this

1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 46; Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 124; For a detailed description of his visit to hindu shrines see, The Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, pp. 180-81.
2. Rajatarangini, Srivara, pp. 123-24.
3. Rajatarangini, Srivara, p. 124.
4. Ibid., pp. 132-34.

discrimination on the grounds of religion and as such the court etiquette was provided a wider canvas with a sense of equality and justice.¹ This resulted in the induction of a good number of skilled and talented personalities in the ruling elite. The non-muslims in this way again had the feeling of security in their home land. The famous among them were Shiva Bhat (Shri-Bhat), the Superintendent of Court of Justice,² Karpur Bhatt, the court physician, Rupya Bhatt, the royal architect.³

Besides, there was hosts of lesser hindus referred to in local persian chronicles as "crowds of infidels and tribes of polytheists" on whom the Sultan bestowed "favours".⁴

Criticism to Zain-ul-Abidin's Policy of Religious Tolerations

The Budshah of the masses was also exposed to criticism with regard to his religious policy. Persian chroniclers of Kashmir dubbed him as "irreligious or infidel (bedin)".⁵ While criticising him the anonymous author of Baharistani-Shahi writes, one great fault of the Sultan was that, he revived the idolatry

1. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, pp. 77-78; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 653.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 97.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 54.
5. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 212.

and temple building which had disappeared during the regime of Sultan Sikandar. He further writes, "In every village Jashin's (festivals) of infidels were organized on particular occasions which gave birth to innumerable blasphemous innovation and caused a great damage to religion of the holy Prophet¹" (p. b. u. h.) Another persian chronicler alleged that "Zain-ul-Abidin was not as pious and an upholder of the sunnat as his father was"² Mirza Haidar Dughlat who ruled over Kashmir for a decade (1540-1515 A.D.), writes that "in order to humour all the nations of the world he (Zain-ul-Abidin) paid attention neither to infidelity nor Islam"³

However, these allegations cannot be accepted in toto as in the words of Zutshi, "these are the expressions of obscurantism of those ^{whose} social environment scarcely permitted them to see beyond their little world, or to appreciate the greatness of a monarch who was for ahead of his time"⁴

Therefore, it was natural that they disliked every tolerant step of the Sultan. In fact, their assessment of Zain-ul-Abidin's policy is indeed made from a narrow religious point of view, for they expected from Zain-ul-Abidin, the official support to the men

1. Biharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 57a; See also Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 211-212.
2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 98. Incidentally the above mentioned chroniclers were followers of Shamasuddragi. ^{JKGVL}
3. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, p. 434.
4. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 83.

of Islam and total exclusion of the hindus. However, such an idea never appealed Zain-ul-Abidin, who was an enlightened King and considered his obligation to shower his blessing on all subjects irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

Nevertheless, Zain-ul-Abidin's policy of religious toleration has been highly appreciated and he is believed to be unsurpassed even by his Mughal counter part Akbar the Great.¹ According to Sir Walsey Haig, Zain-ul-Abidin's "views were more enlightened than the emperor's and he practised a tolerance which Akbar only preached".² G. M. D. Sufi, while appreciating his policy writes, "Zain-ul-Abidin's greatness lies in this, that without compromising his religion or having recourse to any such measures of policy, he was able to command as much love and respect from his hindu subjects, perhaps more than Akbar did".³ R. K. Parmu calls his policy of religious restoration "a unique example in history".⁴ Some scholar has even gone to the extent of saying that "so far as the tolerance and catholicism go, he is perhaps the greatest ruler that has ever ruled India or any part

1. Sultan-Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 177
2. The Cambridge History of India, Walsey Haig, Vol. III, p. 281.
3. Islamic Culture of Kashmir, Sufi, p. 80.
4. History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 172.

of it"¹. In the words of Jonaraja, "The Sultan in fact, possessed rare courage of conviction and a will to perform what was beyond the ability of future kings"².

However, a modern scholar has pointed out that it is not convenient to compare Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir with that of Akbar as circumstances in which two rulers formulated their policies were different.³

Firstly, "in India, since the establishment of Muslim rule, rulers were following a harsh policy towards non-muslims. Even during the liberal rule of Sher Shah, the hindus were treated as second class citizens, they had to pay Jaziya and pilgrimage tax; and only a small fraction of them were given responsible and trusted position. But Akbar proclaimed, for the first time in the history of Muslim rule in India, complete religious toleration and broke with the policies of past completely. Therefore, his policy of religious toleration was really unique and original.

Contrary to this, "in Kashmir from the very beginning of Muslim rule, the rulers were tolerant and were not making any distinction between their muslim and non-muslim subjects. In fact, toleration has been a tradition with them. It was only during

1. J.N. Ganhar and P.N. Ganhar, Vivid from Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 150.
2. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 90.
3. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, pp. 150-51.

Sultan Sikandar and Ali Shah's reign that the hindus of Kashmir were persecuted and restrictions were imposed on them for the first time. When Zain-ul-Abidin, therefore, adopted a tolerant policy, he merely revived the traditional policy of the land. Thus, "he created no new concept of politics and his religious policy was not at all the most unique example in history"¹.

It is true that Zain-ul-Abidin only revived the tradition of his land, which was in itself a herculean task in the wake up of religious zeal of neo-converts like Suha-Bhatta and the ulema. As a matter of fact, the grãnd was softened by the preachings of the Reshi saints of Kashmir. He in his own merit was a man of imaginations and a fore-runner, while the Mughals had a tradition of enlightenment and neither Babur nor Humayun followed any policy of repression.

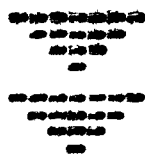
However, Kapur's assumption that Akbar was charged of having compromised his faith is a fact, as he wanted to achieve the popularity on inventing a new religion i.e. Dini-Ilahi which was not acceptable even to one of nine courtiers Man Singh. He catagorically refused to accept the theory by saying if there religions, it is only Islam and Hinduism, Zain-ul-Abidin adopted

1. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 51.

a more tough line i.e. on one hand he followed his religion strictly and at the same time allowed his hindu subjects to follow their faith without any inhibition and he even participated in their religious ceremonies without a compromise.

Lastly, Kapur writes, "If Akbar's religious policy is said to have been motivated by political expediency, same can be attributed to Zain-ul-Abidin either. The one cause which urged Zain-ul-Abidin to adopt liberal policy towards his non-muslim subjects was the necessity of reconstructing state administration which was broken down during the preceeding years.

This view of Kapur can also be rejected on the ground that there was no strong political group like Rajputs of India, which Zain-ul-Abidin wanted to sate by adopting a liberal policy in order to strengthen his own rule. In fact Zain-ul-Abidin was a benevolent despot who realized the deplorable and baneful effects of his predecessors policy and, therefore, reversed the process where lies his real greatness and statesmanship.



7. REVIVAL OF ORTHODOXY:

- a) 1st Phase-- Shams-ud-Din Ireq.
- b) 2nd Phase-- Mirza Haider Dughlat
- c) 3rd Phase-- Chak Rule

REVIVAL OF ORTHODOXY:

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Akbar's conquest of Kashmir¹ alone filled up the vacuum created by the death of Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin as Kashmir could not produce any alternative to him. As such during the succeeding years the fortune-seekers in the guise of administrators, representatives of foreign powers and the like, tried in their own style to grab power. The sons and successors of Budshah were no match to their diplomatic skills. On the other hand, at the global level, religious movements were taking shape and Kashmir could not have remained immune to these developments.²

As stated above, the charming kingdom of Kashmir attracted people from all the times and in their own way enriched its culture of all. Shams Iraqi left everlasting imprints on the history and culture of Kashmir. The foot steps are visible even now.

It was in 1481 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah, a representative namely Shams-ud-Din alias Iraqi of Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan came to Kashmir.³ Shams-ud-Din stayed in Kashmir for eight years and during this period he developed

1. See for the details of Mughal annexation of Kashmir by Akbar, Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, pp. 3-8.
2. For details see Islam in India, ed. Christian W. Troll, NO: II, "The Nurbakhshis of Kashmir", pp. 98-99.
3. Tahfet-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 3; Beharistani-Shehi, Anonymous, f: 60a-b.

rapport with the nobility and ulama. However, during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1493-1505), Iraqi came back not as an ambassador but a Khalifa of Shah Qasim,¹ the son and successor of Shah Muhammad Nurbakshi.

Here it seems worth while to give a brief account of Sayyid Muhammad and his order. The Nurbakhshiya order was a mystic order like Khrawiyya, Nagashbandi and Suhrawardi and this order was founded by Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakshi.² He was born in Kohistan in 795/1393 A.D. and later became the disciple of Khawja Ishaq of Khatlan who himself was a disciple of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Khawja Ishaq conferred upon him the title of Nurbaksh and also gave him the khirqa (garment) of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and declared him as a Mehdi, the Lord of the age.³ Sayyid Muhammad Nurbaksh was a great scholar of a time and his two prominent works were Risale-i-Aqida and Fiqhi Ahwat⁴, which contains the doctrines of Nurbakhshiya faith. He emphasized that his mission

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 18.
2. Majali-ul-Muminin, Nurallah, Shustri, p. 374.
3. Majalis-ul-Muminin, Nurallah Shustri, p. 374.,
For a detailed account of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakshi life See also Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, pp. 283-284; Islam in India, Vol. II, "The Nurbakshis of Kashmir", A. M. Mattoo, pp. 99-100.
4. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 23; However, Mirza Haider Dughlat and Sayyid Ali holds the view that Fiqh-i-Ahwat was not written by Sayyid Muhammad, but by Shams Iraqi., Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Mirza Haider, p. 435; Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 25a.

was to spread the religion of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and twelve Imams¹. He believed that the Imam should be a descendant of Ali (the fourth Caliph), and Fatimah. The Nurbakhshiy followers observed Muharram as an expression of mourning for the martyrdom of Imam Husain.² Sayyid Muhammad Nurbaksh died in 1464 A.D.³ Before nominating his two successors, one his elder son Shah Qasim and other Shams-ud-Din, who later on introduced the Nurbakhshiya order in Kashmir.

The introduction of Nurbakhshiya order in Kashmir had a deep impact on the socio-religious and political history of Kashmir. Henceforth the Kashmiri muslim were bifurcated into two hostile sects, the Sunnis and Shias (the followers of Nurbakhshiya who later amalgamated into Shi'ism), and consequently the followers of these two sects i.e. the Chaks and Magres were always at war to dominate the politics of country, which ultimately led the downfall of the sultanate and the annexation of Kashmir by Mughals.

Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi was born at a village Kund in Solgon district of the then Iraq.⁴ His father Ibrahim was a Masavi Sayyid, and his mother belonged to a Sayyid family of

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1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 20-23.
 2. Majalis-ul-Muminin, Nurullah Shustari, p. 317. See also Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, pp. 283-284, Islam in India, Vol. II, "The Nurbakhshiyas of Kashmir", A. M. Mattoo, pp. 99-100.
 3. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 83.
 4. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 3; According to Mirza Haider Iraqi was born in Talish in Iraq. Tarikhi-Rashidi Mirza Haider, p. 435.

Qazvin¹. No details of his early life and his contacts with the Nurbakhshiya saints are available. However, his elevation to the courtship of Sultan Hussain Mirza reveals the fact that he had received qualitative education befitting a courtier. It was in 1481 A.D. that Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan deputed him to Kashmir as an ambassador.² During this assignment he developed secret contacts with some influential ulama and nobles the prominent among them were Baba Ismail and Baba Ali Najar. According to the author of *Tahfat-ul-Ahbab* Shams-ud-Din Iraqi used to give instructions of Shaikh Ismail in religious matters and appointed him as his representative.³ However, taking into the consideration the prestigious position⁴, which Baba Ismail possessed in Kashmir it seems unlikely that he would have acted as a representative of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. Baba Ismail was also heading a famous Madrasa which had become a centre of higher education and students used to come from Iraq, Transoxania and India.⁵

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 3.

2. Ibid.

3. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 3-4.

4. Baba Ismail Kubraviya was holding the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam, after the death of his father Mulana Hafiz. He was held in high esteem by Sultan as well as local people. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 22b.

5. Ibid.

Hundreds of Sufis used to put up in this Khanqah, offered prayers and recited Awaro-di-Fathiya, a treatise composed by Sayyid Ali Hamadani. A langar was also attached to this Khanqah.¹ Therefore, Baba Ismail's dominance as well as the hostile attitude of Kashmiri ulama compelled Shams Iraqi to leave Kashmir.²

After his return from Kashmir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi left the service of Husain Mirza and went to live with his spiritual master Shah Qasim Nurbaksh. After spending eight years with Shah Qasim, Shams Iraqi was again sent back with a Khilefatnama to propogate the Nurbakhshiya faith in Kashmir.³

This time conditions were quite favourable for Iraqi to propogate his faith as on one hand, country was plunged into a civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah and on other hand, Baba Ismail on account of his old age had nominated Baba Ali Najar as his successor.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 14; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 23a.

3. According to author of Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, on hearing that Baba Ismail, whom Iraqi had appointed as his representative, had renounced the Nurbakhshiya doctrines, Shah Qasim deputed Iraqi to Kashmir as he possessed the first hand information of the land. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 6. However, according to Sayyid Ali Shams Iraqi had himself deputed his trusted person to varify the conditions prevailing in Kashmir. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 23.

4. Ibid., ff. 23a-b.

In 1502 A.D. Shams-ud-Din Iraqi entered Kashmir by Punch-Baramulla route¹ accompanied by a large number of learned Sufis and their families.² On hearing the news that the Khalifa of Shah Qasim had arrived, large number of people including Baba Ali Najar went to greet him. But he found Iraqi the previous envoy to the court of Hasan Shah (1472-1484), in the robe of a derwish.³ Baba Ali Najar took Shams Iraqi to his own Khanqah and directed his followers to attend the discourses of Majilis of Iraqi.⁴ Thus in the course of time Iraqi became very popular and some other disciples of Baba Ismail also joined his faith.

These developments created bad blood between Baba Ismail and Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and at last Baba Ismail passed away a broken heart⁵, whereas Baba Ali Najar and some other prominent nobles gave fillip to the cause of Iraqi. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Shams-ud-Din Iraqi applied his energies to advance the cause of Nurbakhshiya order and the most important convert was Musa Raine a powerful noble, who gave him both moral as well as

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 24-25.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 23a.

4. Ibid., f. 23b; Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 32.

5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 24a.

material support.¹ Musa Raina offered a large tract of land, orchards and his own house situated at Zadibal to Iraqi.² A splendid Khanqah was built in 1504-5³, which became the centre of the order.

However, inspite of the initial success, Shams Iraqi had to face the strong opposition⁴ of the Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi, the Prime Minister of Sultan Muhammad Shah.⁵ Consequently, Iraqi left Kashmir and went to Ladakh where he continued his missionary activities and was able to convert a number of Buddhist inhabitants to his creed.⁶ Shams Iraqi remained in Ladakh for a short period and returned back at the invitation of Musa Raina, who now became the Prime Minister of Fathi Shah, after the death of Sayyid Muhammad

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 32.
2. Ibid., p. 33.
3. Ibid., p. 64.
4. Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, f. 57b; Tahafat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 64-65. According to the author of Tahfat-ul-Ahbab the main reason of this hostility was that Muhammad Shah (then ruler of Kashmir) on the advise of his nobles entrusted the arrangements of Khanqah-i-Hamadania to Shams Iraqi which aroused the jealousy of Sayyid Baihaqi. Secondly, on account of the prestigious position which Iraqi attained in Kashmir, Sayyid Baihaqi sought the hand of the daughter of Iraqi (whose name was Bibi Bara), but Iraqi refused and married his daughter to an unknown traveller Shaikh Abdul Salam. This antagonised the Sayyid and created a lot of hurdles for Iraqi. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 64-65.
5. The Baihaqi Sayyids came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). They played an important role in the politics of the country by entering into matrimonial alliances with the royalty. In a course of time, they were able to plant the minor son (Muhammad Shah) of Hasan Shah on the throne, who was son of the daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi. See for details of role of Baihaqi Sayyids, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 179.
6. Tahafat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 71-72.

Baihaqi and replacement of Muhammad Shah¹. The appointment of Musa Raina as a Prime Minister provided again an ample opportunity to Iraqi to spread his faith in every nook and corner of the Valley. According to Persian chroniclers, "all traces of infidelity and idol worship were replaced by Iraqi by Islamic symbols; the infidels and holy-thread bearers (Brahmans) of Kashmir were converted to Islam by force²" and as much official support was accorded by Musa Raina that Iraqi was able to convert 24,000 Brahman families to Islam.³ Suka the contemporary Sanskrit chronicler also supports this statement by writing "Meera Shams became Musa Chandra's (Musa Raina) guru without giving him religious instruction. According to his advice Musa Chandra arrested men belonging to temples and confiscated lands of the Brahmans and gave them to Meerashasha's servants⁴."

However, the mission of Iraqi was checked when four leaders Ibrahim Magre, Jahangir Pedru, Osman Dar and Kaji Chak joined hands and attacked Musa Raina on the pretext of his religious policy.⁵ In

1. Ibid., p. 77.
2. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 22; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 88-89.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 78a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 347; According to Haider Malik for this auspicious work Musa Raina was given the title of "Idol breaker", Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 107.
4. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 339.
5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 81a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, f. 115a.

this encounter Musa Raina was defeated and died in 1513 A.D.¹ Therefore, while victors were busy in scrambling for leadership, a Pandit Nirmala Kantha Bhat² started a movement to re-convert the most of the hindus who had embraced Islam under the duress.

However, this effort of Pandit Kantha Bhat came to halt in 1516 A.D.,³ when Muhammad Shah appointed Kaji Chak as his chief minister. Kaji Chak by now had realised that without Iraqis active support he cannot run state and as such decided to toe his line of action. To Quote Baharistani-Shahi, "the most important achievement of Kaji Chak, at the bidding of Shams Iraqi was the extirpation of the Hindu community."⁵ It so happened that during

1. According to Baharistani-Shahi, his death was caused by fall from his horse. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 81a-b. According to Hasan his neck got entranged in a vine creeper and he fell from the horse and died on the spot. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, f. 115b. Mohibul Hasan has pointed out that this manner of death is also attributed to Idi Raina by Haidar Malik and Narayan Koul. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 114.
2. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 353; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 88b-89b; Although he has not given the name of Pandit but has admitted the fact. It is worthwhile to quote Suka who writes, "In times gone by Shriya (meaning Shriy Bhatt, Chief justice of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin) had planted the creeper of his karma. On the approach of winter it was watered by the good Brahman Nirmala Kantha (alias Kanthabhatta). Then at the time of the mlechha oppression caused by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, This Kantha Bhat and others held a Council and was able to avert the disgrace which such oppression begot."
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 86a; Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 350.
4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, p. 25; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 83-84
5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 330, 84

Musa Raina's reign, most of the Hindus were converted to Islam. Subsequently, many of them had abjured the faith under the influence of their leader and once again started to worship idols. Therefore, Shams Iraqi urged Kaji Chak that the people who had once embraced Islam could not, thereafter, continue to behave like Hindus, and if they were not compelled to conduct themselves as true Muslims they should be expelled from the country.¹ Accordingly some eight hundred Hindus leaders were massacred and many others were forcibly converted to Islam.²

This is supported by Suka as well, who writes "Khwaja Mera Mohammad (Shams Iraqi) by devoting his life to the service of Kaji Chak, and by giving him wealth, induced him, who was alarmed at the work of Nirmal Kantha and others, to give him permission to act against them, and actuated by the mlechchhas, caused them to be murdered. The oppression of Mausulas (Muslims), which began in the time of the Saldas who⁶ made prominent by Musa Chandra, and was perfected by Kaji Chak.³

Demolition of Temples:

According to a modern scholar, 'the Nurbakhshiya movement was a mixture of militarism and social reform in the land of its origin, so it followed the same characteristics in Kashmir as well.⁴ Therefore, Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who was a zealous missionary could not restrain his temptation to stop the Hindu ceremonies, destroy

1. Ibid., p. 330. 84

2. Ibid., p. 330. 84

3. Rajatarangini, Suka, pp. 353-54.

4. Islam in India, Vol. II, "The Nurbakhshiyas of Kashmir", A.M. Mattoo, p. 105.

their temples and convert them to his creed. According to Persian chroniclers at the arrival of Shams Iraqi, the infidel practices were in vogue and people worshiped their idols openly.¹ According to them although idol worshipers received a great set back during Sikandar's reign, however, their customs again gained ground and Islamic practices were either forgotten or left by the neo-converts. Subsequently, Iraqi made exigent effort to wipe out the idol temples and replaced them by erecting mosques in their place.² According to one tradition, at least ten mosques purely out of stone were built in a year.³ The Imam and Muazin were appointed in these mosques to lead the daily prayers. The first opportunity to destroy the temples came when Iraqi started the construction of Khanqahi-Nurbakhshiya.⁴ He was reported that there was a forest which contained the oldest deodar (cedar) tree in

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 178, 211-12; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 78.
2. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 178; Tarikh-Ferishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 280; Haidar Malik Chadura has given a legendary account that once Baba Rajab Ganai, a famous disciple of Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Kashmir had once predicted that "the demolition of all idol temples will soon take place at the hands of a high born Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, who will come from Iraq and shall turn the temples completely desolate. Tarikh-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 182. According to Baharistani-Shahi, Iraqi, occupied himself to destroy the temples and all traces of infidels and idol worships were replaced by Islamic symbols, (p. 78)
3. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 135.
4. Ibid., pp. 32-58.

Kanraj district. It was a sacred place of the Hindus¹ and nobody dared to cut a single tree from this forest. However, Iraqi got permission from Sultan Muhammad Shah through his Wazir Musa Raina to cut down the tree² and its timber was used in the construction of Khanqahi-Nurbakhshiya. He built a mosque on this land and appointed an Imam and Muazin to lead the daily and Friday prayers. A few kharwars of land were also granted by the Sultan for the maintenance of this mosque³. The author of Tahfat-ul-Ahbab had given a descriptive account of such temples which were completely destroyed by Shams Iraqi or by his son Shaikh Daniyal and were replaced by mosques.⁴

It is true that Shams-ud-Din Iraqi was a zealous missionary and applied force in order to convert the Hindus and Muslims into his creed, but persian chroniclers had exaggerated his achievements in order to represent him as a champion of Islam. No doubt, after Sultan Sikandar and Ali Shah the infidel customs especially

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1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 53, 186. He gives the name of temple as Muhagin
 2. Ibid., pp. 55-56; Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 339.
 3. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 57.
 4. The famous temples which according to author were demolished by Iraqi or Shaikh Daniyal are as under:

Muhagin, Bunawwan, Bakhi-Ranu, Puna-Ranu, Jati Ranu, Kandi-Ranu and Matwal in Sopore district. For details see Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, pp. 54, 78, 135, 178, 180, 184, 193, 196-97, 200, 215, 219, 223, 244. However, there is no reference about these temples in Kalhan's Rajatarangini or in the modern works like Ancient Monuments of Kashmir; R.C. Kak, The Valley of Kashmir, Lawrence etc, etc.

during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin were revived, as the rulers were liberal and allowed full religious freedom to their subjects. Consequently, the Hindus performed their rituals and customs freely and it had its impact on some neo-converts as well. However, it does not mean as the author of Tahfat-ul-Ahbab put that 'all the people of Kashmir whether a ulema or a Qazi belonging to Hanfia or Shafia sect were Mushriks and Kafirs at the arrival of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi¹.

The account of the Persian chroniclers regarding the destruction of temples by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi is highly exaggeration of facts. They claim that all idol temples were demolished by Iraqi and his followers and were replaced by mosques and khanqahs. But Mirza Haider Dughlat conquered Kashmir only after few years of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi (1540 A.D.) and writes, "that in and around Kashmir there are more than 150 temples"² The reference of Mirza Haider is further supported by Jahangir in 1623 as he writes, "The lofty temples of Kashmir which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence"³. The exaggerating account of

1. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, Anonymous, p. 22; According to author only the followers of Nurbakhshiya sect were true Muslims.
2. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haider, p. 426.
3. Tuzki-Jehangiri, Jahangir, Vol. II, p. 150.

Tahfat-ul-Ahbab and Baharistani-Shahi is further discerned by the fact that they attribute the destruction of such temples to Iraqi which were unanimously agreed to be destroyed by Sultan Sikandar.¹

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Shams-ud-Din Iraqi was a zealous missionary and occupies an important place in the religious history of Kashmir. After the departure of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani some neo-converts had abandoned the Islamic practices and re-adopted the Hindu customs and rituals. But Iraqi worked hard to revive the Islamic practice, and for this purpose he deputed his representatives to distant parts of the Valley to teach the lessons of Islam to the people. However, in his effort to propagate his mission, Iraqi deviated from the liberal principles of Islam as Quran categorically speaks "let there be no compulsion in religion."²

This attitude of Iraqi towards the non-muslims and sunnis proved very harmful for the people of Kashmir. The introduction of his ideology created a division even with the Muslim community.

1. Like the temple of Paraspore, which is believed to be destroyed by Sikandar and Persian chroniclers have been a curious story about the destruction. For details see Chapter "Orthodoxy and Experiment."
2. Al-Quran, Sura Bakra.

Henceforth, they began to distinguish themselves as Shias¹ and Sunnis and their religious disputes in the words of Firishta went to such lengths among the nobles of the state, that they even drew swords in the kings presence and slew each other in the hall of audience².

By the time Shams-ud-Din Iraqi died³, the Nurbakhshiya sect had gained a strong footing in the Valley and after Iraqi's death, his mission was carried on by his son Shaikh Daniyal and his Khalifas.

However, the Nurbakhshiya sect received a serious set back at the hands of Mirza Haidar Dughlat who conquered Kashmir in 1540 A . D. Before discussing the orthodox religious policy of Mirza Haidar Dughlat it is proper to provide a brief account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's conquest of Kashmir.

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat was born in (1499-1500 A.D.) at Tashqand, the capital of the province of Shash, where his father Mohammad Husain was Governor. He descended from the Dughlat

1. Almost all modern scholars opine that with the passage of time the Nurbakhshiyas of Kashmir took the character of Shias. For details see Islam in India, Vol. II., The Nurbakhshiyas of Kashmir, A. M. Mattoo, Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibu'l Hasan, p. 287. The Valley of Kashmir, Lawrence, p. 284; A History of Sufism in India, A. A. Rizvi, Vol. I, p. 299.
2. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 280.
3. Tahfat-ul-Ahbab, does not mention the date of his death, But from the work, it appears that he must have died just before the first invasion of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat in 1540 A. D.

tribe, a sub-division of the Chaghatay branch of the Mongols. On his mother's side he was related to Babur, their mother being sisters.¹

Mirza Haider had a chequered career² and in 1514, after the death of Sultan Ahmad, the ruler of Kashgar and Mughlistan, he entered into the service of his son Sultan Said Khan. He participated in Sultan's war's against Kirghiz, the Uzbegs and other tribes. However, his important campaign was one in which he was despatched with Prince Sikandar Khan to conquer Ladakh. This task was easily accomplished,³ but the severe winter made it impossible to stay in Ladakh. Therefore, Kashmir was selected for the purpose. Mirza Haider Dughlat crossed the Zojila and entered Kashmir early in January, 1533.⁴ He remained in Kashmir for about four months and inspite of his initial success, Mirza Haider was forced to retreat from Kashmir under the pressure of the resistance of the nobles of Kashmir.⁵

1. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haider, p. 9.
2. For details of his early life see "Tarikhi-Rashidi" introduction, pp. 1-23.
3. It appears that Ladakh was easily conquered by Mirza Haider as he gives no account of resistance by its inhabitants. See also Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haider, p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 423
5. Ibid., pp. 14, 441; Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, p. For further details see Kashmir Under Sultana, Mohibul Hasan, pp. 126-128; Kingdom of Kashmir, M. L. Kapur, pp. 171-72.

After the death of Sultan Said Khan, Mirza Haidar entered the service of Kamran and Humayun. While he was in Lahore, Mirza Haidar received an appeal for help from Regi Chak and Abdal Magre¹ two influential nobles of Kashmir, against Kaji Chak² through Khawaja Haji who was acting as their agent with the Mughals.

Being defeated by Sher Shah, Mughals at this time were discussing a general policy, the emperor Humayun should adopt. Mirza Haidar Dughlat suggested Humayun to march Kashmir. But he declined the proposal on various grounds. However, in 1540, Mirza Haidar alone entered Kashmir by Punch pass after defeating the disarrayed forces of Kashmir.³

The Khutba was recited and coins struck in the name of Humayun. But Mirza Haidar allowed Nazuk Shah to continue as titular Sultan. He divided the entire land of Kashmir among himself, Malik Abdal Magry and Malik Regi Chak.⁴

1. Elias and Ross in his translation wrongly confuses Kaji Chak with Abdal Magry. He writes, that "the Kaji Chak, Abdal Magry and Zangi (Regi) Chak had been turned out of Kashmir and appealed to me for help." Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar p. 482. In fact it was Kaji Chak who forced Abdal Magry and Regi Chak to seek refuge in the hill when they entered into communication with Mirza Haidar. This is also supported by Nizam-ud-Din, (Tabqati-Akbari, p. 615), Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. Beharistani-Shahi, p. 106b, and Suka, Rajstarangini, pp. 378-79.
2. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, p. 473.
3. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, p. 485, Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, pp. 107-8; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 25a-b.
4. Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 107b.

Revival of Orthodoxys

Mirza Haider Dughlat, himself a sunni, adopted a liberal and conciliatory attitude towards the non-sunnis i.e. shias or Nurbakhshiyas during first few years of his reign. However, later on he opted for policy of persecution and adopted very harsh attitude towards the followers of Iraqi.¹ He charged Shams-ud-Din Iraqi with blaspheme on the ground that he introduced a corrupt form of religion in Kashmir which is neither sunnism nor shiasm. To quote him, "The people were (formerly) all Hanifi, but in the reign of Fath Shah, the father of this Nadir, a man of the name of Shams came from Talish in Iraq, who gave himself out as a Nurbakhshi. He introduced a corrupt form of religion giving it the name of Nurbakhsh and practised many heresies. These sectaries revile the companions of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and Aisha as do the shias, but contrary to the teachings of these latter, they took upon Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakshi as the lord of the age and the promised Mahdi. They do not believe in the saints and holy persons in whom the shia believe, but regard all these as (appertaining to) sunnis. Shams (Iraqi) introduced many impious practices and infidel beliefs and gave his heretical sect, the name of Nurbakshiya. That book, the Fiqhi-Ahwat² which is celebrated in Kashmir, I sent, complete, to the ulama of Hindustan, who repudiated

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 120.

2. Mirza Haider holds the view that Fiqhi-Ahwat was written by Shams Iraqi and not by Sayyid Muhammad Nurbaksh.

decree (Futwa) or remonstrance as follows: After persuing this book and weighing its contents, it seemed clear to us that the author of it was of a false sect, who had gone against the Book (Quran) and the Sunna, and did not belong to any denomination of the people of truth¹. He not only banned the Nurbakshiya sect but destroyed the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi at Zadibal.² He then persecuted other shia leaders like Shaikh Shanqli,³ Sufi Da'ud, Mulla Hajib Khati, while some like Qazi Ali were exiled and their houses were destroyed.⁴ In 1549 A.D. Shaikh Daniyal, the son of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who had gone away to Skardu owing to Mirza Haidar's intolerance, was brought back and thrown into prison. After this, false witnesses were obtained that he had reviled the first three caliphs and on March 14, 1550 A.D., he was executed by the decree of Qazi Habib, Qazi Ibrahim and Qazi Abdul Ghafar.⁵

1. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, pp. 434-435.
2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 116; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 22b; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 221. Sayyid Ali and Hasan says, that Shams Iraqi's bones were taken out and burnt and its tomb was turned into public latrine. But Baharistani-Shahi does not mention this.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 26a. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 120.
4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 222. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 120.
5. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 222; Baharistani Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 111b-112a; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 120.

After the ruthless massacre of Nurbakshiyas, Mirza Haidar exclaimed that, "Thanks be to God that at the present time no one in Kashmir dares openly profess this faith; but all deny it and gave themselves out as a good sunnis. They are aware of my severity towards them and know that if any one of the sect appears he will not escape the punishment of death"¹

However, this policy of religious persecution adopted by Mirza Haidar Dughlat generated the feelings of resentment in the minds of the majority of the Kashmiri Muslims. In fact, the execution of Daniyal was a great mistake committed by Mirza Haidar because Shaikh Daniyal was a pious man and as such was respected in the country. The Mirza had been warned by Mulla Abdullah, one of his confidants against this step, but he ignored him by replying that Daniyal's execution is necessary for the stability and welfare of the kingdom.² However, the effect of his policy was contrary to his expectations and even those Kashmiri nobles who had hitherto remained loyal to him now alienated and began to conspire his overthrow.³ Therefore, Idi Raina, Malik Muhammad Naji and Deulat Chak revolted against Mirza Haidar Dughlat resulting in his tragic death.⁴

1. Tarikhi-Rashidi, Mirza Haidar, p. 436.

2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 112b.

3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 120.

4. According to Sayyid Ali Mirza Haidar while trying to enter the fort of Manar, while Kashmiri nobles had ~~at~~ allighted, was killed by an arrow in 1550 A.D. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 27a. But Abul Fazl gives the date of his death as 1551 A.D. Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, Eng. Tr. Blochman, p. 313. For a detailed account of revolt by Kashmiri nobles against Mirza Haidar see Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hassan, pp. 139-40.

Almost all contemporary¹ as well as modern² historians opine that Mirza Haidar Dughlat was a fanatic and staunch sunni, who was intolerant to those who do not conform to the sunni creed. They pointed out that the liberal attitude which Mirza Haidar adopted in the beginning of his reign was motivated by political expediency and as soon as he strengthened his position he threw the mask of tolerance and gave free reins to his fanaticism. But this can be partly accepted, as Mirza Haidar was a vigilant politician as well. In fact to please Regi Chak and other Nurbakshiya chiefs, Mirza Haidar Dughlat even visited the tomb of Shams Ireqi and paid homage like a devotee³. But after the revolt of Regi Chak his attitude atonce changed towards the Nurbakshiyas on the pretext that the uniformity of religion is essential for the maintainence of peace and order in the country⁴.

In fact after the revolt of Regi Chak Mirza Haidar adopted the policy of divide and rule in order to strengthen his own position which was challenged by Regi Chak and other Kashmiri nobles, who were disappointed to see that Mirza Haidar Dughlat had concentrated all powers into his own hands and appointed his followers as

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 26a; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 221.

2. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 137; Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 175; Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Permu, p. p. 228.

3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 105

4. Ibid., p. 112.

governors of different provinces.¹ Therefore, to achieve his goal he tried to win over the support of sunni sect, who had suffered much during the previous regime of Iraqi. However, Mirza Haidar Dughlat did not succeed in his plan and payed the price of orthodoxy by way of his own life.

The parochial approach of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and Mirza Haidar Dughlat upset the social order and gave rise to the sectarian strified society. The society was horizontally and vertically divided. The banefull effects of this policy became visiable particularly during Chak rule.²

Nevertheless some rulers were liberal towards their non-Shia subjects. Daulat Chak, whose rise to the post of Prime Minister marks the beginning of Chak ascendancy³, remained favourably inclined towards Shia creed and made serious endeavours to revive the sect.

1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, f. 146b.
2. The Chaks came to Kashmir from the country of the Darads (Gilgit Hunza region). They entered Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva and were raised to prominence by Sultan Shams-ud-Din, Shahmir. But it was not until the time of Muhammad Shah that they began to play an important role in the affairs of the kingdom. Eventually, they succeeded in defeating all their rivals and making themselves supreme in the country and ultimately Ghazi Chak deposed the last nominal ruler (Habib-Shah) of Shahmir dynasty and ascended the throne in 1554 A.D. under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Ghazi Shah. For details see "Muslim Rule in Kashmir", Nizam-ud-Din Wani, pp. 1-5; Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, pp. 181-82; Islamic Culture in Kashmir, Sufi, pp. 105-106.
3. After the death of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, a civil war took place between Idi Raina and Daulat Chak in which Idi Raina was defeated and Daulat Chak emerged an victorious. Therefore, after this victory Daulat Chak exercised all real powers relegating Sultan Habib Shah only a titular head. See, Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 147.

He at once rebuilt the mausoleum of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and also constructed new mausoleum for Shaikh Daniyal and Baba Ali Najjar.¹ He also revived the religious order of the Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and ordered that the names of twelve Imams were recited in the Friday sermons.²

However, it cannot be denied that he declared 'every one is free to profess any religion, he liked and no one was allowed to impose his own beliefs upon others.'³

However, during Ghazi Shah's reign a celebrated Sufi saint Shaikh Hamza Makhdum⁴ alias Mahbub-ul-Alam waged an incessant ideological battle against the shias. He is said to have converted number of shias to the sunni faith. With the result, Ghazi Shah Chak

1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 120a-21b.
2. Ibid.
3. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 120a-21b. However, according to Suka, Daulat Chak imposed Jaziya on non-Muslims and when a Brahman asked him to abolish the tax he replied 'how can I, who am a mlechcha, cease by your order, to levy tax from Brahmans. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 382. However, from the above reference it becomes clear that although Daulat Chak imposed jaziya on non-muslims, but they were given complete freedom of religion. Again it was due to his liberal attitude that a Brahman dared to ask him to abolish the jaziya.
4. Shaikh Hamza was a celebrated sufi saint of Kashmir. He was born in 1494 A.D. at Tujir in modern district of Baramulla. He obtained his early education under Shaikh Fath Ullah Kubravi the son of Baba Ismail kubravi. For details of his life and role in Kashmir see Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqi, pp. 20-23.

who was a orthodox shia exiled him from the city to the village Biru.¹ The Shaikh returned to the city only after Ghazi Shah's death.² He was held in high esteem by Husain Shah Chak and Ali Shah. Both the kings used to pay visit to Shaikh Hamza. He died in 984/1576 A.D. at the age of eighty four during Ali Shah's reign.³ He was buried in his favourite resort for meditation on the slope of Hariparbat in Srinagar.⁴

The sectarian disputes became inevitable in 1568 A.D. during Hasan Shah's reign when quarrel took place between Yusuf Aindar, a staunch shia and Qazi Habib, the Imam of Jamia Masjid.⁵ Qazi Habib was going on a horse back to Jamia Masjid when Yusuf Aindar indulged and rebuked the Qazi. The Qazi hit him by his whip and the shiet stuck him with his sword and injured the Qazi resultin

1. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azim, p. 91; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 209.

2. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, p. 209; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, f. 138b.

3. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azim, pp. 105-106; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, p. 211; Asrar-ul-Abrar, Mishkati, p. 143.

4. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. III, p. 212; Tarikhi-Kabir, Miskeen, p. 154.

5. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 28a; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azim, p. 151.

in a longdrawn battle on account of the execution of Yusuf Aindar.¹ The Mughals were in search of an opportunity and this incident offered them to intervene directly in the affairs of Kashmir.

This incident aroused the feelings of the sunnis, and Ali Koka a staunch sunni wazir, convened a meeting with the permission of Sultan, under the important ulama like Qazi Musa, Yusuf Alams and Mulla Firoz Ganai. A decree was issued by these ulama by virtue of which Yusuf Aindar was executed.² However, the execution of Yusuf Aindar created great resentment among the shias.

1. Tarikhi-Kashmiri, Sayyid Ali, f. 28a; Haider Malik is completely silent about this incident. We find a differed version of this incident in different chronicles. According to Beharistani-Shahi Qazi Habib was prejudicial against Ahli-Bait and used to abuse Shia's. One day he spat towards Yusuf Aindar and hit him with whip. Yusuf Aindar who was a soldier by spirit, hit Qazi with his sword and injured by him, Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 127a-b. According to Mughal sources in 1568, Qazi Habib, a person of Hanfite persuasion, after leaving the great mosque on Friday went to pay his devotion at the tomb of some holy person at the foot of Maran hill. On this occasion a Rafdi (Shia) Yusuf Aindar by name drew the sword and stuck the Qazi on the head. He levelled also another blow at the Qazi who in endeavouring to save his head, had his finger cut off. This attack arose out of no other cause than the animosity which existed between the two sects. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 747. Hasan also narrates the same story. However, Azami's vision is entirely different. He says, "after completing Friday prayer's, Yusuf Aindar threw away the cap from Qazi Habib's head, who was the Imam of the City. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azim, ff. 151b-52a.
2. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 745; Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 127b-28a. The author has exaggerated the manner in which Yusuf Aindar was executed.

Even some sunni ulama considered the execution unjustified.² Therefore, supported by some enlightened sunnis, Qazi Zain and Mulla Sulaiman prevailed upon Sultan to review the whole case.²

It was at this time that Akbar, Mughal Emperor of India whose covetous eyes were always on Kashmir sent Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqub to the court of Sultan Husain Shah.³ As Husain Shah was perturbed by the controversy over the execution of Yusuf Aindar, so he referred the matter to Mirza Muqim.⁴ The Mirza sent for all the prominent ulama including those who had condemned Yusuf to death. Every one came except Qazi Musa who fled from the city. These members told him that they had awarded the punishment under

1. As Quran categorically describes the punishment for criminals:

"Life for life, eye for eye,
Nose for Nose, Ear for Ear,
Tooth for Tooth and Wounds
equal for equal"

Al Quran, Surah _____

Therefore, in light of this verse of Quran they hold the view that decree against Yusuf Aindar was unlawful as Qazi was not killed by ~~Yusuf~~ Yousuf.

2. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 127b.
3. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297; Muntakhabat Tawarikh, Badauni, Vol. II, p. 128. Muhibul Hasan and Parmu assert that Mir Yaqub was deputed as wakil by Sultan Hasan Shah to the court of Akbar with Mirza Muqim, Kashmir Under Sultans, Muhibul Hasan, pp. 156-57, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parmu, p. 55. However, Dr. Mattoo follows the Mughal sources, Kashmir Under Mughals, Ann A. M. Mattoo, p. 5.
4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 128a. Muntakhabat-ul-Tawarikh, Badauni, Vol. II, p. 128.

the instructions of Ali Koka on behalf of Sultan Husain Shah, who wanted to get rid from Yusuf Aindar.¹ However, Sultan denied the charge and ultimately all the ulema suggested the persecution of defaulting Qazis. Husain Shah acted upon their advice, executed Mulla Firoz and Mulla Yusuf Almas.² Their bodies were dragged around the city which caused a terror among the sunnis.³ Therefore, a section of them under the leadership of Mulla Abdulla, Ali Koka and Doni Koka⁴ proceeded to the court of Akbar with an appeal to for the redressal of their grievances. He was eagerly waiting such an opportunity. He got Mirza Muqim and Yaqub Mir executed.⁵ Mulla Abdullah, Doni Koka and Ali Koka were also imprisoned. He also sent back the daughter of Husain Shah, offered in marriage together with the presents.⁶

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1. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 128a-b.
 2. Ibid., Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297.
 3. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297.
 4. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 130; Muntakhat-Tawarikh Badauni, Vol. II, p. 128.
 5. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 130; Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297. However, he mentions only the execution of Mirza Muqim.
 6. Muntakhat-Tawarikh, Badauni, Vol. II, p. 128.

It is true that during Husain Shah's reign communal riots took place which caused much harm to the future of country, but the facts reveal that he was not himself a fanatic. He allowed the practices of Hanafite law and also appointed Qazi Habib, a sunni, as Imam of Jamia Masjid.¹ In fact both on the occasions of Yusuf Aindar and other two Muftis execution he was forced by circumstances to uphold the decision². His attitude towards his non-muslim subjects was also liberal and they enjoyed full religious freedom.³ The Sultan also used to participate in their festivals, like Basant Panchami, Sripanchami etc⁴

After Hasan Shah the sectarian disputes were subsided for some time. However, with the accession of Yaqub Shah the communal striffs reached it climax which ultimately paved the way for Mughal

1. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohammad Azim, p. 151. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 134.
2. This assertion is supported by Firishta who writes, "Husain Shah unable to up-hold the verdict of Mirza Muqim and ulama of Kashmir, left the city at this critical juncture and returned only when actual act of execution was over. Tarikhi-Firishta, Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 297.
3. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 392. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 135; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 125. According to Persian chroniclers he was called by his subjects as Nushirvan-i-Adil after the great Sasanid Emperor of Persia.
4. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 393.

annexation of Kashmir, Yaqub Shah reversed the policy of his father and put himself to propagate the shia faith. By his injudicious acts he stirred up the hearts of the people ~~up~~ against himself.¹ He antagonised the sunnis by appointing Mulla Ganai of a shia faith, as a Qazi of city, in place of Qazi Musa, a reputed sunni divine who had attained much political as well as religious prestige during thirty-two years of Chak rule in Kashmir. His imprudence led him to execute Qazi Musa² which was greatly resented by the sunnis who went to solicit the help of Akbar against the cruel king.³ Persian chroniclers attribute different version on pretext of which Qazi Musa was executed. According to Haider Malik Yaqub Shah involved Qazi Musa in religious discussions despite the latter's request that king should not concern himself with religious matters but devote his time and attention to the affairs of the country. Therefore, displeased with Qazi Musa's replies Yaqub Shah executed him.⁴ Other Persian chroniclers assert that Yaqub Shah sent Mulla Amin to Qazi Musa with a message to mention henceforth the name of "Hazrat Ali" in public prayers.⁵ As Qazi refused to comply he was

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1. Akbarname, Abul Fazl, Vol. III, p. 763; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 159.
 2. Akbarname, Abul Fazl, Vol. III, p. 763, Ibid., p. 159, Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 82; Muntakhabut-ul-Tawarikh Badauni, p. 365.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 159.
 5. Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, pp. 270-71; Tarikhi-Azami, Mohd Azim, p. 175; The shia sect maintained that Ali was the first legitimate khalifa to Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and therefore, rejected Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman, the first three khalifas as usurpers. Dictionary of Islam, pp. 572-80.

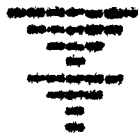
mercilessly killed.¹ However, some modern scholars² pointed out that Qazi Musa besides being a religious rival of Yaqub Shah was his political enemy as well. They assert that Qazi Musa in a course of time had emerged as an influential religious and political leader. He was holding overwhelming influence over the amirs and grandees of the kingdom and previously they issued the arms and ammunition against Mughal invader Raja Bhagwan Das only at his instance. Therefore, Yaqub Shah in order to get rid from his religious and political rival executed Qazi Musa.

However, the execution of Qazi Musa was extremely an unwise step of Yaqub Shah. Instead of making joint effort to defend the country from Mughals he antagonized his own people by his injudicious acts. Had Qazi Musa been a political leader only, the position would have been different. But Qazi Musa was primarily a religious leader and his execution was bound to antagonise the whole sunni community. So, in order to save the kingdom from turmoil and an imprudent king, two important nobles Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak³, led a large group of Kashmir's to Emperor Akbar to

1. Tarikhi-Azami, Mohammad Azam, p. 175; Tarikhi-Hasan, Hasan, Vol. II, pp. 270-71. Modern scholars like Mohibul Hasan, Dr. Parmu, Dr. A. M. Mattoo and Dr. Kapur holds the similar view. However, Mughal sources assert that religious fanaticism led Yaqub Shah to execute Qazi Musa, Akbarnama, Abul Fazl, Vol. III, p. 763.
2. Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizam-ud-Din Wani, pp. 122-123. Baharistani Shahi, ed. Akbar Hyderi Kashmiri, p. 207.
3. Mohibul Hasan and Dr. Mattoo believes that it was Baba Daud Khaki and not Daulat Chak, Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 184; Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, p. 9.

request him to invade and annex Kashmir,¹ Akbar who had already set in the conquest of Kashmir at once prepared for the fulfilment of his long cherished desire to expand his empire, which he ultimately achieved.²

1. Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 160. Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 182b; Akbarnama, Abul Fazl Vol. III, p. 752. According to Mohibul Hasan, a group of Kashmiri ulama proceeded to the court of Akbar from Multan. They were led by Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Daud Khaki (a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdomi). They concluded a treaty with Akbar and promised their help unconditionally. But neither the contemporary Mughal sources like A. N. Badauni, Firishta, nor Kashmiri sources holds this view. However, it is beyond doubt that the sunnis helped the Mughals during this period, as they could not face the tyranny of the Chak rulers. Khaki and not Daulat Chak. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 184; Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, p. 2.
2. For details of conquest of Kashmir by Akbar see, Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, pp. 6-12; Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Wani, pp. 123-128., Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, pp. 154-193.



8. BREAKDOWN OF THE SULTANATE:

Breakdown of Sultanate:

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It is quite illogical to attribute the downfall of any empire to the singular factor i.e. of incompetent successor. Basically many cumulative factors lead to the liquidation of any system and this can be also one.

Ironically, the downfall of the Sultanate in Kashmir is also attributed to the weak and incompetent successors of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. However, on the basis of the anotomy of the events the following factors were responsible for the break down of the Sultanate.

Political Factor-- Succession of Weak and Incompetent Rulers:

The Shahmir dynasty reached its climax during Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign who's reign was exceptional in every respect. He established good government, gave peace and security, encouraged trade and commerce, agriculture and industries, patronized art architecture and literature, revived policy of religious toleration. It was because, noble deeds and beneficence that people of Kashmir even to-day remember him as a Badshah. However, unfortunately, after his death the country was reverted with short interludes of stability to that which had existed prior to the establishment of Muslim rule. After his death, there came a line of weak and inefficient rulers who unlike their predecessors lacked wisdom and foresightedness and were more interested in the pleasures of harm than attending the onerous duties that their position demanded. Haider Shah and Hasan Shah, the immediate successors of

Zain-ul-Abidin were great drunkards and spent most of their time over wine cups and listening music.¹ According to one tradition there were more than twenty-two thousand hindustani musicians in the court of Hasan Shah², Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah though not dissolute, spent most of their lives in fighting against each other which in the words of Dr. Kapur may be termed as a "hide and seek game".³ While the former got and lost for five times the latter did so for as many as three times. Rarely history can furnish few parallels of this kind. While narrating the baneful effects of this struggle for power between Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah Shrivara writes with regret that, "it was like a painful disease of the throat, aggravated by the burning of the foot."⁴

Their successors were only titular heads and their inefficiency left the throne and crown in lurch and gave full opportunity to opposit factions, who were always ready to fish in troubled waters, to gain some political advantage. Thus seeing the ominous sings of crumbling empire, certain tribal groups began to exploit the situation to capture political power. In this welter

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1. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 234; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, pp. 102-3.
 2. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, pp. 102-3.
 3. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 181.
 4. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 313.

of confusion Chaks emerged victorious¹ and ultimately Ghazi Shah deposed the last nominal ruler of Shahmir dynasty and ascended the throne himself thereby laying the foundation of Chak rule in Kashmir.² The Chaks at first ruled with wisdom and firmness, but the latter rulers, like Yousf Shah who passed his time in ease and luxury and neglected the administrative affairs of the country.³ His son and successor Yaqub Shah, though a vigorous and energetic person was a self-willed and intolerant person. His injudicious acts⁴ prevented him to counter the internal and external dangers which threatened the country.

Negative Role of Nobility:

The succession of weak and inefficient rulers resulted in the emergence of an unscrupulous nobility who for their selfish ends plunged country into civil war which in the long run caused the loss of independence⁵.

1. See for details of rise of Chaks "Muslim Rule in Kashmir", Nizam-ud-Din Wani, pp. 1-3.
2. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 383; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 129.
3. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 143; Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 398.
4. See for his injudicious policy Chapter "Revival of Orthodoxy".
5. The contemporary sanskrit sources have given a despreptive account of their mutual jealousies which plunged country into a civil war. Shrivara's Rajatarangini, pp. 237-38, 241, 247, 252, 268, 278, 282., Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, pp. 103-107, 265.

Shahmir had brought into prominence the Chaks and Magres. The circumstances brought forth the Rainas and Sayyids.¹ In the beginning all these families served the interests of state well and with the sense of devotion. However, under the weak kings, the selfish interests of nobles had openly guided the course of politics and state activities. Henceforth, there was an unprecedented struggle for dominance of imperial offices.²

The civil war between Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah was mainly triggered on account of the Baihaqi Sayyids bid for power. With the expulsion of the Sayyids, the country was plunged into a triangular contest between the Magres, the Rainas and the Chaks as each section wanted to establish their hegemony. Their mutual internecine, rivalries and jealousies plunged country into chaos

1. While the Chaks and ~~Sayyids~~ Sayyids were foreigners, the Rainas and Magres were of indiginious origin. The Chaks migrated from Dardistan during Sukadawas reign. See for details of origin and rise of Chaks, Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizam-ud-Din Wani, pp. 1-4. The Sayyids hailed from Persia were of two types, Alvia Sayyids and Baihaqi Sayyids. While the former started migrating in the beginning of Muslim rule and took to the religious teachings and preachings, the latter came during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin and subsequently they carved out an important place in the politics of Kashmir. For details see Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Zutshi, p. 179; Baihaqi Sayyids role see, Rajatarangini, Shrivara, pp. 241, 268, 278, 282. Magre was a corruption of a Sanskrit word Margesha, meaning the guardian of the passes. But in course of time, it became a caste-name for those officials who were engaged in guarding the passes. Under the Muslim rulers, the official designation for the guardian of the passes was Nayak, which later became a caste-name. Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 192; Rainas were originally a group of Brahmins having good political and social status, Under the Muslim rulers, a large number of them embraced the faith of Islam, but they retained their caste Raina. Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizam-ud-Din, p. 191.
2. For their struggle for power see Rajatarangini, Shrivara, pp. 237-238, 241-247, 252, 268, 278-282, Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, pp. 103-107, 123, 265.

and confusion which caused a havoc not only to the sultanate but resulted in the loss of independence. The Sultans counted no where during this period, they were merely figure heads and were placed and displaced at the sweet will of the ambitious and selfish nobles. They used to divide the lands among themselves and Sultan was left with the nominal revenues of crown land only for which we have enough references when Kaji Chak, Jahangir Padar and Shankar Raina divided the rest of land among themselves after allowing Fateh Shah to retain the revenues of Khalisa land only.¹ Again Mirza Haider Dughlat in league with Kashmiri nobility divided the land among three persons, one was allotted to Mirza Haider second to Abdal Magre and third to Regi Chak.² Dr. Kapur has rightly pointed out that "the history of Kashmir after Hasan Shah till Mughal annexation is the history of nobles rather than history of kings."³

However, he has also blamed Zain-ul-Abidin for this unprecedented rise ambitious nobility. According to him during a long period of his rule (1420-70 A.D.), Zain-ul-Abidin abandoned the foreign expeditions and concentrated all his attention to the arts of peace. Consequently, the powerful military lords

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1. Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 109.
 2. Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 103;
 3. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 167.

began to interfere more actively in the internal affairs of the country since they had nothing to do out side. Thus, in order to acquire the personal ascendancy they employed the treacherous and deceitfull tactics, the banfull results of which came to the surface only after the demise of Zain-ul-Abidin and consumed the political stability of country as well as ruined the ruling dynasty.¹ It was as a result of deceitful role played by Kashmiri nobility and their indifferences that Yaqub Shah inspite of his valiat resistance could not drove out Mughals. De Jarric wrote, "people say that this kingdome was one of the most formidable in these parts, and that the Great Mughals would never have been able to subdue it but for the factions which existed among the inhabitants".²

Absence of fixed law of succession:

The absence of any definite law of succession was another potent factor responsible for the breakdown of the Sultanate. Shams-ud-Din had established a precedent by nominating his eldest son Jamshed as his successor.³ But his younger son Ala-ud-Din did not acknowledge Jamshed as Sultan and himself laid claim to the throne. This led to civil war. Shihab-ud-Din nominated his brother Qutub-ud-Din^{3a} instead of his own son. Similarly Zain-ul-Abidin following

1. Ibid.

2. Akbar and the Jesuits, Du-Jarric, p. 76; Vived from Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 281.

3. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 33; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 87.

3a. Rajatarangini, Jonaraja, p. 47; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 92.

the precedent nominated his younger brother Mahmud as his heir-apparent. But when latter passed away, he declared his second son Haji Khan as his successor. However, later on disgusted with all his sons he refused to nominate any one¹, leaving the throne vacant and to be decided by force of arms. On the other hand Zain-ul-Abidin's grand son, Hasan Shah wished his cousin Fateh Shah², to succeed him but it was actually his minor son Mohammad Shah who succeeded him.³ Subsequently, he was deposed four times by Fateh Shah and country was plunged into a civil war for almost thirty years thereby detorating the country as well as sultanate. Under the Chaks also there was no fixed law of succession, Ghazi Shah, the founder of the dynasty, ~~appointed~~⁴ appointed his brother Husain Shah as his heir-apparent⁴, when Husain Shah assumed the throne, he tried to divert the succession to his own son but his brother Ali Shah revolted and seized the throne.⁵ Before he died

1. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 163.
2. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 263.
3. Ibid., p. 264;
Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 103.
4. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 383.
Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haider Malik, p. 134.
5. Ibid., p. 393; Ibid., p. 138.

Before he died Ali Shah crowned his own son Yousf Shah as a king.¹ However, his brother Abdal put his claim to the throne on the ground that it was the tradition of the family that when a ruler died his brother succeeded him. This too led the armed conflict between uncle and a nephew in which Yousf Shah came out victorious. In fact, the absence of any fixed law of succession made throne within the reach of every member of royal family and every one wanted to try his luck. Consequently, the wars of succession were bloody and very prolonged thereby checking the economic growth and political stability of the country.

Foreign Invasions:

Another important factor which weakened the sultanate and brought its ultimate downfall were frequent foreign invasions, initiated at the instance of rapacious nobility. On Hasan Shah's death one group of nobles set up his minor son Mohammad Shah on the throne. But shortly afterwards, the latter was dethroned by Fateh Shah who was supported by other group of nobility. Thrice Muhammad Shah ~~was~~ became ruler and thrice he was deposed. Finally, in 1517, he proceeded to the court of Sikander Lodi and sought his help.² Henceforth, it became a common practice with the Kashmiri princes and nobles to proceed to the courts of Delhi Emperors on being defeated by their rivals³. In 1540 A.D., while

1. Ibid., p. 394; Ibid., p. 143.

2. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 349; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 109;

3. For details of these foreign invasions see, pp. 17-19.

Abadal Magre and Regi Chak brought Mughal army under Mirza Haidar Dughlat¹, their rival Kaji Chak secured the help of Sher Shah Suri.² This invitation of foreign troops proved disastrous for the country as Mirza Haidar conquered Kashmir and ruled for long ten years by (1540-51) adopting a policy of divide and rule.³

After the fall of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, when Chaks ascended the throne, Kashmir was once again subjugated to foreign invasion initiated on the invitation of discontented princes and nobles. In January 1580 A.D., Yusf Shah driven from his country proceeded to the court of Emperor Akbar and appealed for help which was readily given.⁴ Although he did not employed later but it provided an opportunity to Emperor Akbar to forestall his claim on Kashmir. Owing to these invasions, the economy of the country was completely out of gear. Crops were destroyed and cultivation declined. A famine was the natural outcome. While narrating the deploring condition of the masses Suka writes, "Men and women wandered about in hunger in order to save their lives, casting aside their love for husband, for son, and the service done towards their parents"⁵.

1. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 379; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 118.

2. Ibid., p. 119.

3. For Mirza Haidar's conquest of Kashmir and his policy see Chapter "Revival of Orthodoxy"

4. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 397; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 146.

5. Rajatarangini, Suka, p.

These foreign invasions apart from causing a great financial loss, exposed the weakness of kingdom to the foreigners who became reluctant to annex Kashmir. In fact the Mughals had never been able to subdue Kashmir had the Kashmiri nobles not invited them to interfere in order to achieve their personal ends.

Social Factor

(Emergence of a New Religious Order)

Another important factor which impaired the sultanate, was the emergence of a new religious group within Muslim community. Till the end of 15th century, the Muslim population of Kashmir mainly consisted of Sunnis, the Shi'ites being numerically and politically unimportant. However, with the arrival of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in 1502 A.D.,¹ the number of Shi'ite gradually increased and with the conversion of Chaks, they became politically influential.² This aroused the jealousy and hostility of Sunni ulemas, who hitherto used to dominate the political and religious affairs which henceforth, was checked to a great extent. Therefore, each section when in power tried to restrain the influence of other by using the state machinery which often led to the sectarian discards.³ These

1. For details of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's role in spreading Shi'ism in Kashmir, see Chapter "Revival of Orthodoxy"
2. The Chaks ultimately took the reigns of government from the successor of Shahmir and laid the foundation of their own dynastical rule in Kashmir in 1554. (A.D.). For details of their rise see Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizam-ud-Din, pp. 1-4.
3. For details of Sectarian striffs, See "Chapter Revival of Orthodoxy"

sectarian strifffs apparently became immediate cause which prompted Akbar to fulfil his long cherished desire by annexing Kashmir at the appeal of some discontented noble who were fed up with the intolerant policy of Yaqub Shah Chak.¹

However, a modern scholar² has pointed out that one should not overemphasise the importance of religious factor for although religious differences added to the confusion in Kashmir, however, the bases of these differences were political motives and personal,, jealousies and very often these nobles cut across the religious barriers and made alliances in order to defeat their political opponents.³

Economic Factors:

Jagirdari Systems:

Another factor which caused havoc to the sultanate as well as country, was jagirdari system. The Valley of Kashmir since ancient times for its administrative purposes divided into a number

1. Ibid.,
2. Kashmir Under Sultans. Mohibul Hasan, p. 279.
3. This assertion is supported by many references. For example the downfall of Mirza Haidar (who tried to become the champain of Sunnis although for his own political motives) came in the wake of joint resistance offered by both Shia and Sunni nobles of Kashmir.

of parganas.¹ The administration of these 'parganas' was entrusted to the officials of the state who were supposed to maintain law and order, to maintain a military contingent, to realise the land and other revenue and after deducting the expenses which they incurred in the maintenance of all these things and their own expenditure, they had to deposit the surplus to the centre.² The same system continued to operate during the period under review. Thus a highest influential person of the state who was entrusted with the civil and military administration of the area assigned to him, who had to collect the revenues of his area, maintain a military contingent and to pay a fixed sum to the state, is known as 'jagirdar' and land assigned to him is called 'jagir'

1. The number of the parganas fluctuated from time to time we do not know what was their number on the eve of the establishment of the sultanate. However, Shrivara refers to their number twenty seven during the reign of Mohammad Shah. During the reign of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, their number was increased to thirty whereas the Chaks increased their number to forty-one. Kingdom of Kashmir, Kapur, p. 336.
2. Rajatarangini; Kalhana, Vol. II, p. 307; Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 5b, 8a, 9b, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 40; However, during last phase of Hindu rule they defied the central authority by fortifying these parganas and stopped the payment of surplus revenue due to the treasury. But with the establishment of Muslim rule this tendency was curbed by strong ruler like Shamir etc.,

in our contemporary Persian chronicles, but none of them dates before the sixteenth century.¹

Taking into the account the position and powers of a jagirdar over his jagir it is not difficult to agree with Shrivara, who calls one of them "undisputed masters of his estates".² However, it should not be misunderstood that he was free from central control. Except during the period of weak rulers, he was subserent to the royal authority and responsible to him for his conduct as an administrator of his 'jagir'.³ He was also not the proprietor of the jagir land, but could be transferred in case of being found seditious. He was, as already stated, a supreme administrator of his jagir.

The weakness which immediately crept into the body politics of sultanate after the death of Zain-ud-Abidin brought a tremendous change in the jagirdari system of the country. Since

1. The mention of word 'jagir' is to be found for the first time in the earliest extant Persian work "Tarikhi-Kashmir" of Sayyid Ali, which has been written in the first half of the sixteenth century (Tarikhi-Kashmir, Sayyid Ali, f. 16a), and then in works which were written after the Mughal occupation of Kashmir like Beharistani Shahi Anonymous, ff. 47a; 52a, 88b. The term used for 'jagir' in earlier period of sultanate is not known. Dr. Rafiqui believes that it was known as 'Iqta' Sufism in Kashmir, Rafiqui, p. 14; However, Dr. Wani derives that there is no reference in the local persian chronicles to the term 'Iqta' or 'Tayyul' used for jagir in the time of sultanate. Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Nizamud-Din Wani, p. 194n. For stray references of jagirs assigned to the state official during sultanate period, see Rajatarangini, Shrivara, pp. 208, 246, 257, 259, 303-4, Rajatarangini, Suka, pp. 341-42, 347, 364, Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, ff. 9b, 47a, 57b, 52a, Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, pp. 741, 743, 757.
2. Ibid.,
3. Beharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, f. 9b; Tarikhi-Kashmir, Haidar Malik, p. 48.

during this period the nobles were real rulers and the Sultans were a puppet in their hands, they themselves divided the 'jagirs' leaving the Sultan in the background. To quote Shrivara "They made the king write the three letters of sanction on the documents"¹. A party of the nobles who supported a Sultans bid to the throne, divided the whole jagir land of the country among themselves as soon as they succeeded in enthroning their candidate. Thus three or four nobles became the masters of whole 'jagir' land,² where as during the stable rule usually nobody was assigned more than one 'pargana'.

The most remarkable change which occurred in 'Jagirdari' system was that during weak rulers the 'Jagirdars' became almost independent of Central authority. This independence reached its climax when they were also exempted by the weak rulers from the payment of revenue which was due to the central authority,³ and which formed a fundamental feature of the fiscal policy of the strong

1. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 303.

2. This ambitious nature of nobility is fully supported by several references. For example after the accession of Fateh Shah, the whole land was divided among Malik Kaji Chak, Jahangir Padar and Fateh Shah (Tarikhi-Kashmir), Haidar Malik, p. 109. Again after the conquest of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar the whole 'jagir' land was divided among Mirza Haidar, Abdal Magre and Keji Chak, Baharistani-Shahi, Anonymous, p. 102.

3. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 304.

rulers. This made the jagirdars exceptionally strong at the cost of central power, decentralized the administration, depleted the state finance and paralysed its military strength as Khalisa land was only sources of revenue which in no way was sufficient for the maintenance of efficient administration of the country.

Another defect of jagirdari system which weakened the sultanate, was the system of entrusting the power of maintaining army to the 'jagirdars'. Instead of making a strong military force to be used against the internal disturbances and external invasions, the system extremely weakened the military strength of the country and invited internal disturbances and external invasions. The military forces maintained by 'jagirdars' was not loyal to the sultan but to his jagirdar. The Sultan had no command over it. This force was loyal to the centre only if the jagirdar happened to be loyal to the former. At the same time the military force of the 'jagirdars' was collectively far greater in number than that of the king's troops. That is why when any jagirdar rose in rebellion against the Sultan, it was absolutely impossible for him to crush the rebellion with his own forces until any other jagirdar came to his rescue. Therefore, it made the centre absolutely dependent on the jagirdars for the supply of military forces to curb the internal revolts and external invasions. The response came only when the 'jagirdars' used to be in good terms with the centre. Once they were hostile to it, as it was the general policy after the death of Zain-ul-Abidin, there was not only poor response but they even

invited the invaders¹. As a result, Kashmir fell easily into the hands of the invaders.

'Jagiris' invited the trouble in another way. When any noble in the bargain of the 'jagiris' did not get any easily menagable and profitable jagir he lost no time to rose a rebellion. It became more problematic during the later phase of the Sultanate, when the number of the powerful and influencial nobles increased, while as the number of parganas remained the same as it was before. As a result, when any noble got charge of any such pargana, which yielded comparatively more revenue, it was resented by others, who immediately turned their guns against him.² This tussal for 'jagirs' plunged country into choas and confusion.

The jagirdari system also made the condition of the masses very miserable especially in the times when the 'jagirdars' were free from central authority and their tenure of office was absolutely short-lived in view of the frequent civil wars in the country. Thus freedom from any checks and balances and the threat of instability of their posts prompted the nobles to exact as much from the people as possible within the short period of their tenure of office. To quote Shrivara, "They oppressed the country even as the twelve suns oppressed the world with their excessive heat at the end of the kalpa."³

1. Kashmir Under Sultans, Mohibul Hasan, p. 191.

2. Rajatarangini, Suka, p. 367; Tabqati-Akbari, Nizam-ud-Din, Vol. III, p. 619.

3. Rajatarangini, Shrivara, p. 302.

Thus, the inefficiency of ruler, the faction fights among the self-seeking nobility, slackness in administration, diminution in revenues, exploitation of masses both economically and religiously provided an opportunity to Akbar to fish in troubled waters. Consequently, Kashmir lost her independence and became a part of Mughal dominion. She lost her separate identity and became a Subah of Mughal dominion. It undermined their spirit of independence, self-realization and martial fighting qualities which they had given proof on many occasions in their struggle against the invaders. Another effect of Mughal occupation of Kashmir was that the Kashmiri ruling families like Chaks, Megres, Rainas and Dars were relegated to the ordinary position and in their place a hierarchy of Mughal Officers were introduced, who were assigned the pivotal role in the administration of the Subah.

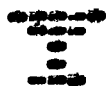
However, this political change gradually proved to be a mixture of blessing as Mughals ushered in an era of peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade by opening up of a new trade routes which linked Kashmir with other parts of Mughal India and foreign lands which facilitated the better prospects of economic development. The establishment of strong rule, peace and security provided by the Mughal reassured the people of Kashmir who had become sick of the civil wars and intrigues under weak sultans of the declining Chak dynasty.

Yet the Mughal occupation of Kashmir was not actuated by any philanthropic motives of Akbar to extend the blessings of peace to the troubled Kashmir-- who had under gone a continuous civil and sectarian striffs. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to bring

Kashmir Under his savoy was prompted both by the imperialistic designs as well to defend the empire from the growing threat of Uzbek empire.¹ The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a sources of weakness to the Mughal empire if placed in hostile hands and a region of strength and a tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the empire.

Another factor which in the words of a modern scholar might have attracted the Mughals "were the pleasures and respite which the enchanting Valley of Kashmir with its famed scenic spots, superb natural beauty, bracing and healthful climate, its colourful flowers, variety of fruits, game birds and animals offered to the visitors etc, and they wanted to pass the summer days in the Valley to avoid the scorching heat of the Indian plains"².

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1. Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, Introduction, p. XIV,
 2. Kashmir Under Mughals, A. M. Mattoo, Introduction, p. XIV,



9. CONCLUSION:

CONCLUSION:

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The perusal of source material, archival as well as archaeological, testify that the lofty mountain peaks encircling the Himalayan kingdom of Kashmir had never come in the way of establishing contacts with the contemporary world.

The Harvan tiles, Burzahome seals Hoinar tiles and tablets are not in any case inferior to the Harpan, Indus or for that matter Egyptian finds in both style and finish. Kashmir's contribution to the Buddhist culture is self speaking, nonetheless the Hindu philosophy in the form of Shiva ideological framework. It welcomed the Chinese scholars and equalised the gesture by sending Acharyas to the region. Thus the passes of mountains were frequented by the pedestrians and equestrians like. The movement of caravans along the routes was instrumental in the mobilization of ideas, movements, men, material and technology. With the passage of time, it appears that the process of mobilization was further accelerated especially after the advent of Islam in Central Asia and thereby in Kashmir.

Central Asia, rightly called the cradle of human civilisation, China the most ancient civilisation, and India with her classic philosophy encircled Kashmir, enriching the Kashmir heritage. Thus there is no surprise if the people have appreciated enlightened,

broad based and flexible model of life in the hey days of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The emergence of Kashmir culture is therefore, a by-product of the civilisations which have come into contact with the people of Kashmir from the dawn of history down to the modern times.

The contribution of the Sufi orders towards the foundation of such a culture is of the greatest significance. It has been proved beyond doubt in this study that Islam owes its induction to the Sufis rather the ulema. The ulema in the strict sense of the term followed the Sufis. However, it should be born in mind, that the ulema of the age were also connected with one or the other school of Sufism; and their approach to the social transformation was based on humanistic value system and not on dogmatic conservative lines.

The social transformation on account of the advent of Islam in Kashmir was smooth and study. The exigencies demand the Buddhist prince who usurpered throne in 14th century to take shelter under the umbrella of Islam. The establishment of Muslim rule in 1339 A.D., as such is also by-product of social change.

Equally important land mark in the history of Kashmir is the entery of Sayyid Ali Hamadani to Kashmir. He was accompanied with hundreds of families who spread in the Valley and as such the process of proselytisation was accelerated in a geometrical progression. This was not as a consequence of the establishment of

the muslim rule, but other way round. It is also established by the facts that it was the social appeal of Islam, simplicity of its preachers and equality of mankind which drew the masses to its fold and not the miracle mongring.

During the period of our study, we notice some intervals where, the ulema persuaded the rulers to toe their line for the application of the Shariat in its strict sense. Such an occasion arose during the ascendancy of Mir Mohammad Hamadani, son of the illustrious Sayyid, known in Kashmir as Shahi-Hamadani, Ali the second the founder of Islam in Kashmir. He remained in the Valley from 1389 to 1393 A.D. and his important convert was Suha Bhatt alias Saif-ud-Din, the Prime Minister of Sultan Sikandar. Sultan Sikandar held the Sayyid at the highest esteem. Mir Mohammad Hamadani was a staunch sunni Alim. He wanted the application of Shariat law in the day to day life and adoption of a state Shariat policy. Suha Bhatt a neo-convert, has his own reason to second, endorse and apply the policy in the administrative system, but the experiment was short lived. Sultan Sikandar himself close to his rule wanted to follow his footsteps of his predecessors.

The equally significant event was the epoch of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's rule. He succeeded in the establishment of his rule in the year 1540 A.D. as a Commander of Himayun. In order to establish his grip he initiated a policy of divide and rule by pretending to be a staunch and a fundamentalist Sunni, an advocate of the Hanafi school, thereof forcing the Nurbakhshias (a diluted

form of the Shiesm in Kashmir) and other sects either to adopt the Hanafi way of life or face the consequences. It was nothing but his political maneuveration. However, he failed in his endeavour, nevertheless, succeeding in creating a wedge between the two major sects of the Muslim i.e. the Sunnis and the Shias. His dogmatism failed in reshaping the social system to suitable to his designs. The puppet rulers, the nobility as well as the masses rejected this approach, despite the fact that the Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in his own way and style had tried to force the then ruler for the declaration of Islam as a state religion. His dogmatic and fundamental approach met with a little success. The Mughal tried his best to cash the situation and fish in the troubled waters. The blended social fibre of Kashmir rejected the dogmatism and the revival was as short lived as its founders.

The experience of dogmatism was twice repeated during the Chak rule. The Chaks were converted to Shiesm by Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, and as such held him in the high esteem, therefore, Sultan Ghazi Shah Chak under the influence of the policies of the late Shaikh Iraqi and his son Daniyal wanted to adopt Sheism as a state religion and force the remaining section of the society to enter into the fold or face consequences. Similarly Sultan Yaqub Shah Chak puffed of by the short lived victory against the Akbar's mighty imperial forces tried to step up the cause of Sheism. But the experiments did not bring the desired fruit but Kashmir had to cost her independence. The masses never welcomed or appreciated the alien dogmatic and fundamental influences. They were rightly misman- ised by the human approach of the Sufis. Therefore, the rulers with

a few exception, had to pay due regard to the sentiments of the masses by following the traditions of the upholders of the sceptor of Islam in Kashmir. They did not adopt any religious policy but had their own religious views. As individuals, most of the Sultans were highly religious minded. They followed the tenants of Islam very strictly. Zain-ul-Abidin, the Budhshah of the Kashmiris on the one hand allowed the Hindus to revert back to the Hinduism, if forcibly converted, got their temples reconstructed, but led the Idd and Friday prayers as well. He not only observed the obligatory commands of Islam, but also offered addition (nauafil) prayers and fasts.

The Chak rulers in their own way, though predicting Sheism, were equally liberal to the Sunnis, but strictly followed the tenant of Sheism.

The ^{core} ~~theme~~ of this essay, therefore, lies in the fact that the Muslim rulers of medieval Kashmir as a general rule were the true representatives of the culture of Kashmir, a culture of humanism, simplicity, honesty and straight forwardness advocated by the Sufis, saints and scholars who were instrumental in introducing Islam in Kashmir.

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11. A P P E N D I C E S:

- a) Two Letters of Sayyid Ali Hamadani
to Sultan Qutub-ud-Din
- b) Kotihar Stone Slab Inscription of the
Reign of Shihabu'd-Din
- c) Khonamah Stone Inscription of the
Reign of Zainu'l-Abidin
- d) Two Photographs of Madin Saheb's
Mosque.

Letter of Sayyid Ali Hamadani to Sulten Qutub-ud-Din of Kashmir.



این کتیب است از حضرت امیر خسرو دهلوی که به سید سلطان قوت الدین رسال فرمود
 حضرت سلطان صلاح الدین که در غایت محاضرات مخصوصت با ما
 مطروقتان با او محض و اگر بیت زمره بودی که تو دانی هم از حضرت علم
 که کجا بود و این نیز زمین که زمین نامم ای حضرت اگر درین ایام است
 که چند روز با این دو دستند و مسلمانان اگر قرن اول و در حد
 غایب است که گران و میخان از تر و این بنی با تنگ دار است و چون
 معتز الدین سلطان با این حقیقت و منور سکونگی برین ایام نزد
 نیز بر کمال من نمیدر این روز دوم زین که چون من نگشاید
 برین بیت هم با حضرت اگر در سلال را بر این سلالی که در این
 برین بیت محبت است که بنده بر این ما شرک استیک الکرام
 پیش که فریاد یافت و اعتراف و آن وقت لد و معنیه للنیا
 علی ظلمم جاک اذ بار صرا بر فرق روزگار با محبت و خوف
 ایام ایسان و امید که ایمان شور و شغب صبر است و جبارت
 بخدا و ما لیکنت ولی منت جناب کبریا بصبر کریم غفور را که
 بتماح احوال و فصیح اعمال بندگانه است بنی رامی بنید و میدا

و بنیل عفو و احسان می پوشاند و با این همه بویای هر سحرگاه
 همه را بدرگاه لطف و کرم می خواند نظم ای خالق خلق و عالم غیب
 یایم و دمی و عالم غیب عذر همه لطف تو پذیرد کس را کمنی
 تو از بدی رود بر همین بوی هر چند تو نیست بجایت تخمیت
 الا این آن درگاه نایم و از قیاح بر آری و نیت ضمیر در نور آن
 بارگاه نه اما چون عنایت بی عدت آیش بسیار آلوده
 روزگار را بدریای عفو شسته است و حصر کرم نبی مشرفان هلاک را از
 بوی سوار باندند هر حال که مست خانی میکنیم و با تیره روزگار
 در نیت بی نیتیم لعل الله یحدث بعدة ذلک امرأ
 در بوی حیب اشارت نبوی که الدین یصیح از راه ضعیف و محبت
 پیشتر میشود که دولت و توحی بحقیقت چون با تو در کز نیت و
 نعمت آن چون خوابت بدارست و حقیقت کنیز توان گفت که

بویانی و رفعتی نشود و بخانی معز و مکر و در و از حال جلال آن
 که در نیت عمرت کز و یقین و ای که هر که از احوال دیگران عمرت
 کز و از احوال دیگران عمرت و دیگران که عمرت در همه هم
 تمام شد بسیار بگویند حضرت امیر کز
 سر سید علی و کس سر سید

2nd Letter of Sayyid Ali Hamadani

خدمتِ سلطانِ بدعایِ فحشاءِ مخصوص است، باجابتِ مقرونِ بادیهِ محمد و آلِ محمد
تَقَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى، الَّذِينَ إِن كُنَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ لَمَّا كُنَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ أَمَّا الْعُقُولُ وَالْوَالِدُونَ وَالْمُرُؤَاتُ وَالْمُرُؤَاتُ وَالْمُرُؤَاتُ وَالْمُرُؤَاتُ وَالْمُرُؤَاتُ
وَلَيْسَ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ. حضرتِ محمدیتِ میفرماید که کافی را از مومنان که بغفل و امتنان خود، در زمین،
تأیید ملک و سلطنت داده ایم، و زمام اختیار نهادگان خود را در دست استیلائی الشیطان گذاشته ایم،
برایشان واجب گردانیده ایم و از آنان خواهیم پرسید که در اثرِ بالمعروف و نهی عن المنکر چه مساعی
بذل نموده اند و طبق آن سعادت یا شقاوت ابدی به ایشان خواهد رسید.

ای عزیز، برخواطرِ شریفی از بابِ تلوینِ طاهره و ضلله سیرا صحابِ نفوسِ زاکیه پوشیده نیست که
طبیعیاتِ نفوسِ انسانی در باریتِ خلاقیت، بواسطه اختراع و مویات و قابلیاتِ جلی، متباین افتاده است، اختلاف
در افعال و اقوالِ اعم ظاهر گشته است و همین طور صفاتِ ذمیمه اخلاق مانند جور و ظلم و حقیقه حسد و عیب
در مقابل صفاتِ حسنه در جبلتِ انسان مذکور شده است و اغراض و اهراف و مطالبِ خلائق هم مختلف
افتاده است. بنابراین، حکمتِ ذاتِ متعالیه باری، از فتنه های آن کرد که با وجود محاکمی عادل و مهملی نازل در میان
اولاد متفاد آدم، توازن و تعادل نموده تا اعمال و اشغال اهل عالم را بقوتِ فعل خطاب، بر تفریح رشتد و مواب
مسکوک و محفوظ دارد و در انفاذ و احکامِ شریعتِ شریف، غایبه الامکان سعی نماید، بجهتِ اصلاحِ امور تمام و
تثبیتِ قواعد اسلامیا یا خاص و عام تسویه نگاه دارد و بنز و اجبر سیاسی دستِ ظلم اقرار از معنای منطوق کونه کند تا
نظام عالم صوری برقرار بماند و ظلمت و بدعتِ بکیم حمد و شریع راه نیابد تا طبیعتِ بهایم و انعام، در میان
خاص و عام، ظاهر نگردد. کافی ماکه بر وظیفه خطیر نفوس کرده اند به عقل و شرع بر السنه انبیا و علماء راهنمایی نموده
اند تا حق را از باطل تمیز کنند و در صلاح و نساد فرق نهند و مطالبِ مهابرج بندگان گردند پس حاکم و آمر اگر بر ادای حقوق
قیام نماید در روزِ محشر غلظی از سلطت عذابِ جاری و صولتِ عقاب گرفتاری ایمن گردد، و گرنه در دیوان جنرا
در مقامِ پیشش قرار گیرد که "الیوم نجزی کل نفس بما کسبت"

پس ای عزیز، بر حاکم واجب است که خطری عهده و وظیفه حکومت را بنیدلش و ادای حکومت و گزاردن
امور بندگان حق را آسان نشمارد و آثار نایب مرضی یا نامرضی مولی را خوار و برابر ندارد و در سیرت‌های خلقی
راشیدن و سلطین بکوی کار علیهم الرجمه تامل کند. حاکم را باید که از حیل و آداب خود را عاری نگردد و انعام دنیا را باعث
خرابِ عقیبانی سازد و از شفقت و در رحم بر غریبان در ریغ ندارد و بردولتِ فانی دنیا اعتمادی نکند و از رسوائی و
گرفتاری قیامت یاد آورد و ایامِ فریبت زنگانی را غنیمت نشمارد. ای عزیز، تو هم از جمله پادشاهان و حاکمان
و امیران هستی. والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی به

Kotihar is an important village of the Anantnag Tehsil situated 16 k.m to the south of the Anantnag town. Sometime ago an inscription incised on an arch shaped wall polished stone encircled by a beaded border was found in the village and was later shifted to S.P.S. Musium, Sgr. The inscription is an Sarada characters and consists of eighteen lines. The portien recording the purpart of the inscription is lost. But it probably recorded the construction of a religious hospice dharmamatha by an individual whose name is preserved only in part. The main portien of the inscription is devoted to the praise of the ruling King Shihabud-Din.



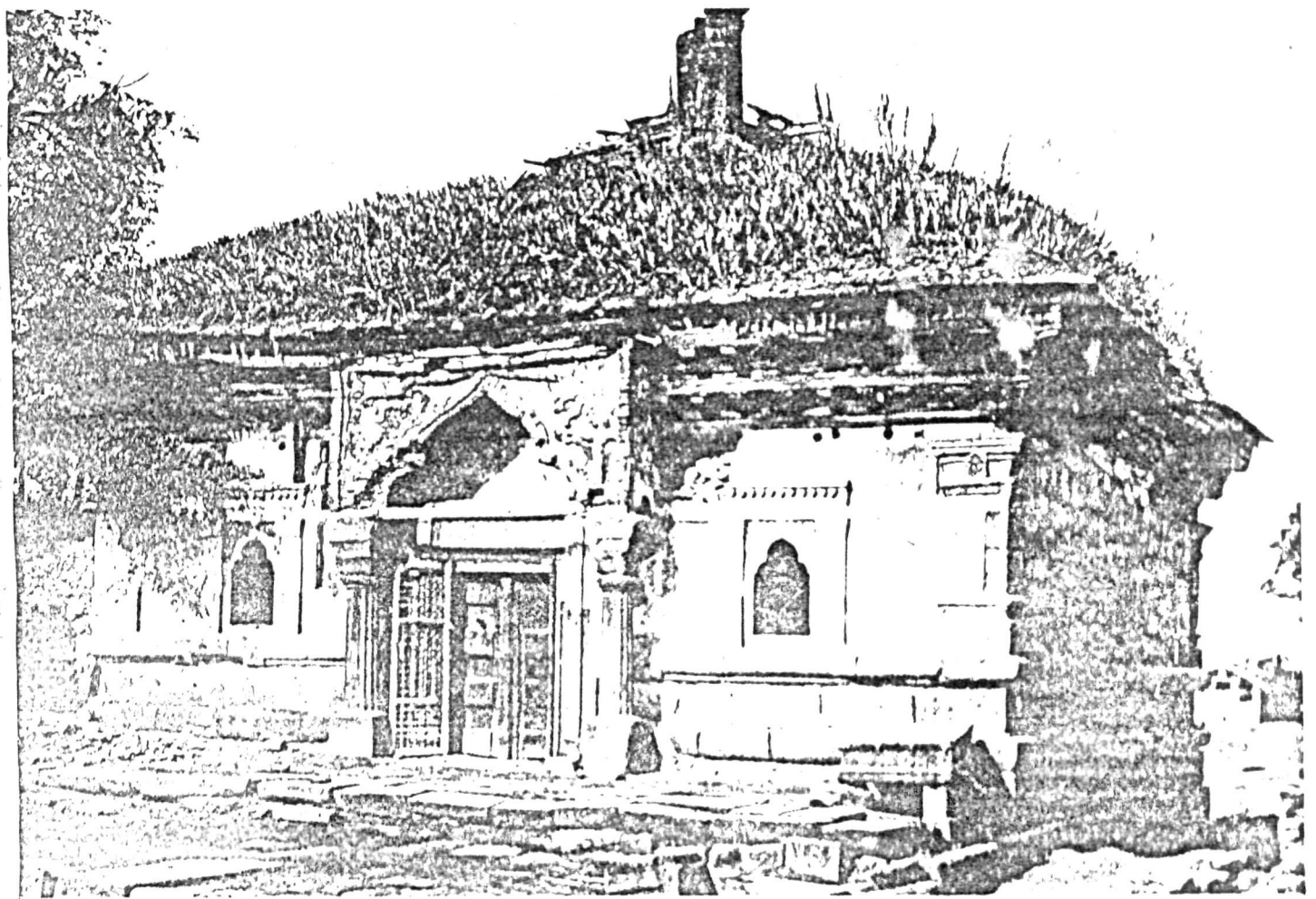
9. Kotihar (Kashmir) Stone Slab Inscription of the Reign of Shihab-Ud-Din.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin who ruled over Kashmir from 1420 to 1470 A. D. The inscription records the construction of a hermitage by a certain merchant named Purnaka. The inscription is important in more than one respect. First it throws light on the fact that religious freedom was granted to everyone to construct their places of worship. Secondly, it mentions four royal personages who ruled over Kashmir in different periods, being Khagendra, Jayapida, Sikandara and Zain-ul-Abidin.



10. Khonamuh (Kashmir) Stone Inscription of the Reign of Zain-ul-Abidin.
KALI 4530. (Laukika) 4 A.D. 1428.

Plate LXIII Mosque of Madani- General view



A earliest mosque in Kashmir.

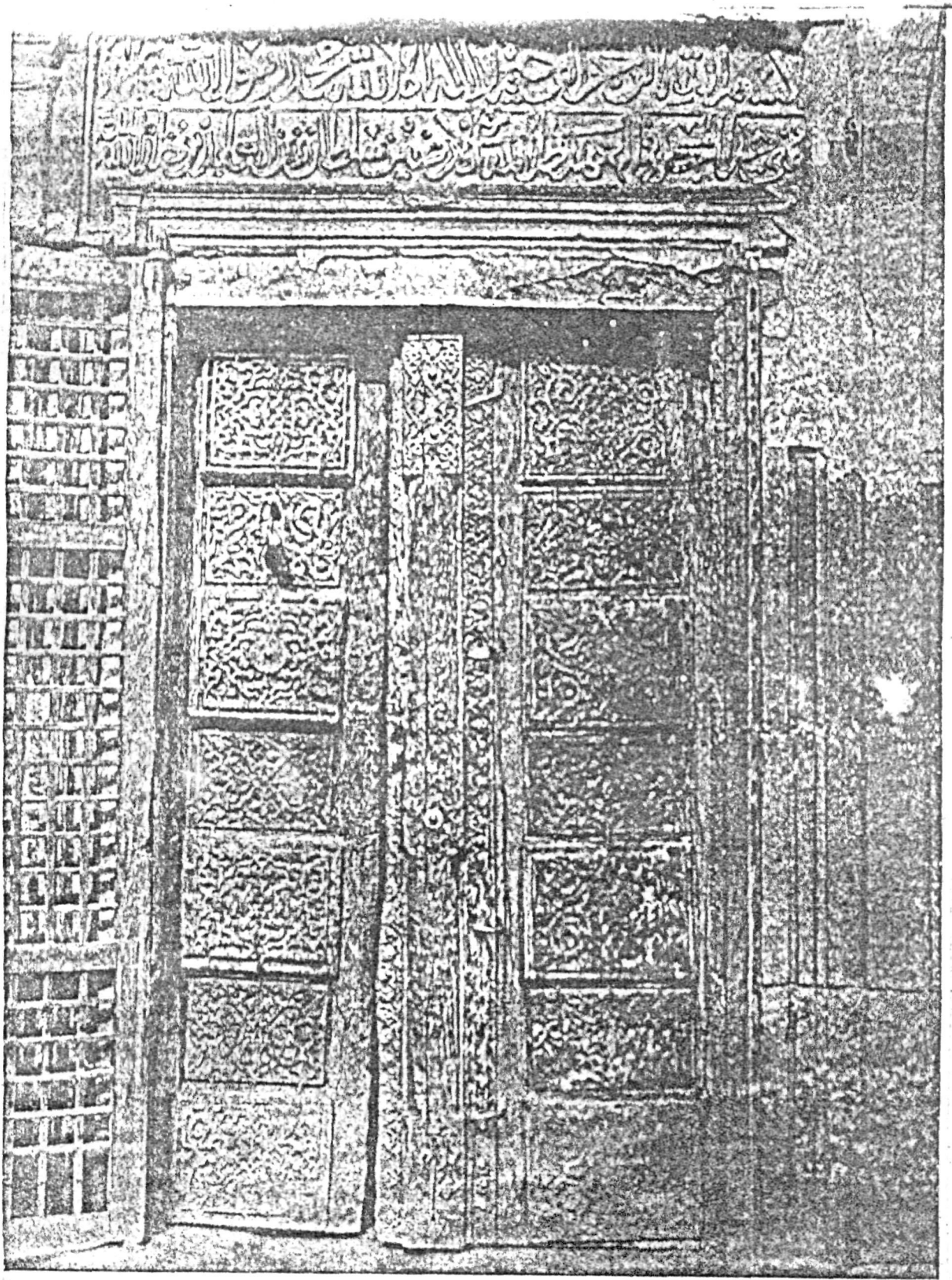


Plate 118 Doors at the Mosque of Madani