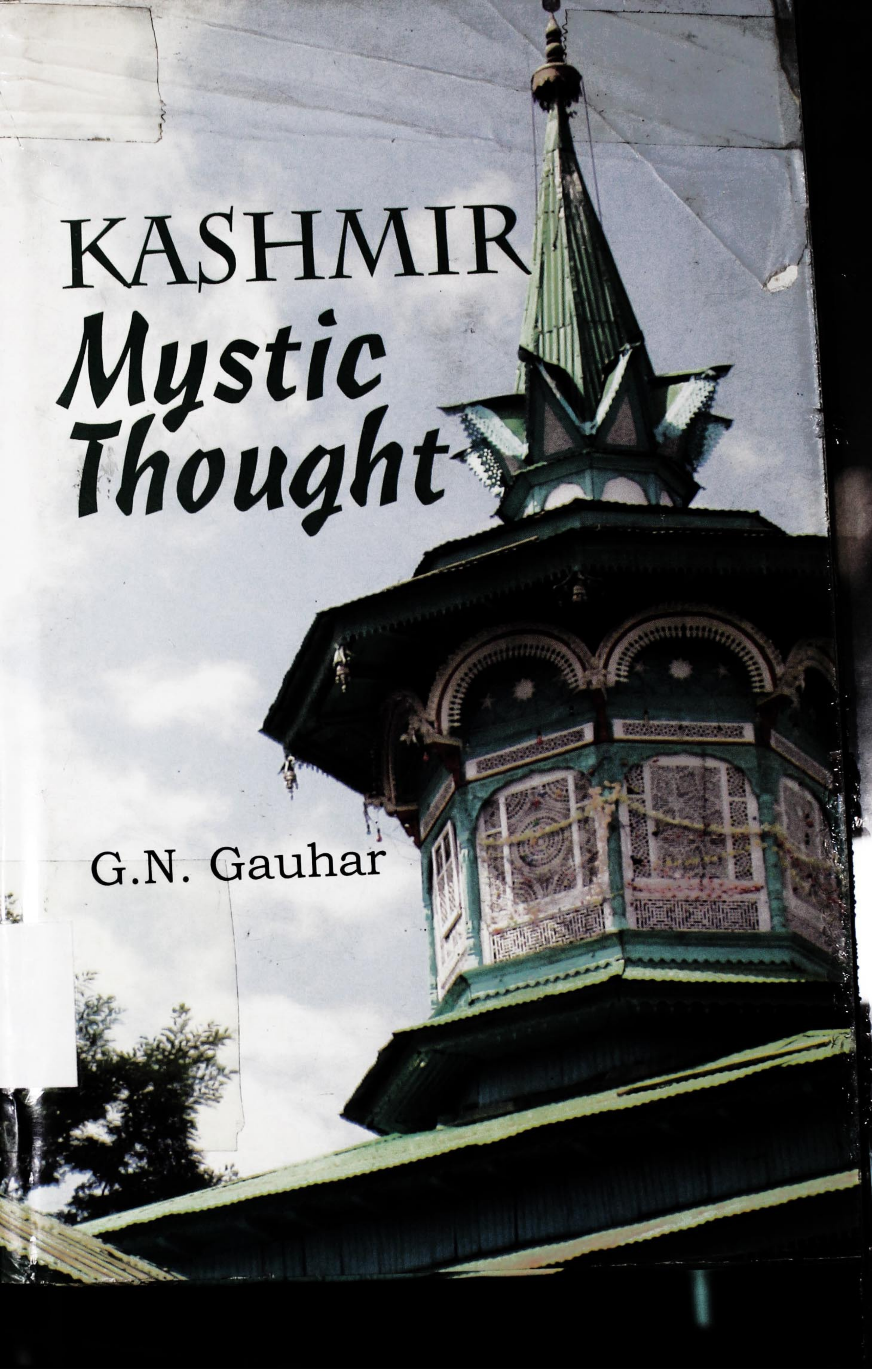
KASHMIR
Mystic Thought



G.N. Gauhar

KASHMIR MYSTIC THOUGHT

G.N. Gauhar

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Word's Worth

"And He taught Adam all the names of everything"

Quran, Chapter 2, Verse 31

"The word, an imperishable, is the first born of the Truth, Mother of Vedas and hub of immortality"

Taithereya Brahman (Rig Ved)

Luckier than a prince is one who instead of crown and throne inherits knowledge. My grandfather late Ghulam Mohammad Muquiem devoted his six decade life to acquire rare manuscripts. Where he failed to purchase he paid remuneration only to copy such document. Thus he lost his eyesight and lived last three years as a blind lover of the word, hoarded that treasure of letters as his loved asset till his death in 1921 AD. His only son my late father Haji M.A. Muquiem remained day and night involved with flourishing business so used to snatch some moments to study one or the other manuscript from such a rich collection. I would, as a keen teenager, watch the facial impression of my father in the bed while he would study one or the other hand written volume under the light of kerosene lamp. Hence temptation was nourished to dive in that gigantic wide ocean and would in childish manner disarray those manuscripts from wooden almirahs duly locked. Intelligent father grasped the budding inclination and encouraged my initiative but advised me to prepare myself to utilize the treasure. Once said: "This is a big river so to collect pearls from its depths learn swimming lest one is drowned."

Initially I was not much interested to know the contents but was fascinated by the handwriting particularly of my grandfather. My father too had very good hand, so I aspired to become a calligrapher. This initiative was also encouraged and an incentive of one paisa for writing one page was fixed. One day I became entitled to bag sixty four paise - one rupee but my teachers and even my mother suggested that a boy of 8 years might become spendthrift with one rupee cash. The father did not agree with them and devised even the course of expenditure of that sum

of one rupee. It bought for me seventy eggs which, besides daily quota, I used for a month. I would on his sample line, write Urdu or Arabic pages to improve my handwritting. He would ignore that rush of customers but would attend to me. My quick repitition and demand for a fresh sample line would disturb his professional commitment so encouraged me to write daily diary by reducing into writing what I saw or observed. My writings appeared a collage of Kashmiri, Urdu, Persian and even Arabic words and while others might have laughed to read that incoherent passages full with mistakes but he would encourage me. It is thus that I dared to 'write' from my very childhood.

Mere handwriting would not do. I aspired to go through those manuscripts which were mainly in Persian. So I was taught swimming - was made to pass post-graduation in Persian literature. Immediately this treasure was my asset.

It mainly consisted upon Kashmir history, anthologies, treatises, collections of the poetry of 14th century poets Lal Ded, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali (Nund Reshi) and his disciples. This bulk of poetry was all in Kashmiri but main central theme of discussions is contained in Persian. Those details pivoted around the lives, achievements and teachings of those big two pioneer stalwarts of Kashmiri language viz. Lal Ded and Nund Reshi.

Deeper study left me confused about more than a dozen of stories connected with the saint-poet. My late father though was, among a few living scholars could not satisfy my inquisitive probe about those controversies. It was a challenge and continues to be so, to decipher the correct text of the Sheikh's verse recorded in most defective script.

Unfortunately both as a lawyer (1957-63) and then as judicial officer, I had to remain away from the home so I could not take much benefit from my father, the expert on the subject, nor I could carry huge treasure with me to various places of my postings. It is thus that I had to be very slow.

In 1988 I came with a 120 page monograph on Sheikh Noor-ud-Din for 'Makers of Indian Literaure' project of Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Though the book was just an attempt to introduce Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali (Nund Reshi), his established Reshi movement and the depths in his poetry but in spite, it evinced interest beyond expectations. It is

manifest form the fact that so far Academy has gone in several prints of the book and got it translated in a few languages within ambit of its activities. Even media appreciated it in the sub-continent. All India Radio, Doordarshan, PTV and Radio Pakistan highlighted reviews on it.

Encouraged with such appreciation, I embarked upon 5-volume Urdu project of 'Sahifa Noor'. The first two volumes are going for second edition and other volumes are in pipeline.

Such exhaustive study revealed that this mystic stream which emanates from Nund Reshi, has distinct flavour and colour, so it was considered but a misnomer to treat it as a facet of Tassawuf or to qualify these mystic poets, the Nund Reshi and his successors as Sufi poets and to affix label of Sufi poetry upon this creative output of our mystics.

As a student of Persian literature, I had opportunity to grasp nuances of Sufi poetry and was lucky enough to have enlightened my inner from the great lighthouse of Sufi literature, late Prof. Zia Ahmad Badauni. Besides, my study of the Masters of Tassawuf made me discern the vital differences between Sufi poetry of the Muslim world and mystique in Kashmiri verse stock.

Sufis, seers, saints, synyasis, Reshis or mystics of any region, locality or religion do experience and have experienced many common feelings, have come across common intricacies, are subjected to common notions and experience many common experiments. To know the realties behind this material world, to understand the manner of relationship between the created and Creator or among the creatures inter se and ancillary matters involving mortality of this world, origin of the universe, ultimate end of the man etc are all subjects of pondering for inquisition and sensitivity. This pondering or diving deeper within one's own self naturally creates a chain of experiences which are greatly akin in spite of variations in situations or cultural backgrounds. Hence the feelings, in spite of diversities, are greatly alike and akin. Even the frame that contains the picture of such feelings too, in certain cases, bears close resemblance. It is thus the placement of the specific word, term and phrase with local background which makes difference among the frames - language structures and so invites affixation of different labels.

The impact of various experiences expressed by the caravan of our mystic poets from Nund Reshi down to my age in thought bear close affinity not only with Sufi poetry but with other mystic thoughts like

Trika Shaster, Buddhist philosophy, neo-Platonism or other mystic literatures of the world. That resemblance or likelihood does not make one mystic disposition part of any other. However, the influences cannot be over ruled.

The manners in which Lord Buddha and a millennium after Sultan Ibrahim Adham - the two monarchs abandon their thrones bear total resemblance. Such resemblance baffled hagiologists of Kashmir that they interpreted a verse of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din as a reference to the Sultan though it eulogises Lord Buddha. The Sheikh says:

Oh! My Lord bestow upon me,
The same Bliss, you bestowed,
Upon that Blissful who abandoned
Riches and governance.

In this Shruk the term used is 'Sehaj Anand' which local Saivists had accorded epitaph for Lord Buddha.

The net result is that the devotees of ultimate truth at any time in any place of the world thought and acted almost in similar manner so similarities in their expressions are but natural. Thus the containers might have distinct traits but the matter contained therein bears the same intoxicating influence and flavour. This distinction is discernable only through the use and placement of the 'word'. Hence it is the 'word' which conveys the gamut of sensibility. Thus the 'word' craves for the union with the 'word', moans the separation from the 'word' and as it lulls in the charm of appropriate placement it as, term, smiley, metaphor, sentence or a saying creates a distinct impact. It is that particular impact which invites affixation of different label in the array of mysticism.

This maiden attempt might appear baffling to summary reading but if studied without pre-conceived notions and prejudices, the preposition propounded will receive positive understanding. It is nowhere claimed in this treatment that Kashmir Mysticism has evolved a definite technical phraseology, terminology or symbols. We have in the discussions explained as why such particular glossary of technical mystic words and terms did not emerge. Instead either our mystic poet has conveyed through Sufi symbols, Trika terminology or through his peculiarly devised own symbolism. It has been argued, on this assumption too that this particular mystic form is distinguishable but is distinctly Kashmiri.

Kneading the word with clay and sand,
Revolved the word on the stick,
Struck the stick upon the wheel of time,
I formulated the images of the 'word'.

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali

G.N.Gauhar

"Durji Gauhar"
Kralapora, Srinagar - 190019
November 14, 2007

Dedication

To

The cherished memory of the late

G.M. Muquiem who sacrificed

his eyes to widen my vision.

غنیؔ روزِ سیاہِ پیرِ کنعاں را تماشا کن
کہ نورِ دیدہ اش روشن کند چشمِ زلیخا را

PART–I

SOURCES

Though volumes have been written about Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's life and teachings no authentic biography of the Saint is available. This is because unfortunately, the earliest record is not available and the later evidence is so distorted that the saint is made to appear, more or less, as a superman.

The chroniclers of the 14th and 15th centuries have narrated only the achievements of kings and stray facts relating to intrigues in the royal courts. In the process they have omitted events of far-reaching importance not connected with royal affairs. However, Jona Raja a historian of Sultan Zainulabidin (1430-70) has in his Zaina Rajatarangini, a Sanskrit chronicle, mentioned in most precise words that one Mulla Noor-ud-Din was arrested and detained during the reign of Sultan Ali Shah (1413-1419). Conflicting views have been put forth in this regard. But there is no doubt that it relates to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din.

Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri, a minister in the court of Sultan Zainulabidin, was a great scholar of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. His "Wiqa Kashmir" is an important document about the happenings of the 14th and 15th centuries, but unfortunately it is not traceable. Later, a historian of the 19th century, Pir Ghulam Hassan Khoihami, claims to have benefited from this source material but the incident he has narrated about its mysterious disappearance from his possession makes his claim debatable if not doubtful.

In 1577 during the reign of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak, Sayyid Ali wrote a history of Kashmir in Persian. He claims to have greatly benefited form two sources close to the Sheikh era, viz. A history of Quazi Ibrahim and an Anthology of Kashmiri Saints written by Haji Baba Adhami. Both these sources are not available now. He too has only cared to describe the status and stature of the Sheikh in the light of the records contained in those sources but does not provide factual data

about his life, activities and mission.

The author of Gauhari Aalam, Abdul Quasim Man'ami, (18th century) states that while collecting material for Kashmir history he got access to a valuable manuscript and benefited his work from this vital source to write the chapter relating to Pandavas. The said manuscript was carried by last Chak ruler Sultan Yaqub Shah Chak to Delhi some time by the end of 16th century. That important source about both history and literture fell in the hands of a Mughal lord wherefrom it reached somehow to royal library Lucknow. It is here that Qasim Manami, more inquisitive in research than his father historian Khawaja Azam Dedmari consulted minutely this manuscript of Miratul Awliya. Manami writes:

"Sheikh Noor-ud-Din had unique sense of research who had through his intuition and creative ability acquired special knowledge about the fact that Pandavas were mainly monotheists so he refered their deeds of valour with pride and provided sufficient information about them in his poetry."

His verses were collected and collated under his supervision during his lifetime under the title Noor Nama. Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri translated the Noor Nama into Persian under the title Miratul Awliya.

It transpires that while explaining the verses of the poet Sheikh Noor-ud-Din containing references about Pandavas the translator, Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri, himself a reputed historian, explained facts about those great rulers of Kashmir. We will at proper place assess and evaluate this narration forming the foreword to classical work on Kashmir history "Gauhari Aalam". Miratual Awliya has immense and primary value for the students of Kashmiri literature, but unfortunately no attempt has been made to resurrect it. Equally important are; Wiqa Kashmir by the same author, History of Kashmir by Quazi Ibrahim and An Anthology of Kashmiri Saints by Baba Adhami.

Kati Pandit (later Baba Qutub-ud-Din) was an outstanding Sanskrit scholar who used to scribe the Sheikh's verses in the Sharda script immediately they were composed. This important document too, is not available nor has its extracts found place in later records. All the later histories and anthologies were written and edited by Persian scholars who did not know the Sharda script, so they could not consult this

important document which remained buried in the debris of forgetfulness. I suppose that the Noor Nama compiled under the suprevision of the author himself and translated by Mulla Ahmad was the one edited in Sharda script by Qutub-u-Din. I have consulted many more manuscripts of anthologies and histories which include Asrar-ul-Abrar by Dawood Mishkati, Fatoohati Kubrawi by Abdul Wahab Noori, Abdul Wahab Shayaq's Riaz-ul-Islam, Bahawullah Mattoo's Reshi Nama, Kamal Baba's Noor Nama and Reshi Nama Ambar Shimama, Saadullah Shahbadi's Bagh-i-Sulaiman and Mohammad Khalil Baba's Rauzat-ul-Riaz.

In the absence of the earliest record about our subject, we are forced to base our information upon the anthologies written during or after the sixteenth century. Other scattered data contained in various histories written during the later Chak period or thereafter, and the common but strong traditions which have become an inseparable part of our history. are our other sources which broadly consist of the following:

(1) Reshi Nama Lamiya by Dawood Khaki (1521-1585). In this Persian panegyric (qasida) the poet gives the life story of his contemporary Reshi saint, Baba Hardi Reshi of Islamabad. It also contains references to the Reshi movement and some information about its leader, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. However, it does not contain any useful material about the life and mission of the Sheikh. It also contains some discussion about the Reshi mystic cult but such treatment too is based on the then existing character of this movement which had undergone great and drastic changes since it has been modelled by the Sheikh.

(2) Noor Nama by Nasib Gazi: Nasib Sahib was an illustrious disciple of Dawood Khaki. Though he was not connected with the Reshi cult, nevertheless he remained a strict vegetarian all his life. He was an outstanding scholar of Persian language, theology and mysticism and had made a keen study of Kashmir's history and literature. In his Tazkire Mashaikh Kashmir (Anthology of Kashmiri Saints) he has dwelt on the Reshi order and the purpose of its mission. He has given life-sketches of eminent Reshis of Kashmir, including saints of other mystic orders. However, his Noor Nama, written in 1630, is an exclusive work on the Sheikh.

The learned author has mainly been concerned with the mystic aspect of the saint's life. The historical facts about his life and mission can hardly be sifted from the mystic anecdotes narrated in it. The author has quoted only neglegible number of verses in original but has, instead, confined himself to the gist of many verses in Persian. Had he even prefered to give free and accurate translation that would help the researcher to decipher Sheikh's verses contained in later compilations with near about accuracy and authenticity. Thus this work has no value as source for editing Sheikh's poetry. However, it is admitted and reported by him with certainity that the Sheikh's poetry was both huge in quantity and rich in quality: "this humble author has read classics from Arabic and Persian on mystic thought but the delight I have received from Sheikh's poetry is so immense which defies the description."

As regards biographical sketch of the saint poet including his activities as a missionary, a founder of culture, a moulder of history, a preacher and as a reformer etc, this source only provides confusing allegorical anecdotes rather historical facts. Even such anecdotes are burdened with heavy exaggerations and digressions. Nett result is confusion for the researcher.

(3) Asrar-ul-Abrar by Dawood Mishkati, the revered disciple of Baba Nasib, was written in 1653. It is in ornate Persian and provides discussion about the Reshi order and conflicting information about the life of its leader. While he takes a stand different from his teacher about the dates of birth and death, he fails to make any special mention of his source and its value. He has taken a different stand about these facts than the one taken by his revered teacher and spiritual leader Baba Nasib Din Ghazi. He was duty bound to describe, specifically his source of information and owed a duty to history to justify his difference. In these circumstances this book only adds to the confusion. Nevertheless it provides us material about the eminence of the saint and his contribution to Kashmiri language and literature.

(4) During the Pathan rule, Raja Sukhjeevan Mal (1756-1764), advisor to the Afghan governor, succeeded in liberating Kashmir from the centre at Kabul and in order to restore the people's self-confidence and sense of valour, assigned the task of versifying the glorious history of Kashmir to five great Persian poets. He directed them to write in epic

form and in the pattern and style of Firdausi's Shahnama a versified history of Kashmir. Of these poets, Mulla Abdul Wahab Shaiq was assigned the portion relating to the origin and evolution of the Reshi movement with special reference to the life and achievements of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, Shaiq completed the task in 1764. Within a compass of seven thousand verses he narrated the history of the Reshi movement, the life story of its leader and the achievements of his successors. This work is mainly versified version of the prose work of Baba Gazi.

(5) In 1766, another great Persian poet Bahaullah was born in Srinagar. He was an eminent scholar of Persian literature, mysticism and history. He composed on the pattern of Great Persian poet Nizami Ganjvi, five Masnavis in Persian called "Khamsa". One among this series is "Reshi Nama Rohafza". This long poem comprising more than five thousand verses also provide us some information of the Sheikh's life, but the bulk of it deals with his miracles and supernatural acts.

(6) In the later decades of 18th century, a great scholar, researcher and poet, Baba Mohammad Kamal of Tsrar-i-Sharief, wrote Reshi Nama Ambar Shimama in Persian prose. In this huge volume the author has, for the first time, recorded the bulk of the Seikh's original verses. He has further given the background to each couplet and poem. The book is of immense value to students of history and literature. However, the author by attributing some or the other background to various verses of the Sheikh has narrowed the scope of their symbolic and metaphorical ambit. It has thus limited the universality and the eternal character of his poetry. These anecdotes narrated as background to the verses of the Sheikh were mingled with the real historical facts. Again this author does not quote his sources with specification. He, however, states that he got ample benefit from the rare manuscripts of Noor Namas to which he got access in different parts of the state and from traditional accounts which were available then and even in sufficient number from his home town Tsarar-i-Sharief.

In close succession to his prose work, Baba Kamal composed Noor Nama in Persian poetry in the Masnavi form. This book consists of several thousand verses and its language is simple, chaste and lucid. While it makes no addition to what is contained in his prose work, it no

doubt provides us a simple translation of certain poems and couplets of the Sheikh.

(7) Rauzt-ur-Riaz, another scholarly work, was written by Baba Mohammad Khali! of Tsrar-i-Shrief in Persian in 1840. This volume of more than five hundred pages is based more or less on the same material. It has, however, projected some new dimensions of the Sheikh's poetic acumen. Its style is ornate and language full of verbosity. Moreover his versified translation is more accurate and very faithful to the original. It helps us to decipher the verses, which had been recorded in a most defective and incomplete script. However, the work is most remarkable owing to the fact that it contains a good number of Persian ghazals and nazams composed by Baba Khalil in praise of the Sheikh.

(8) As earlier stated, the Persian histories written during the lifetime of the Sheikh or immediately after his death contained ample information about the saint. Unfortunately none of them is extant.

Sayyed Ali's Tareekhi Kashmir (1579), Baharistan Shahi written in 1614, the history book by Malik Hailder of Tsoder (1620), Khawaja Azam Dedamari's Waqaati Kashmir (1747), Narain Kaul Aajiz's Tareekh Kashmir and the history written by Pir Hassan Shah of Khoihama (d. 1898) are all written in Persian and contain full description about the saint poet. But these authors have either followed the views of Baba Nasib or of his disciple, Baba Mishkati. Hassan has claimed credibility and authenticity to the entry made in his 3rd Volume of Kashmir history about the Sheikh as he claims (indirectly) to have based his reporting on an authentic contemporary source of the saint poet viz Wiaqaya Kashmir authored by Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri. This claim of Pir Hassan Shah Khoihami seems greatly doubtful. He claims to have obtained a manuscript of the above noted history book, cannot be totally dubbed as unfounded. He simultaneously claims to have lost that valuable treasure. He had, with all diligence and intelligence embarked upon the geo-political history of Kashmir and as such he completed first two volumes covering those aspects. It seems that being a devotee of spiritual leaders of Kashmir he felt that his work was incomplete without the compilation of spiritual history. It is presumed and transparently clear from his 3rd volume that he has marred his historical sense and logic in

judgment as he embarked upon this emotional phase of his project. This book will at proper place describe the grounds which make us to pass such sweeping remarks. I do not hesitate to say that Hassan has confused the mystic history of Kashmir by burdening heavily his reader about competition in unnatural and illogical anecdotes of miracles. He has not applied any discretion for sifting such anecdotes which were part of either folk or legend. It was already deep in the leagend by 17th century that Sheikh had been forced by the situation to assist the clients of his mother in stealing things by committing lurking house trespass during nights. To prove him exceptionally honest and above mundane the legend drags him to steal but at the same time contains that while committing such thefts he found huge quantity of precious stones, pearls and gems left uncared in a village house but he didn't steal any precious item. Kashmir society was not then so affulent that in neglected villages, the villagers could hoard huge quantities of precious diamonds and leave such precious stocks accessible to a child thief. This was part of later legend but Hassan by basing his source of information in contemporary authentic history Wiqaya Kashmir, makes this interpolation to appear but an authentic fact. Close to his own period he quotes another miraculous deed of a later saint Zaiti Shah of Drugmulla Kupwara. Hassan quotes a very indecent remark passed by this saint against a woman of the locality. Reason never believes in such indecency. Such attribution only lowers the prestige of that outstanding saint. By quoting these two facts contained in this relevant volume I am to convey that Hassan has carelessly bulked and bundled exaggerations which were common about our great ancestors due to erosion of values in a slave society as existed during the lifetime of this historian. Had he applied discretion and cared to sift facts he would not add to the rubbish. On this basis it is safely held that Hassan has not consulted Wiqaya Kashmir when he edited this 3rd volume of history. We will invite readers to have a glance of this volume and decide for themselves. In view of this discussion his reported claim to have based his information about Sheikh Noor-ud-Din on any contemporary source is unfounded.

In the early part of the 20th century, G.M. Din Sofi took great pains to collect material and write a history of Kashmir, entitled Kasheer, in

two volumes in English. In this book the learned author for the first time introduced the Sheikh and his works to the English-knowing people. Close on its heel came another monumental work, by another historian P.N.K. Bamzai, which also gives detailed account of the Sheikh. In 1944-45 an outstanding Kashmiri poet and critic, late Abdul Ahad Azad (d. 1948), wrote literary history of Kashmir in three volumes in which he has made a detailed survey of the Sheikh's life and work.

The above references made about the saint poet in the histories (supra) show clearly that they have either followed Baba Nasib-ud-Din Gazi or Dawood Mishkati. We will at proper place mention and discuss the variations in these two sources which are very little and mainly relate to the year of birth of the saint. However, both these sources do also suffer of numerous infirmities which show that they too have laid stress on miracles, folk tales and legends. Both of them have been distinguished scholars of holy Quran and Hadith but unfortunately have not applied those norms to screen and sift the stories which is expected from the great scholars of Hadith.

(9) Lastly, there is a document reportedly executed by Sayyed Mir Mohammad Hamdani in 1408. Though it bears no title, some people have termed it as Khati Irshad (Letter of Authority). This document is reported to have been authenticated by the Sultan himself. So its value cannot be under estimated. There are more than two views about the authenticity and relevance of this deed. In spite of all the conflicting views the documents is one of the indispensable sources to assess the eminence of the Sheikh and his impact on the people during his lifetime. Both these views, positive and negative, shall be discussed under sub-title Khati Irshad (letter of authority).

As for as two works of Kamal Baba and Rauzat-ur-Riaz of Khalil Baba are concerned these two eminent scholars have also added the confusion as for as the material about the biographical sketch of the poet is concerned. It is already stated that they have either themselves concocted a background story for almost every small or big poem of the Sheikh or such background stories were coined before them as folk tales and these two scholars collected and collated those confusing stories. At proper places we may discuss those background stories and examine

those on the touchstone of reason and logic. However it should not be construed that these three sources fall in the confusion of doubt as for as their worth and value as compilations of Sheikh's verse is considered because, they have taken benefit of bulk of Noor Namas - the simple compilations of the Sheikh's poetry free of commentaries and discussions. Almost every family at Tsarar-I-Sharief owned one or two manuscripts of such edited Noor Namas. All of them were reduced to ashes during 1995 devastating fire. We have two copies of Noor Namas edited by Mir Abdullah, one in the collections of State Research Library and another copy in the collections of J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages.

An important touchstone for proper examination and critical sifting of facts about the Sheikh's life and mission is provided by the internal evidence contained in his own verses. His poetry unfolds the surroundings and environment in which the saint-poet lived. Many of his verses even provide us with sufficient information about his life.

Proper check and cross check has been made while quoting the verses of the Sheikh from five important sources,those include the two books authored and edited by Kamal Baba, Rauzat-tur-Riazof Khalil, the compilation of Mir Abdullah and the notes prepared by G.M.Muquiem.In view of defective script adopted by scribes benefit has been derived from Persian translations of both Kamal and Khalil. More helpful have proved notes of Muqiem and mainly on the basis of those notes the glossary has been prepared which is added hereto as appendix II.

Kashmir

"Kasheeri pheorus endh endhi
Kasi ne korum brandhi haaw."

[I have toured around Kashmir,
Alas! None entertained me in his home.]

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din claims to have toured on foot around his Kashmir. It is reported, that he made three visits around the valley and even traversed towards the Kashmiri speaking hill tracts of the present Jammu region in the districts Doda, Kishtwar, Ramban, Poonch and Rajouri. In spite of his urge to travel widely around the world his immense love for Kashmir and his commitment to bring socio-religious revolution in his homeland, did not allow him to go beyond. Let us know his beloved land—Kashmir.

Detailing out the legend about the origin of Kashmir, the Nilamata Purana records:

" ..... the land of Kasmira was occupied for six Manvantaras since the beginning of the Kalpaya vast lake six yojanas long and three yojanas wide, called Satisara. In the 7th Manvantara, the water of the lake was drained off through an outlet made with plough by Ananta at the order of Visnu who along with other gods and godesses had come there to kill the demon Jalodbhava - invincible in the waters. The story runs further informing how after the death of Jalodbhava, the Pisacas and the descendants of Manu were settled there by Kasyapa to live in company of the Nagas, the original inhabitants of the valley." (Nilamata Purana; edited by Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai for J&K Academy of Art, Culture & languages Srinagar - Vol. 1)

Kalhana in his Rajtarangni speaks about the origin of Kashmir:-

"Once upon a time there was the lake of Sati; and from the beginning of the Kalpas the land in the womb of the Himalayas was filled with waters during the intervening period of six Manus.

Now when the present period of Vaivasvats had come, the Prajapati Kasyapa induced the gods Druhina, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and having caused Jalodbhava, who resided in it, to be slain, founded upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kasmir."

(Asloks 25, 26 & 27 quoted from RS. Pandit's 'Translation of Rajtarangni' - Sahitya Akademi New Delhi, Edn. 1977)

Gazetteer of India, Jammu & Kashmir State, Vol. I, on Kashmir region also makes a summing up of the legend and history about the origin of the name 'Kashmir' and I quote the following extract:

"Why and how the valley came to be called by this name, has given philip to untiring exercises from time to time, resulting in the advancement of various traditional and mythological theories. Most of the historians of ancient, medieval and modern times base their theories on the hypothesis contained in the Nilmata Purana and believe that the valley was named "Kashyapmar" after a sage named Kashyap who, with his divinity, established a truce between Nagas and Pishachas and settled them in the valley in hormony with each other. There are also other theories putforth by historians like Babur, Mullah Abdun Nabi, etc., regarding the origin of the word Kashmir, but most of these theories lack authenticity and credibility and are not supported by sound and strong arguments."

Eminent historian of 20th century Pir Gulam Hassan Khoihami also quotes this legend contained in Nilmat Purana and also quotes from Mulla Ahmad the translator of Ratnapuran. Mulla Ahmad is reported to have authored History of Kashmir entitled "Viquai - Kashmir" and has translated Mahabharata and Ratnapuran. He was minister of Sultan Zain-ul-Aabdin (1420-1470 AD). On the basis of this reported discussion in Ratnapurana Mulla Ahmad has attributed the origin of the name with one Kashimveer, who was a great warrior and wrestler. The later historians have based their discussion on the origin of the name of Kashmir mainly on the legend contained in Nilmatpurana with some additional interpretations and interpolations. In the light of these discussions, the anthologists of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din (the authors of Reshi Namas and Noor Namas) have unnanimously attributed the origin of Kashmir with Kashyap Reshi and thus have tried to bridge a contact between that founder of Kashmir viz. Kashyap Reshi and the founder of

Reshi Mystic Order, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Reshi.

Valley of Kashmir situates within the latitude and longitude between 30°-22' and 37°-06' Northand 72°-30' and 77°-30' East, respectively. At an average its height is 6000 feet above sea level and is bounded by the river Kishan Ganga (Neelam) in the North and the West and in the East it is bounded by Ladakh and on its South is guarded by huge ranges of Pirpanchal.

According to 1981 census, the area under Indian and Pakistan occupation is 222236 sq kilometers with the details as 42735 Sq. kilometers under Chinese occupation and 78114 kilometers under Pakistan occupation and the rest 101387 Sq. Kms under Indian occupation which includes 15948 Sq. Kms that constitutes the valley of Kashmir. Its population according to 1991 census was estimated at 3134904 which in our view is not correct because these census figures were collated and collected on the basis of surmises by paramilitary forces who could not move for enumeration in the valley due to warlike situation between the people and the occupying forces. Thus in our view the above quoted population figures of the valley are underestimated.

According to the administrative setup, which existed on 15th of August 1947, the state of Jammu & Kashmir constituted of the two provinces viz. Kashmir and Jammu provinces and besides included the United Districts of the Frontier. The state fell in the illegal occupation of two confronting neighbouring countries India and Pakistan. This immoral division effected Kashmir province as well because, out of its three administrative divisions viz. Wazarats, two felt on this side of ceasefire line whereas the third Wazarat of Muzaffarabad falls on the other side of LOC. However, this imposed partition has not effected Kashmir geography but has bottlenecked its very being and subjected it to other viscititudes.

Valley of Kashmir has unique and important geographical environs as "The Lesser Himalayas" or "The Jehlum Valley". It is marked by lakes, streams, abundance of fruit trees, wide range of forests and snowbound high mountain peaks glistering under sunshine. It is like a basin surrounded on every side by a range of lofty mountains. The Pirpanchal range of hills on its south is studded with Tatakuti (4733 meters), Brahma Sakal (4704 meters), Parasing (4583 meters),

Kousarnag (4436 meters), Aheratop (3974 meters), Naba-pir (4278 meters), Kanikut (4107 meters) and Sunder top (3877 meters) peaks. On East - North-East and north - North-West, Nanga Parbat with 8113 meters surrounds the valley.

Kashmir is probabily the only region in world which has many vast margs (meadows or mountain downs). Its karewas or plateaus are so attractive and rich that not only abundance of delicious fruit is offered by these kerawas but also they have attracted Reshi movement to build its centres on such mounds, which overlook lush green smaller valleys. The margs are so rich in herbal grass that Kashmir can usher permanently in white revolution. This author has in his epic novel, *Pun Te Paap,* (on his personal experience) described the valley of Kashmir as a romantic novel, smaller valley form an interlinking chapter of that romanticism. These valleys are: Leddar, Sindh, Lolab, Bangus, Dachigam, Gulmarg, Gurez and Yusmarg valleys.

Kashmir is so rich in water sources that an Urdu poet Ratan Nath Sarshar has rightly observed "the rocks of my Kashmir too entertain the traveler with soothing effect from sweet and cold water". However, the great river which lulls the great and ancient city of Srinagar in its divided lap viz the river Jehlum, travels fom its source at Verinag upto the last end in the valley i.e. Khadanyar 159 kilometers. This was the main communication link for travellers from Anantnag to Baramula as it is navigable through its entire course. It has caused devastation also through oft-repeated floods but is the manifestation of the progress and beauty of Kashmir.

Kashmir is famous for its lakes as well. Among all Lakes Wullar is the largest in whole of Asia extending over an area of 20.13x8.05 kilometers. However, the Dal Lake is famous worldwide for its tourist attraction. It is intriguing that neither Kalhana has made any reference of this so famous lake nor Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has made its mention in his verses though he has at many places made references to the Wullar Lake and has even treated it synonimous to an ocean. Other lakes are; Nigin, Mansbal, Gangabal, Anchar, Marsar, Tarsar and Tulin lakes.

Spring is a poetic symbol with Sheikh Noor-ud-Din because Kashmir has abundance of springs. Every rock or hill tract or a valley or rivulet offers us a cold and sweet spring locally called as Nag and the

following are famous springs: Anantnag, Verinag, Kokernag, Achbal, Kausarnag, Martand-nag, Cheshmashahi, Khirbhawani and besides we have many thermal springs. The valley is rich in flora and fauna. The saint poet, the pivot of these discussions, has expressed so much love and admiration for the both. He qualifies the reptiles as his family members and claims that all the saints of his land are bedecked in flowers. We will discuss these aspects of his personality later on.

Our readers will read aspects of Kashmir directly and indirectly through the story of this saint and through his verses.

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Islam Arrives in Kashmir

Let me open this chapter with the sweeping remark of nineteenth century towering historian Pir Gulam Hassan Shah Fazli of Khoihama pargana:

"Up to the end of the Hindu Raj, Islam had no presence in Kashmir.." (Vol.2, Tareekh Hassan, Persian)

He, thus, conveys with certainty that it is after the establishment of Muslim Rule in 1320-21, that the Islam spread its roots in the social soil of Kashmir.

The background given to the conversion of ruler Rinchin appears unpolitical and unwise. It is history that in 1320, a Tatar cruel invader Zulchu invaded Kashmir and ruthlessly massacared the people of the country, molested its women folk, took the selected youth as prisnors of war, looted not only the treasury and the assets of religious institutions but also common citizens. Under this devastating pressure the ruler, Raja Sahdeva proved treacherously coward and fled towards an adjoining southern hill principality, Kishtwar. In this mess of situation, the Brahmin who had dominated the royal court for centuries, exposed his cunning and opportunistic behaviour with which he had exploited both the masses and the religion. He had created this hegmony upon political power by his debauchery, loose character and intriguing intellect. He had for centuries created hatred on the basis of his assumed superiority as the descendent of Lord Brahma. His claim of such celestial descent got exposed by this ordeal befallen upon the people of this country under the terror of Zulchu. The masses rightly considered it as heavenly wrath. In this political vacuum created by the treachery of the king and by opportunistic escapism demonstrated by the religious clerics and the ruling Brahmin, the common Kashmiri looked eagerly for some timely guidance which could guide them to come out of this morass. Taking the benefit of this vacuum, an exiled prince of Ladakh who had taken refuge in the kingdom of Sehdeva in pargana 'Lar' ascended to the throne and married Kutarani, daughter of Ramchandra, the commander-in-chief of Raja Sehdeva. After this wholesale devastation of country, Zulchu left Kashmir via Pirpanchal range of hills along with ten thousand Kashmiri

youth whom he had taken as slaves, with good number of choicest beautiful young ladies and all the treasures of wealth. Kashmiri may at times prove both coward and defeated but has sharp intellect to take (tactfully) revenge from his enemy. So, those arrested youth whom the invader took as prisoners of war, advised him to tread the dangerous path while descending from the Pirpanchal hills and in such device bulk of them also got killed.Zulchu and his army including the wealth he had looted - all got buried under the heavy weight of glaciers and snow. Those locals and some of the soldiers of Zulchu who survived this onslaught remained wandering in the hilly tracts of Pirpanchal. During that challenging circumstannces, entered into this country a great spiritualist, saint, scholar and missionary Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul. However, the story put forth about the conversion of king Renchen to Islam at the hands of this saint and scholar Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul, appears highly unreasonable. The legend has been incorporated into history without making its logical assessment. The story goes (which even Hassan historian dittoes in the second volume of his history) that Kashmir at that time posed conflicting religious challenges (it was not a multireligious society). The new king, who, himself belonged to Buddhist religion wished to adopt some other acceptable code of religious conduct and so declared that as he would rise in the morning and would follow the religion of the person who's glimpse caught his vision. On the next morning he came out of the window or varandah of his palace and found a Muslim offering morning prayers on the bank of the river Jehlum. The man was none other than Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul who had just entered the country. Hence the king, as per his earlier decision, went to the man, asked him about his religion and embraced the same.

This anecdote is purely a legend devoid of common sense, polity and the genuine commitment for achievement of heavenly code of life. No one has so for adopted religion under fits of uncertainties and more so a careerist refugee who was so clever to fill in the political vacuum, could not take such vital decisions with uncertain surmises. The historian while describing the religious society in Kashmir then makes mention of Khatris, Vesh, Kayat, Parsees, Snake worshippers and Budhists. As stated at the outset, these historians have ruled out presence of Muslims at that relevant time so Renchen, had before deciding to opt for the

religion of man whom he could find at the next morning, choice confined within few sects of local Hindus. Choice was only among those religions which were in vogue then. They were all different facets of paganism. He had no idea about Islam as is evident from this anecdote. Hence reason rejects this theory and on the other hand it is inferred on most reasonable grounds that the newly crowned prince who had no social base in the county, adopted this religion for political reasons. At the relevant time, Hindu society had shattered under the pressure of Zulchu's invasion, the Brahmins myth had completely eroded which prompted the ruler to appease, the scattered Muslim pockets those had become force to recon with. We know from these historical records that with Renchen, another refugee Muslim viz. Shahmir had also acquired eminance. He too was granted jagir by the ex ruler Raja Sehdeva. These two outsiders reportedly had complete grip upon the situation. To outwit Shahmir, who had entered into marital bondages with influencial Kashmiri families, Renchen without hesitation got converted to Islam. He was the first local companion of Bulbul Shah. The Syed Bulbul had, while coming to Kashmir, brought under his influence those prisoners of Zulchu and his fugitive soldiers who were wandering in the ranges of Pirpanchal. He consolidated them into an organized and disciplined cadre of missionaries. Renchen was conscious enough of their bravery and intellect. So to utilize their ability he became the first local disciple of the influential saint. Besides this cogent reason I have many other reasons to repudiate the contention of historian Hassan that Islam had no influence in Kashmir till Muslim rule was established by Renchen under the title of Sultan Sadru Din in 1321A.D. I am definite that at the time of establishment of Muslim rule, Kashmir was if not a multireligious society but had two formidable religious communities viz. caste ridden Hindu religious community and scattered Muslim pockets. Buddhists had been completely thrown in background by Siavistic chauvinism. The reasons for this contention are succinctly discussed here under:

1. Chechnama (the authentic history of Sindh) and other chronicles of the sub continent have made certain brief or detailed mention of a translation of holy Quran from Kashmir. Upon that scattered material, a contemporary historian, Dr. Masood Ahmad (Principal Govt. College Thath Pakistan) has in a detailed article contributed for Habib Bank of

Pakistan under the title "The Spread of Islam in the Sub Continent and Role of Muslim Saints" stated as:

"On the request of of the Maharaja of Kashmir the ruler of Sindh, Omar bin Abdullah deputed an originally Iraqi sholar settled in Sindh to Kashmir to translate for Maharaja in the then prevalent dialect, the Holy Quran. The scholar would translate chapterwise and would recite the so translated version in the court. As he reached to the twenty third-chapter viz. Sura Yaseen and recited it per shcedule the Hindu Raja moved in tears,wept bitterly and fell unconscious. He embraced Islam."

Omar bin Abdullah ruled Sindh from 910 AD to 925AD. This very fact has been contained in another source the "Ajaibul Hind" with a bit of variation but on the basis of travelogue of Ibni Sheharyar. It reads:

"The Raja of Kashmir "Merok" requested the Sindh governor Omar bin Abdullah to depute a scholar of Quran to his court who would convey to him the commandment of Allah in his Indian language."

A contemporary Muslim scholar Moulana Abdul Karim Parekh of India has translated Quran into Urdu and has written a detailed foreword to his translation in which he has also quoted this incident and states that: "Amir Abdullah deputed a scholar to the court of Maharaja of Kashmir who translated twenty three chapters of holy Quran."

During the first quarter of the tenth century, the political situation in Kashmir was uncertain and the rulers changed like chessmen and in such mess it is difficult to locate as who the particular king did invite scholar from Sindh. The very important history of those days Kalhana's Rajtarangni does not make any mention of this incident, which provides only inference that the 'lord' who invited the scholar must not have been a central ruler but, either some local lord or a chiefton. The said Sanskrit chronicle does not mention name of any 'Merok' as a ruler of Kashmir. That non-mention does not repudiate the assertion made in various sources including the history of Sindh. The reasons are:

a) The Kalhan's work is more a literary (Sanskrit) contribution than a book of history. It is for its literary value that the National Academy of Indian Letters (Sahitya Akademi New Delhi) has published its English translation declaring it as a Sanskrit classics and has simultaneously got a monograph written on Kalhana under "Makers of Indian Literature" series.

b) As history Rajtarangni produces the developments pivoted around the central authority of Kashmir and does neither project social aspects nor economic developments and nor common religious activities of the masses. Its accounts are confined to the developments which shaped around the royal court. It is an embodiment of the details about the court intrigues.

In spite, let us probe into the situation of Kashmir from 910 to 925 AD. Raja Gopal Verma ascends to the throne and within two years is succeeded by his brother Sangat Verma who rules Kashmir for ten days, then comes Suganda Rani who was deposed within two years and so she appoints Nirzata Verma who ruled for sometime and Tantrays revolted. Ultimately came Raja Paratth the minor son of Nirzzata but, it was Sugandha Rani who ruled behind the screen. During this peoriod Kashmir saw floods, draughts and famines. The whole of country had fallen prey to complete discorder to such an extent that sometimes Nirzata defeated his son Parath and ruled himself but immediately the son would defeat his father. The morality had gone to such a lowest ebb that the queen of Nirzata Verma lived illicit life with the minister, Suganda Adit. Then Raja Nirzata Verma ascended the throne in 928 AD but ruled for one year. It is thus clear that this period was a time of confusion and in such situation the central authority had eroded completely. The local lords had developed their own missions and contacts, even diplomatic ties with countries of the Punjab and Sindh. It therefore, is safely derived that this 'mehrok' must have been some influential petty Raja ruling some tiny estate who under the terrible erosion of moral values particularly in the central court might have invited scholars from Muslim Sindh so as to quench his spiritiual thirst. In the same period Mahmood of Ghazni knocks at the doors of Kashmir. It is intriguing that Kalhana makes no mention of these eminent threats from this worrier nor cares to probe into the religious influences which might have been created at our borders due to this military concentration of Mahmood at nearest place viz. Khag Beerwah. Its influences would have penetrated into social fabric of Kashmir due to establishment of Muslim governments in all the countries from all the sides surrounding this country then.

2. I have hinted above that the countries around Kashmir had all

come under Muslim influence which needs a bit explanation. We will find from historical record that Kashmir had social, political, economic, diplomatic and trade relations in south with the countries of Punjab and Sindh and in the north with all Central Asian countries. It is thus that Kashmir for centuries together had evolved itself into a viable link between the countries of Central Asia and the countries of the Sub-continent. In this exchange of relationship between these two sets of countries through Kashmir even these two different cultures had obtained, at many occasions, golden chances of interaction on the soil of Kashmir. Such interaction or synthesis, which evolved among various cultures on the soil of Kashmir or through it positively, effected Kashmir culture, which ultimately evolved into a cosmopolitan civilization. In this scenario during ninth and tenth centuries Islam had totally revolutionized the cultures of the countries which surrounded Kashmir on all sides. Sindh and Punjab had become cradles of Islamic learning, had evolved complete Muslim culture and had influenced Muslim world widely. On our north Muslim countries like Balk, Bukhara, Tashkent, Yarkent, Kashghar etc and on its northwest Afghanistan and Iran had both become so powerful Muslim countries that their cultural emancipation and political prowess could not have left Kashmir uninfluenced. Kashmir had been destined to become the Iran in miniature. Iran had age-old cultural and politcal relationship with Kashmir to such an extent that a princess of Kashmir was given in marriage by Maharaja of Kashmir to great Parsi king of Iran viz. Ardeshere Papkan. All these countries situated on all the sides of Kashmir were deeply involved in trade and political relations with each other through Kashmir and with Kashmir as well. In such circumstances and in the then prevalent caste ridden society of Kashmir Muslim influence would have similarly perculated in all the layers of Kashmir society. It is such influence which had created only through trade links formidable pockets of Muslim society in southern India. Even in Malaysia and Indonesia, Islam overshadowed completely local faiths and such drastic demographic revolution was result of mere trade relations. Comparing the situation of Kashmir during this period with southern India, our readers will have reasons to infer logically that for Kashmir, there were more imminent and immediate causes to receive influences of Islam. Hence on this basis we can not agree with historian

Hassan that there were no Muslim influences visible in Kashmir upto 1321 AD when a fugitive Buddhist Renchen took advantage of the vacuum, filled it and embraced Islam. We are of this definite view that in 1321 Muslims were vitally important to influence the events in Kashmir. In the paragraphs hereafter we will discuss those matters.

3. Closely connected with item *No:1* discussed above is the presence of a manuscript of holy Quran written by one Fatahullah of Kashmir in 1237 AD. It is now established that this manuscript has been scribed by a Kashmiri. Each line of this manuscript bears translation in Persian language and this translation has not so for been claimed to have been rendered by any person from any other country so inference is that this Persian rendering too has taken place only in Kashmir. The translator is not known. Unfortunately the first and last few pages of this rare manuscript were torn before it was acquired by the J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages where the manuscript is preserved with all care. Hence we are not in position to know the name of the translator but, the scribe has at the middle of this holy book recorded both in figures and words the year of its scribing. In this situation presumption is that this translation too has been done by a scholar of Arabic and Persian languages but only from Kashmir. Such presumption is rebuttable if better evidence comes forward. Moulana Parikh in his translation of holy Quran sums up the history of translations of this holy book from the start to the present date. But he has nowhere made mention of this translation which is one of the few first attempts. The learned author of "Al-mabsoot" has written that the necessity of translating holy Quran in different languages was felt even during the lifetime of the Prophet PBUH and so his worthy companion Salman Farsi attempted its Persian rendering. Very recently the first ever-Persian translation of Quran has been traced out from Bukhara which a Sasani king got completed in 281 AH. Probably this translation scribed by Fatahullah must have been one of two or three Persian renderings made after this Bukhara attempt. To our view this translation must have been completed in 12th century by a Kashmiri scholar. Thus it is established that an outstandig scholar of Quran Mr. Fatahullah Kashmiri lived in Kashmir during the first three decades of 13th century and so to assume that such great scholar would

have emerged out of vacuum is an unreasonable hypothesis. Again in a society from which one of the first two or three translators of holy Quran emerges can not be deemed to have been just a new enterent in Muslim ethos. In 12th century Kashmir produced a towering scholar of Quran, who had more than sufficient control upon the source language Arabic and upon the language of translation viz Persian.He must have been son of an educated family and must have been brought up in an established Muslim intellectual society. In the light of this argument the sweeping remark of historian Hassan appears unreasonable exaggeration and this author has no hesitation to opine that Islam had developed as a formidable part of Kashmir society much before establishement of Muslim rule.

4. The historian Baihaqi and other histories of the sub-continent including the famous "Kitabul Hind" of Albiruni none gives any detailed account of Mahmood Ghaznavi's military actions in Kashmir. However, precise mention has been made that in the year 1020 AD, Mahmood along with his army crossed famous Tosa Maidan and entered through famous pass at Khag, where then situated biggest military contonment of Kashmir. It is here that the famous Reshi saint, Ruma Reshi met Mahmood and asked him not to make any military adventures in Kashmir where (according to the saint) the conversion to Islam was heading peacefully and subtly a formidable Muslim society was emerging. He, however, detached a piece from his rag which he stitched with the war banner of worrior Ghaznavi and prophesied his success in India. It is, probably, on this limited entry of Mahmood Ghaznavi in Kashmir that Baihaqi in his history writes that: "After the entry of Mahmood a considerable chunk of Muslim population had inhabited southern Kashmir." It is amazing and surprising and is pregnant with certain inferences that Kalhana has not made any mention of this limited entry of Mahmood and has even ignored its impact or had no information about this demographic change in southern Kashmir.

5. In spite of delibrate, intended or unintentional omissions of Kalhana, we will array hereunder, systematically, such scattered hints provided by Raj Tarangni which put together form a formidable chain of links. That chain becomes the circumstancial evidence, sufficient to

establish only one hypothesis that Muslim society had existed in Kashmir from 10th century and had developed into a force to recon with. Such force only could stand to face the onslaught of invader Zulchu and emerged out of that crisis as a decisive factor. Such circumstantial evidence is however rebuttable but, by a strong, convincing and cogent direct evidence. These factors are:

a) In Tarang VII Aslok 1095, Kalhana Pandit writes in Raj Tarangni about Maharaja Harash Deva: "In the village, the town or in Srinagara there was not one temple which was not dispoiled of its images by the Turk king Harsa."

This remark or insinuation does not reflect about any change in the religious thinking of Harsa nor the historian avers that Harsa had accepted Islam. He dubbs him as a Turk thereby meaning that he was influenced by Muslim monotheism. Such influence could only have been brought upon him by the society around him. This provides inference that there were good number of Muslim courtiers in the court of Harsa. Such ministers, lords, bureaucrats and army officers would neither had fallen from heaven nor would have been casual foreign visitors. They must have been, and in reality were his own subjects in his own country. In other words a formidable Muslim society had emerged before the establishment of Harsa's rule in 1096 AD.

b) In VII Taranga of Raj Tarangni Kalhana specifically writes that Maharaja Kalash Dev alloted the contract of designing and manufacturing of pyramid for Kalashwar Mandir to a Turkish Muslim in 1080 AD. It shows that in 11th century Muslim presence in Kashmir had become so effective that they were alloted Hindu religious state assignments without any hesitation. It provides sufficient basis to infer that Muslims and Hindus during that period were living in cordial atmosphere so the tradition of religious tolerance had started to influence the evolution of Kashmir culture. It is therefore presumptively inferred that in 1080, Kashmir had a multi religious society of which Muslims constituted an important section of population if not a decisive one. Hence the sweeping remark of Hassan historian gets eroded even on this ground.

c) Maharaja Anantraj (1055-1108) faced armed revolt from a militant section of Kashmir society called Dangars. He invited seven

Muslim dynasties to quel this revolt and thus allowed them to have benefit of immense, huge and precious booty. Please read this excerpt from VII Taranga.

"Having combined with Damaras he, by his efforts invited, support from seven Mleccha chiefs, the ruler of the Darads Acalamangala" (Aslok 167-Translation by R.S. Pandit). The Asloka 175 is also quoted for benefit: "In the battle, the Mleccha Rajahs got fetters and the like while the king of Kasmir acquired gold, jewels and other treasures." Here in the note 167 the learned translator writes: "The Mleccha chiefs reffered where no doubt chiefs on the frontier of Kasmir who by this time were perhaps partly Muhammadan." It is however not explained by the translator what he means by frontier of Kashmir. I think he meant the frontier of Srinagar which formed upon the areas those are by now part of Srinagar Muncipal Corporation. Even if the word 'frontier' is given wider ambit that too will touch areas in close contigenty to districts of Baramulla, Anantnag and Pulwama. Even areas of Yusmarag in Budgam district and Sonamarag in Srinagar district. This word frontier lends further support to the assertion of historian Baihaqi that Mahmood of Ghaznav had established a converted formidable Muslim society in the south Kashmir.

d) Please read Aslok 1149 from VII Taranga:

"While he (Harsa Deva) everfostered with money, the Turks who were his centurions, that perverse minded man until his death, ate domesticated pigs."

The learned translator has appendid note No: 1149 explaining word satadhisa (centurion) as: "captain of hundred". The Turks refered to here, "it is clear, are those who in accordance with the religious ideas of the Arabs had renounced pork, which is very popular among Ksatriyas and the Brahmins of Kashmir to this day." The emperor Jehangir, whose mother was a Rajput princess of Jodhpur, we are told by Wheeler, was very fond of wild boar's flesh. The Simritis prohibit the flesh of domestic pigs."

On the basis of this entry I am to stress that during 11th century Muslims of Kashmir had risen in military service to the prestigious positions of centurions. This fact also belies the sweeping remark of Hassan the historian which we have quoted at the outset herein before.

e) Maharaja Bikhasara (Bikhajara) ascended the throne in 1118, but had to remain in permanent conflict and confrontation with his predecessor Maharaja Susala and so he assigned duties to Bhima to impose defeat upon Susala. What Bhima did with him is reported in VIII Taranga, Asloka 884-887. What impact the combined army of Kashmiris and Muslim warriors left upon Susala is contained in Aslok 887 as: "Who indeed would not have believed this Kashmiri Khasa Mlecch warriors competent to uproot the world." The historian in Asloka 885 reports that the Turks were lead by "Salara Vismaya" who had become friend of Bhima. In note 885, R.S. Pandit explains this Asloka as: By Turks here Kalhana means the Muhammadans and Salara may be Sardar or perhaps the Persian Salar that is general. Vismaya is perhaps a corruption of Ismail. About this Gen. Ismail in Asloka 965 Kalhana writes: "... the brave man fell fighting in battle." Here again the learned translator is confused. On the one hand he admits Gen. Ismail as head of Kashmir Muslim tribe but in note he says that these Muhammadan Turks had obtained a footing in the Punjab. They might have occupied the hill tracts of Kashmir which form borders between the valley and its southern plains. Even presently our such regions are inhabited either by Paharis or by Gojjars or by Pathans and they usually speak dialects of distorted Punjabi language burdened with Kashmiri accent. These tribes are Muslims. Nonetheless Gen. Ismail and his army all were part of Kashmir population.

6. It is unfortunate that our historians have never tried to use Kashmir literature, creative or folk or both as sources of history. Ours is a country with oldest tradition of written history but such historical accounts mainly pivot around the royal courts. Our historians have not tried to go deeper in all the layers of our society. Historian Hassan has made Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's one poem a source of his discussions about the personalities whom the saint poet had named as his predecessors in Reshi mystic thought. This is in our view, the first historical account that is based on a piece of creative literature. But he has not honestly, admitted the source. We will come across these discussions when we deal about the pre Sheikh scenario of Reshi movement. Herein I confine to argue that the Sheikh admits himself to be the seventh leader of Rehsi

mystic thought whereas he claims that like all other mystic clans Reshi mystic order has also eminated from Prophet PBUH through Owais of Qaran. Thus the first leader is Muhammad PBUH and the second is Owais (RA) a junior contemporary of the Prophet. According to him the secrets of this Order devolved upon Zalka Reshi of Dandakvana Kashmir whose disciple was Plas Reshi. It is from Plas that Ruma Reshi took the reigns of the leadership of the spiritual Order and gave mantle in the hands of sixth Reshi leader viz Meran Reshi of Village Reshiwani in Mansbal area of Baramula district. Seventh, as said, is the Sheikh himself. In the discussions to be made at the proper place in this book our readers will read the precise biographical sketches of these local four predecessors of the Sheikh. It will be established by all sources and reasons that Zalka Reshi lived during 10th century as a significant aesetic of Kashmir. He could not have been a single dignitary. The place which has produced the third leader of Reshi Mystic Thought in the world after the last Prophet PBUH and after his dedicated lover Owais, could not have emerged to these heights of eminence in vacuum. He must have possessed a background of well-established spiritually emancipated Muslim society.

7. In all the Reshi Namas which are source to this book, we find precise but definite acounts about the martyrdom of eminent Reshi Muslim saints like Angol Reshi, Sheeban Reshi, Ladraman Reshi and hundreds of their disciples who were butchered by the invader Zulchu in 1320. These Faqirs were then mediating in the cave of Arya Rai dug out by king Sandiman in the year 36 BC, they might have subtly lodged protest against the terror let loose by the invader and his army. Consequently, were killed there in that cave, which has become first martyr cemetary of Kashmir.

8.Certain tragedies evolve a process of revolution in a society. The devastation caused by Zulchu upon this land proved one of such national tragedies. The people had for generations believed that the Brahmin was the purest and nearest to the Creator. They believed him the direct descendent of the Lord Brahma. The same Brahmin, to cessiate the hunger of his lust, turned the royal court into a hot bed of intrigues. He had fallen a petty prey to the lust and greed, he had exploited his

knowledge to divide the humanity and the reverence which people showed towards him. The sudden cruel devastation which came with the invasion of Zulchu was considered, as punishment from Almighty. Herein before we have provided the hint that the Reshi saints, the Muslim spiritual leaders subtly, indirectly, tacitly or in any manner which situation demanded, pleaded with the aggressors to have mercy upon poor Kashmiris. It is logically inferable that merely on such apolgitic pleas the tyrant forces would not get so annoyed as to impose mass death of hundreds of gnostics who had neither assets nor riches nor any political clout. It is therefore reasonably presumed that these godly men might have initially prayed for mercy when denied they might have lodged protest which annoyed the angry and cruel aggressors. Whatever the manner which resulted into their massacre, their tragic end might have left both sympathy and appreciation for them in the general public. We have already seen that Muslim tribes had played, from the time of Harsa Deva, an eminent army role in the state affairs. This sacrifice of their religious leaders might have in reality created a general wave of appreciation for the code of conduct which had made those Muslim saints so daring to face such cruel aggressor. In such circumstances the scattered and unorganized Muslim sections felt encouraged to consolidate their disarrayed community interests. It is thus that a Buddhist fugitive refugee Renchen embraced Islam not just for fantasy but to prosecute his political ambition. Being the most intelligent carierist he had seen that it is only Muslim of Kashmir who had will power and capacity to work as king maker. So he felt at the feet of the new enterant Muslim saint Syed Adbur Rehman Bulbul and got converted to Islam. It is clear that Bulbul Saheb, as soon as he arrived in Kashmir provided heavenly blissful leadership to the disarrayed Muslim society. Renchen required the timely advantage of the saint's popularity. It is during the reign of Raja Seha Deva and earlier to Zulchu's aggression that another Muslim (himself also a refugee from far off country) Shahmeer had also established his foothold as a political bigwig of Kashmir. He too was allotted with Jagir by Raja Sehdeva in pargana Krohein (Distt. Baramula). He too was in the corridors of power watching to sneak an appropriate opportunity to reach to the Kashmir

throne which had fallen vacant due to coward act of Raja Sehdeva. Historians have made mention of Shahmeer too that he had entered marital relationship with influencial dynasties of Kashmir so as to pave path for him to reach that destination. A Muslim could not give his daughters and sisters in marriage to Pandit lords, nor Hindu lords who had sufficient pride for their local descent, could tie their daughters in marital bondage with Muslims whom they dubbed as Mlecchas. It is therefore to be believed and to be accepted that these influencial dynastics with whom Shahmeer created marital relationship were but Muslims. They too would not have emerged as influencial section of society within months or years but they might have acquired such traditions at least within third or fourth generation. On this ground also it is to be accepted that Muslims were influencial part of Kashmir society much earlier than the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. This fact also nullifies the assertion of Hassan that Islam did not exist anywhere in Kashmir society till the Muslim rule was established here.

9. History of Kashmir is replete with the instances of expansionist expeditions of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din, the fourth king of Shahmeer Sultanate who ruled Kashmir from 1356 to 1375 AD. He did extend the borders of Kashmir on northern side upto to the frontiers of China and on the southern side almost upto Delhi. Could such adventures be made by a Muslim king only with non-Muslim soldiers or an army manned in bulk only by non Muslims.

10. Assessment of the 'Present' of a nation or a region is made on its 'Past'. Similarly from the present we can draw certain and definite conclusions about the future events of such nation and with particular stress we can know about past of a community or group of communities living in a geo-political grouping. Hence in the treatment under this Para we will try to know the national behaviour of 13th & 14th centuries Hindus of Kashmir. It is after such assessment we will pose a question to our common reason whether such a community constituting the whole populace of a country (as historians tell us), could have allowed a newly converted fugitive Buddhist refugee to hoist his authority upon such a community or could a single Muslim refugee Shahmeer make such headways as to establish Muslim Sultanate upon totally unipolar community of Hindus.

Our readers are aware that the struggle of freedom was initiated in 1931 manned, organized, run and nourished with the blood by the majority community, Muslims who had, from 1818 AD undergone worst type of discrimination, tyranny and oppression. This well organized movement was high-jacked by this intelligent minority only 5 to 6%. It was this present minority community that constituted total population of the country in 1320 AD. How their predecessors would have allowed a 'fugitive refugee convert' Renchen to establish Muslim rule here?

11) It is stressed by researchers that both the stalwart missionaries Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul and Mir Syed Ali Hamdani (considered pioneers of conversion to Islam) belonged to Shia sect. This contention might be disputed but it is beyond controversy that both were not members of Hanafi School of Jurisprudence. The pertinent question arises. Why these dignitaries did establish Hanafi Sunni society when they were not themselves so? The reply is evident. They were both sincere missionaries devoted to Islam and were above the Sunni or Shia or Hanafi or Shafi labels. As both of them found Muslim society exclusively following the Hanafi interpretations of Fiqa, so they could not confuse them. Undisturbed by such superficialities, they prosecuted the prevalent Juristic School. This point also defies historian Hassan's sweeping remark (supra).

12) In 1373 (786 AH), when Syed Ali Hamdani, on his return back from Kashmir died en route, the two rich lords who were deputed to Swat (the place where the Syed breathed his last) to obtain relics from the great spiritual master of Kashmir. Those were Abed Tantray and Ledh Ganaie. These are Kashmiri versions of Muslim names: Mohammad Abdullah and Latif-ud-Din. It is admittedly the trait of Kashmir culture inherited from Pandit community that the names are so shortened as to get, to an extent mutiliated. Had, according to the opinion of our historians (particularly Hasan) the coversion to Islam taken place after 1320, both those persons named above would have been in the first generation as Muslims or at the best in second generation. Within only five or six decades these Islamic names would not have been so mutiliated as to look or appear non Muslim names. Such process did evolve but after few generations of a particular dynasty. Therefore, we

have strong reasons to hold that Tantray and Ganaie dynasties were among such influential dynasties with whom Shahmir had entered marital relationship before 1320-21. On this groud we have reasons to counter the sweeping remark of Pir Hasan Shah, the distinguished historian of nineteenth Century.

In the end it is on these pertinent reasons claimed that from the very start of 10th century Islam had influenced Kashmir thinking that created a process to spread this progressive message in all the layers of Kashmir society and it culminated in 1320-21 in the establishment of Muslim society in this country. The terrible jolt given by the devastating agression of Zulchu to Brahmins provided opportunity to scattered Muslim influence to consolidate. The arrival of two Central Asian saints at this critical juncture provided the capable leadership that channelised this consolidation to fromidable revolution.

"Propounder"

Sheikh Noorud-ud-Din Wali *[Life Story]*

Life: The ancestors of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din hailed from Kishtwar, which was a tiny independent kingdom but was later annexed by the Dogra ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-1857) with the State of Jammu & Kashmir. It is by now a district in Jammu Division. The forefathers of the Sheikh were Rajputs who ruled the independent kingdom of Kishtwar. Ogra Teg, the great-grandfather of the Sheikh, was defeated in a local feud and he along with his family and brothers, fled to Kashmir during the reign of Ramadeva (1252-72). There he took refuge in the court of Khumni Wano, owner of the estate of Tilsaral. His brother took refuge in another smaller principality at Duderkot. By dint of their ability and valour, both the brothers rose to the high position of garrison commanders. The successor of Ogra Teg along with his family migrated to another tiny estate of Gud Satho[3] where the Sheikh's father Salar-sanz was forced by circumstances to take to wandering.

Meanwhile at Dedurkot in a local battle in which the Raja was killed, the family of the great-grandson of Ogra Teg's brother was also killed. Only an infant girl escaped death. At the moment when the marauders attacked, she happened to be in the custody of her foster mother, wife of the local chowkidar. The chowkidar and his wife brought up the orphan child as their own but concealed her identity to save her form the wrath of enemies of her parents. The name of the girl was Sadra (ocean).

The chowkidar migrated to Khaijogipora village where he took up the job of a night watchman. The girl, still a minor, was engaged to a young widower, who was already father of two children. But the marriage was not consumated. Before the bride could go to the house of her husband, the latter died. The pious chowkidar took pity on the orphaned children and took them to his own house to be brought up there.

The chowkidar took Sadra to the missionary saint Syed Hussein

Simnani of Kulgam and narrated him the plight of the girl. The Syed assured both the ward and the guardian of a bright future but warned the chowkidar against getting the girl married without his consent.

Salat Sanz, a descendant of Ogra Teg, who was banished form Gud Satho, kept wandering for quite some time and finally reached the meditation place of a local saint, Yasman Reshi. Salar became a disciple of the Reshi. He embraced Islam and was named as Salar-ud-Din. Meanwhile, the chowkidar also died and the hapless woman, Sadra went to seek the blessings of Yasman Reshi. Here Sadra was introduced to Salar-ud-Din and both came to know of their common origin. The Reshi directed both of them to proceed to Kulgam and seek blessings of the missionary Syed saint viz Syed Hussain Simnani. This saint tied Sadra and Salar-ud-Din who both belonged to one dynasty, in the marital bond and so they went to live as husband and wife in the house of the chowkidar in Khaijogipora village.

The families were known both at Tilsara and Duderkot as "Sanz" which according to some scholars is a distorted Kashmiri version of the word "Sen". As the Sen dynasty ruled Kishtwar for some time, these scholars tend to connect the Sanz family, ancestors of the Sheikh, with the same dynasty. This view is, however, erroneous inasmuch as Sanz is a purely Kashmiri word which means the garrison commander. In the second volume of "History of Kashmir" Pir Hassan Shah writes:

"During the balkanisation, the village or estate owners ruled particular areas and separated their respective estates by constructing forts. Such places where those forts were constructed are named in a manner as to suffix the word 'Kot' with the name, e.g. Zainakot, Duderkot, etc. The officer in charge of the fort was called Sanz."

It is thus clear that the forefathers of the Sheikh, on both paternal and maternal sides, had been appointed keepers of forts both at Tilsara and Duderkot by the local Rajas or the estate holders. It was because of this background that the families were called Sanz. The poet himself says: "Both my father and mother are from Sanz stock." The span of the married life of this couple was brief. His father died soon after he was born. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din was the only child of Sadra and Salar.

The Sheikh was born at Khee village in Kulgam tehsil where his parents had settled. Though local tradition indicates his birthplace as

Kaimoh, anadjacent village but his own verses negates this tradition. He is categoricall: "There in Khee village I took birth." The tradition however, too is not unfounded. The Sheikh spent his childhood and youth at Kaimoh and retired form active life while still in that village. His parents, wife and children are all buried there, and above all he has in his verses recorded Kaimoh as the place of his residence. Already said that the foster parents of Sadra lived at Kheejogipora but the couple, after they got married, had settled in village Kaimoh where Sadra owned the estate left by her assasinated parents. Determination of Sadra to get her original identity and ancestral property acquired,the valour and hard work of Salar-ud-Din and the influence of Syed Simnani the couple made able to reoccupy ancestral property of Sadra. By the dint of his hard work, calibre and devotion Salar-ud-Din made his fortune in a very short span of time to such an extant that his son Noor-ud-Din felt proud of such a father who was affulant enough 'but instead good sense prevailed upon him'. It seems that Noor-ud-Din praises his father not for the riches he acquired but for his pious deeds. According to the local custom Sadra might have gone in advanced pregnancy for delivery to village Khee to the house of her foster parents where Noor-ud-Din took birth so he claims Khee as his birthplace.

The folk tradition has carried to generations an anecdote that Salar-ud-Din while performing watch and ward of village Khee overheard during the dead night in the outskirts of the village the conversation between a Hindu astronomer and his wife. It is reported that the astronomer Sadhu made some prediction.

According to this story too dominant upon common mind Salar heard the Sadhu saying his wife that from the spring of that village at dead hour of that night a bunch of lilies was to emerge and a lady who inhaled its fragrance instantly was destined to give birth to leading saint of the world and any other woman who similarly inhaled fragrance of the subsequently emerging bunch of flowers would also become mother of a saint. Salar returned immediately home, informed Sadra, took her in his company to the spring waited there till the bunch of lilies emerged therefrom and made his wife to inhale its fragnace. While the Sanz couple was leaving from that place the Sadhu came with his wife and found Sadra under intoxicating influence of that fragrance. He made his

wife to do the same with the other emerging flower bunch.

The other post birth story which is even quoted in a few history books puts that the Sanz couple had gone to seek the blessing from Yasman Reshi to his hermitage at platuea of Bijbharha where Yogni Lal Ded was alredy eagerly waiting for the arrival of some guests. As soon she saw Sadra she adorned her head with a bunch of roses and conveyed her happy tidings that she was to become mother of the spiritual heir to that saint-poetess.

In my view the first anecdote is only creation of common man's pschycology that a great saint might not come to this world through general biological process so for the highest regards for the Great Saint devised this story. The other cannot be brushed aside and is acceptable for the main reason that for all avaiable reasons Lal Ded is accepted as spiritual mother of Sheikh.

There is considerable disagreement among local historians regarding the exact date of birth of the Sheikh. Baba Mishkati has taken a view different from that of his esteemed teacher, Nasib Ghazi about it. Both of them have not quoted any source. Nasib gives his year of birth as 1377 whereas his pupil states that the Sheikh was born in 1355. Later anthologists and historians followed more or less either Nasib Ghazi or his disciple. Nineteenth century historian Pir Hassan subscribed to the view taken by Mishkati. He has lent credence to his view by the claim that he benefited form a contemporary history of the Sheikh, viz. Wiqa Kashmir by Mulla Ahmad. The circumstances in which Hassan claims to have lost that rare manuscripts immediately after he had studied it, reduces the credibility of his assertion. Even if we believe his statement, it is still difficult to infer that he had foreseen the disappearance of that manuscript and kept notes of all important dates, etc. with him.
Besides,he has been liberal in compilation of the 3rd volume of his history of Kashmir which cannot be described at this occassion. There is no reason to take a different view form the earliest one taken by Nasib Ghazi. By giving preference to earlier record it is, therefore, agreed that the Sheikh was born in Khai village in 779 A.H. on the tenth of Zilhaj (12th month of Muslim calendar). It corresponds to A.D. 1377.

However, precise discussion on Hassan's claim cannot be avoided.

Hassan bases his claim on Dawood Mishkati's contention contained in his book "Asrarul-Abrar". Though he has specifically stated that Sheikh was born in 1355AD but has put his age as sixty three lunar years (i.e sixty years). Thus according to this contention Sheikh's year of death comes to 1415 AD which according to Mishkati's own contention is incorrect, because he agrees that the Sheikh died in 1438 AD. after living sixty years and some months. Hence, his claim about the birth of the Sheikh is untenable.

Hassan historian claims to have benefited himself by the rare copy of Mullah Ahmad's Wiqa Kashmir (A History written in 15th Century)which appears a mere exaggeration. We will make precise discussion on this aspect while dealing the conversion of Buma Sadhu to Islam.

Another prebirth incident about Noor-ud-Din relates to one more anecdote about the meeting of the pregnant Sadra with great Central Asian missionary and saint Syed Ali of Hamdan. According to this anecdote it is reported that when Sadra was feeding Noor-ud-Din in her womb, she met Shahi Hamdan and requested him that as while she offered prayers at five times she used to feel a peculiar pain in her abdomen. It is reported that the great saint advised her to face towards east while she offered her prayers as the baby in her womb was regularly offering prayers facing the Ka'ba in the west. This anecdote too is the product of immense impact upon fertile mind of Kashmir of the eminence of the Sheikh. It is against the recorded history as Sadra was pregnant either in 756 AH or in 778 AH and Syed Ali was not in Kashmir at either occasion.

It is reported that after nine months Sadra gave birth to a son on the 10th of Zilhaj (Idi-Qurban Day) 779 A.H. corresponding to 10th of December, 1377 AD. in the same village and lived a life of 63 years.We will, at proper place discuss a poem of the Sheikh in which he has described certain facts about his life and is too biographical in nature. In that poem he has clearly said that as the sixth decade of his age dawned his eyes would freeze i.e. he would die in early years of the sixth decade of his life. Thus the different view taken by Mishkati(the pupil and decsiple of Baba Gazi) and subjected to confusion by Hassan historian gets falsified by this poem and the reprt of Baba Gazi gets

corroboration..

It is further stated that after his birth the infant did not suckle the breasts of his mother for three days causing great anxiety to the parents. By the evening of the third day Lal Ded reached the house of Sadra, took the baby in her lap and placing him close to her chest, whispered these words into his ears:

Thou hast not felt shy of taking birth;
Why dost thou feel shy of tasting the pleasures of the world?

Then she made the baby suck her squeezed breasts and thus the infant tasted the first pleasure of the world under the guidance of a matured mystic.

After the baby felt satisfied, Lal Ded returned him to his mother Sadra with this caution: "Let thee take care of my spiritual heir."

It is further said that the name of Noor-ud-Din was given by Syed Hussein Simnani to this newborn child whom his parents, out of love, called Nund (the pious one). Later the Sheikh used the same word "Nund Reshi of Kaimoh" as his pen name.

Little is known about Noor-ud-Din's childhood but it is evident that he was more intelligent than other children of his age and therefore his achievements were ascribed mainly to his spiritual prowess. Neither historians nor anthologists cared to know about his youth. They were mostly concerned with his miraculous deeds and so collected and recorded only such incidents and anecdotes, which were relevant to their subject. They have not tried to know the Sheikh as a human being. However, some facts which are contained in his own verses about his early life and which are deep in tradition do shed light on the hidden aspects of his childhood and youth.

Mother took the child Nund to a village muktab where the teacher at the start taught him 'Alif' and 'Bay', the first two letters of the Arabic alphabet. The pupil happily repeated the 'Alif' but did not repeat the second letter. The teacher rebuked Nund who in reply explained: "Sir, Alif is Allah, who is one and omnipresent. 'Bay' creates duality." The teacher was annoyed with the boy and expelled him from his institution.

The disappointed mother then took him to a weaving centre to work as an apprentice. The keen boy remained with the new teacher

studying the profession minutely and found that while playing with the shuttle upon the loom, the weaving master used to cut the thread with his teeth and would swallow the severed thread pieces. The young apprentice warned the teacher that the latter was committing an act of misappropriation with the property entrusted to him. The master felt ashamed but instead of benefiting from the company of such an intelligent boy, he called his mother and asked her to take him away as "he is an ascetic and cannot pick up worldly professions." The frustrated mother took her son back home and askeded her two clients Shash and Gundro to train him as a night watchman. Both of them, after the death of foster father of Sadra took his charge as village chowkidars. Pertinant is to mention that their father, a widower, was brought as resident son-in-law by the village chowkidar for Sadra but before the two could be married he died. The two sons of the deceased Shash and Gundroo were latter brought up by the chowkidar. It appears that after the death of Salar-ud-Din, either Sadra alongwith her orphan son Noor-ud-Din came to live with these two persons in the house of her foster father the chowkidar or she took these two sons of her deceased nominee to her own house at Kaimoh. In both the cases it appears that Shash and Gundroo were earning hands for the family.These two persons instead of training him tried to make him a spoiled child and later on goaded him to commit thefts. In our view the insinuation contained in latter accounts that the Sheikh's mother lived on immoral income of 'Shash' and 'Gundro', is part of intrigue against the Sheikh. He had unleashed a tirade against Mullahs, exploiters and caste protagonists and they in return authored defamatory storeis about him. They based these stories on misinterpretation of some of his poems. we will explain the gamut of these defematory versions partly under the heading: "Intrigues" and partly during appreciation of his verse. It is further reported in these concocted tales that those two did same to him what the step brothers of Joseph did with the beloved son of Jacob. It is stated that one night they stole a cow. Nund was assigned the task of taking the animal to home but he left it midway and went home. The next time the annoyed persons perturbed as they were with Nund, took him to a house and after breaking into it, made the young Nund to enter a room and directed him

to steal costly things. The boy, finding the children of this poor family shivering in cold, wrapped them with his own blanket and left the house empty-handed. On the third night he was again taken by Shash and Gundro to another house with the purpose of committing burglary. Dogs outside the house were barking loudly. Nund impromptu composed a long poem with the refrain, "Hoon chhoi dapan wov-wov." (The barking dog is saying 'sow-sow').

Perhaps this story is also the outcome of the confusion created by later commentators who have invented one or the other background for each poem of the Sheikh and so to connect this poem (rich in theme and art) with such an abnoxious background story is also part of the the game. No discerning mind can accept that such a masterpiece could be a spontaneous composition of a small child, that too in a frustrating and confusing situation when his companions were committing house trespass during the night. However, this whole episode is either a link in the chain to malign the Sheikh or a conspiracy by Shash and Gundro to spoil his career. It is difficult to believe that a mother like Sadra could have tolerated even the association of her son with undesirable people. Had she even known that her clients were dabbling in any objectionable profession, she would never have allowed her son to mix with them. The Sheikh has called them as his brothers and says they were in their own home. In a particular chapter while discussing Tareek-i-Hassan, 3rd volume as source we have quoted precisely the reported story about alleged attempt of theft of pearls. We have rejected this report on reasons. Here we connect all these incidents from the one of stealing of the cow and releasing that animal en route and the incident about these pearls and gems in a single chain of events about the early life of the Saint, read these all attributed allegations with a logical cohesion and appreciate their credibility on the touchstone of reason. It appears to have been an organized compaign of vilification against the Sheikh. Pertinent here is to quote and reject the presumptious reports contained in 18th century records, the Waqati Kashmir of Dedimeri and Fatoohati Kubrawi of Noori. Both write that after thirty years of his sinful life he went for penance, retired from the mundane and devoted himself to meditation. Within five years, according to these two shcolars this hard criminal not

only himself becomes a great saint but converts four Hindus to Islam and within short period they also become four pillars of spiritual culture in Kashmir. One of these four persons is brought by Sheikh from Palmad Kishtwar, the other is tiny Raja of Madew area, a small hill state in remote hill tract, the third was a great Hindu saint with whom Sheikh enters into long discourse and so on. Reason shall not believe that a man who had such a dark past could reach zeniths of sainthood within so a brief span without having any direct guidance to the path of truth. On the other hand we must give credence to the pious career and intelligent disposition of the saint's mother Sadra and repudiate the insiniuations against her and her son. The matter will be further probed under the title "Intrigues".

It has been seen that Sadra was more than aware that her child was blessed with extraordinary attributes. She would never have allowed him to fall in bad company. She was conscious that the child, who was conceived either after she had inhaled the fragrance of the miraculous rose bunch or under the spell of that rose boquet with which Lul had adorned her head at the place of great living saint Yasman Reshi and so her child was destined to become himself a leading saint. She had also learnt from the great missionary saint, scholar and leader, Syed Ali Hmdani (who had visited her hut to see the six-year old child) that Nund was an extraordinary boy. The great Yogini Lal Ded had appointed him as her 'spiritual heir'. Syed Hussein Simnani whom Syed Ali had assigned the duty of guiding the boy usually took him to his centre at Kulgam. Sadra was herself a devoted disciple of Syed Simnani. Again, she was a pious lady who offered prayers and often visited the centre of Simnani to seek regularly his blessings and guidance. She was also worldly wise, who in spite of economic strains made constant attempts to get her son educated. In all these circumstances it will be unfair to challenge her pious character and to make her recipient of stolen property as these intriguers have reported either for their own prejudices or represented the juindiced views of enemies or just exaggerated the discriptions of the achievements of Noor-ud-Din.

It has already been stated that Syed Ali Hamdani had entrusted Syed Simnani with the care of Noor-ud-Din and that Sadra was also a

disciple of Syed Simnani. So Simnani had close connections and contacts with the Sheikh family. It is also clear that this association was of mutual benefit and understanding. Baba Nasib, while describing their intimacy, records that Simnani was so fond of Sheikh's verses that in case the latter failed to visit him during the day to recite his poems, the former would himself cross the river Veshu to reach the home of Noor-ud-Din. It is clear from this factual narration that the Sheikh was composing verses from an early age, and a circle of the admirers of his art existed even much earlier.

This association had brought the two mentally and spiritually closer to each other. Thus Syed Simnani can be considered as the first friend, guide and teacher of the Sheikh.

The episode that the Sheikh had two brothers with names as Shash and Gundru is again the result of mis reading and mis representation of a quatrain of this poet. In that too precise a poem he had narrated an intricate inner experience that both his taught (the shash) and teacher (guru) were in his home-within him. Due to defective script the 'Guru' word was construed as Gundru so 'Shash' and 'Gundru' were identified physicaslly as two persons. He had qualified the both his guide and his guided as his brothers so our uneducated anthologists misrepresnted these imagery personalities as his brothers at his home.Why he should say that his two brothers with so and so names were at his home? None had asked him about their whereabouts.

During the reigns of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din and his younger brother, Sultan Qutub-ub-Din, the famous Central Asian missionary, saint, scholar and poet, Syed Ali Hamdani, visited Kashmir. He not only revolutionised the religious life of the Kashmiris but also changed the course of history and founded a new cultural concept in Kashmir. It is reported in later historical records that Syed Hamdani paid three visits to this valley but earlier records confirm only one visit which he made in 1383 AD. We have endorsed in all such matters the earliest views unless found tainted, unreliable or weak in tradition. The earliest history about this fact available is Tareekhi Kashmir by Syed Ali which was written according to Dr.GMD. Sofi during the reign of (1st phase) Sultan Mohammad Shah i.e. 1514-15. Thus this history has been written after

130 years of the visit of Syed Ali Hamadani whereas it is the author of Fatoohati Kubrawi late Abdul Wahab Noori who writes in 1749 that Syed Ali paid three visits to Kashmir i.e. after 366 years of the visit of the Syed and after 234 years after the death of Syed Ali's historian. Hence we have logic and reason behind to accept the earlier version. According to view taken by us Sheikh was at that time 6-year old boy and as such was presented before this eminent Sufi of Muslim world by Syed Hussain Simnani. Tradition goes that Syed Ali Hamadani entrusted the further guidance and care of the child saint to two matured saints Syed Simnani and Lul Arifa (Lal Ishwari or commonly known as Lal Ded). Sheikh Noor-ud-Din says:

نُند ریشی عرض کوٗ رشاہِ ہمدانس
جنتس زِ بم پانس ستی

(Nund Reshi requested Shahi Hamdan to lead him to paradise.)

On the basis of this verse it is argued that between Shah Hamdan and Nund Reshi existed the relationship of guide and the guided i.e. Pir and Mureed. This verse gives direct description of a desire expressed by the seeker, a boy of six years but it does no where make direct or indirect mention that the request was granted and the boy saint was admitted to the spiritual clan of Shahi Hamadan known as Kubrawi mystic circle. It only supports the view that the matured and eminent saint entrusted this budding saint to further training which combined together in two systems. One projected and exercised by Syed Simnani i.e. the Sufi cult and the other exercised by Lal Ded i.e. the indigenous siavistic mystic practices. It provides inference that Shah Hamadan wished to build the person of this budding saint in such a manner that he was able to make assimiliation of synthised celestial philosophies.

As a young man the Sheikh had cultivated quite a big landed estate of the Lambardar of Khee. By dint of his hard labour, sincerity and honesty the tiller Sheikh raised a huge harvest, which not only perplexed the landlord but even other villagers. They attributed such a rich harvest to his supernatural powers. The fields, which were cultivated by the Sheikh, are specially identified even today. The names of these fields are "Naga Neir", "Mageh Theer" and "Baga Barren".

After he had improved his economic position and acquired high social status the Sheikh was engaged to a 15-year old girl belonging to a zamindar family of Dada Sara Tral village in Anantnag district (now Pulwama). After one year of this engagement formal betrothal took place and the marriage was consummated after four years when he was twenty. All these facts are derived from an autobiographical poem of the Sheikh.

The name of his wife was Zai, which is an abbreviated form of either "Zaitoon" or "Zubeda" and not 'Zahida'. Zahida was one of his women disciples buried in Tsarari Sharief. Akbar Din was his father-in-law. The family wielded considerable political influence.

It is strange that his biographers have left an impression that the Sheikh was just an idle man without any profession or vocation. They have attributed his every act to his supernatural powers. However, they have lost sight of important facts. No mother, especially a conscientious woman like Sadra, would get her unskilled and unemployed son married. Even if motherly love overlooked those niceties, no family of recognition (as the in-laws of the Sheikh were) would have tied the destiny of their lovely and lonely daughter with an unemployed youth who had no economic base or family assets. In these circumstances, the attraction for Akbar Din was the calibre and hard work of the Sheikh which motivated him to get his daughter married at a far-of place.Besides, he had felt elevated to engage his daughter to the poet son of the reputed Sanz family. Baba Nasib has recorded that Noor-ud-Din as a teenager had created impact upon the mind of great Persian scholar Simnani. It is infered from circumstances too precisely described in these anthologies and from the masoleums built on the graves of parents of Zai Ded which exist even today that the family of Akbar Din had both riches and political influence. It has been siad that Salar-ud-Din had within short span consolidated his landed estates both in Duderkot area where his inlaws had acquired sufficient land grants as garrison commanders with local Raja and had taken into his personal care the Jagir which Raja Sehdeva had granted sometime in 1300 AD to Ograteg, the great grandfather of the Sheikh in the estate of Tilasara near Tsarari Sharief. Sheikh has himself praised the foresight of his father who according to him was a wealthy man. In view of this extrinsic and intrinsic evidences irresponsible anthologists have confused the material about this towering

saint of Kashmir and historians without caring for authenticity followed in their footsteps. It is pertinent to mention that author of Waqati Kashmir late Dedameri has been illogical and unreasonable in creating within a short period of five years out of a notorious thief an eminent and towering saint. His own intelligent and widely traveled researcher son Badiudin Abdul Qasim 'Manami' has in the very foreword of his history 'Gauhari Aalam' declared the Sheikh Noor-ud-Din as the unique researcher whose poetry to him appeared a treasure trove of historical data about the country Kashmir. It is on the basis of these scattered pieces of evidence that we repudiate the impression carried that the Sheikh was just an idle boy not inclined to do any work but in spite was married in a high family and fathered three children.

In spite of the hard labour he had to put in as an agricultural worker, he did not give up spiritual meditation and gnostic practices. It is established from the writings of Baba Nasib that the Sheikh used to spend long hours with Syed Simnani in spiritual discourses.

During this period he would every day retire to the outskirts of his village to meditate in loneliness for quite some time. That elevated place was even during his lifetime named as "Fikri Taing" (Mount for meditation).

From the contents of the conversation which later on took place between the Sheikh and his mother in a cave it is manifest that the latter had full confidence in her son and hoped that he would reconsolidate the shattered position of the Sanz dynasty.

From Zai, the Sheikh had three children - two sons and a daughter, however none of them survived. One of the sons died during infancy, whereas his daughter Zoon and second son Haider died later in the cave.

There is no direct or indirect evidence to suggest that the Sheikh had approached any other saint or scholar during his lifetime except Syed Simnani. We do not know whether Lal Ded and the Sheikh later on met with each other and if so when and where. However it is reported that Lal brought family prohit (Guru) to the Sheikh and under the influence of young Sheikh Sida Shirkant, Lalishwari's teacher embraces Islam and joins Reshi movement. Many great Muslim saints, scholars and missionaries came to see him and even Hindu mystics and Brahmins visited him. Mir Mohammad Hamdani, another dignitary, also met the

Sheikh at the climax of the latter's popularity (this will be discussed in detail at the appropriate place). During his time there were other eminent saints amongst them Khawja Bahaudin Gunjbaksh, Khawja Sultan Pukhli and Haji Adhami are equally renowned but did not reach such zenith of popularity to which the status of the Sheikh got elevated. The latter has also authored a history of Kashmir saints titled as "Muqamati Awliyai Kashmir". That history is non-extant however, Syed Ali quoted from it, says: "Adhami reported in the said history that the Sheikh had personally told him that Bahaudin Ganjbaksh was superior to him". This is sufficient to establish that the Sheikh had positive interaction with other saints of his time. He was not confined only to his Reshi fraternity but had sufficient contacts with Syed saints and local Sheikhs. Though there is no direct mention that he had met Syed Mohammad Hisari, yet their meetings with each other and deep contacts are but natural as the Sheikh in certan matters differed with him and in certain policies had identity of thought with him.

Once he did not return home for a few days causing great anxiety both to his family and the villagers. They made searches for him in the adjoining forest but could not find him. Next year a villager tending his cattle found one of his flocks missing and reached a thick jungle in search of it. He came by a cave, deep and dark. Peeping inside, he found Nund and rushed back to inform the villagers.

The Sheikh had got the cave dug out before entering it. This indicates that either he was economically so well-off as to engage a large number of labourers to dig a deep cave out of the rocky terrain or he had quite a good number of followers who at his behest dug out the cave in that dense forest. Though it has been seen that the Sheikh had acquired substantial assets before his retirement, it was perhaps not just due to his wealth that the cave was dug out within no time, rather it was his fame, influence and popularity which made his followers to fulfil his wish.

When his mother came to know about his whereabouts, she went to that place. Alarmed by the surroundings in which her only son was passing his days, she warned him of the danger form the reptiles and beasts lurking around. The Sheikh, however, politely replied, "Snakes and rats are my kith and kin." A lengthy tête-à-tête is reported to have taken place between mother and son. This conversation is in verse form.

It cannot be doubted that an intelligent woman who had lived in the company of saint-poetess Lal Ded and had occasions to talk to Syed Hamdani and other scholars did compose impromptu verses, but from the thought and texture of these couplets it appears there is considerable interpolation in this long poem entitled "Gopha Bal" (Cave dwelling).

When the mother's doleful entreaties and loving persuasion failed to convince the son, she returned home utterly disappointed. She then motivated her daughter-in-law to go with her young children and try to exercise moral pressure upon her husband. Zai went to the cave with her son and daughter. The Sheikh told her: "Leave them to the care of the Lord Who alone shall decide my course of action." The wife left the children to sleep under the blanket of their father and returned home. After a while she felt perturbed, rushed to the cave and tried to awaken the children. But alas! She found them dead.

The news spread like wild fire. Some attributed the incident to the supernatural powers of the Sheikh whereas others charged him with criminal liabilities. Some "interested" persons went to the far-off village of Dada Sara to inform his in-laws. The influential brothers of Zai lodged a criminal complaint of double murder against him, warrants for his arrest were issued and the same were entrusted for execution to a notorious and arrogant police officer, Tazi Bhat. The executant reached the entrance of the cave uttering filthy language and hurling abuses on the Sheikh. But in spite of his strong will, sufficient valour and rudeness, the police officer trembled at the sight of the cave.

The humble Sheikh came out and gazed at the police officer who reeled under his looks and felt that his long moustaches had turned into dragons which were biting his cheeks. He fell at the feet of the saint and thereafter remained in the cave with him, served him throughout his life.

It was during this period that the Sheikh's chief disciple and comrade, Bab Nassar, joined him. Within a brief period this cave became a centre of preaching, and people from all parts of the valley came here to seek his blessings and guidance. The popularity which the Sheikh was gaining caused a chain of reaction resulting in jealousy and conspiracies. Unscrupulous elements hatched intrigues to invite royal wrath against the man who was engaged in purification of his self for the public good.

Anthologists have recorded King Sultan Sikandar once contracted some serious disease which the royal physician failed to cure. The royal astronomers poisoned the ears of the king and coined a story to defame the Sheikh and implicate him in a fictitious case. According to them, some hypocrite lived in a kingdom had deceived the people, cheated the innocent and maligned the respectable.As a consequence the king of that country developed some physical disability which could not be cured until the hypocrite was located and punished.

Sultan Sikandar issued a proclamation for tracing out the hypocrite who exploited his subjects. Within no time a few of his courtiers came with the information that a 'butcher of human values' had in the guise of a saint let loose exploitation in and around Kaimoh village. The Sultan thereupon issued orders for his arrest.

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din came to know about all this either by intuition or his fans transmitted messages too swiftly to him. Instead of being dragged to the royal court, he surrendered voluntarily and requested the Sultan to punish him. Sultan Sikandar, at the very first sight, became an admirer of the saint. He got him seated by his side with reverence. The ailment of the Sultan also vanished.

After spending more than seven years in the cave dwelling in his home village, the Sheikh left on a tour of the country along with his chief disciple. On the first leg of his extensive tour starting from Kaimoh he went to Islamabad Anantnag where he took rest for a while to pay obeisance at a particular spot in the town. His companion enquired about it, the Sheikh replied: "This is the eternal abode of our worthy successor." About two hundred years after this prophecy Baba Hardi Reshi, a great saint, lived in this town and upon his death was buried at that very place.

A Hindu saint named Bum Sadhu,had settled in Bumazuwa village. It is not clear whether this locality was named after Bum Sadhu or whether the sadhu himself had acquired the "Bum" as title due to his abode in that village. The sadhu had acquired fame for his untiring meditation, miraculous deeds and dedication to his religion. It is said that he had acquired such great mystic prowess that he would, at one and the same time, attend 360 temples situated along a distance of 70 miles from

Anantnag to Baramula and simultaneously offer prayers to all the deities in these temples.

A detailed metaphysical conversation took place between him and the Sheikh for three days. What transpired between them could neither be understood nor guessed by anyone. Hence no details are available of it. However, detailed versified discourse recorded in later Reshi Namas and Noor Namas is attributed to them. It consists of questions and answers related to certain social habits of Muslims or Hindus. However, it is hard to imagine that such petty matters could have dominated the discussion between the two great spiritualists.

Both of them at first seem to have demonstrated their spiritual eminence and finally Bum Sadhu, accepting the superiority of the Sheikh, joined the galaxy of his disciples. He embraced Islam, was christened as Bam-ud-Din and was made the head of the first Reshi Sub-centre at Bumazuwa.

In the course of his first tour which he undertook during the reign of Sultan Ali Shah in 1416, the Sheikh established centres and sub-centres of the Reshi movement in various parganas of Kashmir and himself spent some time in meditation at each place. After paying a brief visit to Bumazuwa he went to the picturesque spot of Tsimer situated at the foot of the Pir Pantsal ranges.

By that time he had a sizeable number of devoted disciples who included Baba Taj-ud-Din (formerly Tazi Bhat), Baba Qutub-ud-Din, Baba Nassar and others. Nassar was with him during all the tours. Baba Qutub-ud-Din was a Sanskrit scholar and in his quest for a matured spiritual guide he went to many sadhus, sanyasis and reshis but could not quench his spiritual thirst till he found the cave dweller of Kaimoh from whom he got what he desired. His earlier name was Kati Pandit and he was renamed Qutub-ud-Din by his leader. He was the Sheikh's personal secretary and also worked as secretary-general of the Reshi organisation. He preserved the verses and the sayings of his leader by recording them in the Sharda script.

During the same period Sanskrit, which was the official language and medium of instructions, was replaced by Persian. The script of the Kashmiri language was also subjected to an immediate process of change

- from Sharda to Persian. The result was that the later-day authors of Noor Namas and Reshi Namas completely missed this original source due to their ignorance of the Sharda script. Neither the verses nor sayings of the Sheikh nor record of the Reshi movement maintained by him could be consulted so it could not be correctly transposed in the defective Persio-Arabic script adopted without tuning it to the phonetical variations peculiar to Kashmiri pronunciation and vocabulary. It is during the sixth decade of the last century that a distinct script scientifically and phonetically suited was evolved by introduction of more than a dozen of diactrical marks to Nastaliq script unknown to it.

The trio of the Sheikh's disciples; Taj, Qutub and Nassar accompanied him to Tsimer and during his stay there he knew by intuition that another would-be saint awaited his help. Through difficult terrain the Sheikh crossed over to Palmad, a small valley in Kishtwar. Jai Singh, the only son of the local jagirdar, was seriously ill. The dejected parents were informed by some people that a saint living in Kashmir could cure their son but it was impossible for them to carry the ailing boy to Kaimoh. Next day they found a faqir in their house who was none else but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. He cured the boy and left for Kashmir with the instructions that on his full recovery he should be send to him. Jai Singh recovered and insisted on going to Kashmir but his mother did not allow him. Consequently he again fell ill and was taken in the same condition to the Sheikh. Later Jai Singh became a Muslim and was renamed as Zain-ud-Din. He was enrolled in the Reshi order and given independent charge of the sub-centre at a place now called Aish Muqam.

During 1417-18 the Sheikh established another sub-centre on the outskirts of Srinagar - at Mukhta Pukhri (Spring of Pearls) near Soura where Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences is now situated. He spent nearly a year at this place in meditation. He had selected that place for two reasons, its beautiful surroundings and the ease with which he could spread his influence deep into the houses of princes and the elite who lived in the neighbouring civil lines. Two important events took place here. First, the conversation of Ludi Raina Raja of Madaw Wadwan and secondly, the episode of Yawan Mets.

One morning when the Sheikh was in deep meditation in his hut, the lawns outside were filled with the melodious voice of singing birds.

The sound of an orchestra added to the attraction. The atmosphere became intoxicating as a sweet female voice rose amid the musical surroundings. A nartaki was singing and dancing to the tune of the orchestra. Distracted by the noise, the Sheikh came out and admonished the dancer, "Yawan Mets" (The intoxicated youth) who responded by smiling coquettishly. The Sheikh got very annoyed and the frightened companions of the dancer started running. "Yawan Mets" was perplexed to see the condition of her companions and shouted to stop them, but they fled faster, the dancer then followed them. At a short distance from the Sheikh's hut, one of her dressers offered her a mirror. The dancer cried in despair on seeing her face distorted. The young, beautiful and attractive woman had turned an ugly hag. Repenting for her blunder, she fell at the feet of the saint and promised to lead a pious life.

The Sheikh has composed a thought-provoking lyric giving his experience relating to this incident. The poem is allegorical, symbolic and mystical. The dancing girl thereafter remained a dedicated disciple of the Sheikh. As per her last wish she was buried in front of the main entrance to the Sheikh's shrine. Every pilgrim who enters the shrine to offer fateha has to walk over her grave. Among his women disciples she is known by her original name of Shanga Bibi.

The Sheikh later went to Draigam, now in Badgam district. This village and the area around it was the estate of a rich peasant Sangi Ganai, who offered his house and some of his land to the saint. He spent considerable time there and later shifted his headquarters from Kaimoh to this place. It is believed that a group of 800 to 1,200 Kashmiri Brahmins under the leadership of a scholar and sadhu, Tuli Raina, met the Sheikh at this place and put a volley of questions to him about religion, spiritualism, metaphysics, life after death and existence of God. The Sheikh humbly and politely satisfied them and their aggressive posture cooled down. Finally, they entered his Reshi order. The Sheikh deputed each of them to a village or a pargana to preach Islam, to propagate the message of truth and to serve mankind by helping the needy and disabled, planting fruit and shady trees on pathways and highways, offering water to the thirsty, building link roads and repairing canals and tanks. Stay at Honchipora in Pargana Beerwah is also a milestone in the development of Reshi Movement. Here he recruited a

group of women disciples who contributed greatly both to celescial culture and Kashmiri Letters. 'Sham Moji' one of these female disciples is the pioneer elegy composer.

From Draigam, the Sheikh temporarily shifted to a remote area in Baramulla district called Gohan Ladi jungle. There also he established a sub-centre of the Reshi movement. During this period he also stayed at several other places in caves, huts or open area but such halts were very brief. At every such place where the Sheikh basked in the sun or got his head shaved or sat for a while, the people after his death erected memorials on such conspicuous sites. In this manner almost every second village in Kashmir has got a shrine preserving the memory of his visit or connected whith the visit of his disciple or successor.

During his second tour of the valley, the Sheikh halted at some centrally located place in every pargana. The valley was then divided into 38 parganas.

In the course of his third tour, he is reported to have visited every village and it is said that he was so weak and feeble that he could not walk. His dearest comrade, Baba Nassar, had prepared a basket of willow branches in which he carried the Sheikh on his shoulders from one place to another. Wherever the Sheikh would ask him to stop, Nassar halted and the Sheikh would come down to meet the people.

During the last days of his life, the Sheikh had shifted the headquarters of his movement permanently to "Tsrar" which was a dense forest. After his death, he was buried at this place, which soon developed into a township. The present name of the town is Tsrari-Sharief.

It is reported that in this forest there was an orchard of fruit trees developed by the incharge of this ancestral estate of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. This incharge holder was Sangram Dar, who became a disciple of the Sheikh and surrendered its possession to its rightful claimant. The Sheikh did not left his family in vacuum but entrusted his heirs to take care of the cultivation of Sheikh's agricultural land in the adjoining mahal known as Tsarawni. The Sheikh in his lifetime established the main training centre for Reshis at Tsrar. A mosque was constructed by the Sheikh himself which was later developed into the Khanqah.

While on his way from Draigam to Tsrar, the Sheikh made halts at two other places, Rupawan and Rahkay. It is reported that more than 300

Muslims theologians stormed the abode of this feeble man at Rupawan and tried to embarrass him with intricate questions about Muslim theology and allied matters. The Sheikh had in his verses exposed both Mullahs and Brahmins and they in return had dubbed him as illiterate, a hypocrite butcher and heretical innovator. They expected to expose him but he in return gave versified clarifications on 130 issues connected with the fundamentals of Islam. This poem, preserved in records, proves his deep understanding of Islam, his mathematical acumen and his grasp on geography. All these mullahs conceded his superiority and joined the evening prayer led by the Sheikh. Among them, Sharief Ashwar and Mufti Sayedur both became disciples of the Sheikh. It is reported that all these scholars were accommodated in a hut that could normally accommodate only two persons.

During his tours, the Sheikh made certain observations about some localities, their people and the environment and location of certain regions. Such comments and observations, in poetic form, give a true picture of life lived in those localities and regions.

Before we describe Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's last days, it is most pertinent to have a discussion on his teachers and guides. Anthologists, biographers and historians have made a mess of this important subject. To name one spiritual leader as a disciple of another spiritualist does neither demonstrate the superiority of the latter nor makes the former inferior. Unfortunately, the people have gone to the extremes while discussing this delicate issue. On the one hand, attempts have been made to show the Sheikh as disciple of some or the other saint while on the other he has been shown to be above auch formalities. It is a known fact that the Sheikh was a born saint, but in spite of this, there was the need to get his ingrained capacity chisled.

There are two aspects of the guidance provided in the mystic fold. A guide, like a teacher, solves some riddles for the seeker or helps in the solution of some intricacies which the latter faces in his mystic experiences. The strict way to impart spiritual training is to admit the taught within the limited fold of the specific mystic order to which the teacher belongs and make him chief or a member of that order. On such enrollment if he is given authority to guide others to that mystic order, the predecessor guide gives a scribed authority to that extent which is

called "Khati Irshad" (the letter of authority to recruit disciples).

At various stages in his life the Sheikh required guidance and received the same from a few mystic leaders but he was not enrolled to any mystic order. The first who gave the taste of true love as the first diet to newborn Sheikh, was Lal Ded. Thus while the Sheikh can be said to have benefited from her benign mystic perfection he can never be treated as her disciple. He has recognised the eminence of Lal Ded in this couplet:

Oh, my Lord! Bestow upon me the same blessings,
Which you have bestowed upon
Lal of Padmanpora,
Whom you made to drink the nectar in abundance
And who has lulled saints in her lap.

The poet, describing the qualities of Lal Ded, says that she has become immortal and has lulled saints in her lap. Tradition reveals that only one saint adorned the lap of saint-poetess Lal Ded and he was the Sheikh himself. In short, in this couplet on the one side he eulogises Lal Ded and on the other indirectly reveals his own position as a saint. The relationship between the two, as inferred from this verse, is that of a son and mother and not of Shash and Guru (disciple and teacher).

The second important spiritual personality with whom the Sheikh was connected from his early age (with whom even his family had intimacy) was Syed Hussain Simnani. The Sheikh, while praising this saint says that he was the guide and teacher of his father, Salar Sanz. Had the Sheikh received any mystic guidance from Simnani he would have stated the same with more stress. Baba Nasib, 16th century biographer of the Sheikh, while describing the contacts of the two confines their relationship to mutual love and appreciation. Syed Simnani was fond of the Sheikh as person and poet. Thus no relationship of pir and mureed (teacher and taught) existed between them.

According to tradition, the third personality with whom the Sheikh came in contact was Mir Syed Ali Hamdani. The Amir's spiritual concentration on Kashmir was due to his desire to guide the Sheikh. The latter was only six years old when the Amir paid his last visit to the valley. Although it is said that the Amir went to Kaimoh to see the budding saint and entrusted his care to Syed Simnani and Lal Ded, few

factors go to challenge the authenticity of this deep-rooted tradition. It is said that the contemporary record or later treatises written about the Amir do not contain this incident. There are certain matters which need to be borne in mind before making the assessment of these records.

It has been said more than once that the contemporary Sanskrit chroniclers have omitted any mention of Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Such omissions cannot amount to a denial of the very existence of these two pillars of our history. In the same manner, they have also omitted the details of the Amir's visits. As regards later histories or biographies written about the Sheikh it can be safely said that a certain "complex" was working behind all those writings. The riddle can be solved if we are able to locate either the History of Kashmir written by Mullah Ahmad or if we lay our hands on his commentary on the verses of the Sheikh or if the history of Kashmiri saints written by Baba Adhami is traceable. Hence if later histories or other biographical documents omit any important incidents relating to the Sheikh or his disciples, this cannot provide a basis to deny facts so deeply rooted in tradition. It is a fact that Badakhshi was a disciple of the Amir and the account given by him about his master cannot but be authentic. It is, however, strange that he has not made any mention of the Amir's activities in Kashmir. Consequently this source has no relevance to us. As regards Fatoohati-Kubrawi, it was written by Noori nearly four hundred years after the Amir's death. Hence minute details would not have been available to the author at that later stage. Besides, this work too is not history but and amalgam of diversities. Here again, one has to seek solution from the poetry of the Sheikh itself, which is a vital source not only for knowing facts about him but to know even his age. We have discussed the following verse of the Sheikh with its implications above. The verse is once again quoted:

Nund reshi made a request to Shah of Hamdan,
To lead him to paradise in his own company.

The only impact, which this verse leaves, is that the Sheikh directly (at a meeting) requested Shahi Hamdan to take him to paradise in his own company. It is also manifest that the idea underlying is of immature Noor-ud-Din and not of the matured saint who has secondary importance

for paradise but primarily is devoted to his Creator only. In a quatrain the same poet says:

کُس پیہِ ژٕے گُن بےٚ غرضے
کس آسہِ دِلس تیُتھ وُسَتھ
جنتہٕ کہِ ہاوسہٕ دوزخہٕ کہِ پیے
دیہ چھی کران عبادَتھ

With narrow-minded selfish interest,
For petty desire of paradise
And for dreadful awe of hell
They worship Thee, My Lord.

A saint, who considered the pleasures of paradise as petty selfish interset, would not have made such a petty request to a senior saint in case he had composed the said verse in praise of the Amir at a ripe age. It is thus clear that in the above verse the Sheikh has only summed up the gist of his meeting, at his immature age, with a matured saint.

Metaphorically "taking to paradise in his company" only meant to lead the "seeker" to spiritual eminence. It is thus evident that such a request was (a) direct, (b) made by the Sheikh at his budding spiritual stage of life, and (c) it was made to seek entry into the Amir's mystical order. In the elegy, which the Sheikh's woman disciple Sham Bibi composed on his death, the poetess remarks:

Oh ye, the taught of the Amir,
Thou hast humiliated with thy wit and wisdom,
Scholars and theologians in discourses.

حضٕ امیرٕ ہندِ ژاٹہٕ
ژیٚے گاٹلبن پوٗوُتھ گاٹہٕ
گتہِ رَٹتھ دوہلی ہاٹہٕ
ہُندِ سنز گووسور گس موٚتُو

Shyam Bibi has used the word 'tsat' that means the pupil. She has

used neither Shash nor Mureed, which are words relevant to relationships in mysticism. It is pride and pleasure for Sheikh Noor-ud-Din to be a Tsat (a pupil) of that great teacher of Islamic world who excels in many respects in contribution to prophets and avtars. But, there is no evidence that the Sheikh had privilege of being admitted to his mystic clan by Shah Hamdan. The latter too would not leave this budding saint out of the ambit of his mystic circle but had sufficient intuition that he belonged to a different clan that is the Silsila Owaisee.

Lastly, there is evidence both in later historical accounts and biographies of the Sheikh that the illustrious son of Amir viz. Syed Mohammad Hamdani had more than one meeting with the Sheikh.

It is reported that Syed Mohammad led a delegation of distinguished foreign missionaries and Ulemas to Tsrar, where the Sheikh was stationed those days. The Sheikh came to know about their arrival and proceeded to receive them. The parties met at a place called Zalus (now a small village situated nearly 26km from Srinagar en route Tsrari-Sharief, which is developing into Sattellite Township now).

It is reported that some of the companions of Syed Mohammad had reservations about the meeting of their leader with "an illiterate, simple and humble man." They nourished various misgivings about the Sheikh. One of them, Syed Ghulam Din, who was Mauzin of Syed Mohammad, stood up to deliver the evening azan. The Sheikh ordered him not to do so, as the time was not ripe. Ghulam Din hesitated to obey but his leader warned him: Then the Sheikh called Ghulam Din nearby and put his hand on his head. Ghulam Din then realised that due to dark clouds the atmosphere looked murky whereas the sun was yet to set. This experience made Ghulam Din change his mind and thereafter he remained at the service of the Sheikh and after his death was buried in the suburbs of Srinagar where the famous Mughal gardens are situated.

The Sheikh very politely replied to the questions put to him by the Mir. His extreme humility caused a reaction among his own colleagues and two of his women disciples, Duhat Ded and Buhat Ded, intervened actively in the deliberations. The mir was highly impressed by the wise and matured statements of these two women. The meeting concluded with remarks of appreciation for each other from both sides. Biographers of the Sheikh have remarked about the conclusion of the meeting saying

that "the two derived benefit from each other". In Fatoohati Kubrawi (ACC No:17, Research Library) Noori writes in 1749 AD that after this meeting Mir Mohammad expressed his desire to enter into the mystic fold of the Sheikh by accepting him as his master but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din made haste to give his hand to Mir Mohammad and got admitted into the fold of his disciples. The authors of reshi Namas; Kamal Baba and Khalil Baba conclude that the two derived spiritual pleasures from each other and borrowed experiences from one another. Syed Ali Magray, the earlier available history written in 1515 AD, also confines the relationship between Mir Mohammad and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din within those limits which can be safely termed as friendly and brotherly. But, Syed Ali besides, makes a mention that the Sheikh produced his four disciple; Bam Din, Zain Din, Latif Din and Nassar Din before Mir Mohammad who got surprised to mark their perfection as saints. Neither Syed Ali Magray nor Dedameri and nor even later historians like Pir Gulam Hassan Shah and Mohideen Miskeen make any mention of the execution of any letter of authority in favour of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din executed by Mir Mohammad. Though from Dedamari to Hassan Shah all these historians and anthologists claim a special relationship between Mir Mohammad and the Sheikh but, none of them revealed to have come across with any such document which could evidence creation of such relationship. It is only late Noori who in 'Fatoohati Kubrawi' makes mention of the letter of authority and asserts that the 'Mir' executed that letter.

Very recently a document has been identified averred to have been executed by Mir Mohammad and authenticated by Sultan Sikandar bearing the date of execution as 1408. One school of thought consideres the deed as a Letter of Authority admitting the Sheikh into the Kubrawi mystic order which the Mir led at that time. On the other hand, a good number of scholars doubt the very authenticity of this deed. Both have plus and minus points and it requires a detailed discussion to accept or reject any of the two views. However, we will have to pinpoint briefly certain matters relating to this document.

The authenticity of this deed cannot be treated too ordinarily, as it is the only piece of contemporary evidence available about the eminence, greatness and popularity that the Sheikh enjoyed during his lifetime. The

fact that the king with his seal authenticated the deed under his signatures, adds one more dimension to the multidimensional personality of the Sheikh. The deed is inscribed on deer skin in the Arabic language and is preserved as a relic in Khanqahi-Moulla at Srinagar.

The doubts expressed are also based on sound logic. It is recorded that Mir Mohammad entered Kashmir in 1393 and stayed there for twelve years. Thus, his year of departure was 1405. Noori after more than three hundred years of the departure of Mir from Kashmir has said that the Mir stayed in Kashmir for twenty-two years. Since he quotes no earlier source in support, his isolated view cannot rebut the earlier record. Syed Ali, author of a Persian chronicle written only after a hundred years after the death of Mir, records that the latter stayed in Kashmir only for twelve years. Mohib-ul-Hassan in his book "Kashmir under Sultans" quoting Syed Ali's history p.27 states that Mir Mohammad Hamdani stayed in Kashmir for 12 years. Neither this author nor the learned author of Sufism in Kashmir Dr. A.Q Rafiqui nor any reasonable contemporary student of history gives credence to the unfounded deviation of late Noori. Thus it is admitted that the Mir of Hamdan left Kashmir in 1405. Hence the execution of this letter of authority at Srinagar in 1408 AD, after three years of his departure from Kashmir, is unacceptable to reason unless cogent evidence comes on surface which repudiates the contention of Syed Ali Magray about the departure of Mir Mohamamd and establishes that he left Kashmir after 1408 or even in that year but after the execution of this deed.

In this behalf it is a cherished duty upon the three connected departments of Kashmir University viz PG Dept. of History, Centre of Central Asian Studies and Sheikh-ul-Aalam Chair to tap Central Asian sources and solve these two riddles viz the number of visits Shah Hamdan has paid to Kashmir and the year of departure of Mir Mohammad from Kashmir. Till such conclusive historical verdict comes the authenticity of this document shall remain debatable.

Even if it is proved to have been executed by Mir Mohammad Hamdani, the controversy will not be set at rest because there are other factors too. Firstly; confrontation has remained essence of relationship between two Syed saints Mir Mohammad Hisari and Mir Mohammad Hamdani. It is reported by majority of reporters that Hisari executed a

Khati Irshad admitting Mir Mohammad Hamdani into his own mystic fold, but the latter did neither accept that document nor got himself admitted as his disciple. The anthologists have all made mention that after their spiritual summit, Mir Mohammad gave certain relics as gifts to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din which he with love and reverence preserved but were damaged or burnt in 1995. Had Noor-ud-Din sought, desired or obtained Khati Irshad from Mir Mohammad, such document would have been given to the beneficiary i.e. the donee. Thus it would have been preserved in the Toshkhana (archives) of Tsarari Sharief. But, it is claimed that the document has never passed hands from Mir Mohammad and his successors to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and his successors and is till date retained with the successors of Hamdani whereas it should have been at Tsarari Sharief. This circumstance lends credence to that view which holds that it was an ex parte decision highlighting the eminance of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din that the great influencial shcolar like Mir Mohammad Hamdani, who, received ovation and obesience of Sultan Sikander even; sought support and association of Noor-ud-Din to counter the tirade let loose upon him by more matured missionary saint and scholar Mir Mohammad Hisari. Relevant is to quote the following chronogram: "Kashren boud pir aao" This verse gives us 696 AH the year of arrival of Mir Mohammad Hamdani in Kashmir. It is as a mark of respect that a saint of Kashmir who happens to be a poet also composes for posterity a quatrain recording therein a very great event which was bound to mould Kashmir history in a particular direction. This is the respect which Sheikh showers upon the great son of the scholar saint Shah of Hamdan with whom the Sheikh had pinned his hopes for a better life in the world hereafter. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din was consciously aware of the role which was played by Shah Hamdan in revolutionising all aspects of Kashmir life. He was further conscious that the arrival of Mir Mohammad was continuation of that mission and so welcomed him as the "great spiritual guide for Kashmiris". This statement does not provide inference that Sheikh accepted Mir Mohammad as his spiritual guide nor could he do so well in advance until the two had a chance to meet in which meeting the seeker would seek guidance and the guide would accept. Hence this chronogram should not be read beyond its purport.

In another quatrain composed immediately before the Mir of Hamdan could step in Kashmir also is of similar nature through which the Sheikh conveys full support to the mission of Hamdani. Sheikh goes to the extent that he offered to sacrifice his own head for the mission of Mir Mohammad Hamdani. This again shows the same fervour in Sheikh Noor-ud-Din which was demonstrated by the Ansars of Madina to receive and help the migrants from Mecca. The Mir of Hamdan for all purposes decided to settle in Kashmir with the goal to organize the Muslim society on puritan basis. Sheikh had also the same mission, hence had offered his bossom to lull this mission in it and assured to offer sacrifices even of his person to achieve this sacred goal. This quatrain too is unnecessarily being connected with too personal affairs of the two. It relates to the larger common interests of the both that was to cure Kashmir Muslim society of ills, to spread Islam and to establish a theocratic Muslim state in Kashmir. It is however that Mir Mohammad Hamdani could not grasp for his enthusiasm and youth the practical wisdom with which his great father had moulded the course of mass conversion to Islam in this Hindu dominated country. Shah Hamdan had grasped the local psyche that Kashmiris had natural tendency towards untiring meditation, worship and offering of prayers to their Lord, he had found them in habit of singing hymns of their Lord in loud voice and had found them by nature too much involved with the centres of worship. Hence he made such interpretation of Islamic tenents which did not contradict with the fundamentals of Islam but suited to the local psyche. Mir Mohammad Hamdani did not appreciate in letter and spirit the missionary talent of his father and behaved emotionally with a desire, though genuine but hastely designed, to turn Kashmir into a theocratic state without introducing the evolutionary stages for such Islamization. Besides, it could hardly be possible until and unless the autocracy itself changed into Khilafat type of governance or atleast into a governance which could be accountable to the scrutiny of the faithful if not answerable to all its citizens. Hence the policy of Hamdani appeared harmful for the peaceful propagation of Islam to other foreign missionaries like Syed Mohammad of Hissar. Hence, confrontation between the two Syeds. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din was initially all support for

Mir of Hamdan and the two developed deep contacts to that extent. It appears that the Sheikh had differences with Hissari for his close relationship with such rulers who were themselves not clear about their way of life and were prisoners of un-Islamic customs and political ideologies. It is under the pressure of his differences and consequential confrontation with Mir Hissari that Mir Mohammad Hamdani left Kashmir in a huff never to return entrusting the mission to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din.

Thus while the Sheikh was fortunate enough to receive the affectionate patronage of Shahi Hamdan, motherly love from Lal Ded, mental and spiritual company from Mir Mohammad, he received formal guidance from none of them. He squarely belonged to the Owasi mystic order and received light from Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) directly and through Owais of Qaran. Owais was a contemporary saint of Prophet Mohammad, whom he loved to such an extent that as he heard one of his teeth was injured in a war with infidels, Owais got his all teeth broken. The Sheikh has clearly described his spiritual genealogy in these verses:

اول ریشی احمدؐ ریشی دوٚیم ریشی اویسؓ آو

ترٛتیم ریشی زلگارؒ ریشی ژوٚریم ریشی پلاسؒ آو

پأنژم ریشی رُمہ ریشیؒ شیٚیم ریشی میرانؒ آو

سُتی مِس گرہم دشناہشی بہ گُس ریوٚش؟ مے کیاہ ناو؟

Th first reshi is the Mohammad,
And the second the Owais of Qarna,
The third reshi is the Zalka,
Whereas the fourth is Plas reshi,
Fifth in the order is Miran reshi,
Sixth the Ruma,
I, the seventh, have been ignored by all.
Who am I? What a reshi I am?

Thus the saint-poet has in unambiguous terms claimed himself as an Owaisi saint. He claims to have inherited this position and status through the local Reshi saints of Kashmir who had direct spiritual

contact with Owais of Qaran who had received direct guidance from Prophet himself. In another poem he has categorically stated that will be resurrected on the day of judgement under the guidance of Owais of Qaran.

Before concluding this chapter it is necessary to mention the Sheikh's food habits. His diet was simple. Though he lived on simple diet even during his pre-cave days, it is known from his verses that he became vegetarian later on. In a small poem while depicting memories of his good old days he says: "*Zag bata te gada gen, Wuruni khen te lari ren*" (Those days when I used to take red rice with cooked fish and would sleep under quilt close to my wife.) It can be therefore said that while he spent social life he was not a vegetarian then. It is also believed that he seldom took cereals in the later days of his life.

He wore a simple dress consisting of a pheran (Kashmiri gown) stitched out of a coarse blanket. Reportedly he used it till his death. This pheran was preserved as a relic in his shrinebut gutted with other relics in 1995.It is mis-interpretation of the following quatrain that anthologists infer that the saint had used only one gown for his whole life. They have not been able to follow the symbolic connotation of the term to "use one gown for the whole life". It means to stick to ones cherished principle.

Dreadful fear made me to give up material world,
And so I used a single gown throughout my life,
With the contentment I conquered the world of contradictions,
And did travel the whole universe without moving from my place.

He treated his disciples as his sons and daughters. They also reciprocated with love, obedience and dedication. The circle of his disciples was very wide. They included Brahmins, Thakurs, local Ulemas and Syeds.

The Sheikh lived for sixty three years and few months and passed away in Rupawan village on the 26th of month of Poh 121kashmiri calender that corresponds to 26th Jami-ud-Sani 842 A.H. (corresponding to 1438 A.D).

As soon as the news of his death spread, delegations of people under the leadership of local Reshi saints came from all parts of Kashmir and within two days a congregation of about nine lakh people from various regions assembled claiming the mortal remains of the saint for

burial in their respective areas. The ruler Sultan Zainulabidin was himself present. He also insisted on taking the dead body for burial to Srinagar. Ultimately sensing the angry mood of the people, his chief disciple Baba Nassar went close to the coffin. Within no time he returned towards the eagerly awaiting audience of lakhs of people and assured them that the body shall itself choose its last abode. People felt contended.

The body was taken for the last bath that was performed on the trunk of a walnut tree in Tsrar and his funeral prayers were also offered there on a hilltop. Thereafter the coffin soared into the high heavens. While the people from different regions were eagerly looking towards the sky they found the direction of the flying coffin confined to their own respective area. So they eagerly rushed back to their own regions to perform the last rites of their popular saint. As a result the gathering thinned to a limited number of inmates of the Reshi centre at Tsrar. On the third day Baba Nassar declared to the whole nation that the coffin had dived deep at a particular place near a rose bush in Tsrar and automatically the burial was complete. The Baba also pinpointed the place. The Sultan ordered the despatch of building material from the royal stores at nearby Khampur Saria and a structure was erected around the grave of the Sheikh. Baba Nassar, Sheikh's chief disciple, became the first Mujawir. This Khilafat continued till the 16th century when it was made a hereditary office.

The soaring of coffin in high heavens is not so reasonably acceptable not only for its supernatural character but the Sheikh who lived and died as dedicated lover of Prophet would never demonstrate such miracle which could amount to such an exaggeration that could not be approved by the practices of his beloved Prophet. The Sheikh would not like in any manner whether during his life or at the death deviate from the path which is strictly devised by the practices of his beloved Prophet. Besides, the elegy, which was impromptu, composed by his dear disciple Shyam Bibi and which she read in the funeral procession of lakhs of Kashmiris who makes a specific mention:

روپہ وَنے حقس ووتگھ

تَتی خلقن خبر گیے

نِو لچھے لوکو پوٹو وِکھ

نُند سنز گوسور گس متو

(Nund Sanz has fallen in love with paradise,
He achieved union with the Absolute Truth while at Rupawana,
The news of his demise was heard by whole populace,
And so nine lakhs of people attended his burial.)

Thus according to this eyewitness Sheikh was buried normally in presence of a huge congregation of people. The tradition quoted above is so deep both in folk and legend that it has overshadowed the realily."Patowon" means burial.

Tsaran,the head quarter of the Movement thus became the last abode of the propounder and the leader of this Movement. After some time Tsaran became Tsrar and later on Tsrar-i-Shrarief. The Sehikh had himself stated about it:

پیٚتی ژارن ژھارن تۂ

"I shall search my Lord at this chosen place."

(Tsaran literally means to search out or to choose).

Let us conclude this biographical data of the beloved saint of Kashmir with his own description about the various stages of his life which he has precisely hinted in the following small poem. The common reader might feel that the experiences which the Sheikh has felt at various stages of life are common to many of us and therefore this poem cannot be strictly treated as the reliable source about particular facts of his life. Here I will stress only one point. The Sheikh has specifically stated that in the twenty-fifth year of his life he was subjected to accusations and insinuations. It is not common to everyone or even to many of us or even to few of us to face accusations and those too in a particular year of one's life. Historical data and even the traditional reports both confirm that it is in his 25th or 26th year that he was accused to have murdered his own children and Tazi Bhat, the notorious police officer of south Kashmir was deputed to arrest him from his cave at Kaimoh. This poem reads:-

زاس تہٕ پرٕ ہم منزلی
ترٛینہِ گرہم ہژبن رَز
بَہہِ أچھن ژٕلِم پُھلی
نصرٕ وُچھُم ژٕ وُچھنہِ گژھ
پنداہہِ پیاہ أنٛ ہم مٕلی
شُراہہِ کولیہِ گرنم بژھ
اَرداہہِ پیوٚس مژرٕ لولی
نصرٕ وُچھُم ژٕ وُچھنہِ گژھ
وُہہِ نارٕ ٹاکی زٕ رٕلی
پٕژٕہہ وُہرِس گرہم ہژ
ژٕہہِ شُری پانس لٕلی ڈٕلی
نصرٕ وُچھُم ژٕ وُچھنہِ گژھ
پانژاہہِ گواہ آیم دُلی
دُنیاس دیوونس بگ تہٕ بژھ
شیٹھِ مُرتھ نأن زٕ گٕلی
نصرٕ وُچھُم ژٕ وُچھنہِ گژھ

On my birth the cradles were decorated,
In the third year, my hands were tied,
In the twelth year my vision became clearer,
In the fifteenth I got engaged,
In the sixteenth the stream of my conscience was over-flooded.
In the eighteenth I fell in the lap of eternal love,
In the twentieth year of my life,

The fire of love burnt the fire within me.
In the twenty-fifth year I became the target of accusation,
In thirtieth year my youth decayed.
In the fifth decade I was made to wander around the world,
During sixties, two springs of my eyes shall dry up.

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Disciples & Predecessors

As stated earlier the Sheikh enrolled hundreds of Reshis in his Order and consolidated its base throughout the state with a well knit hardcore of workers. They included both men and women serveral of who made notable contribution to Kashmiri literature. Many of them were so famous that they recruited independent cadres of disciples to carry out the mission of their leader.

After his death four of his prominent disciples headed the movement one after the other. They are also called Khalifas (Caliphs) of the Sheikh. Author of the 16th Century history of Kashmir Syed Ali (Magrey) writes that these four Khalifas were presented by the Sheikh before Mir Mohammad Hamdani who showered praises upon them and acknowledged their spiritual eminence.

(a) Baba Bam-ud-Din

According to the common legend Sadra (the mother of the Sheikh) after plucking the rose bunch from the Khai spring concieved and after nine months gave birth to the Sheikh. The wife of the Sadhu reached the spring after Sadra. She plucked the bunch of lillies, inhaled its fragrance, conceived and gave birth to a son who became a devoted Yogi, retired from the world and spent an ascetic's life in a cave at Bumazowa village in the Mattan area of Anantnag district. This cave was also known as the Cave of Arya Rai.

The Sadhu must have taken birth in the year 1386. It is not known when he left his birth place Khaijogipora, but we certainly known that he had attained spiritual eminence to such an extent that he would supervise from the early hours of the morning to sunrise all the major temples situated on the banks of the Jehlum. In a detailed discourse the Sheikh and the Sadhu put forth each other's religious viewpoints, performed miracles and tested each other's spiritual prowess. Finally the Sadhu joined the galaxy of the Sheikh's disciples and was converted to Islam. He was given the name of Bam-ud-Din.

After the death of the Sheikh, Bam-ud-Din led the Reshi movement for two years. He died in the same cave at Bumazowa where he had spent his life in meditation and where he had established the central headquarters of the movement in 1438. On his death which occurred during the night intervening 14th and 15th Ramzan 844 A.H. (A.D.1440), his junior comrade Zain-ud-Din who was then in the far-flung area of Ladakh returned. He performed the last rites of Baba Sahib and again left for the frontier area.

I do not agree with the anecdote of Khai Jogipora spring and therefore am reluctant to accept the theory that Bum Sadhu was the son of that Brahmin who had made some forecasts about the birth of the Sheikh. Had there been any such basis in this episode, Sheikh's verses in general and that versified conversation in particular which is attributed to both of them could have provided some hint towards that past affiliation of the two families. On the other hand it tranpires that when the Sheikh had retired to the cave at Kaimoh either at that very time or particularly during that period the cave of Ari Rai had already acquired prominence as the centre of counter revolution. As soon the Sheikh came out from the cave in about 1407, he immediately runs in company of his two disciples Taj-ud-Din and Nassar-ud-Din towards this Ari Rai's cave at Bumzoova. The first target of his compaign was this Sadhu. This provides basis to believe that this particular cave had earlier also evolved prominance. This prominence could not be accorded to this cave by that particular Sadhu, but his predecessors in the line had left a rich legacy of prominence. This cave was got dug out by Raja Sandhimaan who ruled Kashmir 36 BC and was a very pious ruler. It was carved out of huge rock substance on the bank of river Ledar in pargana Martand (now Anantnag-Pahalgam road). Afterwards he abandoned his throne, retired as ascetic to this cave where according to Rajtarangni of Kalhana, he disappeared. Thereafter according to the same chronicle it remained pivot of Hindu mystics for their devoted meditation. On the spread of Islam in Kashmir, the same cave was used as abode for their salvation by pre-Sheikh saints like Ladraman, Angol and Sheeban Reshi who were busily meditating here in 1320 AD, when they were martyred by the forces of Zulchu. It seems that whoever entered this cave after the death of earlier Sadhu, evolved the title of Buma Sadhu meaning thereby the

Sanyasi who dwelled in that cave situated in village Buma Zoova. This particular Hindu saint had turned this cave as a centre of counter-revolution and therefore Sheikh made it the first target of his revolutionary mission. Incident of conversion of this great Hindu leader at the hands of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din created a mixed reaction. On the one hand it must have exalted the position of the Sheikh among Muslims making him a towering conquerer of ideologies and on the other side it must have created a bias against him not only in the Brahmin lobby but also among those Muslim courtiers who were committed to mundane, so were apprehensive about the increasing popularity of this local talented leader. The location and fame of this cave had attracted devotees from adjoining Himalyan pricipalites across the Pirpanchal range towards present Doda district and beyond upto various parts of present Himachal. The conversion of this cave from pivotal Hindu hermitage to the centre of Muslim preachings positively proved a shot in the arm of the Muslim missionaries. It encouraged the peaceful transformation of yesterday Hindu society into tomorrow's Muslim Kashmir. Hence Baba Bam-ud-Din (ex-Buma Sadhu) established here the well knit southern headquarter of the reshi movement and the Sheikh himself proceeded ahead on his extensive tour of Kashmir.

The disciples of Baba Bam-ud-Din were the great Reshi saints including Baba Rajab-Din, Baba Shakur-ud-Din, Fakhur-ud-Din, Saboor-ud-Din, Hanief-ud-Din and Baba Shams-ud-Din. Certain couplets in Kashmiri are attributed to him but his impact, as a poet is negligible. His disciples were all gnostics of high order. Each in his sphere contributed greatly for transformation of the society and for spread of Islam in the interiors of the pargana Martand that was then the capital of siavistic activity. Each of them recruited and trained great number of Reshis, who after initial trainings, were ordered to return to the society so as build a social order based on piety.

Relevant is to make mention of the prevalant begaar (corvee) system which was rule even during the most benevolant governance of Sultan Zain-ul-abdin (Budshah). It is reported that either during the time of Sultan Ali Shah who ruled Kashmir upto 1420 AD or during the initial rule of Zain-ul-Aabdin (1420-1470) at some time Bam-ud-Din was also taken to forced labour. He had to carry headload of a drum of wine to the

contonment area for the army. The contractors who engaged him on forced labour included Rajab-ud-Din and his brothers Abdul Shkoor and Fakhru-Din. But as they reached the contonment area the contractors ordered Baba Bam-ud-Din to serve the wine, he did so and as soon they drank the intoxicating liquid, they felt spritually elevated and all of them entered into penance and became disciples of Baba Bam-ud-Din.

Relevant here is a precise treatment about the tita tete between Sheikh and the Baba. It is reported by very eminent historian of 19th century Pir Gulam Hassan Khoihami that when Sheikh went into the cave at Bumzoova, he dressed himself with a just removed cow hide which was bleeding and thus polluted the sacred temple with cow-blood. I have discussed this attributed anecdote to evaluate Hassan's claim that he benefited his accounts about the Sheikh by a contemporary source Wiqa-I-Kashmir. Repitition here will not be out of place but will clear misunderstanding. This anecdote which Hassan "falsely" tries to connect with above quoted source is in my view, yet another device to malign the Sheikh. The saint could not go for preaching Islam with patently un-islamic aggressive postures. We have seen and will see in detail that the Sheikh models his life according to Quran and his poetry is versified conveyance of Quranic themes in common Kashmiri language. Such committed man can never go out of Quran and that too act in a manner which has been forbidden by Quran. In the chapter entitled Al-Nahal (Sura 16, Ayat 25) holy Quran provides mechanism as how to preach God's religion and commands a faithful to canvass Islam with "wisdom" and "kindness". Could Sheikh Noor-ud-Din defy this mandatory provision and could he achieve success in his mission by such agressive postures? Hence the reason rejects this anecdote and exposes Hassan to dishonest disposition as a historian. Had he been honest enough, he would have stated fairly that such anecdotes were based in the legend or were part of folk.

Hassan has borrowed this anecdote either from the folk or form Nasib Gazi or from Wahab Noori but twists in a manner as if his source is Mulla Ahmad's Mirat-ul-Awliya. This anecdote is later addition. Even Syed Ali does not mention the use of cow hide by the Sheikh.

In the same manner we have no reservations to hide that Hassan has

borrowed from reshi Namas the anecdote about the versified conversation between Noor-ud-Din and Bum Sadhu. Here also Hassan is deliberately dishonest as he leaves impression that the same contemporary history of Mullah Ahmad was his source. Now let us examine this versified debate attributed to have been entered into between the Sheikh and the Sadhu. It will add to the bulk of the book if we contain herein the details of that question-answer session which is reported to have taken place there in that Ashram. To sum up it is carried as: "On seeing the Sheikh dressed in that dirty and bleeding cow-hide the Sadhu warns the agressor visitor not to pollute his sacred temple and the images of Lord Shiva. To this warning it is reported that Sheikh justifies this indecency on the ground that Hindus were accustomed to use cow urine as nectar and cowdung to paste and wash walls of their mandirs." Thereafter the conversation is of so low nature and content that it appears that as if the both were ignorant about their own religions and about each other's religious codes of conduct. The Sadhu criticises such customs, which have entered into Muslim society not from Islamic teachings but under Hindu influence. It appears that these customs which were too deep in Muslim society do not relate to 14th, 15th centuries but appear to have acquired menacing position upon the society in 18th, 19th centuries. On the other hand the Sheikh in reply exposes such Hindu customs or practices which too had least relation with Hindu religion. It is not a heavenly codified system but evolved on the basis of relevant moral philosophies. Hence on the basis of certain defects in such customs Hindu religion can not be accused. My contention will be appreciated by reference to only two points from this conversation. Sadhu is reported to have critcised Islam on the ground that Muslims remain absent minded during they offer their prayers. Similarly the Sheikh is reported to have assailed Hinduism on the ground that old Brahmin marries a virgin girl. It seems that these both points and such other points which are contained in this conversation would never have been subject matter of two great spritual leaders representing the two moral philosophies which were then prevalent in Kashmir.

It is the failure of common intellect to comprehend, understand and appreciate as what could be the miracle exercised by the Sheikh upon the

Sadhu that he was within one sitting converted. The public mind was confused about this dramatic change for the reason that the Sadhu had evolved a halo and charisma around his person as a leading Hindu spiritualist of the time. He had acquired perfection upon yoga practices and as such would traverse a distance of about 100 miles from his Ashram to Khadanyar in remote North and would offer floral tributes to all the deities kept in the famous Mandirs situated on the two banks of the river Vitasta upon this distance of 100 miles. It is reported that he would cover this distance from the early morning upto sunrise and would be back before sunrise to his Ashram. Hence the common sense was bewildered as what magic was exercised to achieve this gigantic result. Common mind can devise only common explanations that became part of the folk. Our latter anthologists and historians adopted these folk legends as gospels of historical truth. I believe, and on sound reasons that the versified conversation is part of that versified life story of the Sheikh which had beome inalinable heritage with Kashmir society rightup from Sheikh's death. It was only folk, just we had till recently a folk poem known as Zainama (the poem related to the birth of the Sheikh) being sung in singing parties and the last of the tribe of this particular type of musicians, Ahad Janda of Darwan Nowgam (district Budgam) died in later seventies. It is from the folk that this versified conversation was made part of anthologies and latter was planted in the histories.

Similarly the story about Sadra's inhaling the fragrance of lillies from Khee spring is also part of the same folklore. The lore further puts that Sadra was followed by the wife of Hindu Sadhu and both these ladies conceived under the spell of that fragrance. Hence logically both might have delivered babies in the same year but the fact that Bam-ud-Din died in 1440 AD at the age of 54 years exposes the myth. Thus his year of birth comes to 1386 AD whereas Sheikh has taken birth in 1377 AD. The diference is of nine years. The Sadhu would not have remained in womb of his mother for nine years instead of nine months. This versified conversation attributed to the two is exposed to a myth by the fact that it contains the verses to have been composed by the "Incharge of Heaven" also.

From the record we have studied it is made out that Bam-ud-Din was an aescetic of devotion who had, to a great extent, liking for

escapism and it is so as he refused to give audience to the king Sultan Ali Shah. As he was persuaded by his attendants not to return the king disappointed so granted him a breif interview. On his departure, the Sultan requested as what he should do for the saint, Bam-ud-Din with stress replied: "I will remain obliged if you henceforth never take trouble to visit me". "Are you so scared of worldly men?" The saint nodded in affirmative. On his burial his friend and comrade Zain-ud-Din Wali retained with him the saint's turban but it is reported that buried Bam-ud-Din upon whose grave excavated earth was being again filled in, lifted his hand from coffin and snatched the turban, got that buried with him so that there remains no trace of his, in any manner, on the mortal earth.

It has become a gigantic task to sift grain from chaff and so it is also very difficult to sift real facts from these complicate and conflicting legends, which have been planted in history also. Even if the contemporary material comes in our hands and we are able to contradict these fables on solid basis then also we can not clear the impact created upon common mind. This brings us to one logical conclusion that the person of Sheikh has always remained and will remain the pivot of the love and charisma. Such popular personalities are usually, according to the eastern mentality and particularly as per traditions of the sub-continent, being lulled in the cozy lap of the legend.

(b) Zain-ud-Din Wali

It has been stated in what circumstaces Zai Singh (Jai Singh) of the remote area of Palmed in Kishtwar came under the influence of the Sheikh, was converted to Islam, named as Zain-ud-Din and assigned the charge of an independent Reshi centre in Dachen Pargana. The specific place was Aish, now called Aish Muqam.

It has also been stated that he was exiled from the valley under orders of Sultan Zainulabidin and spent two years in exile roaming in Tibet.. After the death of Bam-ud-Din, the Reshis elected Zain-ud-Din as new leader of the movement, which was even hinted by the departed leader, Bam-ud-Din. Considering the consequences, the Sultan took

immediate steps to revoke expulsion order, lifted the ban and issued a decree requesting him to return. He was accorded a warm reception both by the people and the government. He took charge of Khilafat in 1440. Describing the experiences of his days in exile he says:

In this bitting cold,
To warm my benumbed hands,
I consumed the warmth of my breath;
To quench my thirst,
In this dry wasteland.
I had to rub my tongue upon my lips,
My ears have frozen in this prevaling cold.
To acquire the distinctive Reshi title,
We left our homeland.
Faced vicissitudes and troubles,
Bad days are in stock for Reshis.

After leading the movement for eight years with dash and drive, Zain-ud-Din Wali died in 852 A.H. (A.D. 1488). Before his death he had expressed a wish that none should enter his cave. On the third day when his disciples went inside they found neither Zain-ud-Din's body nor any sign of its burial. The disciples wept bitterly and searched in and around the dark cave. Finally the Baba located to a disciple in a dream the actual place of his burial. Later on a shrine was built on the same site, which is till date revered, by one and all.

Zain-ud-Din Wali was strict disciplineer, shrewed leader, inquisitive pupil, daringly courageous and had even joined issues with his master also. He did not bother to affront the most powerful and popular monarch of Kashmir viz Zain-ul-Aabideen popularly called Budshah (The Great King). In spite of pro-people corrective measures and policies, adopted by this king, the system of begaar (forced labour) did not abate. It seems that the monarch had encouraged the system. It is for this reason that Chaks of Trehgam raised banner of revolt against Budshah and nearer to the abode of Zain-ud-Din an irrigation canal was being dug out, a disciple of the Wali deputed by his master to perform a specific service, was also arrested and taken forcibly to help the digging of the canal. The annoyed Wali learnt it at evening and threatened a revolt. Finally a unique type of treaty between the sovereign head and a

Faqir was executed under which the inmates of this reshi centre were exempted from any state job either per force or against compensation but, it was made compulsory for these inmates to wear a special woolen lined headgear. This special turban was even upto my childhood the distinguishable dress of Reshis of Ashmuqam which turban is called in Kashmiri as 'Katsan' in Persian anthologies it is qualified as Tabrez. It is not out of the purview of this treatise to make mention of a similar incident related to Shah Abu Qalandar (RA) of Panipat whose attendent received a rod-blow at the hands of the pilot who piloted the royal cart carrying the Khilji king of Delhi. On hearing about this excess committed against his disciple the Qalandar asked his secretary to adress a communication to the Sultan of Delhi directing him to punish his officer lest the kingdom of the king is ordered to be snatched form him and assigned to some other person. The Sultan did not only punish the defaulter but also tendered himself unconditional apology at the threshold of the saint. Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his Persian poem "Asrar-I-Khudi" with pride makes reference of this spiritual superiority. Had our historians properly highlighted this incident of Zain-ud-Din Wali or had not the Mujavirs of these shrines supressed these facts, Dr. Iqbal would have more specifically and with pride quoted this example too.

Famous among Zain-ud-Din's disciples are; Baba Shams-ud-Din, Pami Reshi, Darya Din and others.

Very less number of quatrains authored by Zain are preserved in Reshi Namas or Noor Namas but they are good pieces of poetry, both in art and thought.

(c) Baba Latif-ud-Din

The third Khalifa Lateef-ud-Din was the ruler of the tiny state of Madew Wadwan. He came under the influence of the Sheikh at Mukhta Pukhri and had to give up his kingdom but to rule the hearts of the people as the third Khalifa. This contact developed into deep intimacy and finally Ladi Raina gave up his kingdom, embraced Islam and remained at the service of the Sheikh. After the death of Zain-ud-Din, the leadership of the movement was entrusted to him. He guided it from his own centres

"Watrihel". He died at Pushkar where he lies buried and his shrine is revered and respected by all. Many of his disciples also attained fame and public recognition.

Ladi Raina, as a petty ruler subordinate to the Kashmir crown had come to Srinagar from his mountain state to attend the coronation of Shahi Khan who adorned the Kashmir throne and ruled from 1420 to 1470, for half a century under the title of Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen. In the vicinity of the civil lines near present Nowshehra situates Mukhta Pukhri (now almost part of SKIMS) where Sheikh Noor-ud-Din was stationed those days. The incident of the danseous Yawan Mats had spread like wild fire the fame of miraculous deed of the saint through which he had defeated the intrigue hatched to defame him by certain vested interests. Ladi Raina also came to seek blessings of the saint. The Sheikh asked him as what was purpose of his visit. "Just to seek your hand of friendship" replied Raina.

"Can a friend bear if an imminent misfortune is to fall on a friend?"

"Oh Sheikh! What misfortune is to be fall upon me, please inform me quickly so that attempt to avoid it is made." Sheikh explained that the misfortune, that his Creator, the Lord of the universe was annoyed with him. This warning left an indilible impact upon the mind of the visitor who sort further explanations and interpretations. The Sheikh made him to understand as what our Creator expects from His created subjects and what they do to liquidate the debt of His blessings. The saint painted a picture of the visitors deeds in words and asked him "are these actions worth any pride; from a remote corner you have traversed difficult terrain to seek blessings of a worldly monarch but have you traversed the straight path to have blessings of your Lord." These words pierced sensibility and reason of the Raja and so he abondoned his smaller kingdom to attain rule upon a greater kingdom of spirituality.

Ladi Raina was soft speaking, inquisitive, dedicated student and an affectionate teacher. It is for such qualities that he earned spiritual eminence in a very short period so as to head the independent reshi centre situated at Watrihel in the centre of the valley. This centre had to cater spiritual guidance for whole central Kashmir, even the senior most disciple of the Sheikh Baba Taj-ud-Din was put under his subordination

and the second poetess of Kashmir, the lady disciple Sham Ded was also made to work under Latif-ud-Din.

(d) Baba Nassar-ud-Din

"Wo'tur" (the stout), as his original name was, had developed serious stomach trouble during his youth which brought him to the Sheikh's cave to seek his blessings. He later recovered and remained at the service of the Sheikh. He served his mentor with zeal and devotion. The Sheikh could not tolerate a moment's separation from Nassar. A maximum number of the Sheikh's verses have been addressed to him. Immediately after the death of the Sheikh, Nassar took charge of his headquarters at Tsrar. Though he was virtually the leader of the movement it was he who managed the nomination of Bam-ud-Din, Zain-ud-Din and Lateef-ud-Din as his predecessors and thus took the reins of leadership only after the demise of his senior comrades. Mention is pertinent that according to the years put by him in the company of his master he was second to Taj-ud-Din and so senior to all others.

The leadership of the movement passed on to Nassar's disciples after his death and the charge of the main Reshi centre at Tsrar, including the management of the Sheikh's shrine, exclusively remained within the Reshi line of Baba Nassar.

Baba Nassar was himself a good poet. His verses are recorded in Reshi Namas. It was he who introduced the poetic innovation of writing Qita Tarikh (chronograms) in Kashmiri. The first such qita was composed by him on the death of the Sheikh. From the last line of this qita (as it is available now) the year of the Sheikh's death is derived.

Nassar died in 1451 and was buried in the very shrine where his master is buried. A good number of quatrains of Baba Sahib are preserved in Noor Namas but some have got mixed with the verses of his teacher. He composed in the diction of his master verses replete with thoughts of wisdom.

Simplicity and flow are the main characteristics of his poetry. Here are some samples:

(1)

Useless is a walnut for a toothless infirm,
Useless are bow and arrow for a crippled man,
Useless is a diamond necklace around the neck of a dog,
And a beautiful lady has no attraction for a blind man

(2)

I shall demand from my active limbs,
These arms and legs shall fulfil my desires,
Alas! When they suddenly shall cease to obey orders,
From whom shall I demand, who will give me?

(3)

The crown of distinction shall adorn the head of a gnostic,
Who feeds his family and meditates simultaneously,
Our Prophet is loved by all.
In spite of his dedication to his Lord,
He lived a social life, full of activity
One who lives a strictly socio-material life,
But is overawed by the dreadful fear of hell,
He alone shall reach the cherished goal of the eternal love.

The disciple Nassar and the master Noor-ud-Din are reported to have entered into a poetic discourse. A sample shall convey the inquisition in the taught and urge to impart knowledge in the teacher. Nassar says:

زُونہِ ہُند ہیوٗ پراگاش نہٕ گُنے گنگہِ ہُند ہیوٗ تیرتھ نہٕ کوٗنژھ
بأے سُند ہیوٗ بندُت نہٕ گُنے رَنہِ ہُند ہیوٗ سوکھ نہٕ کوٗنژھ

No light can be compared to moonlight,
No shrine is more attractive to the Ganges.
No effection provides a match to that of one's brother,
Rarest is the comfort one gets from his wife.

Plain reading of this quatrain exposes that situation when the Sheikh persuaded Outur Thakur (before he became Nassar-ud-Din) to join his movement and be with him as friend in Kaimoh cave. The Sheikh replied:

أچھن ہُند ہیوٗ پراگاش نہٕ گُنے کوٹھبن ہُند ہیوٗ تیرتھ نہ کوٗنژھ
ونن ہُند ہیوٗ بندُت نہٕ گُنے اَرِ زُوٗک ہیوٗ سوکھ نہٕ کوٗنژھ

The greatest light is one's eyesight,
The greatest shrine of pilgrimage are one's own legs.
The lovable companion is the jungle,
One's health is the best comfort.

Moonlight is the superior light but not for a blind person. Ganges or any other sacred place of pilgrimage can be reached only if one has sufficient physical capacities to undergo the journey. The isolation in the lap of nature is the best company, immune of any reaction. The life partner is really a comfort but the superlative degree of all comforts is one's good health.

As said all these four disciples of the Sheikh recruited a considerable number of reshi saints and guided them to the destination of Absolute Love through the reshi path as devised by Sheikh Noor-ud-Din on the pattern of Owaisi mystic thought & practice. Bam-ud-Din has recruited independently dozens of reshi saints but among them Baba Abdul Shakoor, Baba Rajab-ud-Din, Baba Fakhru-ud-Din, Saboor reshi and Syed Hussein are eminent saints of distinction which positions they have acquired of their own zealous urge to know secrets of universe. They have performed such miracles which shall keep them alive in the memory. They have further trained hundreds of reshis whose shrines are spread in the southern Kashmir.

We have already mentioned Haji Shams-ud-Din, Baba Darya Din and others who attained as disciples of Baba Zain-ud-Din Wali distinct positions as eminent saints of Kashmir. Their trained disciples too attained similar eminence and are revered throughout the country. Similarly the disciples of Baba Latif-ud-Din viz Sheikh Pir Baz, Sheikh Sharief Ashwar, Baba Ladi Ganie, Ladi Kator, Baba Noori reshi, Baba Lacham reshi, Baba Janda reshi, Bahram reshi and others have dominated the spiritual life in and around the areas where memorials have been raised on their graves. Among the eminent disciples of Baba Nassar, Malik Tsoogi Reshi and Zoogi Raina both had royal descent, Looli Haji is claimed by the father of Sir Mohammad Iqbal as his great grandfather. His disciple Ripu reshi a great scholar was martyred by

Chugtai forces in village Lajoora Pulwama. After his martyrdom the reshi movement was lead by his brother Baba Ruknu-Din alias Repi Reshi.

Relevant is here to make a breif discussion about the claimed connection of Dr. Iqbal's family with Haji Looli reshi which is disputed. The ground agitated is that the Haji died a bachelor. The basis of this dispute is attributed to a mention made by Baba Nasib-ud-Din Gazi in his Reshi Nama in which he says that the wife of the Haji on having vision of the groom rejected him, the frustrated husband disappeared and went on foot for Hajj. He spent twelve years there and on return got admission in the reshi clan at the hands of Baba Nassar. The rejection of the groom by the bride is attributed to the ugliness and disabled body of the Haji. This very anecdote is rather put in similar tone by later historians but treatment differs. Let us examine it on the touchstone of reason.

All the Reshi Namas are in Persian. These scholars have hardly understood and carried local connotation of Kashmiri words accorded as names to the places and persons. These words have been distorted to suit the foreign phonetics. There are hundreds of examples. I quote only one that is of the most important town Tsar-i-Sharief. It is originally Tsar, which means to choose. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has himself explained the connotation of the name of this place and says: "Yeti Tsaran" (I will search Him here). But unfortunately the foreign tune in Persian chronicles was distorted and Tsar became "Charar" which has demolished the background and the inherent sanctity of the place. Similarly the name of the Haji was "Lole" meaning "love". Either his family had accorded this name to him on his birth or he was known by this name because he loved a girl. Mention is pertinent that we have a considerable number of Reshis with Kashmiri names e.g Freste Reshi, Diti Reshi, Plasman, Yasman etc. He was rich man's son and sooner the proposal was made to the parents of his beloved, it was accepted by the girl's father. The girl was admittedly beautiful but Haji was lame and ugly. These anthologists changed the 'Lole' into 'Looli' meaning thereby a complete crippled man. But in spite there was man and a potent man within him which made him to have a romance and make a choice for his life partner. He was not crippled as these very chronicles and anthologies

all are unnanimous that he traversed distance from Kashmir to Mecca and then to Madina and then back but on foot. Could a crippled man cover this huge distance on foot? These very chronicles have specifically mentioned that Repu reshi, the disciple of the Haji was incharge of stout and special breed horse which the disciple was tending in the pasture ground of village Lajoora in Pulwama district that the Mughal invader Mirza Haider (who attacked Kashmir in 1551 AD) liked this horse for his personal use, his forces asked Repu reshi to part away the horse but he resisted and was killed. This horse belonged to Haji and his disciple refused to part away his teacher's pet animal and instead offered his life. Let us think a while. Can a crippled or disabled man ride upon such a horse which would attract the warrior of the time. It may be argued that it is not written anywhere specifically that Haji used this horse for riding but we must understand that our reshis were gnostics of high order and had abondoned the mundane so they could not waste the time of their disciples to feed animals for no use but for luxury only. It is impressed that horse riding was one of the ingredients of reshi training. In these cirumstances it is denied on cogent reasons that the Haji was so disabled who could not consumate his marriage. Secondly, it is said on the basis of Nasib-ud-Din's acount that the bride refused the groom. We have among Kashmir Muslims no tradition of Soimber and instead from early times marriages are arranged. Even Sheikh Noor-ud-Din arranged marriage of Sangram Dar's daughter with Zoogi Reshi. In this background we can safely and reasonably infer that the marriage of Haji with that woman was arranged though on the choice of the groom but when they were provided Khilwat (privacy) for consumation which is the essential ingredient of marriage the groom found his beloved not warmly inclined to him, rather the bride might have expressed her resentment. But, we can not say that consumation has not taken place. All the four Imams heading four schools of jurisprudence are unnanimous that mere Khilwat provides presumption that the man and woman have lived as husband and wife during that privacy and it is held unnanimously that if such a woman delivers a child even after one year of such privacy the paternity of such child shall be attributed only to the man with whom such lady was provided privacy.

Human psychology would not allow that the eager man did not

consumate the marriage. Legal presumption is in favour of cohabitation. Neither the historian nor the anthologist was intersted to probe as what happened with that lady, was she divorced? Did she live at the house of in-laws to know whereabouts of her husband?? Had she conceived within that brief association or what happened to her is no where mentioned.

Loole Haji's grave is one among the eleven graves situated in the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din where only two graves are conspicuous, those are of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and Baba Nassar. Haji Looli would have been known widely had he been buried elsewhere like other reshis. At this place his position is so eclipsed that only a few know his name. I must admit that even upto 1972, (when I studied the manuscripts) I too had not heard his name. In this situation why should Sir Iqbal's father Sheikh Noor Mohammad connect his descent with an unknown spiritualist and that too from a distant place, Sialkot. He had no access to scattered hoarded manuscripts in Kashmir. He must have inherited the information from his elders.

Iqbal's family sources made some scholars to make such a claim. One of the scholars devoted to studies on Iqbal Prof. J.N. Azad highlighted this claim. Probably to show him down a campaign was launched from Srinagar to counter this calim. Entry in Baba Nasib Gazi's book about Lole Haji is exploited in this behalf. In the discussion on sources about Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and his Reshi Movement (Chapter-I) thisbook has assessed the total value of Nasib Sahib's work. After minute and total study of this work, yet an unpublished one, this author has held it as a mystic treatise neither a history nor an enthology nor a biography and nor strictly a work on mystic thought. The learned author has highlighted facts of Sheikh's life and of the members of caravan of Reshis, but has sacrificed historicity upon legends narrated to project his own moral and mystic notions. In the mess of narrations he states that: "Lole Haji was a disabled man, son of a well to do family who liked a girl, moved his family to get married with her, meeting of the two was arranged, Khutba of Nikah was sermonised that the bride out of hatred for the disabled groom reacted adversely and bondage came to an eand." This entry suffers of intrinsic contradiction and is in conflict with both Muslim manner of marriages and is also against prevalent system from old days. Hints already given. This entry is further in contradiction with

historian Hassan. He says that Haji reacted against the arrogant behaviour of his bride, left in a huff from private chamber and divorced her.

Both these conflicting views do agree that the Nikah was performed. It is the subsequent stage of consumation were this reaction of the bride could logically ensue. But both Gazi or Hassan or any other historian could not and had not probed what did happen between the groom and bride during private retirement. Readears are recommended to go through the discussion on "Legitimacy of a child" in commentaries on Mohammadan Law by D.F. Mulla, A.A Faizi or by Sir Abdur Rahim.

Therefore to declare a married man as a bachelor is ridiculous. Further to hold catagorically that neither the marriage in question was consumated, nor the bride could concieve and nor she delivered a child in absence of her husband either at her parents' house or at the house of in-laws is going beyond the subject. History of Reshis of Kashmir provides us instance of Baba Payam Reshi whose wife gave birth to a son after the Reshi abandoned the world and the so delivered son met his father at Rambowa (Tangmarg) as a grown up man.

Equally we are not catagorical that Haji Lole Reshi and his bride have had the intercourse within a very brief spell of privacy or such intercourse, if any, did result into a conception of the bride, she delivered a male baby after due period in absence of Lole Haji (who had left for Hajj) and the same baby was the great grand father of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal. That is not our case but we repudiate the argument that;

a) Lole Haji was a Mujarad - bachelor

b) He had no issue from the briefest love marriage.

It is further argued that Iqbal's family had inherited that information from occular or written sources. This information must have transfered from one progeny to the other as has been prevalent in all families. It was projected that lineage claimed from a bachelor is an untenable claim. Our discussion will convince the readers that this information with family can not be dubbed as an exaggeration or a concocted claim. In the circumstances the tilt is towards consumation of marriage which can provide a reasonable basis of continuation of Hajis progeny. This tilt supported by tradition in Iqbal's family constitute together the existence

of strong case in favour of the claim and exposes the denial merely a conjecture. We have seen Lole Reshi was not even known in Tsarar where he is buried and even was not known in his native village Tsoland and so Iqbal's family (as said) would not concoct a claim to connect its lineage with an unknown spiritual dignitary.

With these comments we leave the matter to future researchers who have, to our view, no further material to probe in.

In a Shruk the Sheikh has praised his four disciples as follows:

Bumah, Nassar, Baba Zaino,
Obedient Latif-ud-Din.
I have knit these gems in a single thread,
My Lord adorned me with a necklace of four diamonds.
These four are my asset and I am for them.

At another place he says:

Buma Sadhu of Bumazowa village,
Who spent his life in idol worship,
You, my Lord, invited him to Thy path,
Bestow upon me the same blessing.

For Zain-ud-Din, in the same poem, the Sheikh says:

My Zain distributes the water of life,
Who conquered (with love) the universe.
He really went ahead of his Guru,
May Lord, bestow upon me the same blessing.

The disciples of the Sheikh included foreigners like Syed Ghulam Din and Syed Ali of Balakh (now buried at Pakharpora). From among the local Ulemas, Sharief Ashwar, Mulla Pir Baz and Qazi Sadr-ud-Din became his disciples. Among the leading Brahmin Sadhus, besides Baba Bam-ud-Din, great scholars like Kati Pandit (later Qutb-ud-Din) Tuli Raina and Sida Shrikant joined his order.

Among his women disciples three attained great fame. Shyam Maji is the second great woman poet of Kashmir after Lal Ded. She wrote the first elegy in Kashmiri. The verses which she sang in separation of her beloved master, after the death of the latter, are very akin to ghazal in pathos, similes, metaphors and content.

His two other woman disciples Duhat and Buhat actively

participated in the spiritual summit between the Sheikh and Mir Mohammad at "Zalus".

A separate volume about the reshi cadres from Sheikh Noor-ud-Din down to Ganga Bibi (death 1530 AD) shall only accord justice to the topic. In this volume we can not cover entries, even brief, about these hundreds of reshi saints. However a brief mention cannot fall out of the purview of this book. Hence let us at first make mention of Pre-Sheikh Reshis. Discussion about other disciples of the Sheikh and of the the disciples of his successors is left over to future occassion. They have by their practice contributed to the evolution of the process but have left no recorded material in verse or prose that can be of use to the theoritical aspects of Kashmir Mystic Thought.

(B) Predecessors of the Sheikh in Reshi Order

Reshi saints from whom the Sheikh claims his spiritual descent are:

(The first reshi is Prophet Mohammad 'SAW'
The second is Owais Qarni of Yemen,
The third Zalka and the fourth Palas.
The fifth is Ruma, sixth Meeran.
The seventh is ignored, who'm I, what my name?)

Like all spiritual Silsilas the reshi mystic order also eminates from Prophet Mohammad (SAW) through Owaisi Qarni of Yemen who was contemporary of Prophet (who died in 22 AH and is buried in Yemen) but did not physically meet Him. He was a great lover of Prophet. As he heard in Yemen that his beloved had lost a tooth during the battle of Ohud near Madina, he lifted a stone to break a tooth so as to follow the practice of his beloved. Could not, with certainty, locate the one broken so Owais broke all his teeth. Prophet too was so fond of him that he deputed his two senior comrades Omar and Ali to call at Owais in Yemen. Thus we could comprehend and realise that the man was really recepient of secret guidance directly from Mohammad (*SAW*). Sheikh had no direct connection with Owais but claims it through four persons. They are in order: Zalka reshi, Palas reshi, Ruma reshi and Meeran reshi. Who these four persons were? The matter was shrouded in mystery for

reasons (a) we have no available record of pre Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Muslim saints of Kashmir and (b) it is deep in tradition that Islam has come here in Kashmir after 1321 AD ie after the installation of Muslim rule. We have in a separate chapter of this book under the title "Islam in Kashmir" refuted this theory and have asserted that Islam was present as a socio-political force from the start of 10th century, at the least. But confused with these unfamiliar names legends were woven about these four names.

Accordingly zalka was interpreted as Zulfiqar i.e. the caliph Ali, Palas was interpreted as the Prophet Ilyas, Ruma was interpreted as Prophet Khizir and Meeran as Mir Syed Ali Hamdani. This was ridiculous as Ali could not be treated as the disciple of Owais because the latter is admittedly junior and inferior in status to the fourth caliph of Prophet viz. Ali. In the order of preference Ali is above Owais. Secondly prophets can not be disciples of the companions of another prophet, whatever spiritual eminence. It is unfortunate that these interpteters who landed their minds in the marsh of confusion and consequently confused the people, did not care to go through the poetry of Sheikh itself so as to know their actual historical positions. Originality and intelligence guided the later 19th century historian Pir Hassan Shah who got through the famous poem of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din titled: "When our Lord shall bless His servants?" and could extract material in the references made therein about these four personalities. But, Hassan has not been as honest as Badiudin Abul Qasim who demonstrates honesty in his history "Gauhari Aalam". On the other hand Hassan leaves an impact as if he has collected this material from the book of history viz; "Wiqai Kashmri".

On the basis of this poem, Hassan has collated and edited the brief bio-data about these four local saints to which we have made some additions from the same source in our book "*Sahifa Noor*" Vol.II On this single and particular basis these four personalities are introduced to the readers as:

(a) Zalka Reshi

The great was Zalka reshi of Dandakvana,
Who derived the juice of wild bushes, did not aspire for cereals.

Oh my Lord bestow me with same pleasures and blessings.

These verses reveal that this saint lived in Dandakvana, the forest, which situated near present Rafiabad in district Baramulla. According to Kashmir version of Ramayana the Bhagwan Rama lived exiled life of 14 years in this forest with his wife Sita and brother Lakhman. Similar reference is contained in another quatrain of the Sheikh in which he with specification eulogises the Rama of Dandakvana. From the above words it transpires that this saint did not use cereals throughout his life but lived on the juice derived from the grass and other herbs. His time is not known from this precise reference and I had to dive deeper in this matter. I have come to the conclusion that this saint lived during 10th century AD. I have no material to connect his direct link with the saint of Yemen viz. Owais Qarni who was martyred during the war between Caliph Ali and Amir Muaviya which is known in Muslim history as the "War of Jamal". There must have been an intervening link between the two. It also is not clearly known whether he was a local convert or had come here from any Muslim country to meditate and preach Islam. He must have created a neucleus of devoted disciples around him but the chief one, who carried his mantle ahead was Palas reshi.

(b) Palas Reshi:

Palas reshi who acquired control upon time and space,
(Was an aescetic of high order, who would)
Remove the crest of popolar tree and lick its moisture at breakfast,
It was his whole diet throughout his life and he did devote his self,
To achieve union with Him, can He be pleased with us.

This reference too is very precise which provides us only two hints about his eminence and the diet discipline he had imposed upon himself.

There is no hint provided as in which forest or in which area of the valley he meditated and how many years he lived. However, the anthologists had traced out an old popolar tree in the thick forest areas of Pahalgam-Ashmuqam and it was during my childhood widely known that if any mute or dumb person licked the moisture of that particular tree, he would recover the power of speech. My younger brother late Gulam Mohammad was born mute and my late father after reading the reference in some Reshi Nama went on hiking in the area alongwith his

friend Haji Anwar reshi of Ashmuqam. I and my brother, two children were carried by two servants. They were able to get the child to lick that moisture and he partly regained speaking power. But tradition was to take him thrice so as to recover completely. On next visit, in spite of their endeavour, they could not trace out the exact place where this tree stood but were lost in the thick forest. It also is blieved that the reshi was married and had three sons Palasman, Khalasman and Yasman. All those three brothers acquired eminence in reshi heirarchy.

(c) Ruma Reshi

Ramu village in Tehsil and District Pulwama is probably named after this saint as a deep cave is located there about which it is reported that Ruma reshi practised meditation in it. It is also reported that he is buried in this very cave. Ruma reshi has become synonimous with long life as it is reported that this saint lived a life of 322 years. It is therefore that a proverb "Ruma Reoshun Aay" (a long life as Ruma reshi lived) has been coined. Hassan historian reports that during the eleventh century, when Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi knocked at the door of Kashmir near the Khag pass and was determined to enter into Kashmir that Ruma reshi met him and gave him a piece from his own rag and asked him to stitch the same with his flag so as to conquer India but advised him to leave Kashmir undisturbed. Hassan has further reported that Ruma had migrated to Kashmir from any country on the other side of Transoxiana and had spiritual connections with Abul Hassan Kharkani, the spiritual guide of Mahmood Ghaznavi. Ruma, had performed hajj seven times, had met many great saints of his time and was recruited in the army of Kashmir Hindu Raja. After some time he settled at the place now called Ramu. His other reshi companions have been Sheeban and Angol reshi who are reported to have been martyred in the Arya Rai cave in 1320 by the forces of Zulchu. It is not known whether he directly received the reigns of reshi leadership from Palas reshi or through any some intervener. However, he directly entrusted the banner of leadership of the reshi movement to Meeran reshi.

Sheikh praises his eminence:

["Hazrati Ruma reshan
Tem jantas Arzen jaayey

Tithen hiven reshan,
Kar bandan toshi khudayey.
[Ruma Reshi so perfect,
In devotion and love
That he created a place for him in the paradise.
It is only upon such Reshi saints,
Almighty Bestows His Blessings.]

Meeran Reshi:

[Meeran Reshi belonged to specific village
called Reshi Wani
He lived for thousand months
On pure water,
Oh my Lord Be pleased with those reshis.]

Reshvene hind Meeran Reshey
Tem tsendre sasas an jal kevo
Tawe jantas dits-has jayey
Kar bandan toshe khudayey.

In this couplet two hints are provided. Firstly about the domicile of the reshi. It shows that he had lived in village Reshevani or that place where he meditated throughout his life, was named after him as Reshevani. "Vani" connotes the landed estate and hence Reshevani means landed estate of reshis. It is therefor infered that at this particular place situated in Sonawari tehsil in Safapur of Baramulla district. Meeran had established a reshi centre (first known centre of the kind) in this estate which upto the time of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din had developed into a locality. The second hint provided is about the years he lived. It says that he used water and food (that means he lived) for one thousand lunar months which comes to 80 years and some months according to solar system. From other material we can safely infer that he has predeceased his master Ruma reshi but had guided the three reshi sons of his great master, Palas reshi. They are Palasman, Khalasman and Yasman. Meeran has not directly guided the Sheikh though Sheikh claims to have received the mantle of leadership from Meeran. In my view the intervenig links

were Yasman and the father of the Sheikh viz. Salar Sanz, who had received direct guidance from Yasman. These three brothers Yasman, Khalasman and Plasman, spent their lives in meditation on the plateaus of Bijbehara (Distt. Anantnag) where all the three are buried. It is here that Lal Ded adorned Sadra's head with a rose boquet giving her happy tidings that she was going to become mother of a saint. He (Meeran) died during the reign of Raja Sehadeva either immediately before the devastating aggression of Zulchu in 1320 or during that national calamity. He is buried in the village Reshevani where people rever his shrine.

The sample verses of Zainud-ud-Din and Baba Nassar quoted in Reshi Namas reveal that the former's verses bear the seal of protest against the then situation and the latter's verses bear distinct imprints of local moral values. Whereas Zain-ud-Din forsees troubles for Reshi cadres in stock, Baba Nassar had reverences for the River Ganges which he considered an unparallel Tirath - environs of meditation.

***

Miracles

[Cellescial Culture and Strains of Miracles]

This book has not gone in the details of miracles reported in Reshi Namas, Noor Namas, other anthologies and books of history that have been attributed to have been performed by the Sheikh and his disciples. Yet however, we cannot ignore that aspect totally. In our view he performed two great miracles. Firstly, he has totally revolutionized Kashmir, established its distinct culture of free interaction of religious thoughts. Secondly, he saved poor Kashmiri language of total extinction at the juncture when under constant and instant threats it could have died. So it survived to carry, to the posterity the word of Almighty. Thus achieved the distinction to have a KASHMIRI Quran. Yet, however, the common psyche could not see, in that sense and these two most important aspects were ignored. His life story was burdened with such anecdotes which appear above reason and beyond human logic. Probably it is human psychology to expect supernatural deeds from the men of extra ordinary caliber. It is therefore, that the Almighty has bestowed upon His messengers and friends with such prowess with which they performed desired miracles to usher their societies into valued process of revolution. In this respect, Kashmir has from its very inception remained under such strains. The legend reported in chronicles about the emergence of Kashmir from a water logged area Sati Sar is also attributed to the miraculous deeds of Kashyap Reshi. Sheikh Noorudin's spiritual lineage is connected with such Reshis. The Sheikh, is the Sar Halqai Reshiyan - (the sovereign authority of Reshi Clan) so, such anecdotes of miracles must logically overburden story of his deeds. With this local trait let us also find justification from lessons deduced from

holy Quran.

> [*Remember..... when you made out of the clay a figure like that of a bird, by My permission, and you breathed into it and it became a bird by My permission.... and when you brought forth the dead by My permission....." Sura Maidah 5, verse 110*]

It has clearly postulated that the Christ did not perform those miracles with his own will or power but with the order of the Almighty: (Bi-iznillah). Thus it is quite evident that no person even a prophet can discharge any act of miracle of his own but by the order of and with the will of his Creator - the Almighty. Verily, it is a special power which He bestows upon His chosen obedient servants who subordinate themselves to His will.

Even upon those chosen few, He does not confer such prowess for extravagant use but when the compulsions of a situation pose dire necessity for performance of an act of supernatural nature strictly relevant to that occasion so as to save particular situation. This interpretation holds good if we study the powers to perform different types of miracles conferred upon different prophets relevant to the necessities of their eras, their societies and having close relevance to the situations faced by them. This book is not a treatise on that particular subject but to appreciate why and how the Sheikh was forced by the situation to perform, at times, supernatural acts this discussion becomes imperative. It is confined only to such backgrounds hinted at in two chapters of Holy Quran relating the subject of such confirmation upon the two Prophets Abraham and Moses (Peace Be Upon Them).

In chapter 19 (Surah Maryam) discourse between Abraham and his father is precisely given. In Sura Anbiya (chapter xx) verse 69, the Almighty orders fire to be in coolness and safety for Abraham when he was thrown in the flames. In the case of Moses and Jesus, the situation is different, whereas their predecessor great prophet is bailed out by the God Himself. On both the occasions his successors are provided with extra ordinary powers which their peculiar situations required. In the case of Jesus God permitted him to restore to life the dead. In the case of Moses, the brief discourse hinted at in Sura Ta-Haa (chapter 20) verses 17 to 22; disclose the wisdom behind. Those read as:-

"What is that in your right hand O Musa"?

He said: "this is my stick, where upon I lean and with it I beat down the branches for my sheep and wherein I find other uses."

Allah said: "Cast it down, oh Musa."

He cast it down and behold, it was a snake moving quickly. And then he was granted power with which his right hand would shine."

On the one hand, great prophet Abraham is ordained to sacrifice his son Ismail for the sake of his Lord and when He finds the father son duo in utter submission to His will it is He who then orders the substitution for that ordained sacrifice. In that process no miracle is performed by either of those two prophets. In the case of the same Abraham the power behind the nature, the Almighty who has given burning faculty to the fire creats Himself an exception in this conferred nature of the fire and makes it to blossom like soft flowers. He, the creator of fire makes the fire upon His friend the lap of roses. Thus, there was no element of the servant's will or act involved in the change of the nature of fire.

In the case of Moses, a descendent of Abraham and lower in rank, power was given to turn his stick into a dragon and his palm to shine like a bright sun. Though both the powers were conferred by his lord but vested in him, because his society was innovative in inventions. It had developed a culture oriented by magic and innovation. Similar power was conferred upon Moses to counter his opponents. Similarly the age of Jesus Christ was an era of developed medical science. Due to such development, incurable diseases were brought under control, so the prophet was provided miracles which suited appropriately to the psyche of his people. Mohammad (PBUH) is the last messenger of God and so Prophet of an era which is destined to settle on moon. Hence, He was conferred with the power to break the moon so to break with it the superstitions and myths about the stars and satellites. The era of Hazrati Mohammad *(SAW)* is destined to bring under control both the space and time so the miracle of journey within twinkling of an eye from His bedroom to the thrown of God, in high heavens. The scientific inventions in this behalf have established and continue in the process to establish reality in Miraj.

It is in the light of this precise discussion that we have to appreciate

the miracles which have been attributed to the Sheikh. We will have to examine whether performance of such supernatural deeds was highly required by the situation in which the Sheikh had to build the State and "nation" on desired path of righteousness. If the miracles attributed are of such nature which justify not the compulsions but the particular psyche of a particular society in that case we can not suppress our opinions. Such attributed acts can only be the part of legend blended by cult charisma.

If this book makes even a brief narration of the miracles attributed to the Sheikh and examines each such act on the touchstone evolved in above discussions a separate volume will be required to meet the purpose. Herein only a few will be taken as a sample and discussed.

Every revolution is forthwith followed by a counter-revolution. Adam is the founder of the human revolution and it was his son Qabeel who simultaneously countered this process. This practice of action and reaction did never abate.

We have seen in the second chapter that Islam had consolidated its foothold in Kashmir by the start of 10th century but it was scattered, not disciplined and had undergone a sort of automatic growth. Syed Abdur Rehman Shah Bulbul disciplined this growth in a systematic way in 1321-22 AD. But it was by the end of the third quarter of 14th century that Syed Ali of Hamdan revolutionized this process and it appeared to every assessment as if it was he and he alone who introduced Islam in Kashmir, spread it and transformed it into a dominant Muslim society. Such inferences were but logical as Islam in spite of having spread in Kashmir had not till the arrival of the Syed conquered the minds and hearts. It is he who in reality made even the Muslims to think and act as Mussalmans. He left his mission to his successors mainly to Syeds who either had come with him from Central Asia and settled here or came after him with his son and settled here. They established centres of their missionary activities but simultaneously many of them became part of royal court. The two leading successors of Syed Ali viz. his son Mir Mohammad Hamdani and Mir Mohammad Hisari were both great scholars and saints but both cultivated their influence in the Royal Durbar and dragged the mind of Sultan Sikander divergently. The

conflict between these two biggies might have naturally provided sway to careerist Syeds and Ulemas. Consequently, after the disappearance of Mir Mohammad from the scene in 808 AH (1406 AD) and after immediate death of Mir Hissari, the successors of these dedicated missionaries though remained committed to meditation, gnostic practices and pious ways of life, yet could not restrain themselves of mundane influences. The tradition of "guide and seeker" was deeply rooted in the Kashmir society as Kashmiri Hindus were fondly committed to "Guru - Shash" (guide & the disciple) *Parampara* (tradition). The similar school of thought Pir (guide) and Mureed (disciple) has also remained dominant trait of Muslim mystic orders. The Pir would guide his disciples to the intricate paths of spirituality and the Mureed (disciple) would always remain obediently devoted to his Pir. Even the 'mureeds' remained at beck and call of their Pir to such an extent that Mir Mohammad Hamdani son of illustrious saint, scholar, missionary and a towering personality, himself a great scholar and revered saint acted like an inferior servant for his Pir Hazrat Ishaque Khatlani. This institution among Muslims was not a hereditary office but the descendent of rich and higher clan like Syed Ali of Hamdan served obediently **Mazdakani who was neither Syed |descendent of Prophet (SAW)|** nor had any worldly positions.Mazdakani had acquired perfection as a mystic, so Syed Ali, to tread those intricate paths could only seek guidance neither from a man of high descent nor from a worldly rich. He sought it from the one who knew the secrets of that hidden path. According to Quranic mandate:

"Respectable among thou are those who are more pious".

So piety was basis to create the fiduciary relationship of Pir and Mureed. The office of Guru in Hindu society was none other than the Brahmin, the descendent of the Brahma - the Lord of knowledge. Under this local influence the Muslim Pir also converted this institution of spirituality into a hereditary office. The ills of local caste-ism also penetrated into Muslim society under the patronage of the descendents of pioneers of Islamic revolution. Thus counter-revolution emerged from the very sacred precincts of the revolution. This tendency was an encouraging factor for local Sadhu and Brahmin to reconsolidate his shattered position. He had become seriously conscious of the causes

which had created aversion against his predecessors, the religious clerics and had felt to revive his spiritual powers. From the days of Kashyap Reshi, Kashmiri mentality had interpreted the miracles as the manifestation of spiritual eminence so, through yoga practices some local Hindu seers had acquired command upon various supernatural practices. Various Mathas and Ashrams were turned into centres of revivalism and practices of supernatural deeds were adopted as most convenient, effective and appropriate tool to attract the masses. In this background did emerge necessity for the Sheikh to have spiritual discourse 'Mobahalla' with the head of the Boma Zowah Ashram viz. Buma Sadhu. Hereinbefore its details have been described and it has also been described that such discourse had origin in the tradition created by the Prophet Mohammad (SAW) in 9th year of Hijra when the Christian Hermits domiciled in the Hijaz and Yemen, had an encounter with Mohammad (SAW). The incident has been even hinted at in Holy Quran. Following that tradition the Sheikh entered into a spiritual encounter with the Sadhu of Bomazuwa and ultimately stronger, real and matured spiritual conviction prevailed. The immature's vision widened, he realized insufficiency in his system, desired perfection and was led to that perfection by the Sheikh. There was no element of supernaturalism or of a miracle involved. For common perception the result was not intelligible so considered it the result of a miracle and later by 16th century, this incident got evolved into a legendary folk story. Had there been a scholastic discourse between the two, the educated elite could have grasped the force in the argumentations adopted. It was the trial of two spiritual powers, competition of two mystic systems and purely related to the minds rather to wit and wisdom. Hence common sense remained guessing till a legendary tale was blended around.

We have found that the Sheikh's mother at the cave of Kaimoh insisted her son to return to mundane which was resisted politely but the public mind made this insistence too rigid and turned the resistance of the otherside supernatural. Hence certain miracles are reported to have been performed at this critical juncture by the son so as to convince his mother that he had opted for better life style than lustrous worldly life. To convey that argument the situation might have prompted the Sheikh

to make a spring of milk to sprout form the hard substance of huge rock with a mere stroke of his stick. God confers such prowess upon his chosen obedient servants who tune their lives to His dictates. Moses was also given power to create a dragon out of his stick. Circumstances were also compelling as the mother demanded return of the milk with which she had brought him up. The son could not seek displeasure and might have made her conscious to yield to distinctive results than to the psychology of a common mother. But, later the public made insistence and resistance so rigid on both sides that a very unreasonable and undesired miracle is attributed to have been performed. It is reported that the mother insisted to return her the same milk with which his body had grown. The son threw away the whole flesh with skin upon the feet of his mother and stood merely a skeleton. This later part is untenable..

The researchers and the students would separate the chaff from the grain whenever they could get a chance to evaluate these anthologies - Noor Namas and Reshi Namas. But, unfortunately by the end of 19th century, two histories of Kashmir by Pir Hassan Shah Khoihami and Pir Mohi-ud-Din Saraibali made these legendary miracles part of historical accounts and intermingled the fact with exaggerated tales. The former has just to render service to the pivots of his devotion (the saints of Kashmir), edited the third volume "Asrarul Akhyar" - the biography of all the saints of Kashmir from early 14th century to his own times but with emotion rather with judicious discretion. He has not been guided by historicity but by his 'unreasonable' adoration. In doing so, he has rendered dis-service, to the cause. His contemporary Pir Miskeen followed him both in diction and content. With these inherent defects about their approaches, both have made facts about our saints,particularly Reshi Saints, overburdened with the description of exaggerated supernatural deeds. Their description is devoid of facts. It is therefore that this book contains precise data about the successors of the Sheikh. These descriptions both in books of histories and anthologies are mainly confined to their practices of self-mortification and performance of miracles. Following the tradition of the companions of the Prophet (SAW), the Reshi saints of Kashmir too were in a race of undeclared and unintended competition to curb the desires of evil self. The anthologists and chroniclers least grasped the spirit behind such practices of

self-mortification demonstrate their strong will power, their determination and self-control. But, anthologists who recorded these details overburdened the interpretation with a particular strain connected such deeds with supernatural tendencies and interpreted each of such instances as miracles. Many of such miracles performed were necessary to meet the challenges of the spiritual society then prevalent with which the Sheikh was confronted. He had not faced any armed opposition or forceful resistance to spread his mission but had to project spiritual superiority of his mission. That required performance of miracles.

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The Pioneer Environmentalist

During 14th & 15th centuries, the surroundings were universally virgin and greatly uninterfered by the destructive human mind. Kashmir resembled a paradise, the forests were very close even to cities. The area around the Dal Lake was yet un-explored even to the local visitor. The story carried in chronicles and anthologies about the extensive tours of the Sheikh is revealing in many aspects.

It shows that the very picturesque area in between the skirt of Zabarvana and the Dal shores was so dense a forest that when the Sheikh reached near present Dalgate (Srinagar) and his companion Nassar proceeded ahead; the leader cautioned his disciple not to proceed. The disciple asked why? "It is the paradise and we are yet to make sufficient meditation to get ourselves entitled to enter the heaven." It is after two centuries that the Mughal aesthetics discovered this paradise. They dotted the area on the one side with Mughal Gardens and in the same pargana during the period of Aurangzeb the spiritual paradise emerged in front of Zabarvana on the western bank of the Dal Lake in Bhag-e-Sadiq Khan later named as Hazratbal. The virginity of this natural beauty was greatly unruptured even upto this author's childhood. I remember that before the ill devised 'Grow More Food Campaign' lodged and executed by Sheikh Abdullah's government in early 50's, my town Tsarar-I-Sharif was lulled on its north by thick forests. Even the distance from the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din upto to the shrine of Syed Ali at Pakharpora (five miles distance) was being traversed through jungles surrounded on all sides by gigantic Pine and Fir trees. The same area presently looks like a desert. Under that Campaign supra, the axe was encouraged and political concession seekers destroyed this natural bounty. Relevantly this personal information has been quoted only to carry the point that Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's Kashmir was a paradise which had all the bounties of nature undisturbed. In spite the Sheikh had prophetic vision about the future that he connected with stray irresponsible acts of uncultured, uneducated and greatly ignorant inhabitants of Kandi areas. We have mentioned that the J&K Forest department had evolved a verse of Sheikh

Noor-ud-Din as its moto and inspiring guideline through which the department spreads awareness about the import of our forest wealth. The adage of which the authorship is attributed to the saint is: "Wan poshi, Ann poshi" meaning that the food is subsurvient to forests. This chapter shall discuss instances from his Reshi Movement and quote form his poetry. He has consciously fought against disturbance of ecology on his individual level both as poet and preacher, has also organized a disciplined nucleus of dedicated cadres who fought at various levels to safegaurd his environs.

Before we devlve upon the main theme, let's first appreciate the poet's personal involvement with the natural beauty. Logically such deep involvement proves his commitment as an environmentalist. Let us share the poet's sentiments conveyed in this small poem:

گُل چھُے دپان مےٚ کل گیے
أکی ہے جایہِ تہٕ رٔہتھ کبتھ
آسہٕ ہا آدمی پھیرٕ ہانیَے
عالم اَنہٕ ہَن لیَے کبتھ
چھُس ما آدم گوسوضیے
أکی ہے جایہِ وٚوہتھ کبتھ

{The tree laments;

"I am devotionally inclined
(to roam and enjoy around)
Alas I am marred by my static position.
Had I been a human being, would enjoy these meadows,
Would have tuned the universe to my inner muse.
Alas I am not a human being so get decayed,
And am finished in that fixed and stationed position."

The poet gives aesthetic sensibilty to an unliving being, a tree which is in itself part of the nature but in these exciting environs in which it is located, this lifeless being is not only given life in this poem but emotional sense and expression to that sense. The tree envies a

human being who is not fixed to a static position, has power to move and enjoy the beauty of this nature. On the other hand the same lifeless tree expresses its uselessness because it can not enjoys the nature. Thus the poet successfully conveys that the essense of human being squarely lies in the dedicated involement with the natural beauty. Late ML. Saqi, while editing "Kulyati Sheikh-ul-Aalam." has in Aslok No: 274 writen 'Kull' (stream) instead of 'Kol' (tree). The former means a stream, the latter means a tree. Alas he has not been so intelligent to decipher the word correctly because a stream is never stationed at a specific place but runs from the midst of the natural environs.

How the Sheikh has enjoyed nature is succinctly but with brevity conveyed in the this quatrain:

ژو پور پھیو، رُس مشک کو رُم گلن
ڈیو، ٹھُم گُنہِ جایہِ گُل تہِ گُنہِ جایہِ خار
عالمن، ہلن ٹھوُلن تہِ موُلن
اَدِ مے گرمَس کُلن لار

Traversed all the sides extensively,
Somewhere I found rose somewhere thorn.
Universes, creations, superms and roots, did I examine,
Thereby I chased them all.

Here in the relevant discussion we are concerned mainly with first verse in which the poet states to have traversed his country from all sides and conveys the impacts which he received from such visits. Other three verses condense his deep study of nature. It is only such study with which he has been able to chase all. The term all included the study of botanical and zoologcal realities in this nature. The poet has through the eternal reality in the ultimate end of the life conveyed the impact of his involvement with and appreciation of nature. He says:

یار بن مژ پھیو، رُس جنگلس
شراونہِ چھہہ لُج اُوِجہِ ہیے
موختہِ بدوُن تھُوی زِنہِ زَلس

ٹوکھ مازربر لعلس دِیے
رِیٚ کالی ژھبتہٕ گژھ اَتھ لالس
نہ اَدِ شامس پانس پیٚنے

"Extensively I toured in jungles through kail trees,
The warmth of June touched adversely the delicacy of Jasemine.
Distinct are not the pearls (dew drops) to the moisture,
Mere touch shall damage delicacy of diamond.
Sooner the flame of tulips shall extinguish,
The evening occasions but the drowsiness of slumber.

This poem again conveys in relation to his personal experiences the impact which has been laid upon his creative mind. He is so dedicated and involved with the delicacy of jasemine flowers and its soft petal that he wishes to become shield to defend this delicacy against the natural process itself. The temperature of the month of the June when this flower is in full bloom, naturally causes decay to this delicacy. He is equally aprehensive about the delicate dewdrops those resemble like pearls. The sunshine is bound to break this diamond into pieces. Like the Jasemine and dew drops life is also so delicate that its evening is synonimous with the extinguishingment of the flame in tulip gardens.

Certain puritans or the orthodox interpreters have dubbed the retirement of the Sheikh to isolation in cave as abondonment of the world, the hermitage. Though it is totally refutable from his life story and we can safely hold that the Sheikh had choosen the cave as an appropriate stage and office for his mission wherefrom he did preach his philosophy and did run his movement. However, he has himself attributed this retirement to his deep involvement with nature. He says:

اندوَن رؤ زِتھ کند کپاؤم
اَولَے بِنا بنوؤم گوپھے
اُندِ مَل ژِنتھ درشن دیوؤم

قبرِ ہنزِ لحد ہأوم گوپھے

کونگہ تہٕ کوفوٗرِ تَن نأوم

اَشُونچ پرٕ بکتھ سأوم گوپھے

Trans:

(Far from the madening crowd)
In desolate, distant and inaccessible forests,
I established basic mission - the cave.
In that dense forest in isolation, washed the dirt,
And had His vision.
There I experienced the existence in the grave,
In that process got washed my being with pure scents.
So I made the sleeplessness conscience,
To lay in rest but in cave.

Sheikh has composed a descriptive poem describing therein the habits, culture, dress, diet and environs of Kandi areas. Topographically Kashmir valley is divided in various regions viz plains called Payeen area, mountain areas which are usually snow decked and surround as guard around this happy land and thirdly the Kandi where stapple food, i.e paddy is not grown. It is very close to forests. For their inaccessibility people living in these Kandi areas are very poor and live within limited sources. Hence they depend too much on forests and forest production, cattle and herd of sheep. This poem is titled with the refrain verse: "Kanji gaaman bugge tsewey" - the villages in Kandi areas are spiritless. In this poem he has strongly protested against the practice of those particular villagers living in that area whose only source of recreation is to have a picnic in forests and on return they damage the green trees. In this stanza he conveys the protest, warning and his constructive message against such practice:

کنجنِ گامن چھوان زوراوأری

کھسِتھ گژھان وَن وُچھو

ہیتھ وَسان ڈَڈبأری

کنجہِ گامَن بگہِ ژھوے

The youth of Kandi areas demonstrate their valour,
By their urge to enjoy picnic in forests.
But alas on the return they come with headload of wood,
(By sheer damage to this green gold)
Alas spiritless are these Kandi areas.

The people living in these far-flung inaccessible remote areas are by the compulsion of the situation cut off both from culture and education. They had no conception of this green wealth because it was in abundance around them. But, the committed environamentalist within the frame of our patriot poet does not forgive even these ignorant people and through the piercing sarcast mends their habits.

Again he condemns those people who for their recklesness and urge to construct wooden projected edifices of grandeur have caused damage to forest. He says:

ونن تہِ وَنہِ نشہِ لنجے ژچین

کیاہ ژٹتھ لُبکھ ہچن تَل

کندیو مأزِ وپرنگن ڈبن تہِ کوچھن

دبن کیتھہِ نہ بُریوُکھ ژچن تل

شیطأنی اتھہِ وُتھرِ ژچین

حساب ہینکھ پچن تل

While plucking the fruit (particularly almond and walnut)
They recklessly beat the branches of the trees,
Unevenly cause damages and reduce their productivity,
What they have severed?
What fruit they have plucked from those severed branches?
Alas why you have been lured by wooden varandas?
Why have you decorated your house by the wastage of timber?
Why didn't you prefer to live in modesty?
Alas the Satan has mislead you,

Has torn into pieces the record sheet of thy deeds.
Beware that these very wooden planks,
Shall protect thy dead body in the grave,
And under these very planks you will have to render acount,
(In the world hereafter) for the damage you caused to nature.

In this poem the preacher poet has made protection of environment part of the human faith and moral code of conduct. The poet is a Mussalman and Muslim saint. To be more accurate he is poet of Islam and uses his religious code of conduct to preach the morality in the same manner in which Milton uses Christian religious moral code or Tagore conveys his ideas through Hindu mythology or Iqbal uses Muslim political thought to carry his message. Hence we will find too much stress and strain upon Sheikh's poetry of the fear of God and of the accountability in the world hereafter. He has consciously made the commitment with nature and protection of natural surroundings as an inalienable part of Muslim moral code. According to the population figures of his time it was newly convert Mussalman who dominated Kashmir so the poet had to warn him through that very moral code. It is further manifest from this poem that the Sheikh prefers modest living upon such extravagance that harms our environs. This message needs stress in the present-day situation when our extravagance causes destruction to our surroundings.

It is these surroundings of thick forests, huge mountains, wider valleys, lush green pasture grounds and attractive hill skirts which provide eternal solace, comfort, consolation and concentration for gnostic practices, aesthetic tastes and initiative for devotional meditation. It is these environs which have lulled the spiritual urge from Kashyap Reshi till date in the coozy lap of this heaven like abode. In such circumstances one really feels (even he might be less sensitive) that the nature and the Creator of this abundance of beauty deserves devotion, meditation and obedience. The poet has therefore praised those lighthouses who have enlightened their exterior through the light of their interior which they acquired from these surroundings.

پوشہِ متبن نو' رابدالن

خوش کلیمن بوزُ کھ معنے

سنگاسن چھکھ کوہن تہٕ بالن

یمن لعلن مول کُس زانے

Those light-houses who have bedecked themselves with roses,
Who have ingrained capacity to comprehend their sweet words.
Have adorned the hilltops and mountain cliffs as their thrones.
Can one evaluate the worth of those jewels.

Thus the creative faculties of these Reshis, Munees, devotees and saints flourish in and around these surroundings. Their uttered words, either composed in verse form or part of usual conversation in both ways are priceless diamonds. In the second verse the poet says: "*Khosh kaliman boozukh maaney*". They only have understood the wisdom of Quran. The fond lover of nature is led by nature itself to the soul and spirit behind it. It is the nature through which man develops communication with his Creator and receives eternal inspiration from Him.

We have made reference of the madness created by "Grow More Food Campaign" of later 40's and early 50's, have pinpointed what damage it did cause to our environs. The Sheikh had prophecied five centuries earlier the concequences which such madness had in its stock.

ژٹن یارِتہٕ گنڈن وارے

ووَن ہاکھ سوژَل تہٕ کزم

پنگہٕ لوکھرِ تہٕ گُرُس نارے

کھینہِ زَن بہَن یَم

پُنزی بَتہٕ تہٕ واندردارے

یہٕ چھُے کانجل ہُندُے زَم

After this "Grow More Food Campaign' thousands of acres of the forest land was brought under cultivation. The axe of devastation surpassed the limits. The reckless village political concession seeker (who has been nourished from October 1947 on political largesse so as to

contain the valcano of hatred) devised surreptitious means to destroy this forest wealth. During the darkness of nights the roots of those pine and deodar trees were damaged to the extent that green trees decayed in no time. Hence huge chunk of cultivable land was brought under illegal possession. This devastation received further encouragement by politics of occupation. Further it has been accelerated by the huge forces of two countries posing each other with threats, in and around these vast jungles. Later in the second half of the last decade of the last century the denegrade militant diverted the wrath of his gun towards our kail, deodar, fir trees and sprawling chinars. Time demanded to exploit the spiritual popularity of the saint poet and spread waves of consciousness among masses. But, can in this warfield any amount of awareness of its inhabitants protect this wealth? No, unless the hanging sword of Kashmir imbroglio is removed from its head. Presently Jammu & Kashmir is destined for devastation and this heaven is bound to transform into a hell.

We have earlier mentioned that the Sheikh has made the sense of commitment to our surroundings a part of religious ethics and a distinct form of meditation to achieve the goal of spiritual emancipation. Read this six-verse small poem with due care and appreciate the contention.

زاس تہٕ اَمبہ چوم دِہ دارِ، دارو' گوٚ رہم منزلو'

بَڈیوٚس تہٕ تڑ وو ہَس آدار، دارو'لوٚ دہَم واسرو'

بُڈیوٚس تہٕ تھوٚ وہَس وادارِ، دارو' تھوٚ رہَم گُرو'

مُرِتھ منگن کس کیٚا دارِ، دارُت چھُم ہورنو'

On my birth the nature stored milk reservoir with my mother,
A wooden cradle was decorated to lull me to slumber.
I attained youth, was left to wider field to earn.
The forest protected my exhaustion in a wooden hut.
Grew older, was left to neglect of wilderness,
Wooden stick held old, disabled guy erect to walk.
Hereafter liquidaion of this debt is imperative.
(Alas! Why I left this debt unpaid unpaid here?)

In this poem the Sheikh makes the three significant stages of

human life totally subservient and dependant upon forests. God has, for his sustanance created a reservoir of delicious milk in the being of his mother. But, the substitute to that lap which lulls the baby to slumber after breast-feeding is the cradle made of timber. It may even be made of other raw material but all borrowed from the nature. During Sheikh's time and upto very recently we in Kashmir, had for children the walkers and cradles made exclusively of wood. Thus as the child, the man is indebted to the generosity of these forests. The second phase of human life is the youth, the mid of the age during which urge and energy keeps him engaged with the mundane within the respective limits of his socio-economic status. In all respects the characteristic of the social life is the occupation of a residence, an accomodation where after exhaustion this young man or the middle aged person seeks shelter with his family. In the surroundings in which poet lived, the main material for building such shelters is the timber, the forest produce. Even for use of brick the wood is borrowed from the jungle to burn the unfinished bricks and even the stone is provided by nature from quaries within the jungles. Thus at this stage too the man borrows vitality for living form jungles i.e. from the nature. The final stage is of disability when his own family leaves this liability in utter neglect. No one supports him to stand erect or walk around. It is this forest which provides him a stick and with that support he is able to walk. This debt obtained from the nature becomes substitute for his legs that have lost energy.

The poet has not treated these obligations of nature as free gifts but qualifies them as debt. According to Muslim jurisprudence the debt is the first liability to be discharged from the assets of the deceased Mussalman. It is therefore an injunction upon a righteous Muslim to be on pinpricks till he liquidates the debt borrowed may be even of a single penny, lest he dies under the obligation. According to Muslim ethics based on mandatory provisions of Quran, Hadith or the practices of the Holy Prophet and from the practices of great Muslim saints, the sin committed by disobedience of His mandate may be forgiven if the sinner consciously goes for penance. On the other, according to the principles of Muslim ethics, the debt from a fellow being is a mutual transaction between the creditor and the debtor. Such debt if not discharged can not

be forgiven by any manner of penance unless the creditor forgives the debt. Thus the Absolute Creator has left the accountability to the mutual rights and duties inter se the two created objects as their private affair. It is in this ethical philosophy we have to appreciate, understand and eualvate the purport in the last verse of this poem. The poet says:

"Merith mangan kya kas daare, daarut chhum hourno."

In the next world I will be asked to pay the debts to each of my creditors and I am bound to repay. A Hadis is a:

It is reported that the Prophet (SAW) said to his companions that all the sins of a shaheed (Martyr) are washed off with his blood except the debt he owed to the people. It be noted that one who gives his life for the sake of God is not discharged of the debt of his fellow creatures. Let us appreciate the warning of the Sheikh in the background of this moral philosophy.

How in the world hereafter we can compensate the nature for the loss, which we have rendered to it or how we can repay that debt in that world? There will be no means with us and we will have to undergo severe punishmet that will be awarded by Almighty as might be desired by the creditor. Hence, Holy Prophet (PBUH) warned a Mussalman to liquidate all debts before his death. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din connects the theme of this poem with this mandatory provision of Islamic jurisprudence and the mandate of our beloved Prophet. Therefore, in that relation this poem warns a believer to borrow from the nature only to such an extent that he can repay in this world and repay it before he dies under the burden of debt. Now, how to liquidate this debt? A baby has to liquidate the debt of his parents, which they incurred to have a cradle for him. The young man has to repay the debt of that timber which he had utilized to construct a shelter for him and his family. The old hag has to liquidate the debt of that single stick which helped him to stand erect or walk erect. The devoted can discharge this debt, as forests are concerned, by plantation before he dies, lest he is punished for non-payment of his burden of debt.

The Sheikh is further so devoted to wild life that he considers the lions, jackals, foxes etc as his family member.

گو پھِ چھُم کوٚرمُت گچھ تَے
ہیہہ تَے شال چھِم باٚژہے
واٚنس وبٕژم پَچھ تَے
دیو یَچھ چھِم خٔدماٚژہے

I have painted the cave, the abode of my meditation,
With the paint of my sincere urge.
The lions and jackals are here my family members.
I consider life as brief as if a fortnight,
Thereby the jinnies and spirits are at my beck and call.

Pertinent is to remind the reader the conversation of Baba Nassar with the Sheikh(supra).The seeker poses four questions the last being that the wife is the only best comfort. The reply from the saint once again proves his committment with forests. He though did not dispute the preposition nonetheless asserted that the best comfort was in the company of jungles.

Let us produce here the summing up of some incidents in the Reshi movement which developed as a working discipline in it due to the directions provided by the Sheikh himself and later on extended by the practices of his four Caliphs.

Baba Neeki Reshi has been the disciple of the great woman reshi saint Sanga Bibi who had acquired this greatness due to guidance provided to her by Baba Shakoor-ud-Din. Hazrat Zain-ud-Din Wali, the second caliph of the Sheikh, guided Baba Shakoor to the zeniths of sainthood. Thus Baba Neeki was great grand disciple of the Sheikh. He was heading the reshi centre for pargana Khoihama (present Bandipore area) at a place called Boothu. It has a picturesque location, situates in dense forests upon the banks of Madumati rivulet overlooking the magnificience of the Wullar Lake. In pursuance to the teachings of his great grand master Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, Neeki would daily entertain the beasts of the jungle and fed them with the flesh of sheep and goat, which the reshi centre would receive as token of tribute. Nauroz Mir, the tyrant District Collector was passing by that side. The incharge of the centre Baba Neeki had provided the daily quota of flesh to the lions and other

smaller wild beasts, the Baba found that one of the lions had usurped the share of foxes and jackals, rebuked the stronger beast and loudly said: "Have you become tyrant like Nauroz Mir that you usurp the rights of the weaker." Nauroz Mir overheard it and felt ashamed that even in the hermitages his cruelty has become proverbial. He entered into the centre felt at the feet of Baba Saheb who guided him to spiritual eminence. This historical anecdote of early 17th century has been quoted herein to convey the point that the protection of wild life was one of the main clauses of manifesto evolved by reshis as their code.

Earlier during 15th century, an officer of the Sultan Zain-ul-Abideen viz Payam-ud-Din from village Tsundun in pargana Laar (present Ganderbal Tehsil) was proceeding from his official residence towards jungle for hunting. It was mid December, the winter was fast approaching, upon a horse-back he was going upon a narrow path that he found a caravan of ants proceeding eagerly ahead. Apprehensive that they might get trampled came down from the horse and stopped a while. While standing he observed that those ants were too eager and swift to store the stocks for coming winter lest the snowfall might deter them to come out of their holes. The civil servant received a lesson from those ants and felt apprehensive. He would also be sooner confined to the grave and felt that he had not stored any stock for the next world. This idea haunted him too much and repeatedly. He immediately called at the place of leading saint Zain-ud-Din Wali and under his guidance became Baba Payam-ud-Din. His grave is the centre of reveration and lakhs of pilgrims visit that shrine in Tangmarg area every year. This observation is the main lesson we have derived from the teachings of the Sheikh. It is the essence of reshi teachings that His creation should be protected and cared. The reshi did never tolerate any excess upon human being, have protested against such excesses and even have offered sacrifices. They have equally undergone hazards to feed animals and even carried headload of salt from Poonch area to the meadows and fed the livestock with necessary doze of salt lest they might develop diseases. They have tamed with their service the wild animals and beasts. Near Hoonchipora village he found some girls uprooting with knives various wild forest vegetables like lilac. The

Sheikh warned them: "Why art thou killing the living being, you will be directed in the world hereafter to revive them into life, you will fail and will be punished as murderers. "These girls retorted in the same manner and warned the preacher that he was striking the iron case of the bottom of his stick with the ground thereby killed hundreds of living being. The Sheikh felt alarmed and removed the iron case from his stick. This and similar incidents have been interpreted by some pseudo scholars that the Sheikh had a Buddhist bent of mind. There might be such influence including other influences upon the thinking of the saint poet but it is with stress impressed that such ideas, thoughts, preachings and sermons have origin to his deeper commitment with his environs and dedication with nature.

A precise mention is relevant here that the only facet that remained imbibed with the Reshi Movement even after its decay was its continued committment with general plantation which historian Abul Fazal (Akbar's Minister) records with pride. In the chapter entitled: "Idias & Ideals of Reshiyat" we are to contain details under sub-heading: 'Hypocrisy' as how the Sheikh exposed a hypocrite Reshi as he got annoyed with his form of meditation that disturbed the bees which were collecting flovor in the close vicinity of that trunk of Chinar tree in which the Reshi was meditating. The weaver Reshi had fixed his weaving loom in the same trunk to pretend that he lived as a saint who earned his sustenance and simustaneously meditated.

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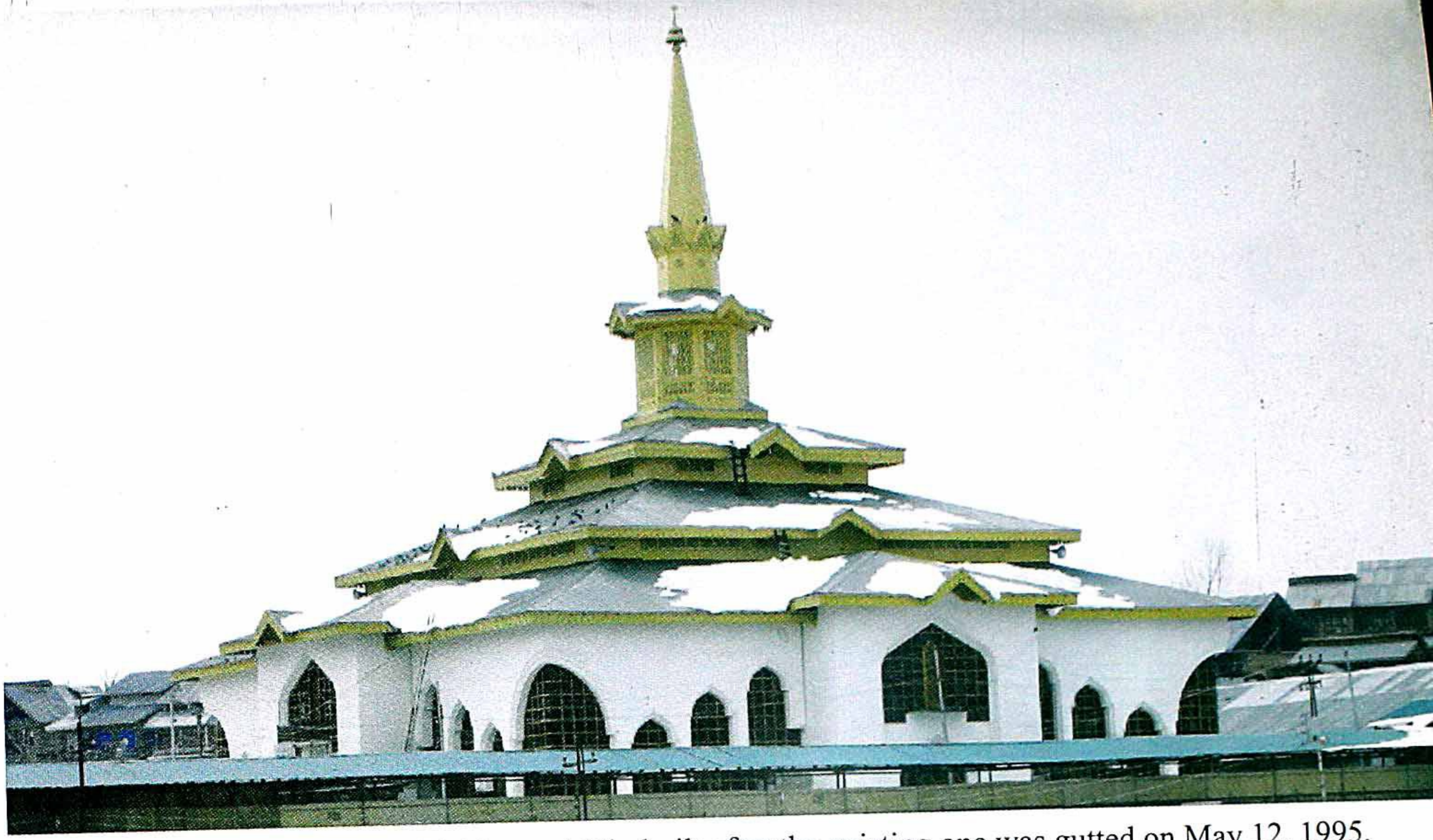
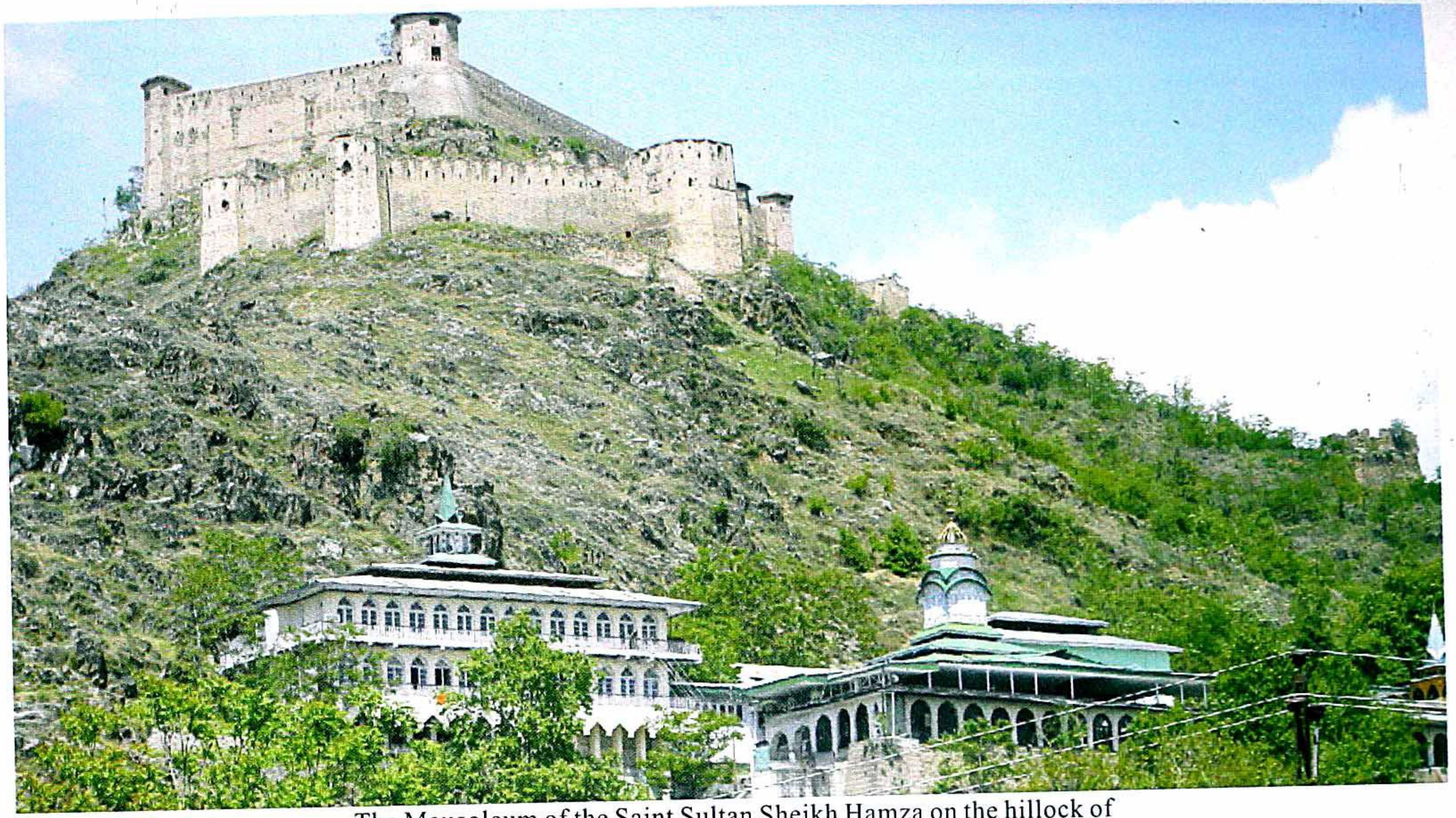


Present Shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din built after the existing one was gutted on May 12, 1995.

Narrow, dark and deep cave dug in the rockSequence of snow white to greenish quartz – arenite in Ashmuqam Wherein Baba Zain-ud –din meditated, and disappeared. The shrine (cover) Stands on it believing the saint buried there.



The Mausoleum of the Saint Sultan Sheikh Hamza on the hillock of Hariparbat in the skirt of the Fort overlooking the City of Srinagar

The Mausoleum on the grave of Bam-ud-Din inVillage Bumazowa

Symbol of Kashmiryat

Before this topic is given treatment, we must know what Kashmiryat means, when was the term coined, wherefrom this coined term originated. I was myself on the editorial board for Kashmir - Kashmiri dictionary (a project of J&K State Academy) but this word or term did not come across to the team of junior scholars who edited and the senior scholars who guided. It finds no mention in the relevant volume of that dictionary. Thus this term is but a very recent one as the dictionary project concluded in 70's of the last century. The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature (I.E.L project of Sahitiya Akademi, New Delhi) of which I was editor of Kashmiri section, too did not include this term because it had not even been mentioned anywhere in our literature. That project too covered 80's of the 20th century. Hence this phrase got coined only within last two decades.

Like the rest of India, people of J&K rose against autocracy in 1931. The main target of the struggle was pinpointed as accountable governance i.e. Zimadar Nizamai Hakoomat. To be precise the main object was to achieve democratic rule. Like every struggle or movement, this struggle in J&K was initiated, organized, manned, run and nourished with blood by the down trodden, the victim of misrule, the discriminated. The ruler was a Hindu whereas the great majority of subjects were Muslims. It provided contrast of southern principality Hyderabad were ruler was a Muslim and the ruled constituted upon Hindu majority. Though only a few dynasties among Hindus constituted the privileged class but the Brahmin, being the revered community, on the whole considered itself privileged. Rajputs considered themselves as part of ruling family. Other two lower castes either for their complex or for communal orientation remained in confusion. In 1817 AD, the majority (more than 90%) community of Mussalmans were terribly terrorised. Even their worship places were subjected to sacrilege. The successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh issued orders from Lahore to blast with dynamite the most revered Muslim spiritual centre Khanqahi Mo'ala. Attachment

of the people with it can be realised to mark that the Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has worked as voluntary labourer in its first construction by the start of 15th century. Even Kashmiri Pandit offers daily obeisance at this pivot of general reveration. It is due to the active intervention of Pandit Raj Dhar (the Governor of the Sikh ruler) that the order remained unexecuted. Another great mosque, the masterpiece of stone work, Shahi Mosque was turned into a stable. The majority community was treated like beasts. In 1846 English sold Kashmir to a Jamm Rajput soldier along with its people. Kashmiri Pandit was by his position, command and literacy the privileged and remained in misconception that his privilege was inalienable from the autocratic rule. The victim of terror rose, offered sacrifices, filled jails, turned many maidans as martyr cemeteries. He did not agitate to install Quranic rule but demanded accountable governance under the same Hindu ruler. Till 1946, the demand was clear that Maharaja Bahadur should continue as ruler but as constitutional monarch. The Quit Kashmir Movement launched by Sheikh Abdullah against Maharaja proved ultimately a tutored and futile agitation to engage the majority community in futility at the critical time of Indian independence. In both the cases with the Hari Singh as constitutional head or with an elected constitutional head - the movement and struggle was for democracy - not confined to the benefit of the Muslim majority, but for all the communities, castes and regions. Thus it was from very inception a political movement. Cunning neo-colonial interests highjacked this movement. The leadership was corrupted and instead of touching the destination of democracy J&K fell in the web of intrigue, it became a confusing imbroglio, it was partitioned, the two armies turned it into a permanent war field, its environs got destroyed, the paradise turned into a hell but people were lured that they shall be united as they were and shall get the guaranteed opportunity to decide their destiny. Sooner they found themselves sandwiched in between the intransigent India and 'undecided' Pakistan. The right guaranteed was denied. On the other, rulers were imposed by fraud of proxy. People in spite of so great struggle are yet to install or remove a government. New Delhi and Islamabad divided parts of Kashmir to be ruled by their imposed agencies. The remedy? Struggle for self-determination. This right to be

obtained for all communities, castes, creeds regions etc. But again minority community found itself in timely advantage. It has been cultivated in their minds (logically acceptable as well) that plebiscite and democratic rule both mean and connote verdict by majority i.e. Rule of Muslims. Hence it is felt by majority community that Hindus are for status quo-to continue with the imposed uncertainty, consequent misrule and unwanted occupation. The struggle of plebiscite is, by manifesto a movement for democracy. What sort of rule can be chosen by the people, that is a subsequent stage - after the decision through plebiscite. But unfortunately for last few years the struggle for plebiscite is being Islamised. In our view it is clear hypocrisy to say with same breath that people - Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Christians, Kashmiris, Jammuites, Ladakhis, Kargalites, Gilgities, Ponchies etc all have to decide future of the state and simultaneously the claim (in the same breath) that the struggle is a holy war of Islam. It cannot be denied that this struggle from 1931 till date is manned, run and lead by Muslims. It might be interpreted as Jihad because wars fought by Mohammad (SAW) particularly war on Mecca were all fought to maintain the conditions and terms of the truce agreements. In that sense struggle to compel the execution of promises with the people of J&K can be construed as Jehad. But it is not war for Islam as has been, by a section of leadership, off and on declared. Such slogans and strains on the movement politically derailed the struggle from its defined path. This derailment on that side provided material to the other side to malign the movement on world level and argue its connections with Pan-Islamic Movement. So to counter it, that side imported ambiguous slogan of Kashmiryat to confuse Kashmiris. Pakistan has not failed to check this derailment but also contributed to it.

In the light of this discussion 'Kashmiryat' is an imported slogan but those authors of the slogan are themselves confused to explain it. In the confused state of mind they connect this conception with the tolerant culture of Kashmir. But is Kashmir only the tolerant part of the world? Isn't religious tolerance a facet of Indian-ness - the culture which has been the essence of the co-existence among the various communities living in Indian sub-continent. Hence a quality which is a common trait

of the culture of whole sub-continent cannot be considered a distinguishable identity of Kashmir only.

The word: "Kashmiryat' denotes certain qualities of the region and its people which make it distinguishable from other regions and nations. In this behalf as a keen student of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's poetry and his contribution to the evolution of present Kashmir culture, this author has dived deeper in Kashmir history to collate and edit such values which knit together as links in a connecting chain that forms a distinguishable material temperament of Kashmir populace. It is such a 'distinguishable' national temperament of Kashmir which can be qualified as KASHMIRYAT.

It is not our case that he is the pioneer of those values or any of them. Being a student of law let me convey my point through a comment of Sir Abdur Rahim, a great jurist of the sub-continent. He writes on Mohammadan jurisprudence in his book: "Principles of Mohammadan Jurisprudence" (Lahore - 1958)

> "It would not be correct to suppose that Islam professed to repeal entire customary law of Arabia and repealed it together with new laws. The fact is that the ground work of Mohammadan legal system is to be found in the customs and usages of the people among whom it grew and developed."

Similarly, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din did not annul the existing values nor did he propound any new moral theories but he made Islamic teachings akin to the mental appetite of his people. So, planted those values within the mental framework of Kashmir psyche. Now let us appreciate those values with particular reference to the Sheikh, link those pearls of values in a thread of common blending. We will, therefore, examine whether so connected links form a distinguishable chain of values.

Discussing the influence of local mystic systems upon the evolution of Reshiyat we are to study all those systems which developed under monotheistic strains. The Sheikh explained through his life style, teachings, poetry and advices the spirit of Tawhid. The Sheikh made this belief the cornerstone of our way of life. Though some orthodox

summary assessment has dubbed the mode with which people of Kashmir revere the friends of God (the saints), as deviation from strict Tawhid but if we go deeper such assessments is unfounded.

Self-mortification has been the essence of all forms of meditation during all phases of influence. The Reshi movement, under the guidance of the Sheikh imbibed this hard task in the metaphysical psyche of Kashmir to the extent that prescription of simple diet, simple living and simple behaviour dominated the code of conduct of every spiritual activity in both the leading communities - Muslims and Pandits. It should not be inferred from this statement that Tom, Dick and Harry all do adhere to this cultural trait. But this strain in metaphysical culture has reflected influence in the physical culture as well. A deep sense of reverence exists in all social layers for that devoted class which is respected for their self-mortification. It is thus, that the emotional commitment with seers and sooth-Sayers has been a strain upon Kashmir from the days of Kashyap Reshi till date. Sir Lawrence has in *"Valley of Kashmir"* described many instances of such commitment which he personally witnessed.

Though we find many instances of intolerance in between two sects or two facets of one and the same religious set-up, but Kashmir has trailed behind a culture of utter tolerance, understanding, co-existence and amity between the two dominant religious communities. The cruel feuds between Buddhists and Savists have left black scars on Kashmir history. Similarly, the Shia-Sunni intolerance during 16th century, its sad influences, the confrontation (sometimes, violent) between Hanafies and Ahal Hadis sects or the brutal attacks upon Jamat-i-Islami cadres in the seventies of last century are such sad tales which show inter-community intolerance. But Kashmir has established itself as the living laboratory of mutual understanding, tolerance, amity and peaceful co-existence. This trait of Kashmiryat has, at times, in the course of history, faced tense challenges. In 1947, at the eve of Indian partition, the values in Indian-ness, the cultural heritage of amity evolved under the influence of saints and seers too could not withstand the onslaught in the Sub-Continent. But at this critical stage, even Mahatma Ghandi 'saw a ray of hope' from Kashmir. It was due to the practices, seminars, trainings and teachings of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din at a similarly challenging

drive of historical course by the end of 14th century that the link of fosterage between the two communities fostered by yogni Lal Ishwari (Lal Arifa) was made a trait of our national behaviour. This aspect has been specially dealt in this book, repitition is avoided, and however I quote only a few verses in this behalf.

In a didactic poem he condemns those as heavenly censored creature who divide the two sons from the same parents - Hindus and Muslims. In other similarly didactic poem usually recited in mosques and shrines the Sheikh begs from his Lord to be bestowed with the same bliss with which He has blessed a Hindu mute girl from village Loke Bhavan (Anantnag). This strain is found in pre-Muslim period also. We have in 2nd chapter of this book exposed the misnomer that Islam came in Kashmir only after 1320-21 AD but have shown that Kashmir was multi-community society from tenth century. As early as in 1080 AD, Maharaja Kalash Deva allotted contract of fixing of golden pinnacle upon a famous Mandir and Maharaja Annant takes military aid from Muslims under the command of General Mosa when Dangras put his country to disastrous unrest. Even Sultan Sikandar during the youth of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din gets constructed a Mandir in Mattan, though this King is dubbed as iconoclast. It is effect of this cultural essence that the great missionary Syed Ali Hamdani in 1387 AD devises special meditation based on excerpts from Quran but allowed its loud recitation in mosques in the same tune in which Brahmins used to sing hymns in praise of lord Shiva. In the whole Muslim world, no loud recitation is allowed in mosques except in Nimaz but in defference to local psyche that great missionary allowed such innovation. The tune and melody of this prayer prescribed by Syed Ali (Aurad) did gradually spell bound members of other community (i.e. Pandits) to the extent that the strain of Tawheed (monotheism) penetrated deeper. Its impact latter, became so historic that the 16th century saint and scholar Baba Nasib Ghazi would offer Fateha at Shamshan Ghats.

This strain remained upon all cultural facets. The mystic orders prevalent here, deviated in many matters from their set doctrines followed in other countries, even in the countries of the sub-continent. Qadiri mystic order strictly advise the clan members not to take beef

whereas even in the countries of the sub-continent the Qadiri Sheikh's take only the beef. Kashmiri Pandit shall not take mutton except Halal - which is butchered in accordance with Muslim tenets by a Muslim only.

Kashmiri literature has developed totally under this strain. Let us study mystic poetry of Shams Faqir, Shah Gafoor, Ahad Zargar, Samad Mir or others, we will find this theme dominant. In romantic poetry of Mehjoor, Azad, Arif, Faazil, Aariz and Nadim; theme of harmony has been blended with love lore and lyricism.

The third significant cultural trait of Kashmir is the general commitment of its people with natural beauty. Kashmiris have therefore developed a social habit of picnics and excursions. Even condolence meeting turn into a social festival. This trait has developed due to peculiar geography and generosity of nature. These environs have created a deep sense of appreciation in the creation. It is therefore that our saints, seers, spiritualists and even scholars and poets remained too much committed to these environs. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din in a poem curses those reckless village youths who go on picnic to forests and on return bring green timber, thereby cause damage. This warning was necessitated by the extravagant strain upon picnic behaviour. In 1565 AD, Hussein Tsak the then ruler got murdered two eminent Sunni Jurists on a day when whole population of the city had gone on 'Dal Sail' - (visit to enjoy the beauty of Dal Lake in house boats with their families). If we go deeper, we will find the background to religious festivals too much connected with the enjoyment of natural beauty. The Pandits celebrate 'Naurey' at the outset of spring to enjoy the almond buds. Sikh festival of Baisakhi commences with the opening of Mughal Gardens. The very location of Hazratbal, Aishmuqam, Baba Shakoor, Reshi Sahib, Tsrari Sharief, Tsimer etc Muslim shrines elucidate the commitment to nature as at all these shrines festivals are celebrated with same fervour. The famous 'Bud Maule' (larger festival) of three days at Yejibror, Islamabad and Achawal on consecutive three days was till recently demonstration of our commitment with picnics and nature. It is on such basis that Kashmiris called each other sarcastically as 'Mele Met' - fond lovers of festivals. This practice too has been consolidated into a cultural trait by the Sheikh and his Reshi cadres. I repeat herein the stress he has laid on this theme

particularly in this shruk.

The saints, fondly committed to flowers,
Have only understood the heavenly revelations.
Their thrones decorate hilltops, mountain peaks,
Who can assess the value of their eminence?

Fourth distinct trait of Kashmiryat lies in its hospitality. Readers will sooner come across the specific treatment given under the sub-title of 'Hospitality' in the life style devised by the Sheikh. This social value is so deeper in our behaviour that at certain times, it becomes aggressive too. Sometimes hospitality encroaches the freedom of the guest. Even during calamities guest is treated with kindness and receives special treatment. On 5th of December 1991, my house was raided by Border Security Force and Assam Rifles. For full dark night we; myself, my wife and three daughters were terribly harassed. During this harassment we served them with hot cups of tea under candlelight. They in return scattered my manuscripts.

Fifthly, Kashmiris are neither philanthropist nor misers. They by their national behaviour are spendthrifts. They cannot donate generously for constructive purposes but waist lakhs in multi-cousine wazwan and other social functions. This strain is so deep that the Sheikh dubbed it as Hinduisation of Muslim society. He was terribly against casteism, superstitions and habits of wastage dominant in Brahmin society. He warned Muslims against penetrations of these customs in their society but its impact is so deep that the teachings and tense warnings of the Sheikh have been ignored in this behalf. Social reformers do carry with the thread taken by the Sheikh in 14th, 15th centuries and at many historical occasions mended the social behaviour for some time. But this habit is so deep into social behaviour that all reformations have been defied.

Sixth distinguishable cultural trait is the commitment for home. 'East or West, home is the best' is a universal trait but Kashmiri has in this manner, a peculiar behaviour. Kashmiri trader has remained dominant in Bengal trade form early 18th century. Kashmiri Shawl is an item of necessity with a Bengali. Kashmiri trader spends six months there every year but is so committed to his nest that he has not acquired

immovable property there. On the other hand Marwari came to Calcutta much after Kashmiri but owns considerable assets in Bengal.The similar is case with our fruit traders who had deeper trade contacts with the Punjab so remained part of economic life in the cities of Lahore, Rawalpindi and Amritsar. They would return as soon the sparrows would return Kashmir. He would spend half of his earnings on house rent but would not own his house lest he lost interest in his nest in this valley. However, only such Kashmiri settled in the plains who migrated under the compulsion of political terror or due to natural calamities, never to return for rehabilitation.

This commitment to his nest opened for him the only way of investment and that continues with the construction of big houses. Our readers would grasp the strain of this habit upon Kashmiris during our discussions on Sheikh's poetry. Mirza Haider Duglat (Kashmiri) the first Mughal invader writes in the history authored by him in 16th century that he found plenty of 4 or 5 storied houses in the valley. Those houses were neither of the state nor of rich lords but of common people. Even today within seven days of their marriage the newly wedded couple plans construction of a house of their own though the groom might be the only son of a father owning one or two bungalows.

Sympathy is yet another dominant trait of Kashmiryat. Human being is a creation of love. So, the sympathy bears essence of his construction. But in this respect, Kashmir society retains till date such strains which are distinguishable. It has specially origin in the teachings of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and practical preaching of Reshis. The only exported item of necessity for Kashmir has been the salt which would be brought from the Punjab by porters on their shoulders. In absence of salt dosage, hundreds of animals would perish after every winter. Reshis had taken this upon themselves to earn from hard labour some money, descend the hills of Pir Panchal and go up to Thana Mandi in Rajouri district wherefrom he would purchase twenty seers (18 Kgs) of rock salt for one rupee, carry it as head load, traverse this difficult hill terrain through zigzag and dangerous mountain cliffs and would wander in the meadows of Kashmir to administer the powdered salt dozes to the livestock. On the demise of any one in the locality, the Mohalla people involve themselves voluntarily for the performance of religious rites,

digging of grave, wash of the deceased and even feed the family and their relations assembled from farther places for a couple of days - presently for three days. The food served to the bereaved family bears a special distinct name which term 'Poin Bate' has become a oft used term of our Kashmir lexicon. The urbanisation elsewhere has eroded such human quality. In a posh colony inhabited by migrants from different origins, different standards, different behaviours and different places to a great extent eroded the sentiments of sympathy or at least have imposed such strains upon this quality that man's nature as social animal is falling under challenges. But to a Kashmiri, for whom, 'sympathy' is inherited legacy, colonisation or urbanisation have lesser effects. Even in Posh colonies, the 'Mohalla Relief Committees' volunteer complete service to a bereaved family, at least for three days on a death of a person.

Last but not the least, the identity of Kashmiryat is Kashmiri language which preaches values and through which these values get reflected. The two are so interlinked that the survival of the both is inter-dependent upon each other. Kashmiryat is a thought projected, propagated, preached, prosecuted and prescribed by Kashmiri literatuers from Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali till my Junior contemporary literatuers.

These discussions will show that the slogan of Kashmiriat might be an imported bluff but it can be consolidated into a disciplined cultural trait of Kashmir as it is connected with the teachings and practices of our patroit saint. We can not attribute to him any such conception which bears sole connection with a particular land as to him Islam is the only code to govern life style of individual and the society.

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"Cementing Link"

Valley of Kashmir has been an independent country with its distinct geography, culture, language and universal identity as the paradise on earth. Present Jammu division (what during Maharaja rule was known as Jammu Province) was never before a unified administrative unit. It was a cluster of smaller principalities of which, two and half districts of Jammu division viz. Kathua, Jammu and half of Udhampur districts formed Dogra Desh. In Kathua too Basohli, Bilawar and Bani Tehsils were independent principalities. So was the case with Ramnagar and Reasi sub divisions of present Udhampur district. Even, neither the third wazarat of the then Jammu province (pre-October 1947) viz. Mirpur nor the Poonch principality ever formed part of Jammu state voluntarily. So was case with the third wazarat (sub division) in the then Kashmir province viz. Muzaffarabad which was not part of the valley. Kishtawar, presently a district of Jammu division too was up to mid 19th century an independent state.

Similarly present Ladakh and Kargil districts formed part of united districts of Frontier - a third administrative unit of Maharajas of Jammu & Kashmir. These entire frontier districts viz. Leh, Kargil, Drass, Askardo, Gurez, Chitral, Honza, Yasin, Gilgit etc were independent principalities which were under military actions conquered by Gulab Singh and his army chief General Zorawar Singh and were made part of that country of J&K which was sold by English colonial rulers to Gulab Singh along with the people for paltry sum of few lakhs of rupees. Thus none of these units had a voluntary amalgamation. Gulab Singh also purchased his home region under Amritsar Treaty of 16th March 1848. Its first Article describes this alienated property as: ".... All the hilly mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river INDUS and westward of the river RAVI...."

As for as the princely states of extreme north are concerned, Baltistan was conquered by Dogra forces in 1840, Gilgit was taken into

Dogra control from 1850 to 1890 and the Buddhist Kingdom in Ladakh was defeated and so was annexed with Dogra ruled country in 1834 AD. The major portion of these northern districts which formed the constituents of United Districts of Frontier including Ladakh and Kargil are part of Indian controled J&K and Drass do presently fall under the direct administrative control of Government of Pakistan. In Para 204 of its landmark judgement, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir High Court at Muzzafarabad directed the Government of Azad J&K to immediately assume the administrative control of those erstwhile parts of United Districts of Frontier. But till date the verdict remains only a piece of lego-political literature of Kashmir. Presently only Ladakh and the parts of Askardu viz. Drass, Kargil and Gurez are with Indian occupied J&K whereas the bulk is Pakistan occupied. Out of the Baltistan sub divisions Gurez has been subjected to germandering to its disadvantage by making it part of Baramulla district and thus forms part of the valley. Similarly Kargil and Drass for many reasons are closely knit with the valley. It is thus only Ladakh (Leh district) where from the very beginning a tendency of separation and alienation worked together. In Jammu division there are forceful four streams of varied aspirations. Dogra belt complains about regional imbalances and agitate that valley leadership has deprived this belt of its genuine share in the spheres of development works, representation in services etc. There in that belt the Punjabi speaking population, particularly Sikhs are greatly unsatisfied in particular with Dogra domination. Going beyond Dogra belt in Poonch and Rajouri districts, there are four types of conflicting strains upon mass mentality. Kashmiri speaking population feels culturally suffocated, politically brow beaten and economically exploited. Gujjars openly express their grievances both against Srinagar and Jammu. Punjabi speaking people in the town districts have been made to accuse Gujjars of grabbing lion's share.

Here the valley people compare Srinagar of 1947 with the Jammu city of that year and make comparative studies between Kashmiri towns of Baramula, Sopore and Anantnag with Kathua and Udhampur and plead discrimination. Particularly they agitate that the valley is ruled as a colony whereas Jammu Hindu are participants in the development of Indian democratic institutions. They particularly pinpoint that so far

three Jammu Hindus were elevated to the Indian Supreme Court and non-from Kashmir. Even no Kashmiri Pandit was given such job. Again in Jammu the Muslim district of Doda agitates its separate identity from Dogra Jammu. Within this hill district the Hindu dominated town of Baderwah has more than once expressed un-satisfaction and lack of safety. Presently we will ignore more than one-third of J&K, which forms Pakistan affiliated Azad Kashmir and areas directly administered by Pakistan - the erstwhile segments of United Districts of Frontier in J&K principality. We will take care of the present three units viz; the valley, Ladakh region and the Jammu division. The first question arises; whether these per force or by fraud "brought together peoples" could be considered a nation? Have these units, after forcible union evolved unity of minds??

It is manifest that these three regions had no common link language but had to adopt one which is foreign to all the three i.e. Urdu. It has also become the official language. But all the communities living in these regions adopted this language as their medium to converse in different regions with open heart, voluntarily and without any authoritarian force. As English was imposed by rulers of India, this link language of J&K was not imposed as it was neither spoken language of rulers nor they had any sentimental attachment with it. Both rulers and ruled adopted it as a necessity. Thus the subjects of Dogra rulers expressed through it their common aspirations which broadly connected them together. Had, on the other hand, Dogra rulers imposed Dogri the reaction in other linguistic areas would have widened the gulf.

The Durbar Move introduced by Maharaja Rambir Singh a century ago created on the one hand close physical contacts between the people of Kashmir and Jammu, on the other connected Ladakhies and Kargalites with both capital cities - Srinagar and Jammu. These connections fostered even a sort of family relationship among the people of different regions. It created a joint economical ventures for three regions.

The Banihal Cart road connecting Srinagar with Jammu and making this highway the gateway of physical contacts, trade links, pleasure trips etc made the two regions economically interdependent. This dependence has evolved such congenial atmosphere as is found in separated families living under a single roof.

Kashmir, the paradise on earth, has worldwide fame as tourists resort. It is not a recent development but centuries old fame. Jammu, thus as part of this universal goodwill, is not only the sharer in this fame but its first beneficiary. The first market of Kashmir Handicraft is Jammu and so the fame in Kashmir dexterity provided a good chance for Jammu skill to flourish. Similarly, Ladakh is dependent on Kashmir and the recognition of Kashmir Pashmina and Shahtoosh masterpieces are in existence due to the raw material from that northern region. The goat fed in Cheshule and ibex roaming in Nobra would die unnoticed of their value but for artistic skill of Kashmiri woman and weaver, this rough collection of Ladakh dominates world aesthetics. The subject requires sufficient detail which might overburden my main theme. To be precise the three regions have blended their rational aspirations with emotional patriotism. This synthesis of thinking, aspirations and interests though did not mould a distinct culture which could be specially qualified as Jakshir (Jammu Kashmir Culture) but it leads to a process of give and take. It is this process which left imprints of Kashmir culture upon the Dogra and Buddh cultures and equally received influences there from. Besides, a common geography, common political past, present and future and common interdependent economy, these three regions have certain common national habits.

Meditation, mortification of self, fear of supernatural power, accountability of actions of this world in one or the other form, mutual understanding, forbearance and tolerance are in one or the other manner essence of all the three cultures of three regions. If even Gandhi could see a ray of hope in Kashmir when the whole sub continent was in utter communal madness, Jammu has demonstrated this character in very challenging situation in too recent past. It is a fact that on 6th November 1947 the soil of Jammu did turn red with the innocent blood of its Muslim population but I have reasons to hold that it was not Jammu Hindu who did it, it was neither R.S.S. nor Parja Parishad nor the communal Hindu who initiated. It was a political plan manoeuvred by New Delhi, executed by the Prime Minister of J&K Mehar Chand Mahajan and connived by the so-called nationalist party of J&K waiting in corridors to occupy power. This topic requires a separate treatment which cannot be contained herein.

Continuing with the theme, I invite observers to assess for themselves, during the observation of Meelad Function, the mourning processions of Muharram and from the Muslim participation in Losar, or at Budh Jayanti and other Buddhist festivals in Ladakh the strain of communal harmony in that region. It is there only, that Sonam Gyalson's widow mother married a Muslim who brought up the orphan 'pichkala' (Sonam) as true Buddhist. He died, leaving behind his two minor sons Qayoom and Yaqub. The stepbrother Sonam Gyalson brought up those two as true Muslims educated them to the extent that Yaqub occupied high position in J&K civil services.

It is after 1947 (after communal division of India) that Indian politics imported intriguing policies to disintegrate this political geography. I will not hide my finding that it has been Indian National Congress and particularly Nehru-Ghandi dynasty that initiated, carried ahead and encouraged this mischief. This topic also requires a separate treatment. It is the inner strength in the common interests which in spite of this continued onslaught keeps the three united. There is hardly any popular support for disintegration. Although the statecraft from 26th October 1947 till date in India fed by Indian (so-called) secular medium has dubbed Dogra as murderer of Jammu Muslims but I have myself found in Jammu migrant pockets at Sialkot (Pakistan) and among elderly citizens of Mirpur do possess immense love for Jammu. Equally the Jammu Dogra is keenly interested in the welfare of that erstwhile part of Jammu province.

In spite, of a deep-rooted campaign of hatred created, engineered, encouraged and unabatedly carried on by both our elder brothers - India and Pakistan, there is popular support for strengthening the cause of unity. This sacred cause has charisma in it and so requires involvement of a hero, most acceptable popular figure, who can become pivot of the three streams of unity, who can be the common hero. It can neither be Zainulabidin Budshah nor Raja Jambu Loochan and nor Renchan Shah. Though Zainulabidin had married Jammu princess and was assisted by Jammu Raja to defeat his uncle Sultan Ali Shah but in spite has no relevance either for Jammu or for Ladakh. Jambulocha has no relevance either in Srinagar or in Leh. Renchan a Buddhist prince, refugee from Ladakh established the first ever Muslim kingdom in Kashmir but no

charisma for his person is found in either region. Besides, he has no relevance for Jammu people. In this process of elimination finally we can consider the person of Maharaja Gulab Singh, who founded this political geography. Dogras genuinely consider him and his general Thakur Zorawar Singh as their heroes. On the other hand Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Kishtawaris, Poonchies and others have genuine prejudices against the both. Even few sub-divisions within the districts of Kathua and Udhampur, within Jammu division have divided loyalities in this regard. In Kathua district I was posted as Munsiff Magistrate both in Hira Nagar and Basoli in 1964-65. For Hira Nagar people Maharaja Gulab Singh was popular hero whereas people of Basoli and Bilawar, in the same district, condemned him as the destroyer of their historic grace, cultural identity and particularly of their distinct school of Basoli art. Prof. Galbrith ex U.S Ambassador in India visited Basohli to examine those art pieces but the descendants of that great art openly condemned Dogras, particularly Gulab Singh as murderer of those skilled hands of dexterity. That is the case about Ramnagar and Reasi in Udhampur district.

The Dogra within Jammu division revere Gulab Singh not for his quality of a benevolent ruler but as a warrior who proved Dogra valour. Thus this popularity is related to Dogra chauvinism which naturally and logically invites strong reaction from those areas of the county Jammu & Kashmir which have been annexed by fraud, force, farce, deceit and other tactics with Dogra kingdom. If the Dogras come out of this chauvinistic prejudice and highlight him on values as the visionary architect of a geopolitical reality thereby prejudices will not become an inevitable reaction. On the other hand it cannot be denied that he has been the founder of this organised political geography .

In this process of elimination, permutation and combination after thoughtful consideration of the common history of country J&K and from comparative study of the histories of all these states which form this 'sub-continent in miniature' we are of this definite opinion that only the person of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali has qualities and qualifications to be a cementing link among all these regions.

As a spiritual leader, saint and poet all the communities of the valley and of Jammu & Kashmir revere him. From Jammu division all

communities living in Doda, Poonch, Rajouri and sub-district of Udhampur have equal reverence for him as a saint. But Kishtwar (Doda) people have particular attachment with him as his grandfather 'Orga Teg' hailed from that place and was a ruler of that state. Thus he is a Jammuite by blood and emerged as a greatest Kashmiri.

The Sheikh is known as 'Sehjanand' the epitaph with which Kashmiri Hindus earlier revered Mahatma Buddh. This title was later accorded to the Sheikh for his admiration of Lord Buddha and his philosophy. A verse in his didactic poem is usually recited in Muslim centres of meditation in Kashmir through which Sheikh prays that he be bestowed with the bliss which was destiny of Lord Buddha. In no part of Muslim world Buddha has relevance for reverence. The dominant populace of Ladakh need to study that Sheikh, according to the work of Baba Mohammad Khalil (viz. Rauzatur Riaz) had composed a poem consisting on thousands of verses in the praise of Lord Buddha and his philosophy. The book was named as Buddha Charit. The poem is non-extent but the above author did quote twelve verses in his work, which for defective script, cannot be deciphered.

In this light in the histories of personalities who have so far contributed to the regional cultures in J&K, only Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has, among all these units and regions, universal appeal if there is genuine attepmt to create an emotional link among these units. Presently the policy of divide and rule dominates ill designs so this preposition has only a theoritical value.

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Epithets

Out of love, reverence and dedication the people of Kashmir have conferred various titles upon the Sheikh - Sheikh-ul-Aalam (Saint of the Universe) and S'akhi (Generous) Noor-ud-Din. As a poet he used 'Nund', 'Nund Reosh' or 'Nund of Kaimoh' as his nom de plume. To mystics he is "Shamsul Aarifeen" (sun among the saints), to Hindus he is "Sehajanand" (the blissful) and to all Kashmiris he is "Alamdar-i-Kashmir" (the Standard-Bearer of Kashmir).

(a) Alamdar of Kashmir

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the socio-political structure of Kashmir had greatly collapsed owing to the Mongol invasion in 1320, which left deep wounds upon the mind and body of Kashmir.

Political exploitation was the rule of the day. Loot and ravage was destined for the masses. Natural calamities like droughts and floods added to the agony of the people.

The Muslim influence was as discussed scatteredly present and thus Kashmir had become multi-religious country. However in spit of the fact that local Muslims were involved in military service but had no significance.As discussed in the second chapter scattered Muslim colonies had developed loosely in the countryside. But Muslim society had not developed in an organised manner. The missionary activities started with the arrival of Syed Abdul Rehman (Sharufuddin) Bulbul Shah in Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-20). He converted local politics and later on during the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din an outstanding missionary of the Muslim world, Mir Syed Ali Hamdani, consolidated the scattered Muslim society into an organised and disciplined Jamat. During his visit he was accompanied by 700 Syeds and Ulemas who established centres of their activities in various parts of the country. The Amir revolutionised the religious atmosphere and

introduced innovations in arts and crafts of the valley. He created a small Iran out of Kashmir which till date is called "Iran in Miniature".Syed Abdul Rehman Bulbulhad also brought with him the survived soldiers of invader Zulcho who were also converted to Islam but had non-Kashmiri descent.

In 1393 the illustrious son of the Amir, Mir Mohammad entered Kashmir with three hundred Syeds and scholars and stayed in the valley for twelve years. He and his companions also established Khanqahs in different parts of the valley.

This influx posed a severe threat to Kashmiri culture and language. They introduced their own language, Persian as the vehicle for delivering religious sermons and as the official language of the state.

The majority of these Syeds, scholars and Ulemas consisted of dedicated missionaries, sincere Sufis and selfless servants of the humanity but there were exceptions too. Many of them had left their homeland due to repressive measures adopted by Timur against them and sought refuge in Kashmir. So were fugitives of Tatar army committed to position. The both were fond of pomp and show and worldly position and so made efforts to rehabilitate themselves in Kashmir with their old prestige and position. These foreigners thus rose to high official positions and dominated the political scene.

They also had an identity of interest with the local bureaucrats and caste-ridden Brahmins. Both had superiority complex. While the former had command over Persian language and its literature, the latter were masters of Sanskrit. To both these elements a common Kashmiri, who spoke the local language was only a second class citizen.

People flocked to these centres of Syeds established almost in every pargana in great numbers to seek their blessings and guidance. They would converse mainly in Persian with the local people and thus this language dominated public life. Simultaneously it took the place of Sanskrit as the official language. The job-hunter Brahmins quickly adopted this language. On the other hand, sadhus, sanyasis and the cmmon Hindu stuck strictly to Sanskrit or Sanskritised Kashmiri.

This situation posed a potential threat to the Kashmiri language. During the seventh century the influx of alien cultural influences had not posed so much a great threat to the Coptic language in Egypt as it posed

to Kashmiri during the 14th century. Coptic, which was a favourite of the people and was patronised by Pharoahs for centuries, could not withstand proportionately weaker onslaught so was replaced by Arabic. Here the danger was more formidable. Neither the local intellectual nor the politician had ever encouraged Kashmiri language so it could have been easily replaced by Persian. At the same time the local fanatics would have remained strictly committed to the use of Sanskrit. This situation would have effected a division of Kashmir on a linguistic pattern - the Persian belt for Muslims and the Sanskrit belt for Hindus. It may be deemed an exaggerated view but at least there were imminent chances that would have created two different dialects out the same Kashmiri language.

In this background it was the Sheikh who emerges as the saviour of this language. He on the one hand wrote Sanskritised Kashmiri poems to demonstrate his control over that language and on the other hand made a logical blending of Persian with the spoken language and literature. He not only introduced the poetic genres of Persian language but also borrowed acceptable words and phrases from it. Thus he saved Kashmiri from extinction and enriched it with progressive literary forms and added vocabulary.

Lal Ded had sung hymns in the local lnguage, but she had no capacity to save it from compulsion of the time. Besides, it was not possible for any individual, whatsoever his or her status, to contain the tide of this influence. Hence she had said to the mother of the Sheikh, "Let thee take care of my spiritual heir." To carry the mission ahead the Sheikh formed a well-knit organisation to save the cultural heritage of Kashmir.

Secondly, it has been pointed out more than once that the richer culture of Iran dominanted the elite more so careerist Pandit and there was the fear of extinction of Kashmiri cultural traditions. The Sheikh organised a cadre of desciplined Reshis who maintained and popularised local traditions. It should not be construed that the Reshis were against progress or represented the forces of status quo or acted contrary to the main purpose of the Muslim missions. They accepted progressive ideas, propagated and acted as true Muslims, preached against un-Islamic customs and superstitions but at the same moment retained with pride the

indigenous spiritual tenets and practices which were not repugnant to Islam but were in keeping with the strains for devoted meditation. Needless to say that the missionaries and Reshis had the common aim of propagation of Islam. However, the efforts of foreign missionaries consciously or unconsciously paved the way for adoption of Iranian or central Asian culture in Kashmir. Thus the Reshi saints while joining hands with the missionaries for establishment of Muslim traditions struggled to retain the local character and colour of indigenous culture.

Thirdly, there was potential danger to communal harmony due to the emergence of the careerist element as a political force. Both the self-centcentrered Brahmin and the selfish Mullah worked hand in glove as agents of the forces of reaction. Consequently a rift was being created between the communities who had inherited a common culture and had even deeper social relationship with each other.

The Sheikh himself rose against such forces and preached communal harmony. His sincerity of purpose becomes clear form the following verse:

Why this hatred, oh My Lord,
Between the two children from the same parents?
How shall the Lord be pleased,
Both with Hindus and Mussalmans?

The Sheikh in a long devotional poem entitled: "Bless me, My Lord, with the same generosity", seeks from his Lord the same spiritual status which was bestowed upon Lal Ded and the mute girl of Bhavan village or upon Sidha Vanu etc. This poem became so popular that it is till day recited with devotion in mosques and other Muslim shrines. Thus probably Kashmir is the only place in the Islamic world where names of Hindu saints are recited with reverence and devotion in mosques and shrines.

The Sheikh's disciples and members of his organisation created the mental and emotional basis for a God-fearing society full of communal harmony. This lateron became a significant and well recognised characteristic of Kashmiri thinking and thus even during the most challenging communall frenzy Kashmir became a laboratory of religious tolerance. I must warn that irreligious word 'secular', devoid of ethical

values should not be substituted for the term 'Sulhikul' (the amity of all religions) which is a mystic conception. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and Lal Ded in Kashmir and Ameer Khusrow, Bagat Kabir, Guru Nanak, Dara Shiku in Indian sub-continent preached the same philosophy of 'Sulhikul' rooted in the soil of religious morality universal to all religions. On the other hand the secular conception has no basis in the soil of morality. It is this Sulihikul - the amity of all religions, which has been preached by Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and not the hypocratic political slogan of secularism which has provided license to the majority religious communities to exploit the minority religious communities. It is relevant here to state that (particular to Kashmir society) preaching of any better code of conduct requires two types of caution to be exercised before one can come to preacher's pulpit. Firstly, there should be such peaceful environment which makes the addressee to wiegh, assess and appreciate the philosphy propogated in cool atmosphere. One should without causing of any annoyance and reaction be able to make comparative study of the existing and propogated systems. Secondly,the preacher should respectfully, without injury to sentiment put forth his view point. Sheikh assured for himself and his cadres an atmosphere of cordiality to preach Tawhid (monotheisim) and preached that Islam is the culmination of the process of spiritual revolution. To him "Mussalmani - the religion propagated by Mohammad (PBUH) is the highest step in the ladder". Thus all religions together constitute this ladder of faith which elevates the traveler but the highest step in the ladder bears too proximity to that elevated destination.

All these facts reveal that the Sheikh was the first mass leader of Kashmir who on the basis of local values estblished a composite culture of tolerance having unimpeachable faith in moral values. He protected the Kashmiri language from the danger of extinction and widened its colloquil sphere. He symbolised in his movement the values peculiar to Kashmir and preserved its identity and unity. In this background the nation devised the most appropriate epithet of "Alamdari Kashmir" for him.

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has himself (indirectly) in his verses given recognition to this title for him. Let me quote the following poem which

he ostensibly adresses to his two devoted disciples Sangi Ganie and Sangram Dar. He spent seven years of his life during his fiftees with Sangi Ganie in his estate at Draigam (now in Budgam district). Simultaneously he established his headquarter at Tsaran (present Tsarar) where another namesake disciple Sangram Dar served him with devotion. The two areas i.e. Draigam and Tsarar areas were divided by a good distance but it could be covered by crossing the river Doodhganga. On the two sides of this river concentrated his divided attention and before his death he assured both of those disciples and through them the two sections of Kashmir society - commoners and elite of his mercy before the lord on the day of ressurection. The poem is:

"Tell to my both favourite disciples,
To Sangi Ganie and Sangram Dar,
That as I cross the river,
I will be all love to them.
They have sufficiently read,
From my behaviour that I am helpful to my helpers.
So, when on the day of ressurection, O, disciples,
Thou art asked to cross the narrow bridge leading to paradise,
Refer my name to that Lord of the day of ressurection,
The Prophet of God (PBUH).
The sovereign authority of doomsday,
The day on which our Lord sits in judgement.
There, on that awful day,
I will recommend for salvation,
Both the poor and the rich.

سنگی گنے سنگم ڈارس　　یام ترِ آرس تام چھس چونو
دوہے پرنیامے۔ تھ انہارس　　تِتھبن گارس پٹُن ونو'
آش روزبم یار چھُ یارس　　خدمت گارس چھُس پلزونو'
کائکی ہیکہٕ ہگھ لگہٕ پلصر اُژ تارس　　حکم اندازس ناودَزِ میونو'
نشہِ رسول خدایس سردارس　　چھُس بو نیوتن کرِونو'

پیٚتہِ بیہہِ پردگارو بژارس　　تتہِ سأوِس تہٕ پأژھس سایہِ چھومیونو'

From this poem, it is evident that the Sheikh has himself admitted that he not only in this world but hereafter will lead this nation to paradise and thus this title has a metaphysical explanation as well. It is believed that Kashmiris, as a nation, will be led by the Sheikh on the day of ressurection.

(b) Sehajanand

The word "Sehaj" (bliss) became synonymous with spiritual contentment as the Buddhist philosophy developed in Kashmir and Budhism was preached by Kashmiris to South Asian countries and even to China. The Siavist even after confrontation with Budhists continued to rever and respect Lord Budha. They devised a special epitaph for him and remembered him all along as Sehajanand i.e. the blissful soul. Thus this two-word term, Sehaj and Anand (Sehjanand) got a place in both religious and philosophical lexicons of Kashmir.

At the time of the Sheikh's birth, though the Buddhist society had crumbled but the effects of its teachings were fresh and manifestly evident in the socio-religious life of Kashmir. The Sheikh was himself influenced by Buddhist philosophy as is evident from his practices. He shunned fresh vegetable lest he hurt a living thing. He would prepare soup only from fallen leaves of vegetables.

In a few manuscripts of "Rauzat-ur Riaz" Baba Khalil has recorded that "the Sheikh had written a long poem entitled 'Buddha Charit'. This learned author has translated 'Buddha Charit' as 'wise saying'. The literal meaning of the word "Buddh" (a Kashmiri word) confused Baba Khalil that he accorded it the meaning of 'the wisdom'. In reality it must be a poem eulogising Lord Buddha. In another long devotional poem the poet pays tribute to Lord Buddha as:

The blissful, blessed with eternal bliss,
Had endless meditation to his credit.
He abandoned both time and riches,
On, My Lord, bestow me with the same generosity.

سہز کہ سہز انندی　　اگرندی کربن سِو

مال تہٕ کال تروؤن أندی تیٚتھ مےٚ ورِ تو دِوٕ

Under the influence of Buddhist philosophy he used many words and phrases which were peculiar only to Buddhism and one such word, commonly used by him is, "Sehaj". He even changed the connotation of this word and made it part of Sufistic phraseology. Praising Prophet Mohammad in a verse he says:

Oh my God, Thou hast cleared the vision of our Prophet.

By revealing upon him the Sehaj (blissful) Quran.

The Hindus of Kashmir in spite of their belief in Shaivism had utmost respect for Lord Buddha and so considered the Sheikh as Buddha-incarnate. They with love and reverence called him "Sehajanand". This epithet further became popular due to the role that he played as a saviour of the Hindu community.

(c) Sheikh-ul-Aalam

Sheikh means the saint and Aalam means the universe, thus the term means the saint of the universe. It is not an ordinary claim to prove a popular saint, whatever his eminence but confined to narrow geography of Kashmir, as the saint of universe. But, our predecessors might not have accorded this title to their favourite saint without any background.

Unfortunately we have not yet been benefited with those valuable contemporary sources which could highlight such contribution of Noor-ud-Din that can justify this title. In this behalf, one of our senior contemporaries late Gulam Mohammad Mughul Rafique (died 1992) had made research about Muslim calender and has shown that the Sheikh has devised apropriate solar calender instead of lunar one suited to Kashmir seasonal variations which does possess universality. He has only provided some hints about this aspect in his book 'Roohi Islam' but could not consolidate his scattered points in the diagressions which have greatly confused the reader. Besides, Mr. Rafique has been a mystic himself and he blends sometimes his great research oriented work with mystic intutions that confuses the reader. However, his all research work has been hoarded by his spiritual disciples I am in search of it. I must admit that I have not myself gone in these intricacies nor have myself made this relevant study. But, at the same time it must be some special contribution to the world of Islam which the Sheikh has made during his

lifetime that has become the basis for the epithet of Sheikh-ul-Aalam.However, the discussion on Noorani Calander made in this book under the same title will, to some extant, explain the gamut of Rafique's contention and will make out some case to justify this title accorded to him.

(d) Shams-ul-Aarifeen

Shams means the sun and Aarif means the gnostic and so Shams-ul-Aarfeen means the shining sun among the gnostics. Arabic alphabets are each accorded a specific value and it is through this mode of reckoning numbers of the letters that we can sum up the total number of a word or a phrase. It is according to these rudiments that we can derive from chronograms the value of a verse, which indicates year of death, year of birth or any other important event. It is thus from the phrase Shams-ul-Aarfeen that we derive 842, the year of the death of the Sheikh. Thus on this basis too among many similar terms of praise which are commonly used by Kashmiri anthologists and historians for all saints, this title became specific with Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Other titles used are too common like Sultan-ul-Aarfeen or Zubdat-ul-Aarfeen etc.

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Founder
of
Kashmir Culture

In last three chapters, we have discussed the dimensions of the saint poet relating his being symbol of Kashmiryat or charisma in his personality to be the cementing link among different units of J&K and the epitaphs the nation has accorded to him. Study of these points raised in these chapters might have acquainted our readers about the role the Sheikh has played in founding and moulding Kashmir culture. Herein we will precisely specify those points.

Quadruple of the personalities who have, together laid the basis on which the present Kashmir culture has grown and developed are: Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul, Syed Ali Hamdani, Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali. The Syed has revolutionized the thinking and perception of common Kashmiri in fourth quarter of 14th century. His message has equally been received and accepted by all the sections of population of Kashmir, Hindus and Muslims, rulers and ruled and by the elite and commoners. He revolutionized art, craft, living habits and social awareness of the people. Before him, Lal Ded ostensibly a Hindu Yogni but in reality a spiritualist of high order had made the common mind recipient and fertile to receive impact of a new revolution. The strain upon the message of Syed was adherence to monotheism and Lal had, by her Waakh tuned the mind of masses to that principle, which had roots in the thinking of people but erosion had made them pluralists. Earlier, Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul had sown the seeds of this revolution in the minds of the king and thus had converted the politics of Kashmir to Islam. Lal Ded was not an activist of any dogma but her verses created more influence than a preacher, priest or an activist could create. Her role in this revolution was neither of a harbinger nor of an activist but of an ideologue. The idea she propagated through her piercing, thoughtful and commonly intelligible Waakhs proved effective tools of revolution. She used common man's language, the dialect, which rural peasantry used

and to which common housewife was acquainted. It was a turning point in our socio-political history as deep-rooted Sanskrit, the language of Pandit was under severe threat and it had lost royal patronage. This foreign language was just vacating to clear place for another foreign language Persian, which had now become the tool of Mulla. People were fed by Lal with indigenous thought contained in local container. Hence both thought and art fascinated the general mind. This fascination provided a fertile soil for Syed Ali Hamdani who revolutionized the common mind. It is most pertinent to point out that Bulbul Sahib's preaching confined only to Darbar, we have no instance that among the local converts who became his disciples anyone was accepted a distinguished saint or any shrine was built upon the grave of any of his disciples.

Syed Ali had a galaxy of Syed saints with him, their shrines dot throughout the Valley. Common folk reports one quintal of sacred thread of Hindus was burnt in the result of the mass conversion of Hindus to Islam at the hands of the Syed. In spite none of those lakhs of converts did achieve any spiritual distinction or left such imprints upon the celestial culture of Kashmir that could get him revered as a saint by the people. On the other hand, there are more than hundred dignitaries who have been revered as saints but were erstwhile non-Muslims and had accepted Islam at the hands of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din or with the propagation of his Rishism. This proves that these four personalities had opted for them four compartments of the mission of revolution. The political revolution was brought by Bulbul Sahib, soil for common revolution was prepared by Lal Ded, Syed Ali Hamdani cultivated this soil and yielded rich crop like Sheikh Noor-ud-Din who in return revolutionized the spirit and soul of Kashmir.

This revolution itself carved out a culture of forbearance, tolerance, adherence to truth, belief in monotheism, equal love for men of God, keen interest in development of art & craft, hospitality and sympathy with one another.

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Intrigues

Anthologists, biographers and later historians have quoted certain incidents, which took place during the life of the Sheikh but they have given individual treatment to each such incident, even these incidents of far reaching consequences are scattered in the vastness of the anecdotes mainly related to the miracles of the saint. Here we will array all those scattered facts in proper form and place them collectively before our readers so that they can safely infer that such pieces of circumstancial evidence put together and read systematically do constitute the links of a chain of circumstances leading to the only conclusion that a web of intrigues was woven around the Sheikh, his movement and his cadre.

Afer the death of the Sheikh's two children in the cave, some interested person or group of persons informed his in-laws at Dadasara with the element of fabrication causing annoyance and misunderstanding among the minds of the members of Akbar Din's (father-in-law of the Sheikh) family. Infuriated Akbar Din with venom lodged a criminal complaint against the Sheikh and in consequence to that report the concerned police chief issued orders for the arrest of the cave dweller the Sheikh. The warrant of arrest was entrusted to the district police officer, Tazi Bhat, who was known as tyrant and indiscrete.

This incident can be considered a logical reaction to the sudden death of the two innocent children but it cannot be underestimated when read in connection with other circumstances and the dramatic character of this particular complaint is considered that the informers of Akbar Din were agents of misinformation and disinformation.The circumstances provide a strong presumptive inference that parallel to the wave of popularity which had swept the area a wave to malign the Sheikh had simultaneously taken roots in the locality around Kaimoh.

Secondly, we have known that the mind of the Sultan was poisoned in a unique manner by some elements very close to the royal court. Such cunning elements exploited the situation and attributed the Sultan's incurable disease to the sinful and treacherous acts of "hypocrisy" of

some "butcher" among the subjects of the king who had worn a saintly mask to deceive the people. The angry king issued orders of arrest, but the way in which the Sheikh responded caused dismay to all of them. Certain matters do arise in this behalf which need a proper treatment. Why did those officials concoct a false story? Why did they malign a "faqir" who had no conflict with them? The reply is clear. The discussion which we will make hereafter to highlight the tirade pioneered by the Sheikh against exploitation, communal hatred, the hegmony of both Brahmin and Mulla, whether local or foreign and against the deep-rooted local castism on the basis of which the incoming foreign bureaucrat had also created similar caste dissensions in the budding Muslim society; were all such matters which had created a sort of united front of these exploiters against the Sheikh.

Thirdly, the episode of "Yawan Mats", the attractive and coquettish danseues, is no less important a link in the chain of intrigues. Who deputed this girl and whith what purpose? This question also remains unanswered by the scattered material contained in historical accounts and biographical anecdotes.

It may be noted that later on a communal colour was imparted to both these incidents by anthologists and such other interpretations were given which are hardly reasonable.

As regards the second item supra regarding the creation of a grudge in the mind of Sultan Sikandar, it is said that the royal physicians and astronomers were Hindus who had failed to treat the ailment of Sultan. The astrologers, to save the physicians from royal wrath, made the Sheikh a scapegoat. But why should they have chosen only the Sheikh to save their co-religionist "Veds" and "Hakims"? It could not be without any mechanisation and definite motives.

While explaining the background of the Yawan Mats episode these biographers have again fabricated an unbelievable anecdote. It is said that one of the princes had gone for hunting in the Pheykh area (now dotted by Mughal Gardens) and on his return he saw a good number of people dashing towards the ashram of a sadhu near Ishbera. The prince also entered the ashram to pay his respects, but the sadhu refused to grant him audience. The disappointed prince felt that the behaviour of the sadhu was hypocritical and he resolved to test the latter's character. A

famous nartaki was deputed for the purpose. With her attractive and charming gestures she intoxicated the mind of the sadhu who ultimately proved to be a man of weak character. The disgrace of the sadhu at the hands of an ordinary woman was taken as an affront by the Hindus who made the Sheikh the target of their vengeance.

Why should the Hindus have chosen only the Sheikh for retaliation when he had no link with any family member of the king or prince? Why did not they choose any of the foreign saints who were closely connected whith the seat of power and who were fanatically orthodox in both theory and practice? On the other hand, the Sheikh's practices were akin to the local Hindu philosophy. In deference to the sentiments of his fellow countrymen he had not only taken to vegetarian diet but his way of meditation was even dubbed as "Hinduised" by the orthodox Mullahs. During the period of Sultan Sikandar the overzealous newly converted minister, Malik Saif-ud-Din, had created a situation of communal tension. The Sheikh both with his word and deed propagated against such religious intolerance. Lastly, at a time when local culture and traditions were under an imminent threat of extinction, the Sheikh proved the saviour of Kashmiri traditions. In these circumstances the Sheikh was the only champion of the cause of Kashmir and the defender of local Hindus. Why should the members of the same community choose to malign its own saviour and defender when around them there were several centres of propagation established by foreign Ulemas and saints? Hence the explanation offered by later anthologists is most untenable. However, it cannot be denied that all the three incidents connected together lead to only one inevitable conclusion that an organised conspiracy worked against the Sheikh and the feeding centre of such intrigues was within the Durbar itself.

Viewed in these circumstances the mention by Jonaraja of the arrest and detention of Mullah Noor-ud-Din confines the reference only to the Sheikh and to none else. It is said that this reference relates to one Noor-ud-Din who was deputed as ambassador by Timur to Sultan Sikandar. This contention has no basis. There are no other connecting circumstances that would show the ambassador had annoyed the Sultan to such an extent that the latter would take a risk to violate recognised rules of diplomacy and international law which was prevalant then about

the diplomatic immunities. The assertion further becomes unbelievable for the reason that the Sultan would never violate diplomatic immunities nor would have he invited the displeasure of a more powerful and terrific ruler like Timur. In these circumstances, the "Mulla Noor-ud-Din" who according to Jonaraja was arrested by the Sultan was none other than Sheikh Noor-ud-Din.

The explanation is clear. His mass popularity was threatening power of the officials, his defending local traditions and culture was an affront to those foreign elements who looked down upon Kashmiris and boasted of their own high descent, superior learning and sophisticated culture. Above all, the elements, which through their communal postures tried to disturb the peaceful social transformation, got annoyed with the preachings of the Sheikh and were disturbed by his reaction. They failed to defeat the Sheikh openly and so resorted to conspiracies and intrigues. A good number of local Brahmins went to the Sheikh under the leadership of Ladi Raina to pin him down but had to return humiliated. Almost all of them later joined his organization. In the same manner, three hundred Muslim mullahs went to the Sheikh with the intention of exposing him but they were themselves exposed. Many companions of Mir Syed Mohammad Hamdani felt annoyed that their leader dragged them to an illiterate and ignorant faqir but the most vocal among them viz. Syed Ghulam Din, became his devoted disciple. Even the most dignified spiritual leader, eminent scholar and politically powerful missionary, Mir Mohammad Hamdani, showered praises on the Sheikh. This disappointed those who wished to see a confrontation between the two saints dedicated to the same cause.

Histories, chronicles and anthologies covering this particular period have highlighted the rift between the Mir of Hamdan and another foreign scholar, Mir Mohammad Hisari. Hisari was very close to the Durbar and on his arrival in Kashmir in 796 AH (1394) Mir Mohammad Hamdani also became most favourite of Sultan Sikandar. It seems that Sultan devised his policies on the advices and consultations provided by the young Hamdani whereas matured Hissari did not approve those policies. He opposed the interference of the State in religious affairs. Mir Hamdani made the king to impose Jazia (Tax) on non-Muslims, forbid

them to have their particular mark of Tilak upon their foreheads and declared the custom of Sati as an offence both cognizable and punishable. On the other hand, Mir Hissari argued that State should not interfere in these matters. He was of the firm opinion that the process of Islamization of the society had shaped itself into a silent revolution. Hissari was satisfied that this revolution yielded positive results which process should not be interfered into lest a reaction is created and the process is hampered. On the arrival of Hamdani the Sheikh had showered praises upon him and the young 17-year old Noor-ud-Din in collaboration with 22-year old Mir Hamdani worked for consolidation of the mission founded by Shah Hamdan, the worthy father of Mir Hamdani. Both had at least two meetings with each other and the both acted with mutual understanding. It seems that after the sharp confrontation between Hamdani and Hissari, the former had to leave Kashmir in an angry mood leaving the leadership of movement to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din who had in 1404 (the year of the departure of Mir Hamdani) acquired popularity with masses. It is after the departure of Mir that his lobby overpowered the Hissari lobby in the royal court as the father-in-law of Hamdani Saif-ud-Din Malik had occupied most powerful position of the Prime Minister. Malik devised such policies which were sufficient to cause a communal confrontation. On the other hand Sheikh's mission of the propagation of Islam required such an amicable atmosphere which could provide free access for him and his co-preachers to enter into non Muslim pockets with love and understanding. Hence rift between Saif Malik and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din became evident which created a lobby of mischief and intrigue in Darbar. With this background we have sufficeint reasons to interpret that the Noor-ud-Din who according to Jonaraja was arrested and imprisoned by the State was none other but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali of Kaimoh.

The organisation of the Sheikh, though essentially non-political, later assumed a political character, which remained a covert characteristic of the Reshi movement until and after the introduction of the imperialistic policies of subjugation initiated by Akbar. It is this semi-political character which created a chain of reaction within the circles of exploiters, courtiers of the King, the caste-ridden Brahmin and

the Mullah biased for his superiority complex against the local converts. Sheikh made all these forces subject of his severe critcism in his poetry which moulded his contemporary public opinion. Consequently, these forces in spite of their inner contradictions with each other, made a sort of united front to malign the Sheikh. They could not openly come against him so hatching of intrigues, conspiracies and concoction of unfounded tales and anecdotes guided their policy.

A brief mention of one post-Sheikh incident will further fortify this view. During the reign of Zainulabidin, the "dearest" disciple of the Sheikh, Zainudin Wali, was expelled from the valley. Again the later-day historians and anthologists have tried to sheild the Sultan by citing a peculiar background for his harsh order. The explanation is ridiculous. It is said that the Sultan went to the faqir who did not grant him the audience and the annoyed Sultan ordered his expulsion. It is hardly believable that a wise monarch like Bud Shah (Great King) would have exposed his fair name to criticism by posterity merely on such a petty ground. Such an order could have naturally been the result of some severe disagreement between the two "Zains".

During the rule of Bud Shah's father, policies of extremism had damaged the fabric of mutual understanding. The Reshis under the leadership of the Sheikh had created a public opinion against religious discrimination. It seems that too much liberalisation during the reign of Bud Shah provided chances of interference in the religious matters of Muslims. The Reshi saint resented this interference also. Zain-ud-Din Wali came out openly against this new type of extremism. Hence the doors of confrontation were opened. However, the Sultan after some years repented and recalled Zainuddin from Tibet. He ws accorded a warm reception on his re-entry into Kashmir. All these isolated and scattered incidents quoted in various histories, Noor Namas and Reshi Namas lead us to the conclusion that the popularity of the Reshi order caused an under-current of disturbance within the ranks of the priveleged political elite.

We have seen that the jealous intriguers had dubbed the Sheikh a "hypocrite" and "illiterate". On the other hand, the Sheikh himself exposed the hypocrite Reshis, caste-ridden Brahmins and exploiter mullahs.

The campaign of vilification, though carried on in the most hypocritical way, continued even after his death. The defeated intriguers did not dare to come openly but changed their tactics. They were conscious that any adverse remark made openly against the Sheikh could not be tolerated so they tried to damage his personality by negative devices. The brief hints are provided here:

1. The bulk of contemporary material about the saint mysteriously disappeared within a century after his death. All the Persian chronicles of Shahmir dynasty including "Miratul-Awliya" (mirror of saints) by Mulla Ahmad and his history "Wiqa-i-Kashmir" and "Anthology of Kashmiri Saints" by Adhami have presumably been destroyed. On the other hand, Sanskrit chronicles of that period which did not contain any entry, even smaller, about the Sheikh were spared. This fact provides the basis to infer that those Persian histories and anthologies were made to disappear only to suppress correct information about the Sheikh.

2. Peculiar stories were devised to form the background of each poetic composition of the Sheikh and in doing so history was distorted. The most damaging and unfounded is the story concocted to suit as the background for his famous mystic poem entitled "The barking dog sayeth vow-sow, sow". On the basis of such concoction the 18th century historian Khawaja Azam Dedamari even lost sight of real facts and gave a mischievous summing up of the pre-cave period of the Sheikh's life.

3. Such other concoctions were made which present to us the picture of a hermit Sheikh - an actionless Sanyasi. On the other hand, his poetry sufficiently establishes that he fought like a warrior against the forces of eveil.

4. Though volumes were written about the life and poetry of the Sheikh, all such manuscripts were hoarded by few families and no student of history or research scholar was allowed access to these valuable gems. These hoarders also consciously or unwittingly contributed to this age-old intrigue.

5. Semi-literate Mullahs and illiterate singers recited from the pulpit or in music parties respectively not only the most incorrect version of his poetry but also the distorted version. On the basis of the same distortion several shcolars without taking trouble to know or trace the original, made a misleading assessment and critical evaluation of the

Sheikh's verse in recent past. Though many of them now express regrets for their ignorance, nonetheless they unconsciously played the game of intrigue.

In these circumstances the befitting reply is to trace the relevant record and make proper assessment of the saint-poet both as author and thinker.[1]

Was Sheikh Illeterate or Well-read?

It seems few theologians dubbed him illiterate for the reason that (1) he had received no regular schooling, (2) he was simple, humble and unassuming, (3) he spoke neither Persian nor Sanskrit and (4) he used Kashmiri as an effective tool for his expression which was considered by both Brahmins and Mullahs a language of illiterates.

Later, this stigma was adopted as an epitaph by his fans for their patron for two reasons: (1) to them the Sheikh was "Wali-I-Ummi" (illiterate saint), thus a strict follower of the Prophet who is Nabi-I-Ummi (illiterate prophet) and (2) his wise sayings, philosophical utterances, knowledge of religious intricacies and his command and control over mysticism all was attributed to his spiritual prowess.

It is purely misrepresentation of facts. The verses of the Sheikh provide us more convincing reasons to believe that he had sufficient study of Islam, Kashmir history, Shaivite philosophy and Buddhist teachings. Precise hints with necessary explaination are relevant here, as a detailed, eloborate and research oriented argumentation and discussions are not possible.

(a) The Sheikh's poetry is replete with reference from Kashmir history and history of Islam. In this connection I will make reference of only two of his didactic poems. The first is entitled: "Oh my Lord bestow me with the same grace" and the other has refrain as: "When the Lord is pleased with His servants". In both these poems, the poet has made references to historical events of Kashmir and about such great Kashmiris who's mention is not contained even in our old chronicles. Hence such references have appeared to our predecessors in the field as obscure but some of our historians have very recently provided certain helpful hints. We have no contemporary record available about the great mystic poetess Lal Ded in any of the chronicles of her time. Even her contemporary historian Junaraja has not made any mention of this

woman, therefore some people have considered her a legendary character. But it is Sheikh Noor-ud-Din who makes her a living historical figure. He says: "Oh my Lord you have bestowed upon 'Lal' who comes from Pampore area with your mercy to such an extent that she lulled in her lap the Avtars and thus she is the great Yogni". In the same manner he provides us the clues about that mute Hindu girl of 11th century AD who would carry water pitchers from spring in the plains to the higher slopes situated on plateaus to be served to the populace who would compensate her by some quantity of rice and the same rice quota, she would throw in open fields where the birds would enjoy and satisfy their hunger. Her Lord was so pleased with her that she too did soar in high heavens and later a temple was constructed in her memory in village Lukabavan of Martand area of South Kashmir. The temple is till date revered by Hindus. Besides, we have earlier made discussion about predecessors of the Sheikh in reshi movement. He had himself given the four names of four local reshi saints whom he considers to have been interveners between him and the great Muslim saint of Yemen, Owais Qarni. The local interpreters were not able to locate those four local spiritualist, as their names did not figure in any history or in any other account. But, the historian Hassan could reveal their real persons to the inquisitive researchers by probing deeper in a poem of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Other examples shall swell the volume of this book.

(b) The poetry of the Sheikh is considered as a Kashmiri version of the Quran and a comparative study will clearly show that the bulk f his poetry is a versified Kashmiri translation of the Quran and Hadis. An independent treatment on "Sheikh's Poetry - the Kashmiri poetic version of Quran." is added as a separate chapter.

(c) It has been stated herein before that a big group of Muslim theologians called at Sheikh under the leadership of Mufti Syedur and Mullah Manik with the aim to expose him as a hermit. They put him questions about Muslim jurisprudence and he replied 130 questions in verses. The poem is till date known as "Hundred-thirty-Questions and Answers". The poet explained in those verses the fundamentsls of Muslim jurisprudence which establishes his hold on Fiqah, geographical variations and mathematical calculations. His masterly treatment as how to determine the exact timing of five prayers peculiar to the geographical variation in Kashmir and relevant to all seasons provides ample evidence

of his scholarly aptitude. Such accuracy as mathematician or such fundamental knowledge of geography can not be expected from mystical intuition as the fans of the Sheikh persuade us to believe. God does not teach the intricacies of sciences without any worldly guidance or without proper schooling. Nature provides the talent which is chiselled by education and therefore on this ground too we believe that Sheikh was not illeterate but had acquired sufficient knowledge to equip him with command and control upon such subjects. May be that this education was imparted not by direct schooling as was available then but by the association with great scholars. We have evidence that the great Central Asian scholar and missionary Syed Ali Simnani of Kulgam was so fond of teenager Noor-ud-Din's poetry that in case Noor-ud-Din failed to come to him on any day to recite his verses, the Syed would himself go to his home.

(d)There are many mystic expressions in his poetry, which are manifest instances of the fact that he had studied famous works on mysticism. Here is an example of one of his smaller poems:

'Iblis did weep bitterly and said:

"Alas! I am undone in spite of my untiring meditation.
Who did separate me from Mansoor?
Both of us shared a common secret,
He divulged the "Anna" unwittingly,
And was encouraged by his Lord.
But alas! I was rejected till eternity,
I am cursed like a thief,
Disgrace is perpetuated upon me,
I knew His secret,
Had enough knowledge of the Reality,
He deemed the same befitting for me,
(To which I am now subjected)
How can I undo with His wishes,
Only the gnostics can understand me."

وٚوداابلیسن ''ٹوکھ لوٗگم دُورَس

سبٹھاہ کریمس عبادتھ

ٹمی پوودُور بر مے تہٕ منصورس

اَسہِ اُس دوشوٗنی گُنی کتھ

تس ژوٗل نیرِ تھ اَنَّ منصورس

شاباش کوٗرنس 'چھے رحمت'

ژھیپہٕ چھم دیا وان زن سُنی ژُورَس

مردُودِ میانیو 'رَژُو لعنت'

واقف اوسُس تُہندِس سیرس

معلوم اُسم سو حقیقت

تمی ییلہِ لوٗ دَم بہٕ کتیو 'لوٗرَس''

معنے زانن اہلِ معرفت

Mansoor in his famous work Kitab-ut-Twasin has said: "Iblis is my friend and Pharaoh my comrade." It can be said that the two mystics gave vent to similar feelings but such close similarity even in symbols and mode of expression is not possible. It is, therefore, logical that the Sheikh might have studied the philosophy of Mansoor, besides having shared his mystic experience.

National Hero

The popularity which Sheikh Noor-ud-Din commanded during his lifetime and after, goes with only a national hero. His multidimensional personality was loved by people belonging to all religions and sects. All Kashmiris recognise him as the Alamdar of Kashmir. Muslims particularly call him Sheikh-ul-Aalam and to Hindus he is Sehajanand. The unfortunate Shia-Sunni feuds which were the rule of the day during the Chak period did not affect the Sheikh's unbounded popularity among both these sects. It was the Shia king, Sultan Ali Shah Chak (1570-78), who constructed a magnificent verandah of carved deodar wood around the shrine of the Sheikh. Yaqub Shah Chak (1586-88) himself got constructed under the supervision of two eminent traders of Srinagar the Khanqah of Tsar which was burnt to ashes. It had to strictly face towards Ka'ba but some deviation was found on its completion. It could not be corrected unless demolished and reconstructed but a contemporary reshi saint who headed the pargana Khoihama reshi centre at Athwatoo viz Niki reshi came on spot and corrected its direction spiritually by a miracle. This very king when defeated by Mughal emperor Akbar's forces, had to leave the country, did not take valuables with him excepting the autograph manuscript of Miratul Awliya by Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri which is Persian translation and commentary of Sheikh's poetry. From this fact we can deduce reasonably the respect, love, dedication and reverance with which Kashmir rulers as well as subjects respected, loved and revered this great hero of all times.

It is said that Mother Sadra complained to Shahi Hamdan during her pregnancy about the pain felt by her in her abdomen while kneeling for prayers. The Shah is reported to have advised her to offer prayer facing towards the east as the child in her womb was also punctually offering five prayers a day. Sadra was in the family way during the year

1376-77 whereas the facts show that Shahi Hamdn was not in Kashmir during that period. Hence such incidents are part of fiction, which show the depth upto which this nation has gone to create legends about this favourite hero.

There are several anecdotes similarly authored with his life but they are either part of legend or folk. Owing to the love and reverence the people had for him, the Sheikh became the central theme of Kashmir folklore. He is probably the only person around whom the bulk of Kashmiri folk revolve in one or the other form. At certain places these anecdotes are so contradictory with each other that the researcher gets confused and sifting of the reality from the bulk of the fiction becomes a gigantic task. It is this element of hero worship that has created abundance of conflicting stories about this national hero. However, our repeated study of this material has provided us a specific sense to decipher the reality and we are sure that similar study will make the job easier for other scholars too.

"Zeeai Nama" (story of birth) is a lengthy folk song, which describes the pre-birth and post-birth miracles of the Sheikh. The impact of Tsrara Breswar (Thursday fair at Tsrar) is another popular theme of Kashmiri folklore as well as creative letters. It has become a poetic symbol with our leading mystic poets.

His verses dominate the entire socio-religious sphere of Kashmir. Singers begin their musical concerts with his shruks, religious preachers recite his verses from the pulpit and leaders from the political platform. Disgusted by the soaring prices of necessities of life housewife quotes a verse of the Sheikh:

The fuel shall become scarce like sandalwood,
Salt shall be costlier than the sugar extracts,
Edible oil more precious than perfumes.

A pious old lady shaken by the immorality in society, in grief and with pathos quotes the wise saying of her hero:

Bad days are ahead,
When the autumn crop shall ripen simultaneously with the spring crop,
When both mother and daughter shall leave hand in glove,
And spend day and night with strangers.

Disappointed with the so-called democratic rulers the people recite what the Sheikh had five hundred years earlier aptly remarked:

The source fountains shall dry up,
The street gutters shall flow brimful,
And then monkeys shall rule the country.

Whenever any proverb or a wise saying is quoted from Kashmiri language its authorship is attributed to the Sheikh. Though numerous proverbs have been derived from his verses and coined as such, all are not so. This shows the impact of his personality. Any leader, preacher or reformist who comes with something revolutionary or with any reformative measures has to take refuge under the popular umbrella of the Sheikh.

During the 19th century too much of a shrine adorning mentality crept into the Muslim society of Kashmir. Reformative and orthodox religious preachers however criticised extremism in such practices. They even dubbed such practices as idolatory. To popularise their viewpoint they also devised a saying in the pattern of the Sheikh's shruk and attributed its authorship to him:

"Mo kar astaane astaane, Kar tee ye kur astaane waeli"

(Do no go from shrine to shrine, do what the man buried in the shrine had done.)

Some Shias have coined the following verse in the style of the Sheikh and attributed it to him:

Aalan trawith waalan naman

(They shall keep dearer his "Relics" than the family members of the Prophet). The history of Kashmir will show that shrine adoration and reverence for Prophet's relics has been a later innovation which was not prevalent during Sheikh's time. Hence he had no compelling background to create verses either against shrine adoration or against reverence for relics. Thus the creation of such verses is of recent nature but to accord currency to such sayings authorship of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has been devised.

In 1931 when Sheikh Abdullah challenged the atrocities of the autocratic Dogra Maharaja the people considered his boldness as something of a miracle and to build the cult of his personality they themselves auhtored a couplet in the style and diction of Nund reshi and

its authorship is attributed to him. It reads:

Zainageri aab Pheri,
Sowri manza laal neri.

(A diamond will glisten from Soura village at the same time when Zainagir pargana will get irrigated.)

Soura is the birthplace of the late Sheikh Abdullah. It is reported that the Zainagir Area in district Baramulla was provided irrigation facilities during the days when Sheikh Abdullah was born.

No other saint, king, scholar or politician of Kashmir has received such national admiration as Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Volumes have been written exclusively on his personality and movement in Persian language. Later poets of Kashmir wrote hundreds of poems eulogising the Sheikh. They have even followed the themes from his verses. Many poems were written in the style and pattern of the Sheikh by many of his successors in the field of letters.

Mirza Haider Doughlat and Emperor Akbar also consolidated their rule in Kashmir by attributing their acts of aggression to the "spiritual desires" of the Sheikh. Both devised stories of having in a dream seen a saintly figure who gave them his name as Noor-ud-Din and directed them to save his people from sectarian misrule. Lala Sukh Jeewan Mal and Atta Mohammad Khan, two Afghan governors, also derived the people's sanction for their acts of cessation from Kabul centre as they took refuge under the popularity of the Sheikh in one or the other way. The latter even struck coins in his name.

The Sheikh is the first dignitary of Kashmir whose sixth birth centenary was celebrated on both mass and state levels.

The Sheikh toured the valley thrice during his lifetime and made certain observations about some parganas or villages. Those sayings are so close to the folk that in spite of their antiquity they still sound fresh and are considered apt and appropriate. These comments, sometimes, contain some adverse remarks about the inhabitants of some locality the latter still feel proud of such criticism by their hero.

It has also been mentioned earlier that every second village in Kashmir has some memorial or shrine constructed to refresh for all times his memory and his connections with such place or locality. It may be added here that people in almost every village connect at least a spring, a

chinar tree or an elevated place with his memory. Many caves are revered as places where he meditated. Shrines have been built on the graves of his parents, wife, children, father-in-law and brothers-in-law. A memorial has come up even on the grave of the barber who shaved his head.

The state forest department, to propagate preservation of the forest wealth, has adopted the following verse of the Sheikh as its motto:

Ann poshi, Wan poshi.

"Food is subservient to forests."

The late Prime Minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi, quoted this verse in an adress she delivered in Italy in 1980. In Sadar Court Srinagar, signboards have been raised conspicuously which highlight the sayings of the Sheikh about justice and administration of justice. "Kreyi khota bod insaaf" (The superior to all meditation is renderence of justice) has become part of our common sayings.

It will make this subheading too exhaustive and so lengthy if other varied type of instances are quoted which highlight the dominance of Sheikh's popularity upon every field of our life. His Gongul Nama poem has become the anthem of peasants, his versified conversation with craft master has become proverbial to expose short comings of a weaver and above all his thought provoking sayings have kept morale of this nation high even during challenging circumstances which have been rule with our socio-political history.

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The Greatest Kashmiri
Of 2nd Millennium

On the end of the twentieth century a leading Indian daily: "Indian Express" invited scholars from J&K (including this author) to specify the greatest personality who lived form 1000 AD to 1999 AD. Three articles were specifically chosen. Late Akhter Mohi-ud-Din had adjudged king Zainulabidin (1420-1470), Dr. Karan Singh opined that his great-grandfather Maharaja Gulab Singh (1845-...) deserved this title and this author subscribed the view (after discussion on the merits and demerits of these two great personalities) that Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali can popularly be called the greatest of all Kashmiris who lived during the tenure. I had no information that any other scholar was asked by the editorial management of the paper to write on the topic so had no reason to infer that the other two personalities - the two kings; would also figure anywhere in separate discussions. But I did take stock of all important events, persons and places and so felt that among all the men and women only four personalities could fall within that ambit. Those who occurred to my mind are: Sultan Zainalabidin; Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, Maharaja Ghulab Singh and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. My search would have confined to only three names: Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, Budshah and Sheikh Abdullah, had the posed question confined this assessment only to valley. As it's ambit was wider which included whole of Jammu and Kashmir (Maharaja Hari Singh puts whole J&K as Kashmir) so the fourth person, Gulab Singh, founder of this political geography deserved the preference in treatment. Irrespective of all tyrannies and treacheries which are inherent to autocracy, it is an admitted fact that Gulab Singh is the founder of this country Jammu & Kashmir, which before 1845 consisted of several countries. In this process of amputation of regions, terrains and territories with the

'sinfully' purchased land and people he (Gulab Singh) did liquidate independent principalities. Consequently, so purchased and annexed people have developed aversion, prejudices and complexes equally against British imperialism and its beneficiary Gulab Singh. Hence in the valley, in Ladakh, Baltistan, Yasin, Chitral, Honza, Gilgit even in Kishtwar, Baderwah, Basohli, Ram Nagar, Rajuri, Mirpur, Poonch etc Gulab Singh is subjected to aversion. His contribution in consolidation of a scattered region into one political geography felt in the oblivion and was never till date, acknowledged so. Had these regions evolved a common culturte or had inherited a common cultural history before 1845, their consolidation and assimilation within one political being would have been hailed as a blessing. But on the other hand this consolidation evolved in a manner which left defeatist impact upon non-Dogra areas (even within present Jammu division) and simultaneously the Dogra chauvinism which treated it as the victory of their valour increased this aversion to hatred. Under this psychology, the people in the subjugated territories lost sight of the fact that tyrannies, subjugation and excesses are the incidents of the institution of autocracy. None of these regions or territories immediately before 1845 was ruled by a popular mandate. Instead local chiefs, monarchs etc ruled them with the same rod which is common for Gulab Singh, Gulam Ram or Gulab Din when he rules as a despot. Weighing the plus point with minus point, I opined and continue to opine that Gulab Singh in spite of being the founder of this political geography has no heroic traits outside his Dogra community rather is subjected to the feelings of aversion. Transgressing the limits of my topic I will least hesitate to issue a note of caution that the regions, principalities and territories which form J&K are now so interlinked and interdependent that the people of the annexed territories should change the prejudicial disposition towards Gulab Singh and chauvenistic Dogra adoration for him should also be brought under chang.It is then alone his contribution to create political geography of J&K will get reasonable appreciation. Within these reasons, I dismissed his case for consideration as great person of the 2nd Millennium of J&K. These lines also wash off the reasons with which his heir and great grandson Dr. Karan Singh has valued him. With due respects for doctor Sahib I hold him equally

responsible to perpetuate chauvinistic treatment and so, in my view, he is also perpetuating injustice upon that great founder of J&K. I invite him to be true to history and consolidate this created political geography into a single cultural unit.

Late Akhter Sahib had least considered the heading of the topic. Zainulabidin was king of Kashmir which he has greatly ruled benevolently. He had one link with Jammu. His wife was a princess from that area and Jammu Raja and Khokers of Rajuri helped him to regain his lost country form Sultan Ali Shah. Had any sort of confederation or federation of states ensued out of this cordiality between him and Jammu Raja, we could consider him, rightly the great person of J&K. The relationship between the two regions in 1419-20 AD only establishes that ground of affinity for consolidation was fertile enough. Budshah had neither will nor was situation ripe to cultivate seeds of unity between the two regions. Even if he had chosen to do so, the consequences would have been the similar with that of Gulab Singh's post 1845 actions.Hence Budshah can not be considered a citizen of 'J&K' country so cannot be adjudicated as the great person of that country which did not exist then.

Sheikh Abdullah (1905-1982) can well be called the dominant figure of 20th century J&K. To be realistic history of 20th century J&K can be treated 'biography' of Sheikh Abdullah and conversly any edited biography of Sheikh, can easily acquire alternate title as "20th Century History of J&K". History is the record of deeds and misdeeds, vices and virtues, wise actions and follies, sacrifices and treacheries, love and hatred one receives and other allied and ancillary matters relevant to the contribution of such person. Sheikh Sahib is both a creation of history and created history. But his period confines to one century only. Great creators of history carry history of a nation with them and devise a direction to the future of the nation. Sheikh Sahib lived and died in conflicts. He was the second great personality whom his nation mourned collectively and passionately. But tragedy of events (to which he is himself responsible) within only one decade of his death made his grave a security risk and the exchequer is to bear huge expenses to protect it from sacrilege of common resentment. During his life he was greatly loved in Kashmir valley, hated in Jammu, condemned in present Azad Kashmir, doubted in Ladakh region and so his person has remained

subject of conflicting impacts. Hence, inspite of his eminence and heavy sacrifices he offered he least deserves to be considered as the towering personality of the second millinium.

This book in detail provides convincing material that Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali is the symbol of Kashmir identity whose person, message, teachings, tours and all aspects of his life proves his dominance on every facet of Kashmir culture. We will now find whether his person possesses such charisma which has potential to cement emotions of the regions constituting within their being the country of J&K.

It is a fact that many facets of this rainbow in the heaven of our culture were if not totally eclipsed but overshadowed by his greatness as a saint. It is only after mid forties that intellectual inquisition started concentration to know and explore the other facet of his person, equally dominant. This process did undergo into a severe jolt and consequent halt immediately with the independence and partition of India. Post partition situation threw this independent country into an unfortunate situation. So it took time to restart this exercise. This part of artificial line of actual control possessed material about himt so new facts got exposed to public gaze. But on the other side of the L.O.C. the sources remained scarce, so in that part all the new facets of this great saint remain untapped. In spite the Radio Station in Muzzafarabad, Azad Kashmir University and Kashmiri Department of Lahore University kept greatly this inquisition alive, active and well informed. In seventies Sheikh-ul-Aalam Sixth Birth Centenary Celebration Committee was constituted under the patronage of the Head of Azad Kashmir Government. All these facts prove that the saint poet is revered, respected and loved in that part also not only within the Kashmiri speaking section, but with all, irrespective of their linguistic or sub-regional affiliations. It was internationally vindicated.The people of Azad Kashmir, as soon as process of normalisation of relationship started from 2003, made immediate demands to have pilgrimage of Tsrar-i-Sharief. The two governments had to surrender to this cherished demand and the first ever group of pilgrims from that part of J&K visited this part to pay homage at the shrine of this great hero of the masses.

Under the sub-title: 'Sehaj Anand' we have seen that it is only Sheikh-ul-Aalam who is the pivot of the reveration of Kashmir Pandit

and it has also come that the Sheikh has shown utmost respect and has reverred Lord Buddha. It has also been stated that Kashmiri Pandit considered the Sheikh as Buddha incarnate and so called him with the same epitaph (Sehajanand) with which their forefathers had known the Lord Buddha. It has also been said that author of Rauzat-ur-Riaz Baba Mohammad Khalil had come across a note contained in a quatrain of the Sheikh in which the saint is reported to have said that he had composed a long poem of thousands of verses in the cave titled as "Buddha Chirit". It is also said that the Baba expressed his inability to read that big poem; in spite contained a few verses in Rauzat-ur-Riaz. These new facets about his multifaceted personality make him a cementing link between Muslims and Buddhist. District Ladakh having Buddhist majority, so the relevance of his charisma in that moon land too is appealable as and when facts are exposed to commoners.

We have seen that the forefathers of the Sheikh have origin in Kishtwar and the Sheikh had deeper commitment with that land of his ancestor. It is that commitment which made him to include the area across the Pirpanchal range of hills within his country - Kashier, which extensively he toured. It is from village Palmad of Kishtwar sub division of Jammu division wherefrom he persuaded Rajput Lord's son: Zai Singh to lead his reshi Movement. In the districts of Poonch and Rajouri, even in hill terrain of Kathua and Udhampur districts, all in Jammu province, love and revere him.

It is in 1846 that Baba Ghulam Din of Rajouri, in whose name a University has been established, walked all hill terrain from Rajouri to Tsrar-i-Sharief to beg success for Maharaja Gulab Singh from the shrine of Alamdaar. It is common folk among hill population in bordering areas of Kashmir that Baba Sahib had some weakness for Gulab Singh and gave a silver coin telling him "care for this hundred year rule". In early forties the grandson of Gulab Singh viz. Hari Singh visited Yusmarg and a delegation of dignitaries from Tsrar presented a memorandum to him to grant two essential facilities to the town. Firstly, facility of drinking water and secondly to connect this centre of reverence to the city. This memorandum contained reference to this folk anecdote. Hari Singh speaking in fluent Kashmiri subscribed to the truth in this anecdote. Immediately Hari Singh ordered provision for drinking water and

construction of fair weather road.

Thus there is no section in the J&K population, any region or sub-region where the Sheikh charisma will not work constructively. It is only his personality which can work against prevalent intrigues of disintegration of J&K and can prove a viable cementing link to integrate into nationhood. But there is a big if. Almost all the political parties exploit situation in a manner which nourishes only the misgivings. A genuine mass based movement for consolidation of minds and hearts needs to emerge.

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The Noorani Coins

Dr. G.M.D. Sofi, author of two-volume History of Kashmir the "Kashier" (English-1945) has given facsimile of a golden coin preserved in Lahore Museum (Pakistan). He claims with certainty that this coin was struck in the honour of Sheikh-ul-Aalam by Hafiz Atta Mohammad Khan, in 1808 AD immediately after he declared independence of Kashmir and severed connections with Kabul. Later our elder contemporary Mirza Kamal Shaida, a dedicated fan of Sheikh Hamza Sultanul Arifeen (1424-1514) claimed that the said coin was struck not in the name of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din but, in the honour of Sheikh Hamza not by Hafiz Atta Mohammad but, by an Afghan Governor Noor-ud-Din Khan. Mirza Sahida has no credentials as a historian. During early seventies. Mr. Mohd. Yousuf Taing sifted both these views and in his article: "Sika Shud Rooshan...." He finally opined that this coin was struck in the honour of both these saints. I have reasons to ascribe to the view of Dr. Sofi. These grounds are:

a) Mr. Taing is correct to reject the contention of Mirza Shaida that the coin was struck by Governor Noor Khan. The Khan last ruled this country as Afghan Governor for third term up to 1772 i.e. 36 years before this coin was struck;

A Persian verse is engraved on the one side of this coin. The verse reads:

b) Sika shud Rooshan ze Namey Noor-ud-Din

Mirza claims that the first half of the verse contains the name of the ruler Noor-ud-Din whereas the second part makes a mention that it was issued in the honor of "Makhdoom Qutabul Arifeen". Study the anthologies about our all saints shall make out that each saint is commonly eulogized as Qutubul-Arifeen (the highest priest among mystics) or Zubdatus-Salikin, Qudwatul Kamilin etc, but there are titles specific with each saint. Shamsul Arifeen (the sun amongst mystics) is a popular epitaph of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Similarly, Sultanul Arifeen (the

sovereign head of mystics) or Mehboobul Aalam (the beloved of the universe) and Makhdoom Sahib are the special epitaphs of Sheikh Hamza. Now in the second part of this verse if "Makhdoom" word would have followed either by Sultanul Arifeen or by Mehboobul Aalam that would confine reference particularly to Sheikh Hamza. But the term Qutubul Arifeen does not particularly specify Sheikh Hamza, an eminent saint of Kashmir. In all the Reshi Namas and Noor Namas authors have referred both Sheikh Noor-ud-Din .and Sheikh Hamza with many common epitaphs which include: Qutubul Arifeen, Zubdatus - Salikeen, Qudwatal Kamileen etc.

c) As claimed by Mirza Shaida the Governor Noor-ud-Din struck the coin in honour of his favourite religious guide whom he revered, respected and loved. Hence the Governor would not prefer to mention his name in preference to that of his spiritual master. Such practice is considered heretic in the mystic parlance;

d) Though Sheikh Hamza is popularly known as Makhdoom Sahib but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din is also specially attributed with this title particularly in the special prayer offered in his reverence called "Khatam". In all shrines and at private congregations of these sessions of special prayers the devotees pray in the name of the Sheikh giving his seven titles as:

Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Gaus Noor-ud-Din,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Qutub Noor-ud-Din,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Mehboob Noor-ud-Din,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Makhdoom Noor-ud-Din,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Faqir Noor-ud-Din,
Oh! Almighty have mercy for the sake of Noor-ud-Din Padshah Kamil Wali.

Thus on the basis of the above, it is manifestly clear that the first part of the verse does not refer the name of the ruler and the second part does not confine the reference particularly to any specific saint. In this light now let us develop connection between "Noor-ud-Din" and the "Makhdoom Qutubul Arifeen".

On the reverse this coin specifies the year of its issuance which is engraved as 1226 AH. i.e. 1811 AD. Atta Mohammad Khan's father Sher Mohammad Khan had taken as Afghan Governor in 1806 and

immediately after some months handed over reigns of power to his son. After three years in 1809, Atta Mohammad defeated Shuja Shah Akram Khan Bamzai and Mir Afzal Kahn at Shahdara and declared himself as the sovereign ruler of Kashmir but was after seven years defeated by Fateh Mohammad Khan in 1811. Thus the coin was unambiguously and positively struck by Atta Mohammad Khan who was the sovereign ruler of Kashmir in 1811, i.e. 1226 AH. A logical question arises as who this Noor-ud-Din was? This part means: "The coin is enlightened with the name of Noor-ud-Din". The specific mention of the word enlightenment unmistakably connotes name of some person who was superior in knowledge, intuition, spiritual eminence, had qualities to enlighten others including the ruler who struck those coins. Thus, makes a mention of a Godly man, a seer or saint. The second part specifies the spiritual eminence of the said Noor-ud-Din as "Makhdoom Qutubul Arifeen". Hence it is unmistakable reference about saint Noor-ud-Din and not about any ruler, scholar or worldly lord. Mr. Taing was to an extent justified in his opinion because he confined his discussions upon the interpretation accorded to the engraved verse. He however, misinterpreted the phrase Qutub-ul-Arifeen which does neither specifically confine to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din nor to Sheikh Hamza. In the instant case the primary evidence to hold one or the other view is to lay hands upon any documentary material which can either bear relation to some royal direction about striking of coins in the name of any saint or to any other order directing withdrawal of such coins from circulation. To the best of my efforts no such material is traceable. However, this author must once again express his gratitude for his late grandfather Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Muqiem who has taken all care to preserve the rare pieces of the poetry of Maulana Abdur Rasool Khanqahi of Tsarari Sharief, who was closely associated with Atta Mohammad Khan though he was not his poet laureate. The late poet had composed many chronograms about various activities of Hafiz Atta Khan in Tsarar. Such valuable material has all qualities of circumstantial evidence about the fact in issue. However, no poetic composition of Maulana Abdur Rasool in the collections of Late Khawja Muqiem bears relevance to this particular fact. The collections inherited by this author do not contain

whole record of Maulana Rasool's poetry. Bulk of it, including the autograph copy of his Dewan of Gazals was gutted during the first night of the year 1965 when a devastating fire destroyed our huge property. Only some Gazals could be saved. There were few other copies of his rich poetry in some family collections. They also felt to the flames in the devastation of Tsrar town and shrine in May 1995. The left over record of his poetry does not contain any direct material evidencing this fact. Only such circumstances are sufficiently found which establish unmistakably the fact tat the Pathan monarch had deep attachment, commitment and reverence with the saint Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali and his burial place Tsrar. These ingredients put together form a chain of circumstantial evidence providing basis to infer that Qutubul Arifeen is none other than Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali. These facts were neither available to G.M.D. Sofi, nor to Mr. Shaida and nor to Mr. Taing. So this author cannot dub their respective treatment as defective. These facts are:

"On every evening Hafiz Atta Mohammad would, in company of a regiment of his forces, perform pilgrimage (of this shrine). He created a situation of immortality for himself as he constructed the Khanqah here by spending enough of his wealth. I have witnessed with my inner brighter vision his eminence." The phrase "*Pur Noor Khanqahey*" provides the year of construction of this Khanqah. [see appendix (ii)]

These verses establish the monarch's commitment with this place of reverence and proves that in 1225 (i.e. in 1810 AD) only one year before this coin was struck, the Khanqah Noorani was constructed at Tsarar. The commitment is so deep that the king did not miss any evening to pay obesciene at this shrine and that too during his crucial days when he had invited all risks form the centre of power at Kabul. The record further contains a poem which eulogizes the king for his efforts to renovate the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. It is clearly inferred from this poem that this shrine survived the devastating flames of 1790 (1208 AH) when whole town of Tsarar including Khanqah was gutted and in the same year Atta Mohammad laid foundation stone of this gutted Khanqah which is derived from the phrase 'Mabadi Muntakhib' used in another poem commemorating various stages of the construction of this Khanqah. [see appendices iii and vi]

It is pertinent here to clarify that in 1208 AD two Afghan Governors viz. Rehmatulla Khan S/o Juma Khan and Kifayat Khan ruled Kashmir for brief durations but Atta Mohammad was only a deputy with them and a minister for some time. It is thus that he started construction of Khanqah as Deputy Governor and had made repairs, renovations and designed works of the Sheikh's shrine as a minister only. This poem composed in the praise of this renovation need to be referred herein. [see appendix (iv)]

During the same devastating fire the fort around the shrine constructed in 16th century was also gutted. The third task which he took upon himself regarding total renovation of Tsarar was about this fort. Those five verses require reference herein. [see appendix (viii)]

From "Qila Basa Mazboot" is derived 1225 AH the year of construction of this fort. In the above discussions we have, from cogent and contemporary evidence established that Hafiz Atta Mohammad Khan was, in spite of his adventures, too much involved and engrossed with Tsarar. This involvement remained unabated from 1790 till 1813 - from the days he discharged duties of a minister, Deputy Governor, Governor and then as ruler. He took upon himself complete renovation of the shrine, reconstructed the fort around the shrine, carried the construction of Khanqah up to the stage of laying its roof (which remained incomplete) and remained too much engrossed in building of this township which Moulvi Abdur Rasool in another poem qualifies as "Iyn Makaani Sharief" (This Holy place). The last four verses of this long poem are relevant. [see appendix (i)]

This renovation and reconstruction of the township referred to in this poem commenced from 1205 i.e 1790 AD. Khazir Baba, the displayer of Holy relics at Tsarar shrine (who discharged such duties form 1930 to 1967) would, while displaying these relics several times a year repeatedly assert that in the fire which gutted the town and Khanqah by the end of 18th century, the Afghan soldiers stationed here at Tsarar under the orders of Atta Mohammad Khan saved the shrine complex and those relics which were housed in it. He would narrate as reported to him by his grandfather and predecessor that a regiment of Atta Mohammad Khan's army was permanently deputed to guard the shrine, the town and particularly spiritual guide of Atta Mohammad viz: Rasool Reshi. The

Reshi was last saint of the Reshi mystic order who had guided Atta Mohammad Khan to spiritual eminence. It is part of the local folk that when in 1793 AD he started reconstruction of Khanqah a proclamation was issued that the first stone was to be laid only by one who from 12th year of his life had not deviated to offer the Afternoon prayers (Assar) on its due time. None did come up to this standard, hence he approached his spiritual master Haji Rasool Reshi and requested him to perform the job.

"I have myself missed to offer the Assar prayers at the nick of time once or twice," said the Reshi.

"Then what to do my Lord?" enquired Atta Mohammad.

"Let Atta Khan enquire from himself."

It was he who had never during his matured days missed to offer the Assar prayers exactly as mandated. Besides, he had memorized Holy Quran by heart at young age.

All his memories are very alive in the folk tales of Tsarar and were aptly repeated and refreshed during 1995 devastation which I have succinctly contained in my book "Military Operation in Kashmir" - (Manas Pub. New Delhi 1998). Through his agent one Gaffar, Atta Mohammad got the entrance gate of the shrine constructed. [see appendix (v)]. Other appendices also relate to his activities at Tsrari Sharief.

On the basis of these cogent grounds this author holds safely that the Noor-ud-Din qualified as 'Makhdoom Qutubul Arifeen' in the verse engraved on this coin is none but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali. However, this strong presumption is subject to confirmation and is also rebut able. Such confirmation or rebuttal is only possible if any state notification relating this coin is ever traced.

Pertinent is to reply a question raised by late Mr. Iqbal Nath of Wanpoh in one of his articles on the subject published in Sheeraza Journal of J&K Academy. He has expressed doubts that any coin was ever struck in the names of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali or Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom Sahib or in the memory of the both for the reason that such coin would have invited reverence like that of a Taveez (amulet) and would have gone deeper in the public mind. He argues, that even a researcher and scholar like Ram Chand Kak, who had achieved successful access even to unknown earliest coins could not make a

mention of this coin. This question looses much importance because the coin is till date preserved. It is to be grasped that within a few months of striking of this coin the monarch who innovated a new practice is defeated, imprisoned and later exiled. He had acquired great popularity in this country and circulation of this coin would have consolidated such popularity into a total resentment against Kabul. So the successors of Atta Mohammad withdrew this coin before it went into circulation. Hence not a single piece of it existed in this country but probably some pieces presented to Sikh rulers at Lahore (who had helped Fateh Khan to conquer Kashmir and dethrone Atta Mohammad) survived the onslaught and so its preservation only in Lahore.

An impression created by G.M.D. Sofi and even quoted by this author too in his earlier book on Sheikh Noor-ud-Din (Sahtya Akademi Publication) needs to be dispelled. Sofi Sahib presumes that Atta Mohammad Khan had struck this coin specially in the name of the popular saint: Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali only to create popular mandate for his act of cessation from Kabul and for declaration of Kashmir's independence. I admit to have partly corroborated this contention which is an act of injustice with the sincerity with which Atta Mohammad discharged his devotion for his spiritual hero. Atta Mohammad Khan had no political purpose behind. It was for his devotion with the Sheikh and with his shrine. He was a 'mystic' in his own sphere, had devotional attachment with the harbinger of Reshi Mystic Cult with which this Afghan ruler was connected through Haji Rasool Reshi, his spiritual guide.

Appendix-I

چونکہ حافظ عطا محمد داد — این مکان شریف را تزئین

باد اندر دُو عالمش یزدان — حافظ و ناصر و ظہیر و معین

مرحبا نیک بخت سرداری — برد غم از دلِ کہین و مہین

روز افزون رواج اسلامست — در مزاج او فتادہ رونق دین

خلق راضی از و خدا خوش نود — دوستش شاد دشمنش غمگین

زیر حکمش بخت و اقبال است — باد فرمان برش سپر ترین

از وزارت بسلطنت برسد — با چنین رسم و با چنین آئین

کابل وزابلش مُسخر باد — غور و غزنی و راستانِ جبین

با چنین کار ہا سزاوار ست — بہزار آفرین و صد تحسین

چہ شجاعی کہ در دمی بشکست — لشکریرا کہ بجلوۂ ژوبین

بشجاعت چہ حاجتش کہ کُند — خود سخاوت کفایتِ ہمہ این

دستگیرش چو بر کشمیر است — پایمردش چہ عقل خردہ گزین

مددش باد از امیر کبیرؒ — پشت بانی زِ شیخ نور الدینؒ

ہمہ سیّد بزرگ بست اَش — روز میدان بہ از کمان و کمین

خدمت خواصہ نور الدینؒ باد — از پس و پیش و یسار و یمین

صوت طوبیٰ لکش فلک راند — مرحبا گویدش زمان و زمین

کرد بر جا عجیب خانقاہے — محکم و استوار و سخت و متین

بود داروغہ اش امیر الدینؒ — منصف و آگاہ و ہوشیار و امین

چون زتعمیر امیر شد فارغ — سالِ تاریخ او زِ رایِ زرین

گفتہ ام معبدی چہ موزون شد

از عطای بزرگ نور الدینؒ

Appendix-II

حافظ عطا محمد روزی بشامکانے — بہر زیارت آمد با جوقہ سپاہے

سردار باعطائے ہشیار نیکرائے — جمشید زرقبائے خورشید زرکلاہے
عمرش گرفت حالے باعشرت کمالے — ہر ہفتہ دید سالے ہر روز یافت ماہے
کردہ بنائِ معبد بردہ حیات سرمد — باطلعتِ مؤید در حالت رفاہے
بادش زحق رضائے در خلق مرحبائے — نامد چنین بنائے از ہیچ پادشاہے
از صد وظیفہ نازد از کس نمی براید — کاریکہ میکشاید در وی نہ گنجد آہے
شد کوہ قاف بخشش شد آفتاب میخش — جادارد آنکہ شیخش نمایدش نگاہے
زین خانقاہ چہ پرسی بنشست تا بہ کرسی — ہر دم فزون عروسے در اشتباہِ راہے
قندیلِ مستنیرش با سقفِ دلپذیرش — آری چو در ضمیرش چرخست و مہر و ماہے
اِستاد چوں ستونش اُفتاد پستونش — در پای سرنگونش بگرفت خوش پناہے
محراب دُر مناسب مشرق بگرفت و مغرب — از وسعتِ جوانب کافست کاف گاہے
چون یک نظر گُمارد بیت اللہش شُمارد — ایمان بخویش آرد ہندوی دل سیاہے

با دیدۂ مبرہن دیدم بروزِ روشن
سالش شدہ معین پرنور خانقاہے

☆

Appendix-III

خانقاہ کرد بنا حافظ عطا — مرحبا از ملک و فلک ست
پنجہ رایتِ او بر خورشید — آشکار است نہ پنہاں و نہفت
سرو سردار جہاں کرد و جہاں — نیکنامیش شدہ حاصل مفت
نیکنامی کہ نسیم عدلش — کرد بیداد بیک داد برفت
باد خلق حُسنش تا نوزید — غنچہ دِل بر کس نشگفت

سروری و حشمتش برد بخود | سایلی بہرہ بحر گفت وشقت
شہسواری کہ بمیدان وفا | در سُم اسپ سر دشمن گُفت
آن عدو بند چو افکند کمند | لشکر کرد گرفتار بمفت
جنت از خواجہ کشمیر صلاح | دل خود با دل او ساختہ جفت
بعد ما سوختنش ساختنش | بر سر ماست ہلا خیر و محفت
کرد داروغہ روان نور الدین | امر سردار بخود پذیرفت
میرِ تعمیر امیر الدین شدست | ہوشیار لیش کہ نیاید در گفت
سخت کاریکہ بخود سر بگرفت | سنگ را از دمِ فکر دُر سُفت
بر سرش تاج قبول سردار | در برار خواجہ قبائی ہنگفت

سال اتمام سروشی از غیب
معبد منتخب دِلِ من گُفت

Appendix-IV

ای خوشا نو بہار این گلزار | بلبلان را دماغ ہا آشفت
آب و تابش بہ اُلفت اندک | گردِ کلفت ز صحن خاطر رفت
لالہ زارِ ارم بہ یک نظرے | میدہد روی ناظران را بہ مُفت
نقش ارژنگ رنگ را در باخت | مانی از ننگ روی خود بنہفت
سایہ پروردا ش مقامِ مُدام | صوتِ طوبیٰ لک از فلک بشگفت
خادمش در محلِ مرتبہ طاق | زایرش با حصول مطلب جُفت
صبح از عرشیان گرفت سلام | شام ہر کو بزیر بامش خفت
کردہ داروغی لیش خوش ہاشم | چون نگارِ این مزار در دیدرفت

نقشہ سالِ بست مانی وش

''نونگاری وتازہ نقشِ گفت''

Appendix-V

چوشد مہتمم ہاشم نامدار
پذیرفت صورت چنین کار تازہ

خردسال تاریخ اتمام گفت
بہارِ نگارین وگلزار تازہ

☆

بردرِ شیخ سرافگند برکیں نازاست
بانیش درہمہ جابر ہمہ صاحب صدارت

صدرو بدراست بمقدارِ قدرو قیمت
کوے برسر بمثالِ قدراست

پیر کشمیر خوش خلیلش خوش نو'د
کارش عاری زتعدی وبرون از عدالت

عین حکمت بودش ہرچہ بردباری کرد
گر یکی بستہ شداز کارولیکن صدراست

گر بہ جنت شود حسناتش خرمن
عجبے نیست زین باب فراوان بذراست

خانِ ذی شان شدہ مافوق بتائید فلک
برِ خوانین چونکہ برانجم بدراست

یافت توفیق زغفار ورقم زد سالش
''بانیٔ این درزیباچہ جلیل القدراست''

Appendix-VI

حافظ عطا محمد کردہ بنای معبد
بادش فزون جوانی باعمر جاودانے

این خضر عیسوی دم شدروح جسم عالم
گردید یار جانے شدآب زندگانے

بے فخر خسروانہ بے منتِ خسانہ
بخشد بہ اہل معنے صدگنج شایگانے

ننگ اہل ربودہ زَندِ زحل زدودہ
دستش بکامرانی چشمش بہ پاسبانے

بادادعا قبولش ہم مدعا حصولش
تادور آسمانے تاگردش زمانے

کس ایں چنیں بنائے بنمود ہیچ جائے
از یک نظر توانا ناظر بخویش دانے

شد پای استوارش شد سقف تابدارش
بیت الحرام ثانے معمورِ آسمانے

بارفعت وبلندی بازیبِ نقشبندے　　چرخش ندید ثانے مانا نیافت مانے

چون شد تمام بامش تاریخ شد بنامش

''بیت اللہ بجار اسردار بود بانے''

Appendix-VII

تعالیٰ اللہ چہ عالے بارگاہ قرب ربانے　　کہ بار در حمت از در ودیوار نورانے

برین درگاہ فرونازد کسی سر در بدر گردد　　بپا بر بند حیوانے بگردن طوق شیطانے

قلمزن دم مزن اینجا کہ از بس رفعت ووسعت　　نیاید قلمرانے نگنجد در زبان دانے

ہر آن عقدہ کہ نکشاید بصد اورا درجائے　　بایما مخل باشد زین درگاہ بآسانے

بگفتا ہاتفی تاریخ سال او بگوش دل

''کہ زیبا و بجا این خانقاہ قطب ربانے''

Appendix-VIII

بانی حصن شیخ نورالدینؒ　　آن فلک منصب وملک مغبوط

گشت از فرط بذل پیرِ جلیل　　قلعہ با مدرسہ بہم مربوط

قلعہ آباد و بانیش دلشاد　　شرط موجود باد با مشروط

فتح باب زُوارِ زین دربار　　بحصول زیادتست منوط

گفت از بہر سال تاریخش

ہاتفی ''قلعۂ بسا مظبوط''

Appendix-IX

چون شد روان زجدول باریک تعمیہ　　آب زلال شعر ترمن زنہر سال

حوض کلان چرار از گل پاک کن دوبار　　یکبار کن پُر آب ونگہدار زبہر سال

The Poet '*Nund*'

Sheikh's conception of art:

The "*Kral*" i.e the potter, has been used as a symbol for artist. It is the potter who has been designing the pieces of art from good old days, it is he who could design the attributes of Shiva through ceramic art pieces, it is he who would create new types of toys for the children, it is he who would design the earthen pitcher to suit the beauty of a damsel who carried water in it either on head or under her arm pit. It is the potter who designs the designed jug and tumbler to be used in bar rooms to intoxicate the adicts of wine. For all these dimensions of Kral, the Sheikh explained through him his conception of art. Probably among the earlier eastern poets Sheikh Noor-ud-Din is one of the few who has consciously expressed his contention and conception about the art and artist. The famous Persian poet Nizam Ganjvi has also defined art of poetry and equated it with the legacy of prophethood. Thus according to him poetry is preaching the message of truth to correct the erring humanity and simultaneously it is outcome of the intuition. This definition of Nizami has relativity and does not propound any independent unrelated theory. On the other hand Sheikh's conception is quite exhaustive, illustrative and philosophical.

Kral kandi graake garan pherey,
Thuri ere baane neyri ne zal.
Kralas tsekir pheyrey zeyey.
Metsi te seki deyi wonde bal.
Kralas konde shubij neyrey,
Grakh ade waates konde bal.

کرال کندِ گراکہٕ گرن پھیرے
تُھری أرِ بانہٕ نیرِ نہٕ زل
کرالس ژٕ ،کر پھیری زیرے
میٚژ تہٕ سیکہِ دیہِ وونہِ بل

کرالس کوندِ شُچ نیرے

گراکھ اَدِ واتبس کوندِ بل

(Why should the potter wander like a hawker selling his art pieces?
Nay, he will design and devise with perfect skill,
with command and control upon potter's wheel.
Shall make it to revolve with single and slight hit,
designing the unision of clay and water with dexterity.
He shall accord palpitating heart to the clay and sand,
shall burn tactfully the designed mud created of sand and earth,
it is then alone that the customer shall be at his door.
(urging to have access to his creation)

In the first two verses the poet poses a question and replies it but both the question and answer are direct statements devoid of any intricacies. In the first verse he asks as why an artist should wander around in search of appreciation for his art but in the second verse he accords reply that such wandering is irrelevant and unnecessary for an artist who acquires perfection in his art, vocation or profession. This statement is universal truth and nothing new is stated nor any original thought is projected. However, the third and fourth verses accord different dimensions to the idea which is an original thought projected by our poet. In the third verse two particular words used have various facets and connotations. Their use, rather appropriate fixation of these words, has even provided unexposed and unexpressed dimensions to the otherwise directly conveyed ideas in the first two verses. These two words which require due consideration are: the "potter's wheel" and "a single motion". This description at the outset takes us to the potter's place, potter's picture working on his wheel with a stick in hand, fixing that stick in a hole of the wheel, the placement of a debris of mud upon the wheel and then the fast moving wheel making the raw material to evolve different shades. This all revolves before our eyes. We witness the revolution of the wheel so accurately that it results into production of desired pot. But, what is this wheel and what does the single motion mean? Both these terms leave different impacts upon the minds of different readers and thereby convey multidimensional impacts. These two terms liberate the conception of thought from the narrow perceptions

of definition. Art here does neither confine itself into a simple intuition nor falls within the narrow ambit of preaching. Potter's wheel is the wheel of time and the motion is not an automatic act, not a supernatural command and not just the simple manifestation of talent though all the three are present therein. This term 'single motion' embraces within its ambit the facets of inner urge and the impacts received from external situations. The artist controls by his urge to create or by the impact of experiences the process of time and has sufficient control upon past, present and future. It is the result of his single motion with which he makes the time to revolve according to his desire, thereby he provides life, sensibility, and existence like the Absolute Creator. Thus the original creative artist sufficiently controls both time and space. The term 'Wondebal' used in the fourth verse needs some explanation. This term consists of two words 'Wonde' (the heart) and 'Bal' (a locality developed in close vicinity of water). The term Yarebal in reality means the coloney developed on a riverbank or in close vicinity of the water, stream, lake or a big spring. In abreviation either Yar is used like Sehyar (the locality established by Seha Bhata on the bank of the Jehlum) or 'Bal' is used like Hazratbal (the locality on the bank of Dal lake developed in memory of Prophet Mohammad PBUH) or full term Yarebal is also used as in the case of Khwaja Yarebal (the locality on the Dal bank established by rich lords). It is for the scientific aptitude of the Sheikh that he has used 'bal' with the heart, as it (the heart) is surrounded by the pericordium that is but moisture. Once that dries up death is inevitable.

By affixing "Bal" (the dwelling place) with "Wonde" (heart) the poet gives life, sensibility, conscience etc to such piece of art which the artist creates with his command and control upon time, essence and treatment.

In the last two verses of this six-line poem the poet gives another touch to the completion of the creative experience. This touch is not within the control and command of the artist, it depends upon circumstances and situation or we may call it heavenly blessings or destiny. The final stage of this process for a potter is to burn the so prepared designed mud works in burning kiln. In the fifth verse the situation of this kiln is described within one word which depicts the delicacies of this profession and means that the flame in the kiln should

be proportionate so that the pot neither burns too much so as to develop crack in it nor remains semi-burnt, nor gets blackened due to smoke but attains dazzling red colour. But, in spite of all these precautions the poet says: "If the art pieces of the potter come out of the kiln as desired then alone the customer will remain waiting at the opening of his kiln." Coming out from the burning kiln in the desired manner is beyond the control of the artist. It is to a great extent dependant upon the destiny or the chances or to any other appropriate term which suits according to one's belief. In this poem the meaning and connotation of the burning kiln is to be inferred from the full text of the poem rather to attach it to a common meaning. The 'kiln' is the critic's appreciation about the manner of conception of the thought, its successful delivery and the capacities of presentation.

The poet has in the above poem generally highlighted the phases of art which includes within its ambit the literature also, but, can not be considered as his specific conception about poetry. However, he has specifically described his opinion about the 'word' - spoken or versified. He has again illustrated his point through the symbol of potter as:

صاحب ڈیوٗتھُم کرالہٕ گرے
سیکہِ تہٕ میٚژِ ملہٕ ناوِتھ کتھ
بانہٕ تھُر ان اَکی ہے گرے
لورِ ستِن گلہٕ ناوِتھ کتھ
دُکان دِتُن کرالہٕ گرے
بانہٕ کنِن مولہٕ ناوتھ کتھ

{Sahib deoythum krale garay,
Seki te metsi milenaavith kath.
Bane thuran eksey gharay,
Lore seyt gilenaavith kath.
Dukan ditun krale garay,
Bane kenin molenaavith kath.}

I have seen the Lord in the house of the potter,
Was assimilating with clay and sand, the word.

He was within brief spell designing the pots,
Revolves with the stick, but a word.
He then opened his shop in the house of potter,
Sold the finished pots by eualvation of the word.

Some personified entities and described locations in this poem need consideration at the outset. 'Sahib' (the Lord), 'Krale Ghare' (the potter's house), 'clay' and 'sand', the 'stick' and the 'shop' are symbols used to explain and convey the dimensions of the word. The Lord can be considered the Absolute Creator or the creative conscience of the artist. The essential ingredient of pottery is the clay but it must posses some element of sand so that the finished goods get durability. In the case of a creative artist the earth means his knowledge and the sand must include his vast observation. Thus the raw material for the artist with which he will design his art piece must be synthised process of his knowledge and study of the universe. The potter's house is the creative faculty of the artist where his Lord or his creative conscience guides his creative genius and with such ingrained, inherent, inquisitive and imbibed intelligence makes him to synthise his knowledge and his experience acquired by original study of the universe. Essence of this synthesis is the word which this genius conveys after such deliberations and such guidance. The 'word' can have any format - may be a poem, a ghazal, an essay, a story, a letter or any genre of literature. In the second verse the process of composition is highlighted. The potter (literatuer) whose inner sensibility is guided by his lord or by his creative conscience and who out of the above hinted process of synthesis conveys a 'word', devises art pieces by revolving with his stick the wheel of his 'word'. The stick connotes the sifting faculty, the word i.e. idiom, phrase, the term, the total faculty of speech on which he chisels his thought has been equated with the wheel of the potter. The idea so conceived and delivered becomes the precious commodity within the universe of the creative artist who disposes off such jewels of creativity not haphazardly, not with summary treatment, not on mere demand but after proper evaluation. What is this jewel? It is merely a word and the word is the essence of creation and conveyance. This word is not conveyed directly but indirectly which Urdu poet Ghalib sums up in this verse:
"Can not be conveyed unless symbols of wine and cup are devised."

The word, the eualvated experience of the creative genius is the essence of this universe. According to RigVed such Absolute word is the beginning and end of the universe:

"The word, an impereshible, is the first born of truth
Mother of Vedas and hub of immortality."
(Taithreya Brahmana)

It is the word that prevailed during His (PBUH) ascendence (Meraj) which was in between the Absolute Light and the Limited Light when the distance between the two was only of two arrows. Absolute Light, uttered a 'word' - come nearer and the Limited Light too was word "forgive my believers".

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has in this above referred six-verse poem linked intelligently composed and deligently delivered word with that word which has been hub of the universe and had lulled in between the two arrows in the lap of Eternal Light. Thus this conception about poetry excels in content and decription many conceptions of transcendentalists. This conception requires to be assessed in comperative study with conceptions of those of Emerson and Coleridge. It is not within the purview of this book to go in the depths of such study. However, this treatment given for the first time might create an urge among our successors to find similarity or otherwise in these conceptions.

There is no denying of the fact that the Sheikh was the saviour of the Kashmiri language and opened new horizons of its literary activity. He added new phrases and metaphors retained its local colour and Sanskrit flavour but skilfully blended it with the sweet fragrance of Persian literature. He fitted in it Persian similes and literary symbols, adopted metres from Persian prosody and introduced poetic beauties of the richer Persian literature.

The late Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948) has aptly remarked: "That the poetry of Lal Ded and the Sheikh cannot be treated as the beginning of a literary era but should be deemed a matured conclusion of high literary traditions." However, he too had little access to the poetry of the Sheikh because the manuscripts of Noor Namas were closely and jealously guarded by the Mujawris of Tsrar and other Pir families. Baba Nasib who had a deep study of mystic literature both in Arabic and Persian languages derived more satisfaction and contentment out of the

study of verses of the Sheikh that no other book used to give him.

The author of Asrarul Abrar, Baba Mishkati, while referring to the impact which the Sheikh's verse left on his revered teacher, Baba Nasib, says: "When he (Nasib) had the occasion to listen to some or any verses of the Sheikh, he was terribly moved and would weep so bitterly that his collar would become wet with tears."

"Wakh" and "Watsun" were two dominant literary forms before Lal and the Sheikh. The names of both these genres find mention in a Wakh of Lal. She expressed her innermost mystic experiences in Wakh form, which for its precision and brevity was suited to the expression of intricate feelings. On the other hand to the Sheikh poetry was not merely a mode of expression of one's feelings and experiences but an effective vehicle to communicate and impress the viewpoint of the poet to his audience. The Sheikh was a committed poet - committed to his cause. His mission had with him primary importance and then the second preference was for poetic beauty. He thus blended successfully his soaring thought with his masterly art. Propagation of Tawhid (monotheism), omnipresence of God and dedicated love for Prophet Mohammad SAW are the main pivots of his thought around which his craftsmanship as artist revloves. Suppression of hatred, jealousy, greed, lust and anger was the crux of his discipline. To respect human values, to protect living being and to have unshakeable faith that we all are accountable for our deeds in the world hereafter were principles dearer to him than anything else.

Hence the Sheikh could not confine himself to smaller genres like Wakh and composed a number of poems, which, both in form and content, appear modern. He had composed qitas (quatrains) and some verses are in mathnavi form as well.

The Sheikh's verses are called Shruk, the Kashmiri form of "sloke" (Sanskrit) which means wise sayings. Unfortunately in recent times Shruk has been clubbed as a poetic form akin to wakh or quatrain. The position is not correct. Shruk must not be considered a separate poetic form. It includes all the verses of the Sheikh whatever their distinctive form.

The Sheikh himself used the word Sloke or Shruk for Hadis (saying of Prophet Mohammad).

Kan thaw Shrukan beyi Quranas,
Tee bayi lagi panas soeti.

(Listen carefully to the Quran and Hadis. Therein lies your salvation.)

With deeper infiltration of the technical words of Muslim jurisprudence into Kashmir the use of the word "Hadis (for sayings of Prophet) acquired currency in this language. Consequently the usage of Shruk for Hadis became obsolete and instead this word was used only for the "wise sayings of the Sheikh".

Anthologists have defined wrongly Shrukh as Showk that means to moan or lament. Thus whatever be its meaning, the term is conceptual rather than technical. It, therefore, qualifies distinctively all the verses of the Sheikh irrespective of their form.

Watsun is the oldest genre of Kashmir poetry. Though we have no sample of the pre-Sheikh Watsun; it is inferred both from his poetry and the verses of Lal Ded that this form was in vogue earlier. What was the form of pre-Sheikh Watsun, is not known to us. The earliest sample available is from the Sheikh's poetry itself. From a study of Watsun poems of the Sheikh and later pieces written in this form, the following characteristics of this gernre do emerge:

(a) It is a lengthy poem with a continuous theme. Each stanza deals with a separately distinguishable theme or idea.

(b) Each stanza consists of four verses composed in smaller metre and the fourth verse of every stanza is the refrain.

(c) This genre is very close to both geet and Ghazal. When in its content, flow and diction a Watsun gives expression to simple ideas and comes close to folk verses it is purely a geet. But when the Watsun contains high ideas like pangs of separation, intricacies of human nature, purpose of life, origin and destination of man and the relationship between man and his creator, it comes within the fold of Ghazal.

When we consider the form and content of the Sheikh's Watsun we find that many of them are purely devotional poems, with continuity in theme but a good number of them can be termed as samples of our earliest Ghazals. "Gangul Nama" provides an example. In this continuous Ghazal the poet makes skilful use of symbols. Cultivation of land, sowing crop in it, curbing the growth of wild grass, reaping, the harvest, thrashing, storing and other auxiliary functions are all symbols. The

arrival of agents of the landlord on spot to sift the grain from the chaff, store the bulk of the grain and seal the doors of the storehouse are other symbols related to our accountablity in the world hereafter. All these symbols borrowed from the profession of agriculture have more than their literal and metaphorical meaning. Each of them has a multidimensional connotation. The fourth line repeats itself as refrain in each stanza that reads:

Yus kari gongul, sui kari kraw.

(Whosoever takes pains in the early spring shall enjoy in the long run.)

On the pattern, style and diction of this and other ghazals of the Sheikh, generations of Sufi poets expressed their most intricate mystic experiences. Same Watsun was used by Habba Khatoon, queen poetess of the sixteenth century to express agonies of her unsuccessful married life and faminine miseries. Mahmood Gami (1765-1855) used this very forceful genre to express the pleasures of love, pangs of separation, sweet experiences of the charming union and pathos. Later on Rasul Mir (d.1894) brought Watsun so close to Ghazal that even the thin boundry line between the two forms disappeared. In the first half of the present twentieth century, Mahjoor (1887-1952) and Azad (1903-1948) could not decipher any difference between the two and introduced many new trends in its theme.

Thus Watsun is the earliest form of Kashmiri Ghazal which after five centuries reached the present stage wehre a caravan of poets, on the basis of its rich tradition, has found it an appropriate vehicle to communicate the complexities of modern sensibility.

Quatrains

The bulk of the Sheikh's verses consist of smaller poems like quatrains, rhythmic in form and giving expression to a single or connected themes. It is these quatrains or other smaller poems which are strictly called "Sheikh's Shruk" (Slokes of the Sheikh). It may be stated here that the common people have memorised many of these quatrains and usually quote them on appropriate occasion as sayings of the wise man, thus have become proverbial.

Poems

As mentioned earlier the Sheikh composed a good number of poems, both long and small, with or without a title. There are a few poems in which the line of the refrain has been used as the title. They include Munajats (prayer poems), poem addressed to dansues Yawan Mats and the poem describing the backwardness of hilly (Kandi) areas. Those are all in form which too recently is being identified as Watsun, though 'Watsun' means longer poem. Specific mark of such poem is the refrain. The fourth verse is repeated in every stanza of four verses.

In Munajats the Sheikh does not only pray for his salvation or for the betterment of society but also unfolds the socio-religious history of his time.

In the poem addressed to the dancer "Yawan Mats" he gives symbolic expression to his spiritual thinking. In anohter poem he depicts the plight of the people who live in Kandi areas and simultaneously describes the beauty of its surroundings.

In other smaller poems which consist of eight or ten lines with or without refrain, he explains the delicacy of his inner experiences, conveys the spirit of his message or warns the reader of the consequences to ignore the essence of time. Some other poems are quite different in fram which include "Arrogance and a Muslim" and "Who is Perfect Muslim". Some are so close to present form of the poem that one wonders to find them akin to English poems.

"Naat" is a specific poetic form eulogising Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). Orginally, the Qasida (panegyric) which expressed poet's love, dedication and emotional attachment with the Prophet was called naat but many Persian poets conveyed reverence and feelings of love for the Prophet in Ghazal form. Now in both Persian and Urdu the same poetic genre has become popular. This trend left a deep-rooted influence on Kashmiri as well. The pioneer of na'at genre is the Sheikh who has laid foundation of this form but the thread could not be taken ahead till Waiz Qutub and Mahmood Gami two contemporaries took upon themselves this task after about 350 years of the death of the Sheikh. His naat is neither in qasida nor ghazal nor even in watsun form. They are either quatrains or smaller poems.

"Mathnavi" is one of the oldest forms of Persian poetry and it dominated the Persian speaking world for centuries. Urdu and Kashmiri literatures also have masterpieces in this genre. Though its formal start in Kashmiri literature is attributed to the nineteenth century poets, Prakash Bhat and Mahmood Gami, it can be said without hesitation that the earliest sample of mathnavi is provided by a good number of verses contained in the Sheikh's famous poem "Hundred Thirty Questions and Answers".

Poetic forms have been briefly stated which, were introduced by the Sheikh under the influence of Persian literature. He, however, revolutionised the local traditional Watsun and introduced smaller poems both descriptive and idealistic as an original literary thinker woud do. We cannot attribute composition of such poems to any of the influences local or foreign.

At the same time the Sheikh popularised hundreds of Persian words, phrases and similes. The compilers of his poetry have clubbed his Sanskritised verses under the title of "Samskriti" or "Punditi". At the same time we find some poems (especially describing Paradise) overburdened with Persian words.

The thought content of his poetry may be divided into the following broad categories:

(a) Devotional poetry (b) naat, (c) mortality, (d) monotheism (e) life after death, (f) Ethical poetry (h) religious (Islamic) poetry, (i) love for the humanity (j) communal harmony, (k) lyricism, (l) descriptive, (m) satire and sarcasm and (n) mysticism.

However, the Sheikh being a saint, most of his poetry naturally revolves around the themes of love for his Creator and devotion to Him. There are numerous detailed poems and hundreds of quatrains in which he praises the Lord, details the blessings which He has bestowed upon His creatures, explains His attributes, eulogises the mercy with which He treats His servants and warns about His Omnipresence etc. The Sheikh has spent every moment of his life in prayers, meditation and service of his Lord but expresses his humility in these lines.

دوہَس پرِم نفلہٕ ہتھاہ

راتس روٗدس آگیے

یوٚدنے تھاوہم قبولیتھاہ

ہوٗن زَن روٗدس زاگیے

Hundred prayers offered throughout the day,
For the full night I woke to pray and meditate.
If He does not accept my humble bit,
All my chantings shall prove the ogling of a dog.

To the poet this Creator is Himself the essence of everything which He created and each thing He created, is His manifestation.

Thou art the essence of what Thee created,
Thou art the beauty behind thy beautiful manifestation,
Thou shall echolessly sound,
And thou art immune to vice or virtue.

ژٕے دِوٕ درتس تہٕ گرتس پزکھ ژٕے دوٕ کرنزن ہُندُے چھاپ

ژٕے دِوٕ ٹھبوں وٕ روٗستے وزکھ کیا چھُے پُن تہٕ کیاہ چھُے پاپ

He has created everything remarkable or minor and the skill of His creation is the main theme of the poet:

Hard and rough cane feeds sugar and bee feeds honey,
The crippled bush produces delicious and sweet grapes,
Bravo! Thy art and skill, Oh My Lord,
Thou hast bestowed the deer of the desert with the gift of musk.

دِتھ نرس گورتُلرس ماچھے

دِتھ ہلم ہٕلس روٚنس دَچھ

بوگیاپأرٕ چانہٕ قدرٕ ژٕے

دِتھ وَنہٕ کس ہرنس رَچھ

The poet is devoted, obedient and has surrendered himself to His will and defines the real servant of God in this couplet:

One who does not put any shield to His arrows,

Does not hesitate to face His sword thrust,
Treats sweet all the curses which befall from Him,
He only shall get success in both the worlds.

کانن تُہند بن داٗری زِنہٕ سپر　　کرتجہِ چھوکن پھِری زبس نہٕ روے
بلایہِ تُہنزِ وٗندی زبکھ شکر　　اَدِ چھے تَتہِ کیو یِنتہِ آبروے

In another prayer poem he has made various references to local saints, mainly Hindus. They were his predecessors or contemporaries. Historical material is not available about many of them and so these poems are of immense value to a student of history.

The poet has prayed to achieve the same spiritual status which his predecessor local saints enjoyed in the realm of spiritulality. These poems have become part of daily prayers in Muslime mosques and shrines and thus he has removed the barriers of prejudice between the two communities. An atmosphere of mutual love and respect was deeply based and established:

پدمان پورچہِ لَلے
تَمہِ امرِتھ گلہِ گلہِ پوو
اوتارللہٕ وِن لولے
تیُتھ مےٚ وردِتو دِوو

To Lal Ded of Padmanpora,
Who took the divine nectar in abundance,
She, the great Yogini, lulled saints in her lap,
Bestow me, My Lord, with the same grace.

لُکہٕ بوونچہ کجے　　آکجے کرِن سوہ
ستی جاناوارن ژجے　　تیُتھ مےٚ وردِتو دِوو

The dumb girl of a petty village
Who quenched the thirst of the thirsty.
Flew in high heavens with her pet birds,

Bestow me, My Lord, with the same grace.

A dumb and mute Hindu girl carried pitchers of water to the village situated upon a hilltop, and would receive remunertion for the day's labour in kind. The same foodstuff she would give to birds and would herself starve. Her Lord was so much pleased with her that she was bestowed with the power to soar in high heavens.

In another poem he has supplied the posterity with precise but valuable information about eminent Reshi saints of Kashmir who had lived in oblivion and obscurity:

The Zalka Reshi of Dandakvana,
Who lived on the bitter soup of vild herbs,
These Reshis are really blessed,
Be pleased, my Lord, with Thy servants.

ڈنڈک وَنکی زلکا ریشی
تمی گژھس مونگن مایے
تتھین ہوبن ریشن
کر بندن توشہِ خدایے

He has in the same and other poems provided us some material about Plas Reshi, Miran Reshi, Yasma Reshi, Plasman and Khalasman Reshis.

In many other similar poems the poet has described his devotion for his Creator, the accountability of his deeds in the world hereafter, the blessings with which God has bestowed the universe, the fear of the day of ressurection, the dreadful terror of hell and the pleasures of paradise.

The Sheikh is a devoted and dedicated lover of Prophet Mohammad. According to him salvation in both worlds is a guaranteed pleasure for one who strictly follows in the footsteps of the Prophet. He has in brief and simple words summed up the real purport of Islam in this quatrain:

محمدؐتہٕ ژوریار برحق گنزرکھ
تمن نِش اندی دُنی پیٹھک نیاے

زُو جان پنہ نُے تمن پتھ بُنز رکھ

سوے چھیے تور کرٹ بڈ رہکاے

Believe in and have unshakeable faith,
That the path trodden by the Prophet and his Caliphs,
Is the only path of Truth,
Their deeds are the key to solve worldly problems.
If Thou follow them in letter and spirit,
Thou shall be happier in both the worlds.

In another quatrain the deep devotional and sentimental love for the Prophet is described by the poet with emotional sincerity but with artistic force:

رِندو ہیند بن ہنز کامہِ ترٲوتو

ترٲوی توتہِ پرٲوی تو حقہِ سنز وتھ

محمدؐ صاحب متہِ مند چھاوی تو

اَسہِ نِن دوزخس تمن روزِ گتھ

Oh wise, give up the path of paganism,
Follow the righteous path of truth,
Our misdeeds shall drag us to fire.
But the severe punishment than that,
Is the distress to which will be subjected,
Our beloved Prophet Mohammad,
Before his Lord, on the day of judgement.

Here the poet considers the distress of the Prophet more severe punishment than the torments of hell. In a quatrain with similar theme the twentieth century Urdu poet, Iqbal, requested his Lord to keep the balance sheet of his actions hidden from his beloved Prophet even if it becomes inevitable to expose the same on the day of resurrection.

Though this quatrain of the Sheikh cannot match in poetic delicacy to that of Iqbal but the former is more sentimental than the latter in both expression and dedication.

His love for the family members of the Prophet is manifestly

evident from this poem:

(Great and exalted is the status of daughter)
The daughter was born to Prophet Mohammad,
Whose birth confered upon this universe glamour and grace,
She got married to the sovereign king of spirituality.
She gave birth to two illustrious sons,
Be sure she will plead our cause on the day of judgement,
Had not she taken birth,
The values would have utterly eroded.

کوٗرد بدِ رسولؐ خدا یس زاے سوے کوٗرزِ بنہٕ آیہٕ عالمس شوٗب
سوے کوٗر شاہسؓ باءِ گنی آیے تس کورزِ گبرزاے اپروٗب
سوے کوٗر قیامٕ ژ نُتنہٕ کراوے سوے کوٗرنے آسہٕ گژھ نبہٕ دوٗب

The Sheikh's poetry is commonly known as Ka'shur Quran (The Kashmiri Quran). This is because the themes of his quatrains and poems revolve around some or the other verse of the Quran. That is also why his verse was given the name "Shruk" which he had himself used as Kashmiri equivalent for Hadith. The Quran stressed upon Tawheed (monotheism), strict adherence to righteous path, to offer five prayers a day regularly, yearly payment of Zakat and pilgrimage of Hajj. The Quran further teaches a Muslim to obey the dictates of the Creator, to believe in His omnipresence, to love and serve the humanity etc. These all are the themes of the Sheikh's poems.

God is one, He has not taken birth from anyone nor has anyone taken birth from Him but his attributes and dimensions are numberless:

It is He who plays the gimmicks of "Assertion and Denial".
Ceaseless are His activities,
He has decorated His own attributes with His manifestation,
Immune is my Lord to birth and death.
He has confered distinction upon human being,
Understand this secret if thou are wise enough,
Thou shalt see everything in thyself, if thee realise.
He is over and above hunger and sleep.
One who does not understand these realities,
Similar are day and night to a blind.

پانے چھُ گِندان نفی اثباتس　　أ کِس ساتس لببس نہٕ ژھبن
آرأیش دِژن یَتھ صفاتس　　ذاتس لببس نہٕ مرُن تہٕ زبن
شرف بخشُن حض انسانس　　تُرُک اے چھُکھ پانَے ژبن
سورُے گیان وُچھکھ منز پانس　　ذاتس لبی نہٕ بندِ رتہٕ کھبن
تیمُ نہٕ دھیان دِیُت اَتھ گیانس　　أنس ہِیُے راتھ تہٕ دبن

The one and the only one is my God.
Has a million attributes and names.
Not even a blade of grass can afford to live,
Without uttering permanently His name.
To one who eagerly waits at His door,
Himself He shall administer the dose of nectar.
All the scenes of this multi-act play are different,
but the actor is the same,
The keenest eye alone shall detect this reality.

The poet has always preached that one should remain in constant fear of the Almighty. One who really has unshakeable faith that he is liable to explain his deeds before his Lord and trembles in fear of his creator, shall consequently follow a righteous path:

Even if thee a lion, tremble in fear like a jackal,
Don't infringe the bund of religious path,
Thou dost not know swimming, thou hast drowned thyself near the shore,
Do not make thy being barrier between thee and Him.

The *Nimaz*, according to the Quran, is the discipline which separates one from sin and vice and the Prophet has called it the Meraj (zenith of evolution) for a believer. Hence the Sheikh's verses lay sufficient stress on the strict adherence to this basic discipline of Islam.

Work hard to earn livelihood and offer Nimaz,
Thy existence is meaningful, thereby only,
They have widest of fields and need to toil ceaselessly,
They shall really reap a rich harvest,

They will cross (the dreadful river) and shall remain immune to hell,

And their Lord shall treat them with generosity.
So offer regularly five prayers a day.
Kill thy evil self and therein lies Nimaz,
Blend nothingness with the Being of Siva,
And there lies the rich treasure of Nimaz.

The poet has with specific stress described the philosophy of each prayer, viz. morning, midday, afternoon, evening and night prayers and has laid stress on other optional prayers. To quote each of such verses will make this chapter too lengthy.

In another smaller poem the poet lays stress on Nimaz and observation of fasts during the month of Ramzan:

توش بندِ نمازِ بیہِ رمضانس تی بابہِ لگی پانس ستی
کن تھو شُرکبن حضرتِ قرانس اوٚت بابہِ وپر واژأے کتی
دوہہِ اکہ لَمہِ لَم لگہِ یتھ جانس أندی أندی یار بأے روزنے کتی
سُمتھ بأے بأے والنَے سرانس لُمی لُمی بارَو دِنَے کتی
گَپُرا وَلنَے أدرِس پانس ٹُند تہِ ڈوٗٹھ لگی پانس ستی
نِتھ اَدِ تراونَے اند مأدانس سُمتھ پیٹھ میژ ژبلنَے کتی
ڈپشتھ کل گوِ مُٹھے نادانس اَتھ شایہِ وپر گے ژُمتھ کتی

Oh, the servant of the Lord, love the Nimaz and Ramzan,
These are keys to thy salvation.
Listen attentively to the verses of the Qur'an and Hadis,
Therein lies your valour.
This universe has seen more brave people than you,
You, like all of them, shall undergo the pangs of death.
Thy kith and kin may for a while,
Sit around thee at thy last moment.
They all shall drag you for thy last bath,
And simultaneously shall repeat thy shortcimings.
Thy wet corpse shall be wrapped in the coffin,

And they shall carry thee to the islolated graveyard,
Thy deeds - good or bad - shall only accompany thee.

Truth is the essence of every religion and it is the foundation of all moral values. Hence the Sheikh has always condemned falsehood:

Like the leaves of a tree, you may tremble while speaking the truth,
But you will enjoy the fiction in thy falsehood.
You have ignored your Lord and followed the Satan,
Alas! Thy fate, thou art really undone.

پھڑ ونان پن زن نٹکھ
اَپُز ونان لگی رَس
خدائے ترا اُوتھ شیطان رٹکھ
سُے چھے وُچھان کھٹکھ کس

The Sheikh's poetry is mostly ehtical. Moral values are not like laws that carry any sanction but are stronger than codified laws. However their strength lies in the deeper conviction that human acts subject to scrutiny by some superhuman authority which has the keenest knowledge of our minutest sectret acts. This conviction is established by the belief that everyone is responsible before such authority and such a situation is to befall without fail upon every one of us. The belief that one is to account for his deeds and will have to receive reward or punishment, is the basic pillar of the moral structure that the Sheikh's poetry depicts and describes.

The Sheikh has in his verses drawn a horrible picture of the torments of hell and aptly describes the pleasure of heaven. He threatens his followers about the severity of punishment and conveys them tidings of comforts in the heaven:

Do as thou hast promised to do,
Thy deeds shall refresh thy memory,
Which shall become thy shield there,
Die before thy death shall come,
Then alone you will be remembered after thy death.

Self-mortification is the crux of meditation and in subjugation of one's evil self lies the essence of mortification. The Sheikh has with

vehemence, force and stress expressed the idea of surrender of the evil self in various modes and this idea is oft repeated in his poetry. However, at each time the frame of the idea looks new so its repetition does not become boring. While preaching these high ideals he has used the form of first person in his expression and confined the consequences of the evil self to his own person.

Alas! I am marred by my evil self,
It threw me into the ditch of darkness.
If it comes under my grip,
I shall kill it with the sword (of my action).

نفسی موڑس تہٕ واے أ ژِتھ بیوٚٹھم گٹے
اَتھِ ہے پیہِ ہمہ ہاے کرتل ژھنہٕ ہَس ہٹے

Oh my evil self, thou hast ruined me,
I nourished thee with lust and greed.
Thou hast been my bitterest and nearest enemy,
Thou hast sucked drops of my blood,
I have not been able to control this evil self so am apprehensive,
And to please it I lost the trinity of my purpose.
Hou much shall I repent now for my deeds?
This evil self has utterly destroyed me.

While cursing his evil self he has found in his contended self the presence of his Lord. Even states that the "controlled self" is the manifestation of the Lord.

نفسس موڈ پھ بد چدٕ رٹہٕ ہن خدا چھے

In spite of his life-long untiring meditation, devotional service to his Creator and sincere affection for everything He created, the Sheikh, was always repenting that he did not utilize every moment in prayers. In spite of all this devotion he feels that his life has proved a mere futility.

I slept during the prime of my youth,
Not a single day did I devote to my work,
Laziness prevailed upon me during my long age,
Did not overcome greed, did not foresee,

Now I ponder over this when I am unable to move even.
How can I persuade my displeased friend?
Did not realise that the evening has befallen at midday upon me,
I could not realise the follies of myself.

During the time of the poet Hindu society had already faced devastation due to caste discrimination. As indicated earlier, some Ulemas who where fond of worldly pleasures and official privileges also felt the indirect influence of this local malaise and started an undercurrent division of Muslim society on such a basis. The Sheikh came out vehemently against such social evils. He stressed his viewpoint by elucidation of Islamic conceptual environments:

The Aazar who carved idols all his life,
Gave birth to son Abraham.
He broke those idols into pieces,
And fought the Holy war against evil.
Built Ka'ba with his own hands.
Royal is the descent of Quraish dynasty.
Stone-hearted was its condemned son abu Lahab,
His own nephew was the last among the prophets
Abu Jehal (Father of ignorance) died a dog's death,
Who expelled his own nephew from Mecca.
Momentary is the base of this universe,
But immortal are the deeds in His name.
The nearest does boast of his descent,
Alas! He has neither wit nor wisdom.

It has already been stated that the confrontation to which some interested elements had tried to expose the two communities during the time of the Sheikh posed a potential threat to our values. It required timely intervention of some prophetic persuation. Hence the Sheikh with the miracle of his sweet verse averted the crisis and laid a permanent basis of religious harmony:

Ice, snow, the glacier,
All the three are water.

Two children from the same parents,

The Muslims and the Hindus.
Why this gulf of hatred between the two?
Be pleased with thy servants, of My Lord.

اکی ہے مائلس تہ ملجہ ہندن

دے ترا وَ کھتہ ہاے

مسلمانن کیو ہیندن

کر بندن تو شہِ خداے

Predominant theme of his poetry is condemnation of greed, lust, anger and jealousy:

Without the aid of a sailor, I did sail my ship,
By suppression of greed, jealousy, arrogance.
Lust, pride and anger,
Then I realised what I am.

He has titled a poem with the refrain "Arrogance does not befit a ***Mussalman***":

Arrogance shall destroy thy asset,
Its flames shall consume thy meditation.
Arrogance shall rob thy treasure,
Beware, arrogance does not behove a Mussalman.

Yet in another quatrain he says:

Jealousy, greed, lust and arrogance,
All these are attributes of the flames of hell.
Mohammad has come with salvation for you,
Art thou desirous of salvation, purchase humility from him.

The Sheikh belonged to such a mystic cult that considered this world merely a dream, a fantasy and a place of momentary pleasure. Everything of this world (the world in itself) is shortlived.

There are many watsuns quoted by the editors of Sheikh's poetry under the title of ghazals which generally depict the mortality of the world. Read these five stanzas of one such poem:

-I-

Deceitful is this world,
Full of fraud and deception.

Thou art proud in its nothingness,
Thou waste thy growth in feeding thy belly.
At thy arrival thou art jubilant enough,
But thou leave in utter agony and distress.
Alas! This world is full of deceit.

-II-

Deep and dark ditches surround you everywhere,
In shambles this universe does tremble.
Marsh is the shore of this ocean,
Alas! This universe is full of deceit.

-III-

I did not realise the tricks and treachery,
Decorated the edifice with show and lustre,
This world is nothing more than a dream in a slumber.
Let us go home - the game is over.

-IV-

The momentary flame of dry reed grass,
Which was spread in the atmosphere by the fast wind.
It is no more neither flame nor smoke,
In utter secrecy the burglar has robbed me,
Let us go home - the game is over.

-V-

I pinned my hopes in my sons and daughters,
Alas! I have oppressed and depressed myself,
I forget the message of mortality,
Let us go home - the game is over.

In another ghazal with the refrain "The blind is lost in bewilderness, how to reach the destination", the poet says:

(1)

The hoofs of my fast running horse are held in the mud and marsh,
Now I repent and weep in loneliness and solitude,
Ruthless has become the evil self, how to control it,
The blind is lost in bewilderness, wherer is the destination.

(2)

What shall I do with my destiny, the writing on the wall?

This edifice is shaken, its walls will soon fall.
The very foundation stone is fast eroding,
The blind is lost in bewilderness,where is the destination.
The blind is lost in bewilderness, how to reach the destination.

(3)

With what purpose did I come in this age of degradation?
The situations around have perplexed me.
My diamond of youth is broken into pieces,

(4)

The sandalwood of this building has decayed,
How to save the self from the flames of hell?
The blind is lost in bewilderness, where is the destination.

(5)

By robbing and stealing I collected, threw the same to dogs,
Now I ponder over, repent and weep.
All alone I am accountable for all my deeds,
The blind is lost in bewilderness, where is the destination.

(6)

The charm of my beauty is gone,
Wrinkles dawned upon my cheeks,
Nund Reshi shall beg mercy from his Lord.
The blind is lost in bewilderness, where is the destination.

The Sheikh as the propounder of Kashmir Mystic Thought, he skillfully blended the Sufi terminology with local mystic traditions. Herein a brief and summary treatment is contained which reveal that the incoming Sufi philosophy (Tassawuf) had greately influenced his behaviour though he did not go into the delicacies which were inherent in that philosophy then.

"Faqr" - Humility is the essence of the Sufi teachings and this conception (of humility) was even deeply rooted in the celestial culture of Kashmir as well. Equally "Love" (Ishq) is synonymous with the obedience of one's Creator and so mystics who might adhere to any discipline of mystic philosophy is all devotion for his destination - which is his beloved.

"Faqr" is defence against His wrath,
The only asset of all the Prophets.
Superior in value and essence to both worlds,
It is the intoxicating fragrance of His rose.
"Faqr" injures the senses and feelings never to heal up again,

It cuts deeper in the veins and heals the injured ego.

"Love" is the cherished path of a mystic traveler (Salik) and his mad dedication for his Beloved provides him a drive and inspiration. "Ishq" is the contentment of a lover. Its sufferings, tribulations, troubles and torments which a lover faces in the experience of love are terrible but provide him satisfaction, contentment and spiritual pleasure. Describing its pangs, the poet versifies:

Love is the tragic death of a lonely child to a destitute mother,
Can she heave a sigh of relief?
It is to lie upon the bed of piercing thorns,
Can one have a wink of sleep?
It is to throw one's naked body in a beehive,
Can one have a moment of rest?
It is to lead the brigade of troops to the war front,
Can he take a step in retreat?
It is to wear the red robes dyed in one's own blood,
Can one afford to lose the honour?
It is to cross the violent stream with headload,
On a sharp-edged thin bridge path,
Can one move left or right?
It is to offer the head to the thrust of naked sword,
Can one return safe?

In another quatrain Aashiq (lover) is defined thus:

Like the gold shall shine in lusrte,
Within the flames of the burning kiln.
He is burnt by inner flames of love,
Shall reach the spaceless destination.

Without any comment here are quoted some quatrains relevant to his mystic expression:

We came here but not know where to go,
Did never realise the perplexity of crossroads.
Can we ever persuade Him with mere flattery,
Who holds our destiny in his grip.
These attractive charming worldly pleasures,
Made me dance to their tune.

The Satan did put to fire the heap of my assets.
The chased thief confused where to excape?

Why, my soul, thou did not choose an opportune time,
Till thy purity got adultered?
Death watches keenly, like the fisherman for a fish in the lake,
And the tenant is liable to vacate the premises.

The "Daal" conferred union between the "Alif" and "Hai",
The "Hai" annihilated the "Bay",
By closing the six gates of senses in quest of the the "one"
I achieved union with "Meemless" Ahmad.

Alif, Hai, Daal, Bay and ***Meem*** are all letters of the Arabic alphabet. Alif is the symbol of monotheism, Hai is for immortality, Dáal for union, Bay for duality and so on. Alif, Hai and Dal form the word "Ahad" which means one. When "M" (Meem) is inserted it becomes Ahmad. In this quatrain the saint poet hints symbolically the stages he traversed to reach the destination of the Real Truth. He attained union by destroying the duality and by realising the oneness and immortality of that Real Truth. This goal of the "Ultimate One" was realised by him through the benevolence of Mohammad:

I am close to Him,
In full contentment I am with my Love,
Uselessly I wandered beyond my Self,
The ultimate solace is within me.
Rhetoric expression and fluent speech hardly attract Him,
He is moved by one who conditions himself to Him.
Always recites His name but voicelessly,
Thereby the falcon shall fall in his web.

He has expressed in simple ideas the experience of his uion with Absolute Love. The experience is simple and the path trodden by the poet is straight:

Without use of oars, carried my ship to the shore,
By killing vanity, greed and lust.
With devotion and sincerety I devoured for Him,
And thereby I recognized my self.

Nimaz sows seeds in thy field,
With thy cultured behaviour its crop shall ripen.
Its growth can't survive without water,

The heart should not be left in dryness.
It needs the wet atmosphere of Zikir.
Chisel the diamond of thy self.
Its lustre shall attract the vision of love.

Thoughtfully I explored the Kalima of Mohammad,
My sincere meditation attained union with His Being.
In my being I found the existing Reality,
And saw His manifestation from every side.
The highest stage of contentment is bestowed upon me,
He Himself taught me the intricacies of Shariat.

The origin of knowledge and sciences,
Lies in the connotation of Kalima.
The origin of meditation lies in mortification,
The origin of atmosphere lies within His knowledge,
And the origin of ocean lies within infinity.

There are other numerous poems, quatrains and verses which are replete with mystic expressions, matured advices and saintly experiences.

Quran is the code of conduct for every Muslim. Thus a true and faithful Mussalman models his life strictly in accordance with the principles laid down in it. The Mystics besides modelling their lives according to Quran, love each of its values, derive immese spiritual pleasure from its recitation, get the solution of intricate metaphysical problems from the simple but multidimensional guidance laid down in it. The impact which a Quari (reader of the Quran) should get rom its recitation is summed up by the Sheikh from his own experience thus:

Have not you died while reciting Quran?
And has not its recitation turned you into ashes?
How did you live? You have recited Quran,
You are reader of Quran and yet you are not perturbed.
Oh, you are really robbed by a tyrant dacoit.
They only read Quran who weep day and night,
And are reduced to skeleton and ashes.

In this poem "death" is not physical but it means the death of one's evil self. The poet's conception of knowledge is highlighted in his verses. He believes that the acquisition of knowledge should not be for worldly

pleasures, or economic gain not for the attainment of political position:

Thou scholars, alas!
Acquire knowledge to derive material gains.
Play tricks and fraud with each other,
(In job hunting and acquisition of wealth),
You are mad after riches, wealth and position.
And feel annoyed when you are to receive a guest.
Do you consider thyself among the chosen few,
But least thee know that none of thee can get salvation.

A scholar in real sense is a nectar vendor,
Who emits the water of life in drops.
He is accompanied by volumes of books,
And searches reality therefrom.
The scholar who reads for worldly pleasure,
Is externally proud but shallow inside.
He preaches to others, himself is devoid of values,
His actions contradict his theories always.

The acquisition of knowledge is storage of riches and gold,
The bargain lies in treading the straight path.
The investment in the bargain is truthfulness,
Faith is like candlelight, beware of wind and storm.
The Nimaz is to sow the seeds in thy field,
Weed it by thy cultured behaviour,
And get thy produce ripened soon.

Thy heart resembles a fish,
Don't leave it dry,
Feed it in the water of meditation.
Thy identity is a diamond.
Preserve it. (at all occasions)
Thy Lord is thy beloved with you.

In this poem the poet has used a phrase: "storage of gold". 'Ilm' (knowledge) according to this poem is to store gold in a box which succinctly conveys that it (Knowledge) is stock exchange for transaction between the individual and his society, between one society with the other and even between physical and metaphysical worlds. Hence the

poet cautions that one who is tuned to his Lord's commandments shall deal with it cautiously. In the transaction conducted with the aid of knowledge the principal amount is the Truth. The doner protects ones credibility in such transactions which are complex and intricate in nature. He compares such complexity with the wind and credibility with a burning lamp. So advises the light to be protected and maintained in the fast blowing wind and storm which is erosion of values. In this physical and metaphysical bargain conducted through the stock exchange of knowledge the "Nimaz" (surrender in prayers before Allah) are seeds sown in the field of behaviour. By civilized and cultured dealings the scholar weeds out wild and unwarranted growth from the field. Thereby he harvests rich crop in this transaction. By realisation of ones existence, the scholar receives laurels from his beloved.

The Sheikh's poetry depicts the geographical influence upon the life and temperament of a Kashmiri and the socio-political environment that surrounded him.

Kashmir is famous for its beauty, intellect, art & craft. Its *Wazwan* is also a distinctive cuisine for its peculiar preparations and taste. Some have vainly tried to connect the origin of various dishes served in Wazwan to some foreign countries but the verses of the Sheikh provide us the most credible evidence to show that these "varieties" are peculiarly Kashmiri and the institution of the Waza (professional cook) is also as old in Kashmir as other professions. The topic is to receive separate treatment under heading: "Kashmir in Sheikh's Poetry".

From the following quatrains, it is inferred that people were so generously hospitable that they would hire the services of an expert professional cook to serve varied preparations to even an ordinary guest. It is clear that guests were also given valuable gifts. The inner construction of this quatrain is both symbolic and mystic but, its exterior is relevant to the theme presently under discussion:

Visited thy place as a guest,
Thou generously and affectionately treated me.
Thou hast gifted a cow and calf to me,
Conscience is the bride, sensibility the groom.
The mind demands everything it comes across.
Meat and milk preparations have become wastage,

Let thee become Waza, my entertainer.
I shall be thy guest,
The soul shall soon get separated from the body.
Thou will cease to be my entertainer,
And I shall cease to be thy guest.

Ordinarily we should not expect social awareness from our classics and that too from the Sufi poets of medieval period. This conception is too recent. Ho wever, there are certain exceptions and the Sheikh's verses fall within that category. It has been earlier said that the Sheikh was a committed writer. He was committed to develop a society bassed on moral values free from exploitation and oppression. Hence he directly or indirectly raised his voice against any sort of exploitation and expressed concern against any oppression and misery. We discuss under befitting sub-headings both his social awareness and the element of protest directly and inductly projected in his verse.

In another poem while describing the topography, geographical environment, social conditions and economic miseries of people living in the Kandi areas, the poet gives vent to his own reaction and feelings. These villages are in close vicinity of forests and so possess a commanding picturesque view but owing to droughts, early snowfall and unripe crops the conditions of the people living in these areas is miserable. Here is one stanza quoted from this long poem:

The (poor) women of Kandi area,
Neither has headgear nor woolen 'pheran' to wear.
In spite, entertain the guests with generosity,
Their diet consists of barley flour and inferior wild fruit.

We will discuss this poem with necessary details as we comment under sub-title: "Descriptive Poetry"

In olden times due to floods, drough, untimely snowfall and early onset of winter, famines were a common occurance in this happy land. Due to geographical compulsion and lack of means of communication the import of foodstuffs was impossible. In these circumstances even rich people who could afford to spend, could not get in return foodgrains to save themselves from starvation. The poet says:

What use is this gold and silver?
Better than all riches is a maund of foodgrains.

His devotion to religious harmony, his reaction to casteism and his tirade against the exploiters of religion, all provide instances of social awareness in the thinking of the poet. Exposing the contradictions of his society he says:

(1)

Some have stored the various varieties of foodgrains,
Bearing different colours, red or white.
Some do not even possess food for dinner,
Their lonely child begs in streets.

(2)

At one's door the musician sing and dance in chorus,
But he in turn is inattentively drowsy,
Alas! The other one is tied, dragged and beaten.

(3)

One possesses golden sovereign coins in abundance,
Lends money and earns interest on it.
The other is compelled by circumstances to commit,
Lurking house trespass to steal things.

Descriptive Poetry

It developed with the evolution of masnavi which took birth in the nineteenth century. But it is an admitted fact that the Sheikh's verses provide us the earliest and best samples of such poetry:

The banks of the streams are decorated by Mantha plants,
The forests around are ordained by hyacinth.
Fascinating is their fragrance, the visitors pay homage,
The beehives provide white honey in abundance.
The Kandi areas are so beautiful surely,

Nuts are cheap produce in these areas.
In such abundance that bears too can't eat all,
Kernel produces oil in great quantity.
These areas are so beautiful surely.

کنجِ گامن بگہِ ژھوَے

This type of real description was a poetic rarity in Kashmiri language til the dawn of progressive writers' movement in later forties. The masnavi writers confined the versified descriptions to imaginary

gardens, palaces of the kings of fictions and battles of Rustam but never attempted to describe their own surroundings. The Sheikh, on the other hand, was consciously aware of his environment.

In other poem addressed to "Yawan Mats" the famous dancer, the poet has described in a few verses her beauty at the prime of her youth.

Paradise (*Surgas Bar Peth*)

Golden is its surface, flowers of saffron are its greenery,
Do you desire paradise, serve and so meditate.
On its outer gate stands the tree of Tuba,
It is the main entrance to the realm of pleasures.
Upon each of its leaves is engraved Kalima,
All its branches are of pure gold and white silver.
Its roots are surrounded by the source fountain and tranquillity,
Water of the fountain is sweet like honey, pure like milk,
The two banks of the spring are made of jewels and diamonds.
Its pebbles shine like precious stones,
The seats of His servants are richly decorated,
Pearls and gems are bestowed upon them,
Their profit richer, they are wise of the wisest,
They alone shall directly see,
His manifestation, vision of eternal light,
They shall form a constellation around the sun.

Lyricism:

It is distinguishable characteristic of his poetry. Under the influence of Persian language and literature, the Sheikh introduced new forms of prosody, rhymes, rhythms, similes and metaphors. He added musical flavour to Kashmiri poetry. The earliest ghazal is found in Watsun (longer poems). While discussing lyricism it is important to refer to such verses which are full of "Taggazul" - the characteristic of a ghazal, a wider term than lyric.

Love and romance are common themes of ghazal and lyric but in former genre, expression is given to the experiences of a dejected lover who dives into the depths of metaphysical, philosophical and spiritual aspects of life. It touches upon the ambiguities and obscurities of human nature, its origin and its ultimate end. In this bakcground we can qualify the Sheikh's Watsun as the foundation of ghazal.

.....

The arrow of Cupid has maddened the beauty,
My youthful arrogant beloved has fallen in love with flowers.
Pangs of separation have melted me like the snow of high peaks,
The thug has robbed me of everything.
The sweet rice dish has become a chaff preparation,
The time is full of curse and agony.

.....

And my conscience grew out of my forberance,
I have roasted my heart upon the flames of love.
The love is my beloved and so I keep it always with me.
With mere breath it cools down.
And with the same breath it regains the warmth again,
His being bangs upon these two breaths.
Lover sacrifices everything for the satisfaction of his beloved,
The two are inseparable as petals from fragrance.
One who becomes conscious of this vicinity,
Shall really achieve union with his love.
My friend is not so easily accessible,
So that I can enter a bargain with him.
Alas! He has pierced my heart into pieces,
By throwing the blows of sword upon it.
He has thrown burning fire in my naked lap,
I could not even utter a word.
Every part of my body is consumed by its heat.
My heart is full of wounds.

In the following poem (Mansoor Nama) the poet is both mystical and symbolic. The form is neither of Persian ghazal nor of Kashmiri Watsun. It consists of ten stanzas. Each stanza consists of four verses which are in "a, b" form. The first line of each stanza rhymes with the third and the second with the fourth;

Mansoor could not bear,
The manifestation of a particle of His being.
He uprooted the essence of contentment,
What an extrovert he has proved!
A tide out of an ocean was he,
Did not retain his identity.

He was nearer to Reality but behaved cheaply,
Divulged the secret and lost his way.
He did not end in flames of fire,
Mystics and lovers wept therefore.
He was Mansoor (the helped) so did not die.
He himself threw his fragrance to dust.
Got himself whipphed and stoned to death,
So as to keep intact the feeble thread of theory.
He is pride of the both mystic and lover,
How did his innermost secret fall out?
He himself dismantled the religious bund,
The secret became public.
As the beloved did reveal Himself to Mansoor,
And as He did made him taste the wine of love.
Got him punished like a thief,
Out of the ocean a drop he saw.
Dived into it and got pearls and gems,
The arrow of love did pierce his chest.
Tolerated the agony and did achieve his love,
He washed his body with saffron and camphor.
Thereafter gifted fragrance to the gallows,
He provided guidance both to lovers and mystics.
And thus became famous in this universe.

In this poem the poet has narrated in different dimensio commonly-known episode of Mansoor and has thus drawn va eternal and truthful conclusions form this single fact. It is unfort that this poem of ten stanzas with continuity of theme and conte recently been bifurcated into separate quatrains whereas both le editors of the Sheikh's poetry, viz. Baba Kamal and Baba Khalil, arrayed all these verses under a single title of "*Nazm*" (poem).

It will become too lengthy to quote verses relevant to this parti theme. However a few verses from the poem which he addressed t dancer *Yawan Mats*:

You have come like a beautiful nun in a green forest,
One is tempted to suck thy sweet wrists.
Now you have decayed like fallen grass,

Thou shall realise, oh mad youth, but alas!

Poetic obscurity is also evident in his verse which may have been noted in the above mentioned ghazals.

In another quatrain the Sheikh unfolds a simple and commonly spelt out idea of "Growth and Decay" but he has given in the last verse such a twist which widens the sphere of its connotation. The poet has so sincerely asked his reader to share the impact which was left upon his mind by a peculiar experience. This last verse makes an ordinary and oft-repeated idea novel and fresh:

The magnificent palaces of rich lords,
Overshadowed the architect of magnificence.
Wherein the beauty sung melodious songs,
And charm did sweep dust with peacock feathers.
Upon the land underneath and under the same construction,
Today I see the tillers reaping the cotton crop.
I have seen oh my comrade, let you go and see for thyself.

خانن ہندن روبہٕ خانن جانن دپان اُرِ ہُنٛد گژھ
سوندر ڈینٛٹھم ہُری ووکھناوان ژمرو ہٕتین ڈوان لژھ
تتھ شاپہٕ از چھے کپس بووان نصرٕ مےٚ وُچھ ژٕ وُچھنہٕ گژھ

In spite of the fact hat the Sheikh used his verse as a tool to revolutionise the society, at the same time he maintained the technicalities of poetry and contributed greatly to the evolution of Kashmiri verse. Hence his verses are all, without exception, examples of the use of poetic beauties. He has orginality in similes, tactfully devises new metaphors, coins words and phrases to suit the compelexities of his experiences and cautiously adds the musical beauties to his verse. Many of his verses have acquired currency as proverbs. It will need to quote at least one-third of his total poetry to illustrate this point. He could play pun in a single word and with such device he adds to the beauty of his verse. Let the reader note the use of similes and metaphors in this poem:

The fire to warm myself,
Is extinguished in my firepot(kangri)
Yet I have not lit the fire in my kitchen,
How towarm my benumbed being ?

Ignoring the heaps of corn I have sown the heaps of filth,
With futility I have spent my energy day and night.
Ignoring the gold and silver,
I purchased the inferior brass.
I broke the shining sword,
Forged sickles out of its molten metal.
In late autumn did I reap,
Th same what I had sown in spring.

Sun is set,
I have started to lit my kitchen.
Alas! It is extinguished,
The rice for dinner remained unboiled.

Thou art dancing on a ditch,
How doth thy wisdom allow you to do so?

Diamonds are not found in gutters,
Birds do not sing in the cage.
Narcissus does not blossom upon filthy substances,
Can a pearl necklace be had from hawkers of glassware?

It is very difficult to convey these poetic beauties, similes and metaphors in other languages. Some of the metaphors coined are:

Worldly pleasure as "inner fire within the heap of dry grass", knowledge as "emanating fragrance", the world of pleasures as "a ditch under cover of grass", human values as "a virgin treasure of diamonds", arrogrance as "a fruitless plant", humility as "a plant bent down with the weight of produce", a scholar fond of the world as "a donkey loaded with books", death as "a ferocious tiger", or "a sweet fruit juice", the ultimate reality as "a merchant adoring the market", soul as "guest", body as "leased premises", youth as "full moon", old age as "a broken wheel" etc.

The Sheikh has very tactfully introduced the poetic innovation of the use of antonyms:

.....

Equality is never possible
Between an "old ass" and the "Arabic horse"
Between a "wooden tub" and a shikara (boat)

Between a " frog and a "crocodile"
Between the " phoenix and a "crow"

.....

Some are born with virtues and grace,
Who have derived generosity of the ocean form a petty stream.
Some under the spell of intoxication gaze into the skies,
Their green fields have been devastated by locusts.
Some have earned huge profits without any investment.
Some run away under frustration,
Their full shops do not attract a single customer.

SATIRE & SARCAST:

Satire full of wit and humour oriented with sharp sarcasm are the distinct qualities of his verse which qualification remained significantly absent in the poetry after him till the later part of the nineteenth century. Mullahs, Brahmins,hypocritic reshis and Dervishes were the main targets of his satire and sarcasm. In these quatrains both the Mullah and the Brahmin have been ridiculed:

.....

These talkative Mullahs,
With long dyed beard,
Deceitful is their sweet speech,
They are author-minded liars.

.....

Mullahs have become merchants of mosques,
The Pandit steals the idols from the temple.
One among thousands of them may deserve salvation,
Others are all the disciples of Satan.

.....

Mullah is fond of beef and mutton,
Dubs vegetable as rejected grass,
Reluctantly swallows sweet cakes,
Warns followers: "Beware; of mosques-
Jins dwell therein ."

.....

The fat Mullah will run to attend the feast,
Like the leaves of a tree under the pressure of wind,

He will take mutton in plates and soup in bowls,
Minor deficiency invites his displeasure.

In this quatrain Mullahs, Sheikhs and Sufis are clubbed together and collectively exposed:

The Mullah is happy with gifts and feasts,
The Sheikhs are mad after greed and lust,
The Sufis are happy to cheat others,
Their one-time diet is three seers of mutton, a maund of rice.

The Pandit is ridiculed in this couplet:

The old and infirm Pandit shall search,
A virgin girl his wife,
Might be on his pyre,
But will never prefer a widow as partner.

Once Sheikh met a barber who shaved his head but found his knife and scissors rusty. The Sheikh asked his name and the barber replied, "Sir, my name is Shravana." Shravana corresponds to the month of June. The name indicated youth, prosperity and zenith of growth.

The month of Poh (corresponding to December - January) is synonymous for old age, acute poverty and nadir of decay. As the barber mentioned his name, the Sheikh gazed upon his personality and said:

I traveled with the wind,
The Shravana shaved my head,
Crows have bitten my naked body,
I didn't acquire profit, thou didn't undergo loss,
Let thee lose thy tools,
Oh thou art "Poh" but named as "Shravan".

The poet has used several specific words in different connotations than their literal meaning. Repetition of their use with different meaning at different places has widened the ambit of these words. Literally they have acquired the character of symbols.

The poetry of the Sheikh is full of references to historical events and personalities both form the Muslim world and Kashmir. In the like manner he has made quite a good number of references to the ecological intricacies and mythological anecdotes. In the interest of brevity we quote only some personalities about whom he off and on makes references. They are Rama of Dandakvana, Arjuna's valour, rise and fall

of the Pandavas, Noah, Khalil, Shadad, Hatim of Tay dynasty, Alexander, Pharoah, Molvi Rumi, Owais of Qarna, Sheikh Barsiya, Sheikh Sana, Suddhe Vano, Sodha Shrikant, Lal Ded and others.

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has introduced Nazm (Poem) which could not take of as an independent genre till the end of the fourth decade of the last century. It is during the middle of 20th century that under the influence of English Literature that a rich stock of modern poems added glammour to our Letters. The compilers of Sheikh's poetry have not mentioned any title to any of such poems. But the contents of such creativity of thought expressed and dimensions of the ideas underlying that the poet had assigned definite titles. We have earlier; under sub-title "Descriptive Poetry" described one of his poems. For its theme and continuity of the subject it can safely be inferred that the poet has specifically composed that poem under definite title as "Kandi Areas". Similarly the long poem consisting of seven stanzas (each of four verses) which gives expression to his intricate experiences in which he uses Mansoor as symbol and his episode as an illustrative reference deserves to be called as Mansoor Nama. In another poem already quoted hereinbefore poet has described the satanic ego and essence in the realization of one's self in which he uses episode about Iblis - the Satan - the source of the evil. That poem too can be termed as 'Shikwa Iblis' [*complaint of Iblis*].

The bulk if Sheikh's poetry spreads mainly in two forms. The longer poems, each consisting of several stanzas of four verses; the fourth a refrain has recently been qualified as 'Watsun'. Those scholars and critics have made this specification without diving deeper in the definitions of 'Watsun' as given by the authors of Noor Namas and Reshi Namas. These 'Namas' have been edited or authored during 16th to19th centuries and we have no earlier record which can be made basis to evolve the definition of either 'Waakh' or 'Watsun'. These compliers of Sheikh's verse define 'Waakh' as smaller form of verse and 'Watsun' as longer poem. They have not at all discussed the importance or otherwise of the 'refrain' generally used. In my view, Lal Ded has exclusively used the smaller form which bears close affinity with Quatrain or Rubai or a couplet. On the other hand the Sheikh has used Waakh, has made the longer poem Watsun as a model on which he developed Munajat, or even

the descriptive poems. Later by 19th century the same soil of watsun grew into Gazal, Naat, Munajat and Manqabat.

Those scholars who create a void between Gazal and Watsun are, in my view, mistaken. They blow hot and cold in the same breath. On the one hand the longer poem with fourth verse of stanza eulogizing Prophet (SAW) is accepted by them as Naat-i-Nabi. Similarly a didactic poem of several stanzas having foruth verse of every stanza as refrain is admitted by them as Munajat.Why and how such a poem (Watsun) that describes the pleasures of union with beloved, the pangs of separation and has all facets of Taggazul(lyricism) be excluded from the fold of Gazal? Reason infers that this discrimination is made so that these scolars attribute finally the poineership of this genre to themselves.

With this a bit longer introduction, let our readers share the intricate experiences LYRICISM of our poet (Nund) expressed through his smaller poems, Waakhs - Quatrains.

Ghazal

I

Mad art thou after lust and greed,
But cool thou art like a sober merchant.
This evil self makes you wander day and night,
It makes you run like a puppet in its hands.
Makes you swallow the filth and dirt,
Alas! You have lost the sense of discretion.
Bad smell enamates from you,
Which pollutes your surroundings for miles together.
Thy person has become the distillery of alcohol,
See for thyself the dead dog has fallen in thy well.
How can its water be purified?
Cow's urine have you mixed with pure milk.
Can you drink a drop out of it?
Like a cat you are in the jaws of a tiger,
Listen to my advice attentively,
These (desires) have taken you completely unawares
Spit upon thy wisdom.
Entrust thy boat to "Noah" in these cyclonic tides,
You can't cross this deep and wide ocean.

II

We love this world but alas! the death,

Under heavy load crumbles the bent back of an ass.
Everlasting is the single breath, but mortal being!
Deceived are we by the deceitful world?
Why have pride in this nothingness?
Lost are we in effectless situation, in mean gimmicks,
Enter with arrogance and leave with distress.
Tactics of thy false and deceitful world.

Forcefully has pride and greed overpowered .
Like a reed flute you sound harsh voices,
This world is so cold and chill,
Why to be deceived by its false warmth?

Thy back is the deep dangerous ditch,
Thy front but a moat, uneven surface.
The world trembles in uncertainty,
Why to be deceived by its charm?

Thy lakes are full with lotus, thy banks full with lilies,
Thy fields smile with laughter of saffron buds.
But alas! In chil cold all merge with dust,
Deceived thou art by this deceit?

Quatrains

Before the sunset, during the hours of day.
Do some work with devotion and sincerity.
Thou has created assets, buildings and houses,
By disputed devices fraudalent gimmicks.
Like bees collected honey in hives,
Which the birds consumed thy fortune.

Doth thou clean thy dirty body?
What use are these detergents at all?
With this dress of Dervish and with this rosary,
You can't find Him by deceitful means,
Who sees Him amidst the darkness?
Be a docile pet, obedient animal,
Tread the straight path, avoid misleading curves,
Remove weeds from the field five times a day,
Really you will see Him everywhere in thy contentment.

"Nar" begs and "Narain" begs,
Ishwar begs with a bowl in hand.
The Rama of "Dandakvana" begs,
Why to hesitate to follow the suit.

Straight I came and straight I go,
No craze does disturb the humility,
My worth was known to Him then and there,
How will He behave with His known and docile?

Just homeless and just with home,
Just in loneliness and just in company.
Just the mother of five Pandavas ruling the universe,
Just begs refuge at the hut of the potter.
He is Himself the butcher and vends the mutton,
He is Himself His own customer,
He takes accounts from Himself,
He is the mutton, He is the knife to cut it with.
One who is here adorns that domain too,
He lives in every atom, in every particle of of space.
He ordinarily walks on foot, is carried in palanquins,
He has hidden Himself in everything - look and see.

Forbearance is to face the thunder and lightning,
Forbearance is to face darkness during midday.
Forbearance is to lift the Himalayas in one's palm,
Forbearance is to carry flames in naked hand.
Forbearance is to grind thyseld in the grinding mill,
Forbearance is to swallow quintals of poison, a single dose.

Who has gone and did see Him,
Who have been devoted to achieve that.
One who keenly devotes himself to his job and duty,
He alone finds the shortcut to reach the destination.

The sour, the sweet, the bitter poison,
Who could swallow the blood of his own veins.
Who selflessly tolerated His wrath and was devoted to his duty,
He really reaches his cherished goal.

Whithin a moment His grace shall make the fortune,
Thy dry branches shall blossom again.
The phoenix remained dearer to destiny,
Hence imposed self-isolation.
On the boiling point upon flames in the boiling pan,
The butchered goose shall recite His name,
Can a servant afford to ignore his master?

Fill thy bag with the commodity of love,
The inner nightingale shall sing hymns.
Infuse in it thy unceasing breath,
Clear it from brass by application of acid ,
And thy pure gold shall glisten with shine and lustre.

Breaking the mathematical limits,
The countless adorned the infinity.
If we collectively adhere to one path,
None of us shall ever be misled.

*****

Kashmir

(14th & 15th centuries) *in Sheikh's poetry*

We have earlier seen that the poet has provided direct and indirect hints about his life in his verses. This is the first source to edit his biography and rather the touchstone to examine other facts about his life contained in other records. Similarly, 14th & 15th century's Kashmir is too transparent through his verses and we can safely edit socio-cultural history of that period on the basis of information provided therein. But exercise of due diligence and research oriented discretion are sine qua non. We are fortunate to have earlier historical records available but are unfortunate that such records only cover the stories of kings, intrigues and wars. We have neither cultural history nor any reliable material to consolidate one. In such circumstances the Sheikh's poetry is remarkable milestone in this respect. We will deel this topic under some sub-headings.

a) Agrarian Situation:

In this respect the poem "*Gongul Nama*" - " Peasant's Anthem" provides remarkable source to describe the situation of the majority who constituted the agriculturist class. As said we have no direct material on this topic on which we can check details given therein so have to presume that the discription given in this poem correctly reflects the then existing agrarian position. To some of our cotemporary scholars some terms used in this poem appear of the recent texture but so is based on their own defective study. They niether read Sheikh's poetry with deep interest nor have any understanding of even present agrarian laws and customs.It seems that the offices of collector, landlord, the guard and the Muqdam were then also in vogue. This poem has used all these words. I think chakaldar (chakdar or landlord) is distortion of Tsakalder. The sound 'ts' was conveyed in these chronicles or anthologies by writing 'ch'

but the term in original is tsakalder. 'Tsakul' means a portion of land 'dher' means the holder, and thereby the term connotes the holder of land. Later it was written as chakaldar in Persian chronicles and anthologies which confuses the minds. Similarly, in the manuscript of Mir Abdulla the last verse of this poem contains not muqdam but mukhdoom. The term has originally been 'mukhia doom' meaning the head of the few dooms (the inferior village official). Islam spread in Kashmir fastly and simultaneously Persian culture and language also dominated. The majority of these village headmen i.e. Mukhia Dooms were converted to Islam and the refined Persian preachers and missionaries converted his term from 'mukhia doom' to muqdam. Hence the impression without scholars needs to be cleared. In spite we can not rule out some interpolation.

This poem establishes that the feudal economy was the rule here also and it had broken the backbone of the agriculturist class. He was subjected to all terror and even his ripened crop would be declared by the tyrant agents of landlord as unripened and he would be left with so small quota of produce which could hardly sustain his family for a few months only. This poem has been produced with translation at appropriate place and hence the readers may read it to grasp with full detail the point conveyed.

b) Kashmir Couisine:

The wazwan has acquired worldwide recognition as a distinct Kashmir couisine. Due to direct and deeper influence of Persian language some of the dishes served in *wazwan* have been given such names which have origin in Persian language rather in prevailing Kashmiri. Among these dishes *kabab* etc are quoted as instances and on such basis it is averred that these dishes have Persian origin. But, that is not the case. Even the visitors from Iran who have taken such dishes in the valley admit that they have nothing common with Irani dishes. Here Sheikh's poetry solves the riddle.

سَتہٕ دَجہِ وولگہِ بتہٕ زعفرانی رِستہٕ

اَمہِ کھبنہٕ فرشتہٕ گژھن بیمار

کلی، دوپیازِ مبتھہِ ماز رِستہٕ

وُلگیَن آسہِ نہٕ یُتھ آہار

The pulaw *prepared with choicest rice,*
The ristas *prepared on the saffaron water,*
These are the diets with which even angels will fall ill.
Kali *(liver dish)* dupiaz, methimaz *and* rista,
Shall never be the menu of a saint.

The Sheikh has used *pulaw*, saffaron (yellow) *rista, kali, dupiaz, methimaz* and simple *rista* in this stanza. All these dishes are even prevalent today and are all distinct dishes of our wazwan. Instead of the word '*wulgi bata*' we presently use the word '*pulaw*' and probably the simple *rista* is the present '*gushtaba*' whereas '*dupiaz*' is either known by the same name or also by the name of '*rogan josh*'. *Methimaz*, the intestines of the ram cooked with the vegetable *meethi* is considered one of the delicious *chetni* as Jehangir has described it in his memoris. The *kali* is not, at present part of Muslim wazwan but is a favourite dish of Kashmiri Pandits which is prepared from lambs liver. The following poem also describes the food habits of his time.

بو پأری کانگرِ تہٕ جندس
تیمٕی وَندس گرم ترِ رأچھی
یی تہٕ بہومُت نعمژ وہندس
نوٗن تہٕ صُدرِ کانٛز چھُم یڈ رأچھی
بو کیاہ منگے قلایہِ قندس
ہَند تہٕ ہاکھ چھُم چھوٗت ماچھی

Committed I am to my firepot and rag,
Which have defended me against the severe cold.
I have treated more delicious than all dishes,
The refused boiled rice provided artificially heated by steam.
Salt added to sour water protects my belly.
How can I desire to have a sweet hot drink served by samovar?
The leaves of saag and lilac are more delicious than white honey,
They might defend me against reprehension.

This poem in which the saint poet describes his humility conve

us certain infromations of his time. Kangri (firepot) has been then also defense aginst the cold and continues so in spite of new inventions. It seems that due to poverty, the use of the left over cooked rice was then a rule and in the colder season the rice boiled on one day would be used on next day also to save the fuel but would be applied the steam afresh so that its ice was broken. The lower class people would feel content with very inferior and cheap drink prepared out of wild walnut juice which tasted sour but would be applied with a bit of salt. On the other hand the rich would be served with sweet drinks contained in nickled containers. Similarly, the poor would prepare dishes of saag leaves or lilac leaves whereas the rich would specifically get white honey rather than coloured. There was scarcity of white honey, which is now scientifically being worked out of the coloured honey.

Reference has been made of his descriptive poem about Kandi villages. It has figured in our discussions under sub-title "descriptive poetry". However, in a stanza he describes the dress of poor women of Kandi area, their traits of hospitality and their usual diet.

وودِ کانژھ تہٕ مُنلی ڈُلی

مہمانن ستی ہینٛے وَے

پنگہِ لوکھرِ ترٛوٹہٕ ڈُلی

گنجہِ گامَن بگہٕ ژھوٗے

Their headgear was a woolen scarf. They would wear long loose woolen gowns. They were so generous that in spite of their poverty they would share their daily ration with guests and their diet consisted of cakes prepared out of ungrinded inferior stuff of Pinga and would use the water of another inferior type of wild seeds called Trumbe.

This topic requires a seperate volume so to avoid the bulk the quoted instances do suffice.

c) Hospitality:

The distinct and distinguishable trait of Kashmiri culure lies in its tradition of hospitality which existed from good old days under all political and cultural influences and continues as a dominant trait of present day culture. In a poem eulogising the four companions of Prophet

(PBUH) viz. Hazrat Siddiq, Omar, Usman and Ali the poet showers praises upon the habit of hospitality of the fourth Caliph Ali. His prominent qualities have been that he was an outstanding scholar,a brave warrior and the head of all spiritual disciplines dominating celestial life. But, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has prefered to praise distinctly his trait of hospitality

Hazrati Aliyas tas pahalwans,
Tsut yem kheyi Mehmaans Seit.
{(praise be) for worrier brave Ali,
Who shared the loaf bread with guest.}

Now read this poem:

آسَے پوٚژھ تہٕ تھوٚوتھَس تازٕ
آلُژ کوٚرتھَم گاو تہٕ وٚوژھوٚ
پزٕنے کتھ مہرٕنٛز زُو مہرازٕ
نبکَتھ مازان یی مے گوٚژھوٚ
دود گو گُرُس گوگجہِ مازٕ
ژٕ تہِ بَن وازٕ بہٕ تہِ بَنہٕ پوٚژھوٚ
زُوَس کیٚڈتھ نِن بَڈٕ اندازٕ
ژٕ تہِ گُس وازٕ بو تہِ گُس پوٚژھوٚ

Thee warmly treated me as thy guest,
Gifted (on my departure) a cow and calf.
The consciense is the bride, soul the groom,
The urge desires such treatment only.
The milk has become diluted curd,
The mutton dish has turned like turnip soup.
Let you behave like descent skilled chaf,
As guest I get warm treatment from you.
Alas! At last the soul will be taken towards heavens,
And neither you will be my entertainer nor I your guest.

This poem with mystic and philosophical strains exposes to our gaze some cultral traits which were dominant during the poet's life. The

main trait has been of hospitality. It did not confine only in offering the guest with choicest of dishes but, on his departure he would be given gifts of profit oriented valuables. It also shows that the dilute curd and milk, the both types of drinks were served to guests. The econimically sound people would entertain their guests with milk drinks whereas the poorer would also provide their guests but diluted curds. The common dishes were turnip soup as well as mutton soup.

صاحب ستۍ تیی مہمانس

تھنزِ لولرِ کیژھا وِزے

یہِ دِکھ پرَس تی چھے پانَس

کزوُد مو مسلمانس پزے

This poem describes the qualities of the true Mussalman.The above quoted stanza shows the respect with which Kashmiris would treat their guest. It says that the Almighty Himself comes in the guise of a guest and hence whatever is offered to the guest is the savings for the next world.

d) The life standard:

آدَم وو پدووُن میژے

میژِ ہند کر گنڈِتھ کبتھ؟

سارِ نعمژ وو پدیاوِن میژے

رَنان میژ وِن بانَن کبتھ

The Almighty has evolved the man from earth,
His all earthen limbs are the disciplined constitution of body.
He, the Almighty has grown all blessings from the earth,
In earthen utensils is cooked our food.

The poet has earlier refered to nickled container for hot sweet drinks i.e. Samovar. It shows that such container was in use those days and even people would take hot sweet drink prepared out of honey. He has also refered to *trami* (big copper plate) and *pigdaani*" i.e. spit-toon. In this quatrain it is directly deduced that the well to do people had

wardrobes of clothes and would change their dress as occasion demanded.

کیاہ گرِ وِلجہِ جامَن
سورِ سامانہٕ چھم تَس کِتو'
بَس تُہنزِے چھم مَنہٕ کامَن
گرِ تزوُم زیوٚن گس کِتو'

What shall I do with these wardrobes of dresses,
My asset is kindness of beloved,
His desire dominates my mind and thinking,
I have abandoned my home,
For whom to live?

Tying the turban around head was a distinction of honour upto recent days. Even these days the turban hasbeen the distinction of a groom, it is by no an inalienable part of the dress on convocations of graduates of our universities as they recieve degrees. *Dastarbandi* (tying of turban upon head) is a great honour. So was even during the time of the Sheikh. He says: "One who controls his anger jealousy and bias he only is distinguished by turbaned dress."

We find nowadays a sort of competition among the people to construct new fashionable houses. It has been a trait of our culture from early days. The Sheikh warned his people that construction of multistoried edifices amounted to throw mud upon the sky (which ultimately befalls upon them). "Alas these fools do not remember that they have to lie buried under the huge debris of earth and for whom do they construct these houses."

ئزلی لزأین میٚژ مُری
تمے ترٕنے سَتتھ وُری گے
یَمو بٕکر کوٚر تہٕ دان گُری
تِم مُندی تہٕ خام خری گے

یَمو دِل کوٗر قرآن پُری
یم یم تہندی نیری گُے

(1)

Thee hast wasted thy life in construction of houses,
In this soon decaying home.
To achieve these fast decaying ends.
Thou hast antognised people.
Bees store honey recklessly,
Ultimately that is eaten by sparrows.

(2)

These unwise people do construct earthen dolls,
Call them homes.
And one such unwise did so only sometime back,
Within seventy-three years those have dilapidated into ruins.
Who devotes life to His discipline,
Behaves generously (towards His creation)
Only those people smoothly traverse His path.
Who devotedly disciplined their lives according to Quranic mandate,
They only reached to the destination of His favour.

e) <u>The diet habits</u>:

While giving treatment to the traits of of hospitality and the then prevalent life standard we have made references of food habits of our people during his time. But, at many places in his poetry he makes references of other items too. Those refer to the boiled red rice, the cooked refined white rice which he calls wulgibata, mutton dishes, sweet hot drinks, cream, wild vegetables like saag, lilac etc and among fruit he specifically makes mention of the pears, grapes, walnut, apple, appricot etc. He also mentions that people would be served with barley water, he mentions the bakery items like *baakirkhani*. He was during his pre-cave days very fond of red boiled rice and cooked fish. However, nowhere transpires from his poetry that people then used either maize or wheat. Besides, the sugar extract sweets like *naabad* was then also a delicacy.

گورِ گتھہِ چھنے نابد تہِ ٹنگ
یوڈوَے ویژی تہِ پرٛیٚی
گرِتھ غور گورَس مَنگ
ووندس شہلتھ پٛیٚی

The words of thy tutor are sweets and pears,
But in case you understand and obey.
With due care and understandings demand from your master,
Then your heart will achieve contentment.

f) <u>Moral Degradation</u>:

It seems that the rude and nude dances were then also prevalent and "Tandaw Dance" created moral baseness in the society. He had found that such dances and similar courses of fine art had become sources of amorality and immorality, which had even resulted into ravishment.

پر پَیَن کندِ کرکھ نالہِ مُتی
کندیو کرکھ مُتی خیال
بازرِ نہِ میلان ہیتی
کندیو کاژس ءِکنگھ لال

You feel pleasure to embrace wives of others?
Such ideas and thinking both are embarassing.
Dead impossible is to purchase even for any huge price,
Thy precious diamond, characte.

In another poem, he, with deep sarcast, criticises that a prostitute can hide her sins under the long rosary and a pimp subjects his being to degredation.

g) <u>Social inequalities</u>:

Human history is dominated by the forces of exploitation right from early days which domination has resulted into great socio-economic divisions and ultimate consequences have been agitations, supression, mutiny and devastating wars. Sheikh's era has not been an exception in either way. This book will discuss separately under the title "The Poet of

Protest" this facet of Sheikh's poetry. Herein we will confine only to the theme pinpointed above.

کیژژی اُسی منگان تمن نہٕ دِتکھ
کیژژن دِتکھ نہٕ ہیوٚت ہگھ اودی
کیژژن سورُے مُرتھ موٚٹھکھ
کیژژن سورُے اَتھہٕ ہبتھ موٚدی
کیژژن منگان بُتھ گو گُژہنوٚ
کیژژن ما دِتکھ اَن تہٕ ہبتھ کبتھ
کیژژی اُسی پکان دوٚپ ہگھ بہو
کیژژن دِتھ نیوٚکھ پھیرِتھ کبتھ

Demands were raised but denied,
The denied demands were imposed by force.
Some people had to die while agitating their demands,
Some people where deprived and they perished in deprivation.
Some people so insistedly demanded that they got their faces blackened,
Some were denied even access to sources of livelihood.
Some were dynamic in their demands but were made to be static,
Some were given but later the domain was snatched from them.

وُچھتہٕ بگیہِ کأژاہ ژھنڈاوبتھ وَتہٕ
نَتہٕ کُہہ زانہِ ہی چأنی سپر
دِتُھ گدا یَس تاج شاہس لَتہٕ
عألماہ بیچھان مُرکھاہ پپر
تَس مُرکھس لَچھہِ بَزٕ نعمژ پتہٕ
تُرٛکاہ تَس گُن تھوٚتھ منٛظپر

Oh my Lord thou hast devised innumerable ways,

How could otherwise yours secrets be known.
Thou hast adorned the head of begger with crown,
Have kings got trampled,
The scholar goes with begging bowl in hand
A fool becomes a priest,
The unwise is fed with thousand blessings,
And the wise remains at his beck and call.

چھُ پأزن آپران کوکر تچھان
مُڈن بَرتل پھیران ترٛکی
سوزن جکھان کوزن کھوٚان
ذأکر حأران غأفِل سُکھی

The phoenix is fed with care and love,
The hen is wandering in search of feed.
The pious is made to undergo hazards of hardwork,
The vicious pounces upon the earnings of the pious.
Those devotedly meditating are wandering in oblivion.
The reckless are in comforts.

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
گون پرٛژھتو ژون دِشن
مارُن بزبم تھوٚوُن آیتوٚ
کینژَو ڈیوٚٹھ کینژی ڈیشن
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
تَس گون تہٕ ڈٔہ لوٚژھ ژھاران
گوری آبِ حیات اوٚنے توٚتُو
شیتھ ژَلان تہٕ پانژھ لاران

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

اکھ فرشتاہ وورزٕنہِ گارے

ژوٗر رچھُن برتَل کِتوٗ

گُرن زٕ آسس تارے

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

تِمو تھزرے گاربکھ وَتے

مُنزی بازأری چرخا دِتُو

تام زَزُر وَلان پَتے

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

اکھاہ بوٹنہِ ہایُر ژھنڈان

تَس وپٔتھ وأژے توٚتُو

بیاہ بہتے لاچہِ نیل گنڈان

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

أکِس برتلہٕ سازندٕ گبوان

وُدی چھُ لأگِتھ نِندرِ ہوٚتُو

بنٛیس رزِ تہٕ لورے لایان

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

کیژٕن نمازٕ تہٕ روزٕ ذِمہٕ

تِمن بگی روٗد پانہٕ تیتوٗ

کیژٕن وُہر سأری گیہِ لمہٕ

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

کیژٕن ہتہٕ بٔدی دانِکی گُچھن
أنی وُچھَن زَگ کیاہ چھوٚتُو
کیژٕن وَے نتہٕ معصوم بچھن
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
کپنژی پوٚت یتھ أتی وَدان
کموان نَتہٕ ژانان دزوتُو
کپنژی تُوِتھ بُترأژ ووان
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
دشہِ راونَس نیتو جشن
تس ہلمت وتی ووتُو
رازِ رامَس وشل وشُن
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
کوٚلِس اگاہ آوُے کوٚلوٗ
سُے راجَس بوجی ووتُو
بیاہ کوٚلُس ژبتھ گو کوٚلوٗ
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
رُچھ گنگے پُلاس ریشَن
تیمی بُہژ آگر دِتُو
تھامہِ گاڈ رُچھ ناگہٕ نِشن
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
کیژٕن وَن تہٕ وارے مچھان

درمہٕ کوچھن لبوان ژھٹو'
کیٚنژی ہر دم گرَے رچھان
پانہٕ آشن کس کیٚاہ دِتُو
قودرٕژ تُہنژِ لگی نہٕ مان
اَسہِ چھُ پنُن دامانہٕ ژھوٚٹو'
چھےٚ اُکی ہے خلقت نمان
پانہٕ آشن کس کیٚاہ دِتُو
کیٚنژی مرتہٕ پورے لدان
دھرمَس دِوان سُمہٕ سوٚتھو'
کیٚنژی مُہتھ مأرِتھ نِوان
پانہٕ آشن کس کیٚاہ دِتُو
زٕتھ کیٚاہ کیٚاہ لگن اومان
چھ یہٕ سکلی نمان توٚتُو
ساس ارداہ عالم انان
پانہٕ آشن کس کیٚاہ دِتُو
زَے کار بوٚیِن کرمَس
یَس نہٕ اندی ڈبکہٕ لبکھتو'
فکرِ لونُے بوٚیِن زرمَس
پانہٕ آشن کس کیٚاہ دِتُو
کیٚنژن دولگہِ بتہٕ پلہِ پوٚل بچی
تِم کھوٚان مولہٕ مُلی ہوٚتُو

کینژن ہاکھ نہٕ کامنز زَچے
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
أکس دِتُن ہیت تہٕ ہستو'

عقلہِ رۆستے فکر کزاے
بیاہ اَرٕ سَرٕ کَرٕ گُھرٕ رۆستے
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
أکس رٔنی چھے شیخ بوٗنی

سُہ چھُ انبر گنڈِتھ چھوٗتُو
بنٕیس رِوان وَدان ہوٗنی
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
أکس دِتُن پتٕرٕ دُنو

بیاہ دپان کوٗر کندِ زاے
ترٛتیم تھوٗوُن چھون تہٕ چھوٗتُو
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
أکس رٔنی چھے وزیر ہاوس

سو ہوَس بربس کوٗتُو
بنٕیس اتھہِ آیہِ گُکِل کاوَس
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو
أکس رٔنی چھے لعل تہٕ لُدوٗر

گَرٕ سٔندرس گُلژہ کوٗتُو
بنٕیس زاگان مُژھس اوٗدُر

پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

أکس رٔنی چھےٚ طوطس ہأرہٕ
گارِ آشِس اَتھہِ آو کِتھو'

بیٚیس رٔنی چھےٚ ہأرس برأرہٕ
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

أکس سون تہٕ موہرٕ واسنی
دِوان دَن تہٕ ہوٗان دِتُو

بیاہ پرٕگرٕ اَژان سُنی
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

أکس پأرِتھ گچھِ ستی مندر
سوندرن ستی چھِوان موٚتُو

بیاہ نبرٕ ترِ اندر
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

گُذأرِتھ ژور وَخ پیٚشن
تَوٕ نزدیک واتگھ ریٚشن

وٕنی وبَتھ تُندٕ ریٚشن
پانہٕ آشن کس کیاہ دِتُو

In this long poem, the poet has exposed to our inner gaze the contradictions prevalent in the society. They might bear reference to his times but the immortality in these ideas is universal.

It is He who has bestowed various people with His grace,
Various graces have been bestowed upon a single person.
Multidimensional are all the four dimensions of the universe,

The falsehood has been curbed, the sincerity is prevailing.
Some have seen, some are desirous to see,
It is he who bestows people with grace.
Some people have exhausted their multidimensional intelligence,
(But alas lost in failure.)
On the other hand the shepherd brought the nectar.
(What a wonder?) Eighty ran away, five chased them,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One lives an angels life but feeds a thief as his guard,
For he had to play gimmicks with the two,
It is he who blesses the people with difference and distinction.
Some did choose pathways and some highways,
Some did dominate the stock exchange,
But sooner their hair grew grey.
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One goes to far off destinations in search of honour,
Alas, his misfortune follows him.
Other static at his place but gracefully is honoured,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Upon one's door art dances to his tune,
Himself inattentively behaves.
The other is tied in ropes, and is constantly beaten,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Some have disciplined their lives with Nimaz and fasts,
Their Lord has remained pleased with them.
Some have meditated throughout lives, but wastefully,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Some have stored various kinds of food grains,
Careless waist varites of valued items.
Some are hungry and their innocents beg in streets,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Some people sow seeds after the sowing season,
Harvest the crop at earliest.
Some sow seeds, toil and work hard but yield sorrow,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
A mute and dumb is blessed with sixth sense, foresees events,
With that distinctive foresight he becomes companion to the king.
The eloquent and rhetoric is dubbed dumb and mute,
It is He who blesses with distinction.

Plas reshi determined the course of the Ganges,
He made his houseboat to originate the source of the flow of water.
The restless fish was thus saved in that spring,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Some do neither possess forests nor the vegetable land,
Their food stores have turned into the heaps of chaff.
Certain people have been fed with nothingness,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
His creative prowess is unrestricted,
But alas our skirt is too limited to encompass it.
All the creatures bow before His oneness,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Some people do construct multistoried houses,
They contribute generously for the charity purposes.
But some people forcibly plunder the assets of others,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
It is immediately after one's birth,
That his desire enthrills his being,
He therefore with sincerity and devotion,
Bows before Him, who controls eighteen thousand universes.
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Long live the dictates of destiny,
Impossible is to undo with the writing on the wall.
Devotedly one should ponder and grasp,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
With some, the delicious pulow is in abundance,
That it excedes consumption and is wasted.
Some are even unable to purchase the leaves of saag,
They are poorly dressed and poorly fed.
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One has been bestowed with herd of elephants,
He has no wit has hired the wisdom.
The other is bewildered in thoughtful anxieties,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Wife to one is like soothing shade of sprawling chinar,
He is honoured in society for her company.
The other's wife constantly barks like a bitch,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One has been bestowed with a number of deligent sons,

The other is burdened with the liabilities of daughters,
The third is deprived of the both and weeps,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Wife to a certain person is a minister of his desire,
He therefore loves her so passionately.
The other is a perching dove in the grip of a crow,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Wife? To one is like a mine of diamonds and pearls,
Really her husband loves her company.
The other's wife finds faults with her husband,
So chases the fish like a crocodile.
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One has been bestowed with treasures of gold,
He in exchange purchases pleasures of his creator.
The other has original art to commit lurking house trespass
during nights to commit thefts.
It is He who blesses with distinction.
One's house is decorated with giety,
Among beautiful damsels enjoys romance.
The other without shelter is exposed to the cold of winter,
It is He who blesses with distinction.
Offer four prayers and particularly mid day prayer,
Thereby you will attain proximity to thy Lord.
These descriptions have been narrated by Nundreshi,
It is He who blesses with distinction.

It is proper to have precise discussion about the poetic beauties in this earliest poem of Kashmiri language. Too recently our scholars without having full perception of the poetic genres pre-vailant from good old days have qualified a long poem with a distinct poetic genre which they call 'watsun'. This author for his keen study of Sheikh's poetry, the later poets who followed the Sheikh and after having vast study of the manuscripts of reshi Namas and Noor Namas, has a different view. It is on the Watsun form that the Sheikh as original thinker pioneered various poetic genres like Munajaat, descriptive poems and even gazzals. By the mere refrain verse the watsun can not be treated as a distinct genre, it means only a longer poem. The above quoted poem has its original beauty in the tactful dealing of contradictory statements and positions. In the same stanza of four verses the poet projects two contradictory

positions prevalent in the nature or in the society and such contradictions are described with a tinch of satire and sarcast thereby every statement has encompassed within its ambits varied topics. Some references in this poem have greatly become unintelligible for two reasons. Firstly, I feel while transcribing from Sharda script in the defective Persio-Arabic script (as was then adopted without introduction of didactrical marks, vowels etcwhich could suite to phonetical variations) the scribes have committed certain blunders which have impaired the text. Secondly, those very incidents, anecdotes or happenings (historical or legendry) have not reached to us to which the poet has made very pointed but precise references. Let us consider a few instances. The poet says that someone did lost his intellect, inteligence and multidimensional energies in search of something whereas the shepherd did discover the nectar. In another stanza reference is made to some angelic person who had fed a burgular as his guard - both these references remain unexplained. However, the reference about Plas Reshi is also revealing and demands our inquisitive probe in the matter. With all such rich references of both characters some intelligible and some unintelligible, this poem reveals universal truth but depicts certain contradictions which were inherent to the poet's own society.

h) The means of communication:

Topographically Kashmir is surrounded by high peaks and mountains on all its sides and is a land of rivers, lakes, springs, rivulets and streams. Hence the communication has had its own peculiarities. From south and north, ingress into the valley and egress out of it was very difficult and was mainly through very sharp edged cliffs of the high mountains. It was therefore that every drought or flood in valley would result into immediate famine causing thousands of deaths because import of food grains for communication reasons was almost impossible. Internally the main means of communication were through water. He says: " Thou ascend on horseback towards high peaks and mountains and you descend towards lower areas in the boat." This verse sums up the then two prevalent means of travel. Kashmiris would go towards elevated positions, mounds, peaks and hills on horseback and would move in the valley in boats. It is thus that the term Naavetaar has become synonymous to Persian term Zadirah meaning travel expenses. It is also

clear that huge boats (Khuch) was used for carrying stocks from one place to another place. Even until very recently the food supplies department of the State government used to distribute rations on ghat-riverside. Even currently for purchase of ration from the State Supply department we use the term:"to go to Ghat", though, by now these purchases arte made from shop or store houuse. Ths practice of supply through river is restricted to some parts of the city only. Note this stanza:

کونہِ اوٚت تام ژینیا تھ وِزِ ہے
کزیہِ بُرِی بُرِی نِزِ ہے ناوو
اللہ نُندس ترہنا کزے
وو تھوٗ گِند تھ گرِ گژھ وو

Oh Nund thee did not feel at appropriate time,
Should have carried boatloads of thy virtues.
Now pray and beg for His mercy,
Like a naughty boy thee lost the day in playground.
The game is over leave for thy home.

j) <u>Customs, Superstitions</u>:

Sheikh has been conscious activist of religious harmony both through his word and deed. But, in spite of his deep commitment for religious tolerance, he has been 'intolerant' about interpolation of customs and superstitions with religious practices and in social life of a Mussalman.

مسلمان یم ہیدیُت پکن
شک گریشن کرِ کیاہ بوے
یقین کفرُک مسلمانی تھکن
سینہِ نہ صاف سُے بدخوے
گُہہ یم لِوَن تہِ نعمژ چھکن
قیامژ وو تھَن سیاہ روے

Muslims who Hinduise their lives,
By adherence to superstitions and customs.
They believe in paganism only boast as Muslims,
They are insincere and vicious people.
They who paint their houses with cow dung,
They who waste the delicious food items,
They all shall be presented with black faces,
On the day of resurrection before the God.

مسلمان یوٗہ ہیندُت پالی

آنتھہٕ بدِ دَرِنہٕ اکھ

تیل تز اَوِتھ لُش یُس زالی

کالیس گزُل اَتھن پھکھ

کھوراَکھ وو ٕکھلی اَکھ ناوِوالی

پشس آسَن چھکہٕ وان ہگھ

The Muslims who follow Hindu customs and traits,
Shall not withstand the onslaught, even they might be in majority.
One who does not provide energy to fuel his lamp,
Burns inferior wood to have burning torch,
Shall blacken his face, his hands shall eminate foul smell.
One who travels simultaneously by two means of transport,
Keeps one foot in the boat the other on the path,
A blind animal shall fall never to rise again.

The Other Social Habits:

It is clear from the above quoted two smaller poems that the preacher-missionary and reformist poet was too disturbed and so harsh against those newly converts who had embraced Islam but without overthrow of their earlier dress of suprsititions and customs. Hence he admonished them. Those customes included the waistage of cooked dishes, cowdung paint upon house walls and strict adherence to those supersititions which were part of their previous life. It manifest from his verses that the use of detergents was in vogue during his time. It bespeaks about the habits, cleanliness of Kashmiri people. Sir Walter Lawrence has, by the end of 19th century dubbed Kashmiris as dirty

people in his famous book **"The Valley of Kashmir"**. We cannot accuse that great author of bias but the events provide an explanation as why those very Kashmiris were living in dirt who during 14th and 15th centuries were used to habits of cleanliness. We have to attribute this change in habits to the continued slavery, tyranny and poverty imposed upon Kashmiri people after 16th century.

We have already stated that the Sheikh has made mention of various crops which were then grown in Kashmir. He has described various varieties of rice and has particularly praised the 'Shahwulag' variety of rice.

ٹُندن ءستبن سَنز کران رٔسی زے

زَن دِزِ شاہ وولگہِ کنز

ڈپنٹھبن ءستبن سَنز کران ژٔسی زے

أژی زِنہٕ تمنبن بانَن منز

Association with pious people chisels one's habits,
As the most superior species of rice 'SHWOLUG'
Gets chiseled, shines and becomes delicious,
By its constant company with pester and mortal.
In association with utensils blackened by smoke.
Thou are bound to blacken the face and hands.
Beware of vicious and run away.

There are other varieties of food Trumbe and Pingi, which are not now grown. However, wishka (barley) is scarcely grown. We have stated the vegetables, which were rampantly used in those days. It has also been stated that sugar extracts like Qand and Naabad were also in use. It seems that some sweet dish like Halva made of Qand and Ghee was in use.

The people were living in magnificent huge houses (Wugni Lari) and even in wooden carved houses with designed projections. Such constructions have been clubbed as Aiwan, Dabidaalan and Zaildaba. On the other hand, poor people were living in smaller huts called Nez. Such huts were covered with grass. There is no mention that the house roofs were covered with papyrus sheets that has been the later development in

Kashmir and until 50's of last century, we had all-important buildings with high roofs, which were used to be covered with papyrus sheets. The smaller houses with thachet roofing too were common.

بیتہِ کیاہ گری زے روٗدس تہٕ ربے

عاصہٕ تہٕ پلھور لبے مو

تراوان چھِ کھور گژھان رَبے

زُوَس قرار پھَبے مو

ڈَکھ ژَلہِ نیرِ تھ یَتھ زاٗلی ڈَبے

دُنی یاہ دُبارٕ لَبے مو

In this smaller poem, the poet has described various facets of his time. Rains and snow falls were too common, therefore the roads used to be all mud; hence people required a stick to stand erect and walk easily. They used to wear grass shoes called 'pulehour', the roads and paths were like marsh and so it was difficult for traveler to walk. Hence, the poet says that as one would take a step ahead his feet would fall in the ditch of mud.

Social Awareness:

The Reshi movement has laid enough stress to care for the living being. It is these teachings of the movement what made its cadres to devote their time for plantation on road sides and it is under this education that the reshis developed affinity even with wildlife. The Sheikh takes exceptions on the conduct of those smaller girls who were damaging greenery at village Hoonchipora and rebuked them. It is therefore to be appreciated that such a leader or such a preacher and his disciples could never have tolerated any excesses against human being. Therefore the reshi movement struggled against exploitation through its tested mediums viz. preaching and poetry. It is abundance of such verses, we find in his poetry which are manifestation of his deep commitment with his society and which reveal much about his social awareness. His Kashmir had two dominant communities, Hindus and Muslims. We have seen him always stressing for communal harmony and preaches

brotherhood, affinity and co-existence between these two communities. Such verses will be quoted under separate heading but here it is relevant to explain his commitment to his society on the whole that reveals much about his social awareness. In his poem "***Gongul Nama***" (peasant's anthem) the poet has described the excesses which were committed upon the tiller of the land by his landlord. However, the poet conveys symbolically lessons about the accountability in the world hereafter but, he conveys these thoughts through the medium of the arbitrariness with which the agents, collectors and guards of the landlord would then deal with the cultivators of his land. In such descriptions, the poet's sympathies with the working class are too transparent which establish that it was out of his social awareness that he reacted against such arbitrary attitude. Similarly, he has been highly critical of caste-ism and condemns elements who boast for their high caste.

اکی ہے مائس تہٕ ماجہٕ ہندبن

دہے ترأوکھتہٕ ہاے

مسلمانن کیو ہیندبن

کربندن توشہٕ خوداے

In another poem, he expresses even protest against the behavior of landlords and exploiters - who exploit the poor working class. According to him, it is the worker, the labourer, the artisan who projects the dimensions of rhetoric and eminence of the knowledge.

ہرَس گری زِنہٕ واش واشے

نَتہٕ کڈنے پاشے ناو

غرپیس گژھان دوہ ناشے

پٔیتھ تھوان چھُس ہاشے ناو

زاگنس ،لاگنس والہٕ واشے

زَگنس أہندِ ستی گاشے آو

چھُ کلمُک گون عٔلمُک آشے

سِوٚ چھُس لأ ٔگتھ آشے ناو

تیمٔی کوٚرتَس پتہٕ دوہ دبن ناشے

تمٔی لوگ تَس ٔستی آشے ناو

Thy shouldn't divulge the secret,
Lest thee are ridiculed.
The energy of the poor gets waste,
As his ripened (crop) is dubbed as chaff.
He is being targeted and then caged,
Alas! It is he who enlightens the world with his hard work.
He projects the dimensions of rhetoric and facets of knowledge,
It is he who develops proximity to his Lord.
One who spends day and night to win Him over,
Such devotee develops affinity with Him.

بوچھے پان سارِلاگان تچھے

بوچھے یِوان أچھے کان

بوچھی پأنی پانے پأنس مندٕ چھے

بوچھے کرٛاوان پشیمان

It is the hunger which tames the wild animal,
It is the hunger which pierces arrow in one's eyes.
It is due to hunger that one is buried in humiliation,
It is the hunger which perpetuates despair.

The Poet of Protest:

Here before we have seen that Sheikh's verse conveys his reaction to his environs in different types. All these impacts which his surroundings have left upon his mind have been conveyed through his verse in different manners and phases. Sometimes he attributes the inequalities inherent in his society to mere chance or luck or to the arbitrary will of the Creator of this universe. At certain places, as we have seen under subheading; "Social Awareness", Sheikh expresses himself strongly. But, at other places he does not mere accuse chances or

luck but lodges protest against the exploiters.

ڈٕیٹھس دھن تہٕ داتس چھونبر

کزلس کیاہ چھلہِ امرتھ ٹانٹھ

سورروزِ وارِ ہرنس وونبر

پأزآسہِ پابندتہٕ آزادگانٹھ

The vicious lives in luxury, the pious is a pauper,
Such imbibed black scars can hardly be washed.
There, (in such environs) the pig is safer, the dare is blinded,
Though we may use nectar to wash.
The falcon is caged, crow soars freely in high heavens.

In a longer poem with refrain "What the Lord has bestowed upon different people" the poet has succinctly distinguished the life standards which were prevalent in his society and while giving treatment to this description he has subtly expressed his reaction that can be termed as his protest not against the distinctions in the destinies of various people but, in the way in which such differences have been perpetuated as discrimination. Read the following paragraph and find the underlying protest:

کینژان ہتہٕ بٔدی دانکی کوچھین

اَن تچھن زگ کیو چھوٚ تُو

کینژن وَے نہ تہ موصُم پنچھن

پانہٕ آشن گس کیاہ دِتُو

Some have (miserly) hoarded various varieties of food in their stores,

These varieties include the (snow-like) white and (gold-like) red rice.

Some have not a morsel to swallow and feed their belly,
Their innocent dear children roam with begging bowls.
Is it the variation of the destinies?

Through such question, the poet conveys his deep concern against

the then prevalent disparities in the society. Had such expression found a continuity with the successor poets of the Sheikh, Kashmir would have experienced the earliest sample of reformed society based on principles of the present civil society. Pertinent is here to refer a few stray verses of Urdu poet Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib, who in a verse, lamented against the economic deterioration of his golden city Delhi. Such expression met with the continuation of such thoughts from his successors like Haali and Iqbal, so the society in the sub-continent did undergo revolutionary changes. Unfortunate for Kashmir we are yet craving for establishment of an answerable governance and respectable civil society. One of the vital causes has been that our creativity remained not consciously aware to the conditions of society and the traditions laid by the Sheikh could not be carried ahead.

In this quatrain, the poet expresses anger with deep sarcast upon his society. Position is not better nowadays though much water of various colours, has flown under and beneath the seven bridges upon the city of Srinagar.

Both the gold and the brass bear similarity,
Hence my language fails to express the impact.
I see, the pious being tortured and the vicious cared,
Therefore I resorted to escape.

As said, had the subtle protest expressed by the Sheikh found continuity, at least symbolic, the things in Kashmir would have been quite different.The fourth line of the above quoted quatrain conveys not only protest but revolt and not escapeism as a summarry reading might make out. Supporting this view appreciation for the following four verses is solicited:

آرِ پلَن ناگہٕ راداہ روٗکھ
ساداہ روٗکھ ژوٗرَن منز
مُڈِ گرن تُرٛک گوراہ روٗکھ
رازِ ہوٚنزاہ روٗکھ کاوَن منز

Amidst the fast running rivulet, thou a sweet spring have lost entity.
Amidst scoundrels, thou a devoted seer have lost your identity.

Amidst the dullard, thou an intelligent teacher have lost thy wisdom.
Amidst the crows and eagles, thou the phoenix have lost thy grace.

The similar strains are found in the following poem:

اوناہ پأ لکہٕ اوٚر دِتھ نگھ تَس
اکھ نہٕ تَس ژبتَس تختہٕ سپار
تُرٛ کاہ تاہ کران تُہندِس رختس
بختَس بود چھے خدمت گار
روٚناہ ڈیوٚ نٹھُم بہتھ پیٹھ تختس
نہ تَس بود تہٕ نہ تَس سار
اوٚرُ زمان عالُم ہا گس تہٕ بَتس
بختس بود چھے خدمت گار

The blind is carried in a decorated palanquin by stout and the able,
That blind is ignorant even of alphabet.
The intelligent is charged with the duty to dress him up,
It is how the wisdom is at disposal of the luck.
I have found a disabled adorning the throne of power,
Neither he has wit nor wisdom.
Dependent to his mercy are scholars of eminence,
It is how the wisdom is at disposal of the luck.

The poet through his subtle protest, had desired to spread waves of conscious awareness among his people.

ہہہ ژاے گوپھن شال چھی گژ وزن
گیہِ مندورِ پیوٚ وزن گَش
گداگے غنی مُہم پیوٚ ورزن
ہُنڈی پیٹھی یَنن وازَن خَش

The lions have cowardly retired to their dens,

The jackal roars awfully around.
The edifices of dignity have fallen in blackout,
The huts have been illuminated.
The beggar has become the lord,
The monarchs beg with bowl in hands.
The sheep is enjoying in pasture ground,
The cheff, master of skill and dexterity,
Is butchered to be cooked in proxy for that ram.

To appreciate the idea underlying in the last verse, it is to be born in mind that Kashmir Wazwan has acquired world fame. The Waza, professional expert cheff has thus obtained distinction as a great artist. According to his art the rams fed simultaneously on the herbal grass in meadows and chosen feed, are required to be butchered to add glamour to the art of the waza. Here the poet conveys that the society in which he lived had become so un-aesthetic and blind to the intelligence that the ram is fed so nicely but the very artist who has distinction to use that mutton of that ram to the high taste is being butchered and cooked.This state of affairs has evolved political character in J&K.

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Quran, Hadith

& Sheikh's Poetry

It is common adage prevalent for last five centuries that the poetry of the Sheikh is Kashmiri rendering of Holy Quran. In this matter if we go in details, this topic will cover a separate volume. Herein we will confine only to some of the stresses laid in his poetry and will only make reference of such stray verses wherein the poet has either quoted in origin the words of holy Quran or has specifically given versified translation of any verse of Quran or of Hadith or wherein he has made reference specifically to some illustrative contents.

The main stress laid by the poet is upon the theme of mortality of this world, the immortality of the virtues, the essence in offering regularly at fixed times the Nimaz, the stress to pay the Zaka't, the description to discipline one's life within the moral code f Islam. These all topics he has derived from Quran and Hadith and therefore it is natural and logical to find his verses a pure translation of Quranic verses or of the sayings of Prophet (PBUH). Similarly many lessons drawn from his poetry are squarely the rendering of Hadith.

As for as mortality of this universe is concerned, the poet has left bulk of poetry which pivots around this particular theme but, the mode of expression at every place maintains variety so the repetition is neither boring nor appears to be a defect. This repetition is so skillfully guised within the different situations that in spite of the similarity in the thought the treatment at every place appears different. Herein we will confine only to this Gazal.

زاڈے سُم سُن تو رگس میأنس
اَندون پیرِ تھ چھُس وَدانو

کیاہ گرِ نفس ژِمرِ وِس پوٗنس
وَتھ رأ وأنس ژین تو پانو

کیاہ کرِ کرمَس ڈبکہٕ لأنس
ہنگہٕ ہا گرآم لوٗ ژانو

پراکر پیوم یٔکلس پرأنس
وَتھ رأ وأنس ژین تو پانو

کالس کنہِ زاس کیل گنس
حال ڈپشتھ چھُس حأرانو

لعلس ٹکھ لوٗگ یاوٕنِس
وَتھ رأ وأنَس ژین تو پانو

دارس دودُ رژ اوژ ندٕنِس
دُل دُل آم وگ ٹوکانو

نارَس کیاہ کرٕ دوزٕ خنِس
وَتھ رأ وأنَس ژین تو پانو

مُہتھ سأرِتھ دِتم ہُنس
فکروٕستبن چھُس وَدانو

پتزُن پیٚیم کُنہِ ہے زٔنِس
وَتھ رأ وأنَس ژین تو پانو

ہنگہِ وَسہِ زَزُر رنگہِ شُبہِ وِنس
لیکھِتھ یی گو مہربانو

نُندی کُر گنڈِتھ عرضی ونس
وَتھ رأ وأنَس ژین تو پانو

Alas! The hoofs of my fast running horse, held up in marsh,
Therefore, away in the remote dense forests I weep and lament.
How can I conquer upon my evil self, the leather-peg?
The blind is lost in wilderness, in spite is not feeling alarmed.
How can I undo the writing on the wall the truth in my destiny?
Alas! My hair have grown grey and my origin is in squeeze.
The central wooden beam of the house is decayed,
The blind is lost in wilderness in spite is not feeling alarmed.
What for I have taken birth in this universe of conflicts,
Confused I am to experience these contradictions.
Broken in pieces is the jewel of my youth,
The blind is lost in wilderness in spite is not feeling alarmed.
Edifice of aspirations built of soft, fragrant sandalwood, is decayed,
The fast running horse has violently torn the reins tide around its neck.
How shall I save myself from the flame of hell?
The blind is lost in wilderness in spite is not feeling alarmed.
Collected and hoarded I by fraud and device,
The same I have offered to my barking dog.
Now pondering upon these fallacious deeds, I wonder in anxieties.
I all alone have to account for all these actions,

The blind is lost in wilderness in spite is not feeling alarmed.
Disfigured will be sooner my well built figure,
How can I help, it is writing on the wall.
The Nund shall narrate his tale with folded hands,
The blind is lost in wilderness in spite is not feeling alarmed.

In this poem the narrator gives vent to his experiences as a rider who with full control, arrogance and determination has taken under him the fast running, healthy and stout horse but, the hoofs of this animal are held up in the marsh of desires of his evil self. He had to traverse the distance up to his destination through land but being blind, he adopted wrong course so the hoofs of horse are held up. Then the narrator describes the various forms of deviation and main one is that he earned wealth without exercising discretion as which sources were permissible and which were forbidden but, the evil self made him to adopt all devices. The poet qualifies his inner self as a dog. At the end the poet concludes the tale of woes expressed indirectly but with a direct conclusion. He expresses the fear of accountability and feels dreadfully scared of the punishment which his actions are due to receive in the world hereafter.

The moral of the poem is that this universe is mortal, our stay over here is very brief and this place is our examination hall were we have to satisfy our creator with our actions and in case we fail in this examination, we will invite displeasure and consequently the wrath of our Creator. The same lesson is deducible from this quatrain as well:

بگر لیوٚل چھاپر پٔچی
بنڈ أتھی کھیجاہ لٔجی یو
ڈاے گزارز تھ زمین ژٔ جی
ژٔنی پیچ لولرژٔ جی یو

Thou hast put on the burning hearth,
Cracked utensil to prepare the dish,
Thou hast gone to collect grain but in a loosely knit basket,
Have you acquired anything by these foolish acts,
The ultimate acquisition is two and a half yard land,

In spite, thou hast not deviated from deeper commitment for materialism.

While lamenting upon the decayed youth, the poet has expressed the same stress through this elegy composed mourning the decay of youth.

سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہ
یاوُن سورتہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

گتھ نتہٕ کبتھہٕ کرٕ ہاملکایہِ
تھاکن آے پکٔی نہ اڈے

گنڈ زن ڈیلیوم ژندن گیڈے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

زورتہٕ تران لوران یہِ
نوٚویلہِ پرٛانہِ کیاہ گری زِ ڈڈے

دُلدُلس سُم زٕ سٔنم زاڈے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

تھزٕ رمور بیوٚ ٹھُم پرایہِ
زٕ زری تھھ ژٕ ھنم شیرے

نظر دوٚر یام ون کوٚت پھیرے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

یاوَن بُتھی کرٕم دغایہِ
شراون پھُلیے سور یام ہیے

تاون پوُن وَن کتہِ پیے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

خبر زٕ زرنہِ لوٚ گُم کایہِ
یاوَنس سوے گیم ببرے

کُن جواب کیاہ گرٕ قبرے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

پوہ انگن دِژٕ اُم دایہِ
رہتہٕ کالہِ لنگن لُجم پھُلے

رَژھ رَژِھ ہنگن گیم چھت لے
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

سَرُن موٚٹھُم ہاخودایہِ
نحقہٕ دُنیاس زٕ بتھ کیاہ کوٚ رُم

لوٚب تہٕ موٚہ ہَنہِ ہَنہِ پھوٚ رُم
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

ہَے نادلایے یاوُن رایہِ
ہے زَن تھوٚ کُم شاہ دُلدُلس

ہَے زَن زٕ زُرمے پیوٚ وکرٕ وُلس
سُور یاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

پاپُن بوٚٹھ گوم رہکایہِ یتھ تہٕ کزیتے گرم نہٕ وِزے
کارُن کوٚرُم نہٕ ستی کیاہ نزے سُوریاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ
خبرٕ بوٚزی بوٚزی لگم وایہِ قبرِ ہندِس بُتھہِ زلزلس
کیاہ کرٕ کہی واتہٕ تتھ منزلس سُوریاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ
أی لوہ کہِ چارن گرنم گزایہِ ہرنَنہِ نینہ لوٚسم رِوان
ارنن گاش تھوٚک ورنن چھوان سُوریاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ
مارن تیلہِ تہٕ کیاہ میون پایہِ حأضر کران یلہِ عرصاتس
جواب ہنَم ژِہَس تہٕ ساتس سُوریاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ
کرمہٕ لیکھتِس گوٚت گژھایہِ زرمس کیا کیالیوٚ کھ پانہٕ آشن
وبنتھاہ وٚنی تھاہ نُندِ ریشن سُوریاوُن تہٕ بُڈ یایہِ بایہِ

The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me,
Alas! The youth is decayed and the old age has gripped me.
Walking too fast, reaching to no destination,
What for to boast, for what shall I feel pride?
The knot tied around the bundle of roses is loosened,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
Oh ignorant! Every new is destined to become old,
Naturally, the wit and strength both decay,
Alas! This fast running stout horse is held up in marsh,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
Disfigurement has overpowered my figure,
The peacock on the high snow-bound peaks fell in brooding stage,
It has fell too farther from my vision how to reach,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
Full-bloomed lilies have fallen decayed,
The transparency of youth has cheated me,
I am put to great loss, how to regain it?
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
The flowers have turned into Soi,
Couldn't realize till the earth eroded under my feet,

How to face the odd situation in the grave?
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
During the summer of June, my flowers were in full bloom,
The cold December has benumbed each of its petals,
Unnoticed, but look, eyebrows too have turned gray,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
What have I achieved after my birth in this world?
Alas! Have miserably failed to win pleasure of my Creator,
The greed and lust has put me in eternal loss,
The horse of chosen species, has fallen exhausted,
I shall cry and moan for you oh my friend,
Alas! I am held up in the final stage of decay,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
Have not chosen at opportune time to serve my lord,
Even and fertile landed estate turned into a hill of rock,
I have not laboured what remuneration should I claim and take with,
The youth is decayed; the old age has gripped me.
I have to face the viscitudes in the world hereafter,
Alarming is the situation there,
Alas! I failed to reach my destination,
My beautiful round black eyes have decayed shedding tears,
Alas! My youth has deceived me.
Lost eyesight while gazing upon the ways of my beloved.
As summoned on the day of resurrection,
Deterrent punishment shall follow, who can help me?
Each minute and second I have spent, is to be account for,
Do not know what my Lord has written on my forehead,
Unavoidable is the decision of destiny.
Allegorically reality has been summed by Nundreshi,

The similar theme has been conveyed through this poem in which the poet mourns upon the tragedies of his failures. Its form be noted. It provides the founding example of the Gazal with continuity of theme - Gazli-Musalsal

پزنے نس بدنس ملیون داغ پیوم

زاغ گوم نیرِ تھ باغ أندرِ

ہارِنہِ گرمی پوہ تَے ماگ گوم

فاہ گوم نیرِ تھ ہر بندرِ

ززرِنہِ چھو کہِ ہنہِ ہنہِ داہ گوم

گوناہ گیم ژٔ ری تہٕ کبتھہٕ اوٚبرِ

میوٚٹھ کھبتھ وونَدَ ے سیاہ گوم

ناہ گوم پانَس راہ گس گرِ

The black scar has darkened my fair complexion,

Alas! The perching bird of garden has disappeared in skies.

Heat and humidity of June turned into benumbing cold of December,

My ship has lost the destination of each harbour.

The strokes of decaying youth have disfigured me,

The sins have drowned me in the marsh of evil.

By having sumptuous diets, the delicious dishes,

My heart has blackened, am put to loss, whom to accuse.

Lamenting upon the fast running of time the similar experiences are conveyed through this Gazal:

آدنہِ بندِ گی کُرمَے نہِ مے تَس — وونی پیوم ژٔتبس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٚن

بُڈتھ شوٚب کیاہ عبادتس — وونی پیوم ژٔتبس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٚن

حرام ناٹن تہٕ بیٚیہِ نخوتس — لاریوٚس تیٚتھ یُتھ مکُرِس ہوٚن

شیر خوار لوگُم آدِ مِ رَتس — وونی پیوم ژٔتبس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٚن

کِرام الکاتبین تھَو مالہِ ژٔتبس — وَما یفعلُونَ ما یعلَمُون

گوناہ تہٕ ثواب لیکھِم خطس — وونی پیوم ژٔتبس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٚن

عأرِ فولَتھ دِژیٚتہِ راحتس — دَمہٕ دَمہٕ ہورُکھ اَشہِ گنہِ خوٚن

موٚ دُرمیوٚ دژ اکھ ندامتس — وونی پیوم ژٔتبس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٚن

واوو گژ اِو میانہِ نتہِ آنحضرتسؐ
پَرِ ہیَم عرضی ہُند مضمون

پأری پأری لگہِ ہَس موہرِ نبوتسؐ
وونی پیوم ژتہس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٗن

نُندِ ریشی ارمان بأوی حضرتسؐ
رحمت تہنژے گونا گوں

وومید وار تھوی زیوم أتھی رحمتس
وونی پیوم ژتہس گژ یکہِ وِزِنوٗن

Appreciate the stress, the poet lays upon the importance of each moment in one's life. The main theme is that the life is too short and each moment to achieve the goal for which his Creator has created him.

You (oh my evil self) did not stick to truth for a single day,
Consequently, you have derailed from thy defined path.
Thou hast realized but too late, you are too obsolete.

In the poem given below, the narrator expresses failures of a falcon that was created and ordained to soar in high heavens. It did so but what happened to it is conveyed.

پلناہ کریام دیوُکن واتہِ دنیأے کُرنم را تہِ موغل

In high heavens, I attempted to soar freely,
Alas! These environs have made owl of this falcon.
The kites and crows have subjected me to accusations,
All the shepherds have gripped me in their mean surroundings.
The distinctly forceful wings have decayed like leaves in autumn,
The pure gold of my essence has deteriorated to the level of brass.
Dreadfully I fear of that fast running river of violent tides,
Beneath which runs a stream of fire and ambers.
The black hyacinth like tresses of mine have decayed,
After all exhaustion, I have fallen asleep.

The first gazal with refrain:"wone pyom tsetas,"provides the earliest sample of gazal and so the scholars who have by exploitation of their officila positions created an artificial definition excluding lyrics with refrain are, by their unrealistic attidude caused blackout from our rich literary heritage.The second is one of the best pieces of our poetry thos can be qualified as modern poems.In it the poet has conveyed the theme using falcon\ phoenix as a symbol.It is too repeated symbol in his verse as Iqbal has conveyed august themes using Shaheen{Falcon}as

symbol so is case with the Sheikh. In this poem he conveys the tragedies those befell upon him, a falcon, who by this mundane life has turned into an owl. He had to soar in high heavens but the society around him has made him fall in gimmicks with too vulgar shepherd kids. The reader shall appreciate the delicacy in expression, continuity in style and originality in the idea by reading this gazal.

At the nick of time, at appropriate moment, in my youth,
I did not tune my life to His dictates.
Alas! Now at this inappropriate occasion, I feel for my failures,
What use is the meditation at this fag end?
Impermissible and forbidden have always tempted me,
Like a dog, I have run after the flesh of dead animal, the filth and dirt.
Like suckling baby, I sucked the blood of others.
Beware of the two angels deputed in the grave to examine thee,
They shall put you to explain as why did you act what you never knew.
They shall take accurate account of my virtues and vices.
The mystics abandoned the pleasures of the world,
Have shed their blood as tears in His fear.
They have derived the pleasant results in the humility.
Oh the morning wind take my supplications to my Prophet (PBUH).
Request him to peruse submissions made in my application,
I will sacrifice my soul and being to His seal of prophet-hood.
Nundreshi has placed his hopes and aspirations before his beloved,
Who's mercy is multidimensional.
I pray for His mercy and repent for missing of the opportunity.

The verse of refrain is "***Woen peom tsetas greki vizi noon***" (now as the dish is boiling in the utensil kept on heat of stove, I needed salt to make it edible. That was the only item of import then from the areas beyond terrains of Himaliyas.)

Out of this verse an adage has been coined which has become part of our daily speech. When we feel urgency of something at the nick of time which is not available, the speaker expresses his agony by using the proverb "Greki vizi noon". Recently some immature self styled researchers argued that this refrian verse and the proverb devised on it are both illogical as the salt is available in plenty and is the cheapest

commodity. It is therefore that this author had to dispel such apprehension with a detailed discussion in Sahifa Noor Urdu Volume I, page 449 to page 455. Pertinent is to quote summary of that discussion herein:-

a) The salt has been the only essential commodity which was imported in Kashmir from the Punjab other necessities of life were local productions;

b) During 14th, 15th centuries, the rock salt was carried in carts up to Poonch and there from it was carried on horse back;

c) The terrain from Poonch to the Valley was very tedious, rough and passed through cliffs of hills. Many horses carrying this cheapest commodity would die due to slips in the area and thus the traders mainly from Shopian would come under heavy loss to compensate the horse owners. Such huge sums could not be realized from a cheap commodity like salt. Hence donkeys were used, but for the peculiar trait of that animal, it would sit abruptly in streams and thus the salt would melt in water.

d) Latter during 19th century, salt traders used the manual labour. The man has been and is the only cheapest commodity, for which he had to pay no compensation.

e) We have seen in the accounts of successor reshis of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din that they would carry salt from Poonch on their shoulders and would feed poorer and animals.

With this account about salt, our readers might appreciate that in which circumstances our poet has coined this adage using salt as a symbol.

From these poems, gazals and quatrains quoted above, it is made out that the Sheikh clearly stresses on certain values which he derives from Holy Quran and from sayings of Prophet (Hadith). We have also seen in the gazal quoted supra in 3rd stanza, the poet uses two words of Quran in original. Now read the following verses of Quran:

'Verily, we have created man from *Nutfah* (drops) of mixed semen (sexual discharge of man and woman) in order to try him. So, we made him hearer and seer.

Verily, we showed him way, whether to be grateful or ungrateful.'
(Surah 76, verses 2&3)

Not [as you thing you mankind will not be resurrected and recompensed for your deeds] but you love the presant life of this world,

And neglect the hereafter,

Some faces that day shall be Nadira,

(Shining and radiant), looking at their Lord (Allah).

Some faces that Day will be 'Basirat' (dark, gloomy, frowning and sad).

Thinking that some calamity is about to fall on them.

(Surah 75, verses 20 to 25)

(Mine is) to conveyance (of Truth) from Allah and His Messengers of Islamic Monotheism and whosoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger, then verily, for him is the fire of Hell, he shall dwell therein for ever.

[Surah 72 (Al-Jinn) verse 23]

A good number of Ahadees cover on this theme prove our contention.

Holy Quran lays repeated stress upon the reward with which His obedient servants will be rewarded in the world hereafter. This stress is made after every commandment for virtue is ordained. Read for example verse 15th chapter 3. It is:

'Say: "shall I inform you of things for better than those for the pious there are gardens with their low, underneath which rivers flow. There is their eternal (abode) and purified mates/wives. And Allah will be pleased with them. And Allah is all saviour of His salves."

Similarly after every commandment ordained to give up the path of vice deeds the warning with stress is repeated that one who, in spite, treads path of vice shall be part to severe most deterrent punishment in the world hereafter. Read this 12th verse of the same chapter (Ali-Imran):

Say oh! Mohammad to those who disbelieve: "You will be defeated and gathered together to Hell, and worst indeed is that place of rest."

This stress with repetition has been explained from the quotes from Sheikh's verse stock contained above. It is thus manifest that religious morality pivots around the conception of vice and virtue. For virtuous the tidings is of complete contentment after death and for vicious soul the warning is of deterrence. Sheikh's moral philosophy does not reflect his

independent thinking but its source is the Holy Quran.

Sheikh has been so minutely guided by Quranic teachings that he borrows even phrase, metaphor, parable and diction of narration from this heavenly source. This chapter (earlier said) cannot contain the length and dimension of the topic, however, some specimen might explain.

Verse 54 of chapter 9 (AT-Taubah) specifically condemns the 'lazy state' of hypocrites with which they would participate in Nimaz (Prayer's). The Sheikh has used the same term of 'Laziness' and accuses his own person for such behavior with such elucidation that Quranic metaphor is imprinted upon common Kashmir mind:

"The 'Nimaz' (which is not any huge task, only a simple and precise form of meditation but with punctuality has pierced an arrow in my abdomen and so at these special five times a day, laziness prevails upon me to the extent that I invite His wrath.

In Sura Juma (chapter verse) the Almighty compares those scholars with donkeys who lifted the load of heavenly scriptures but did not follow the messages therein. The Sheikh borrows the same term and coins an off repeated quote in one of his quatrains.

"Those donkeys have moved ahead with the heavy load of books upon their shoulders. "

He compares those scholars with donkeys who though have studied volumes but have not modelled their lives in accordance with those studied values.

Further instances will take us far away from our main theme. Yet a precise reference about the impact upon Sheikh's diction as for as use of parables is concerned. The Almighty has elucidated the purport of his certain commandments in the Quran through some ordinary examples which are easily intelligible for common mind in verses 178 18 of chapter. He conveys the point through one who kindled fire or in the verses 19 and 20 of the same chapter message is conveyer through the parable of rain storm from sky; even in verse 26 (chapter the same) mosquito is symbols to convey the gamut of advice. He opens this verse with these works:

"Verily, Allah is not ashamed to set forth a parable even of a mosquito....."

Sheikh has guided himself with light of Quran and so his poetry

achieved the distinction of "Kashur Quran" (Kashmir version of Holy Quran). He also adopts similar approach to elucidate and explain his message and carved such illustrative parables from the common happenings, which used to take place in the daily routine of his fellow countrymen. Excerpts from his verse will add volume so attention of the reader is drawn particularly to grasp some of the quoted poems or quatrains. Here we will only provide hints. We have read that he has compared the position of a victim of mundane with a traveler who had just come from one side of the river, found a garden of ripe grapes on the other bank. His loose appetite tempted him to enter in to the orchard, he was just to pluck a bunch of grapes that from that side the watcher raised cries, he ran away in utter confusion, ultimately lost the way where from he had crossed. Similarly, he explains the awkward destination to which he, the phoenix was tuned to behave. He acted on the other hand like an awl for the worldly pleasures. Depicts in another couplet the ridicule to which that traveler was subjected who just to taste the novelty in unripe walnut kernel entered into a walnut orchard. There he had just picked one or two such walnuts that from a distance the agents raised hue and cry that exposed him to humiliation. It is to be noted that during the lifetime of the saint countryside of his land was surrounded with abundance of fruit trees, which is even true today. While travelling through these Karewas (plateaus) having plenty of fruit trees thirst and hunger used to create temptation to enter into an orchard and enjoy the thrill in plucking of fruit from the tree. It is even seen in today's affluence too. Tourists even feel tempted to stop the motorcade and enjoy this temptation.

Every facet of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's teachings has source either in Quran or in Hadis-saying of prophet. We have briefly in paragraphs herein before shown the influence of Quran and precisely we will also give one or two instances showing that his sayings or more or less Kashmiri verse rendering of the Hadis.

On this particular theme, the "Accountability Hereafter" there are hundreds of Hadis and the reader is requested to go through English translation of Sahih Bukhari, the authoritative Hadis compilation.

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PART–II

Kashmir Mystic Thought & Practice

(a) Reshism

Before we go to the origin, history, development and evolution of this universal spiritual discipline of Kashmir which dominated its celescial atmosphere, let us at the outset know what Reshi and Reshi Mystic Order as propounded and consolidated by Sheikh Noor-ud-Din connotes. It is for this contribution i.e. for consolidation of its scattered teachings and for the organisation he disciplined into a movement that the Sheikh is known as 'Sar Halqai Reeshiyaan' - The leader of Reshi Cult.

In the first part of this book we have known Sheikh Noor-ud-Din as person,saint, poet, thinker, leader, preacher. missionary, poineer environamentalist, linguist and as a founder of the present Kashmir culture. We have therin also discussed the love and reverrance the nation has bestowed upon him and have mentioned about the esteem with which rulers,the ruled, scholars and poets have respected him, payed him tributes and glowing laurels.In this part we will develve with a delicate topic wether the Reshi Order founded and consolidated by him is a distinctive mystic thought or a facet of Tasawwof or continution of the local Trika Philosphy or assimilation between the two, did the Cult so created left impact upon socio-political life and did the Reshies constitute leadership and cadre of a disciplined social order? If so how the relationship between the gnostic Reshi and activist Reshi did co-exist within one frame. In these details the discussions about various spiritual trends those dominated Kashmir celectial culture will also get precise treatment. The detailed study of each and every form cannot be made herein. It will also been seen as how the Tassawuf and various mystic Orders of Muslim world had penetrated upto Sheikh's era and which of

those Orders (Silsilas) were prevelant then in Kashmir or are in vogue since then and what effects Reshi practices left upon those spiritual systems..

Reosh is the Kashmiri word for reshi (Saint). In Sanskrit it means one who sings hymns in praise of the Lord but in Kashmiri the word became so elastic as to include such spiritual leaders who dedicated their lives to meditation, service of the mankind and who left a good stock of wise sayings for posterity. Noor-ud-Din Wali gave new dimensions to this word but later historians and anthologists made many deviations in defining the term. Some connected its origin to the Persian word "r'esh" meaning wound and some confined it to its literal Sanskrit connotation.

The Reshi mystic order is a completely local spiritual movement, which developed as a natural consequence of the interaction between several mystic movements in this fertile land. Kashmir was the cradle of Shaivistic philosophy and Buddhist influence had taken deep roots in its environment. We find the influence of these philosophies on the poetry of both Lal Ded and Sheikh. Islam was introduced in the hill ranges of Kashmir through the efforts of Iranian Sufi saints, by trade relations and by the overwhelming religious revolution which engulfed its neighbouring countries. Discussion made in the second chapter of this book.

Kashmir was originally a waterlogged area called Satisar. We have, at the beginning described the legend contained in Nilamat Purana and later histories about the miraculous deeds of Kashyap reshi who created an outlet in this waterlogged area and so the emergence of this bunch of the vallies called Kashmir. It is thus the very origin of habitation in this beautiful land is connected with a miracle of an ascetic saint hence the culture which evolved since that day has two patent strains. On the one side a culture of supernatural performances, miraculous deeds and metaphysical exercises developed upon the soil and on the other the strains on this culture remained particularly mystic and mystifying. These cultural trends have created a national temperament of devoted meditation in loneliness amidst the intoxicating lap of the nude nature. It should not be construed that this strain was in any way a mode of escapism it has been rejection of mundane but possessed ingrained

values of love for Absolute Truth through Limited Truth. As the very foundation of this land is attributed to the miraculous deeds of a saint and hence miracles, supernatural actions and metaphysical traditions became the cornerstone of its cultural essence. Due to this national character of Kashmir, only such religious movements took roots in its soil that possessed supermacy and performed miraculous deeds. It is in this background that Budhism also flourished here and Shaivism dominated the religious scene for a pretty long time. We will separately discuss that the spiritual mind of Kashmir never accepted paganism but remained deeply committed to monotheistic conceptions. Tawheed (monotheism) remained dominant with every religious phisophy, which emerged or flourished on this soil. The author of 'Gauhari Aalam', Badiudin Abul Qasim has in the foreword to his monomental work highlighted that the Pandavas who ruled Kashmir were deeply committed to Tawheed - onenes of God. In such a socio-religious scenario Islam and its mystic teachings found a congenial atmosphere during and before the fourteenth century. Buddhist monks had lost their zeal and fervour and a hypocritic attitude had crept into the ranks of local Brahmins. Thus the soil was quite fertile for change.

The ideas of these Sufis were more or less akin to the principles of local philosophies. Tassawaf had already received some influence from Buddhist philosophy before its entry into the valley and the local people found it somehow familiar to their thinking. This interaction and synthesis of local Shaivistic philosophy and ideals of Buddhism with teachings of Tassawaf provided a theoritical material for emergence of a new spiritual order well suited to the deep rooted traditions of Kashmir and its changed celestial atmosphere.

Besides this theoritical background there were practical compulsions, both positive and negative, which made the ground fertile for the emergence of a new mystic order.

The mass conversion that took place in Kashmir at the hands of Sufi saints intially left the Brahmins and local religious leaders cold but later they realised the gravity of the situation and started reconsolidation of their ranks. On the other hand, hundreds of Syeds, Ulemas and Sheikhs had entered Kashmir with Shah Hamdan and his son, Mir

Mohammad, who had established centres and sub-centres of their activities in every nook and corner. This situation posed a threat of confrontation between the two camps. Thus a genuine need for a conciliatory third force arose which could, on the one hand permanently avoid the confrontation and on the other create a spiritually oriented social order.

In both these camps all were not sincere, all were not genuine and conscious of their respective causes. Among foreign missionaries a good number consisted of those Syeds who, due to Timur's bias against them, were deprived of their position, status and amenities which they enjoyed in their respective homeland. When they got refuge in Kashmir they found conditions favourable to win back their positions which they enjoyed in their countries.

In the same manner local Brahmins who had dominated the political scene in Kashmir for centuries found their position shattered. To regain their lost prestige and status they also infiltrated deeply both in the political set-up and socio-religious life of Kashmir. This situation also created an imminent threat of confrontation.

Overzealous new converts like Saif Bhat (previously Seha Batta), Prime Ministerof Sultan Sikandar, had created an open situation in the royal court and formed part of the mischievous bureaucracy. The open aggressive postures of Saif Bhat and inner intrigues of royal astronomers, court physicians and other civil servants (who were either Brahmins or foreign scholars) exposed Kashmir to dangers. To curb such policies of extremism was the need of the hour. It was impossible for any political movement to meet this challenge. Syed Ali Hamdani, a great missionary of the Islamic world, had grasped intelligently the inherent contradictions which had emerged due to a great historical shock received by Kashmir at the hands of Mongol invader Zulchu and so subtly cared for the local susceptibilities. On the other hand his young son Mir Mohammad Hamdani could not grasp these delicacies and proved too swift in his mission of Islamization of political order in Kashmir. His senior missionary Syed Hissari on the other hand opposed the young Mir but the both remained closely connected to autocracy. On the other hand need of the hour was to make Islamization of the developing Muslim society and this mission could be achieved through the reconciliation,

tolerance and mutual appreciation of the values which were not repugnant to Islam but suited to the local national psyche. Only a conscious religious movement deeply rooted in sentiments could create synthesis between the moral values in the two cultures - the local and in coming cultures.

There was necessity to consolidate the gains of mass conversion and make its purpose everlasting while on the other hand there was the need for such a political order which would guarantee freedom of worship to every community. The Sheikh, on the basis of available raw material created a durable socioi-religious system called "Re-Shout" (Resh-ism).

The confusion created by later historians and anthologists about the definition and connotation of the "Reshi" order is only misleading. All the later histories, biographies and anthologies were written in Persian and those authors translated "Reosh" as Reshi and "Reshout" as "Re-Shiyat" and so sought the meaning of these local terms from the Persian lexicon. It will be seen from the study of such records that these Persian histories have even distorted the names of villages and localities in Kashmir to suit their own peculiar phonetics. Thus we are hardly able to know the real definition, meaning and ambit of the "Reshi" order from these Persian sources. Later Urdu or English books also based their discussions on this subject upon these very sources.The Sheikh claims himself to be the seventh Reshi but was in reality its founder. Hence to know the purport and essence of this order we need to revert to the verses of the very founder of this cult.Before we go to that the most authentic and relevant source the reader might feel to know what those Persian sourcec say about this order and who created those.

Baba Daud-i-Mishkati about whom we have made mention in the discussion on the sources of our study, has been worthy taught and disciple of Baba Nasib Gazi, the author of famous work, the first available RishiNama. Gazi has not himself gone too deeper to define the Reshi Order but the disciple embarked upon an Arabic treatise on its definition.He was dittoed by his successors including the historians and enthologists. It is surprizing that niether Mishkati nor his successors tried to tally at least thier theories with the verse of the Sheikh, the master and author of the system. Mishkati based his definition on the study of the

practices of his cotemporary Reshi who had greatly degenerated the system. It is more surprising to note that the great compilers of the Sheikh's verse stock, Baba Mohammad Kamal and Baba Mohammad Khalil both have lost sight of the material provided in clearer terms by their own compiled NoorNama. As said Mishkati wandered between two contrary and totally opposite arenas. He tried to create a rapport between the Sanskrit definition of the word Reshi and the Persian meanings of it. Impact left by Sanskrit definition of the term was that of a wise Saint\Sadhu who dedicates life to His search but is essentially a hermit.According to one meaning of Persian word 'it meant the wounded lover of God' so a Sufi. According to other available connotation 'Resh' meant the yarn (wool) and so Reshi for them meant 'one who wears woolen dress'. Thus it was brought closer to the definition of Sufi. Finally to them Reshi is a Sufi but with strains of hermitage. Sheikh's references about the Reshi made in positive manner or in a negative one make out that Reshi is niether Sufi nor Synyasi.His personality is synthised product of these two life styles. The Reshi traverses to his Creator through the path of love of His Creation. Let us now know what he says about this system,about a genuine Reshi and for what he condemns the fake Reshi. It is from such sayings we can draw a sketch of the Order as niether he nor his Disciples nor his worthy successors have left any definite treatise on the subject.

In a poem defining a true "***Mussalman***" the Sheikh has stated:

In the lonelines of of wild nature,
One who bears the pangs of solitude,
By self-mortification overpowers the evil self,
Is meek and humble, a handful of dust,
In utter loneliness ponders upon the Reality,
He only deserves the title of Mussalman.

In other small poem summing up the qualities of a Reshi he says:

The "Reshout" nickles,
Rust on thy Heart,
Cleans thy vision,
Sooths thy eyes.
Thou art not true to that code,
So die in anger, jealousy and hatred.

Making a distinction between a real Reshi and a hypocrite he says:

They were saints of high spiritual order,
Wore rags and were lulled in the lap of nature,
They would beg for the chaff to subside their hunger.
But our contemporary Reshis are hypocites,
Pretend as vegetarian, relish pleasures privately,
Hardly remember the generosity of their Lord,
Such hypocrites least deserve the Reshi title.

These and such other verses provide us the following information about the Reshi order:

1.That, it was prevalent in Kashmir for a long time;

2. That living in solitude amidst the natural environment was its policy;

3.Untiring meditation is its declared manifesto;

4. Simple vegetarian diet was the essence of Reshi practice. Even begging with limited purpose for mere sustenance is permissible;

5. Self-mortification is the main path through which the Reshi can reach his destination;

6.Overpowering of the "Evil Self" is the sine qua non of his order;

7.Anger, jealousy, lust, greed, pride are unpardonable sins according to Reshi ethics;

8.To ponder over the realities of this universe, the Absolute Reality, the reality of life and soul is the purport of self-inflicted solitude.

9. To serve mankind, help the needy, share the burden of the sick, infirm and weak;

10. To avoid injury to every living being whether in the form of greenery, insects or animals.

With such stress in the theory and practice of their cult, the Reshis mainly propagated the teachings of Islam, embedded the essence of monotheism (Tawheed) in the minds of people and imparted the zeal for the love of the Prophet (PBUH).

As already stated the Reshi cult does not originate from the Sheikh. A good number of famous Muslim Reshis lived in Kashmir prior to him. The Sheikh has in his verses provided us precise bio-data about few distinguished Reshi saints who lived before him. Miran Reshi lived on pure water for more than eighty years and Ruma Reshi, whose name has

become synonymous with immortality, spent his long life in meditation. Plasman, Khalasman and Yasman Reshis were immediate predecessors of the Sheikh. But in spite of this the traditional Reshi way of meditation was very rare. Reshis were scattered and their presence had the least impact on the socio-economic life, the affairs of the government and a negligible effect even on religious life. The Sheikh, on the other hand, created a disciplined religious system out of the principles of Reshut, organised a cadre-based movement of the dedicated Reshis, devised a mystic cult which though difficult to practise, created a nucleus of watchdogs for society.

For popularising this Order, he established centres and sub-centres of his movement in almost every pargana or division. He used to spend some time at every such centre and sub-entre, trained the cadre himself and thereafter would leave the centre to the charge of one of such disciples.

Criticism of even the highest leader was not only allowed but encouraged. Once the Sheikh was sitting in a room close to his woman disciple, daughter of Sangi Ganai of Draigam, and was divulging to her the mystic secrets when Baba Zain-ud-Din, another trusted comrade of the Sheikh, entered the room. Though he was conscious of the spiritual status of his master but did not hesitate to drop an indirect hint that such proximity with a female could create suspicion in the mind of a stranger.

This organised cadre of Reshis did not only propagate ethical values but also abided by them. They not only preached the real essence of religious life but also modelled their own personalities accordingly. They served the humanity by helping the needy. They used to dig out wells and canals to make avaiable water to inaccessible areas and would carry themselves pitchersof drinking water for travellers and people living on plateaus and hill trackts. They exposed tyranny, hypocrisy and falsehood and fought against religious interference of any kind. Thus it was the immediate result of this movement that an era of prosperity, tolerance, mutual understanding and mass development reached its zenith in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainulabidin (1420-1470). His five decades of rule is considered the golden period of Kashmir's history. We should not and cannot expect benevolence of Khilafat or accountable governance from heriditary monarchs and despots. But

among kings we have found some terribly cruel tyrants and some kind hearted (might be only as a political strategy). Zainulabidin belonged to the second catagory who adopted some pro-people policies but adhered to the system of *Begar* strictly for which he faced resistence from Reshi cadres. It was not merely the result of the monarch's broadmindedness but his such policies were the result of a silent revolution which the Reshi movement had brought about in the minds of both subjects and rulers.

The Reshi movement developed with full zeal and fervour. Reshi centres were established in every part of Kashmir. No political power could afford to invite displeasure of the Reshis though they had no direct concern with the administration. Even during the Chak (1554-1585) rule many political sufferers took refuge in Reshi centres. Later on the Reshis were also subjected to punishment for pure humanitarian considerations with which they would provide shelter in their hemitager to political sufferers. For these reasons many of Reshis had to leave their places of domicile and fled to other parts of the state. But they could not escape the wrath of the persecutors and thus a commonly used proverb was coined:

Reosh ay tsali paneneh desheh
Toti tsalis neh Reshi nav.

"Even if a Reshi runs from his place of domicile, he cannot escape the stigma of his title."

In one of his couplets Zain-ud-Din warns, "bad days are ahead for Reshis". This statement provides us indirect but sufficient proof that the Reshi movement had come in conflict with the political order and Zain-ud-Din was sure that only sacrifices would avoid the situation.

Said at the outset the later historians and anthologists have gone in philosophical aspects and tried to overburden this simple conception with theoritical strains. It is a practical way of life. Neither the Sheikh nor his predecessor Reshis and nor his successors devised any specific terminology or symbols as some sufis have done regarding Tasawuf. This order has stressed to adopt a practically devoted life as servants of God, servants of the last Prophet (PBUH) and as servants of mankind. With this trinity of principles they have preached and practiced to suppress anger, to curb greed, to be meak and humble and to take full

care of our environs. With this brief discussion on Muslim period of 'Reshiyat' let us trace historical developments of this thought and connect it with the spiritual movements of Kashmir from earliest periods.

In this chapter, we have explained the connotations, ambit of activities and facets of "Reshiyat" (or Reshism) in the light of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's poetry. It has also been hinted that later anthologists of 17th century have defined this spiritual system in the study of their contemporary Reshi saints. The system had greatly derailed during the 16th century and so these historians and anthologists based their findings on the basis what they observed. It has also been said that neither the leader of this movement nor any of his disciples had authored or compiled any treatise on this subject. We are told that Sanskrit scholar Kati Pandit (Qutub-ud-Din), besides maintaining the record of his guide's verses in Sharda script had also scribed, as Secretary General of this movement, its activites. That record was neither transcribed into Persio-Arabic script nor reached to us in original or in any form. Had it reached to us we could make some definite opinion about its origin, form and character. In absence of such vital material, the only alternative available is to connect positive and negative hints contained in Sheikh's verse. The important source on 14th 15th centuries Kashmir is Tariekh-Kashmir by Syed Ali (probably written in 1579) which records, with certainity that the Sheikh would deliver rehotoric sermons (KHUTBAT). There is no hint even provided by him or any other historian or anthologist or biographer of the Sheikh that such speeches were ever recorded. Hence it might be so that such speeches did contain some references about the Reshi Order or the Movement but we will never be able to get benefitted therefrom.

Before our readers take a view on the basis of these points the following verses of the Sheikh deserves to be studied:

جنگل کھسُن خامی گیم

مے دوپ یہِ آسہِ بڈ عبادت

Absurdity did lie in my decision,
To abandon the world,
I deemed it superior meditation,
But oh! Alas!!

This realisation that 'real' and 'sincere' meditation can be carried within the social fold cannot be deemed an escape from the influence which had already crept in the of Reshi discipline. But it should not be and cannot be considered that the Reshis had submitted the human action to escapist fatalism. The phrase used 'to meditate in jungles' does not mean as is commonly inferred that the Sheikh had become hermit and later had a retreat. The isolation in which he spent seven years in 'Kaimoh Cave' too cannot be considered hermitage in literal sense as during that period he turned that cave as a pulpit and stage for propagation. The discipline from its very inception made the 'subtle protest' against all kinds of excesses as an inalienable part of Reshi manifesto. Recorded history contains merely the mention of the cruel mass killing of Reshi saints at the hands of Zulchu's army in 1320 AD in Arya Rai's cave in the village Bumazowa.Mention of other such incidents, which put together form a chain of protests. Thus it is clear that the abstention from mundane coupled with action against exploitation was essence of Reshi code which has derived inspiration from Owaisi Qarani. Already stated this Muslim saint was contemporary of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) but lived in self imposed isolation to the extant that his beloved the Prophet had to depute two of his most important companions to see him at his place in Yemen. But, during the war between Ali and Maawiya, he actively participated on the side of Ali and died in the war field.Thus to stand by the side of oppressed and to fight against injustice was cardinal principal of the Rshism. or 'Owaisi' order as some call it.

تیمۍ اَسہِ دِتی تو رِگی تہٕ تأزی

تُہندی خأطرٕ غأزی کرَو

(who has given us the special species of fast running
red color horses, let us fight wars for his pleasure.)

Thus Reshi has clear mandate from its grand master and the propounder to go for war if the justice and the Lord's pleasure commands so.

In spite, the influence of Buddhist teachings upon the moulding of Reshi Mystic Thought is manifest because Kashmir has remained

cradle of the Buddhist missionary activities. In his book 'India and China' Dr. P.C Bagchi writes:

"Kashmir takes the leading part in the transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China. Kashmir was the most flourishing centre of Buddhist learning in India in this period. It was the most powerful Buddhist sect of Southern India, the Sarvastivada...."

Sir Henry Yale writes in reference to Marco Polo about Buddhist Kashmir as "...the people of the province (Kashmir) do not kill animals nor spill blood." About their ascetics he writes: "they observe strict chastity and keep from all sin forbidden in their law..."

We must keep in mind that in 14th century when Islam takes Kashmir in its fold, there was virtually no Buddhist formidable population. The presence of some Buddhist sections in the countryside cannot be ruled out but of no effect. In our study in the topic, Islam in Kashmir it has been stated that in the 12th century Muslim pockets in Kashmir had acquired sufficient clout that the community was called by the monarch to foil a revolt. We have also seen in 11th century, Mehmud of Gazna had, in south Kashmir, established colonies inhabited by Muslims. Those Muslims of 11th and 12th centuries were not foreigners but local converts. We have reason to believe that after Siavistic chauvinism, Budhists of Kashmir had been terrorised throughout and therefore inferences are but logical that those terrified Buddhists embraced Islam and they carried with them many of their beliefs and practices which included the abandonment of pleasures and mundane life and particularly the self mortification in its strict sense. Both these facets of Buddhism are predominantly present in Reshi thought and practice. The very environs of Kashmir possess a natural instinct for meditation. Therefore, such religions and doctrines devoted to extreme forms of meditation have flourished on this soil. Lord Buddha had himself praised this instinct in the surroundings of this country. The same thought in extended and wider form is conveyed by the Sheikh herein:

پوشہِ متبن یمن ابدالن

خوش گلمن بوزُ کھ معنے

سنگھاسن چھکھ کوہن بالن

یمن لعلن مول گس زانے

Those light-houses who have bedecked themselves with roses,
Who have ingrained capacity to comprehend their sweet words.
Have adorned the hilltops and mountain cliffs as their thrones.
Can one evaluate the worth of those jewels.

Predecessor Reshi of Sheikh, have lived such isolated life that even their names were generally forgotten and must have been preserved only in folktales. The chronicle writers had completely ignored those, or were not aware of them. This factor also speaks that Reshis had from very inception of this discipline severed association with people, therefore their very existence had fallen in oblivion. But the Sheikh imparts discipline to himself and to his hundreds of disciples to take their being in the klin of viscitudes by day and night meditation, abandonment of mundane and by acute self mortification so as to return to society to cure its ills, to remain active against all kinds of excesses - even against animals, wildlife, insects and greenery, protect the virginity of surroundings and with all these qualities create a discipline to fear their Creator and seek from Him and Him alone succour. Thus we can safely hold that the Sheikh as a great missionary and thinker used this local Buddhist influence to penetrate his message to all sections including lower layers of his society. The essence in the message and the manner in which he conveyed was purely local. Like a honeybee, he collected the flavour of all human philosophies which were dominant in his country and through natural process produced pure and sweet honey of Reshiyat. However, caution is necessary. The Reshiyat has not emerged from Budhism. Only its such teachings and practices were adopted with or without modifications which were not repugnant to Islam. In spite of its similarity in many manners with Buddhist teachings and practices, it is not hermitage nor is it only mystic doctrine but a movement.

The incident of Sheikh's encounter with the weaver Reshi (Senge Reosh) in Pargana Breng of south Kashmir provides a pointer that he has indirectly denounced rigor in meditation which that Reshi had evolved for himself. He was day and night meditating and would earn something to sustain himself so had fixed his handloom with a tree under which he

would constantly pray also. While on tour of the area, Sheikh found this Reshi weaver in a hollow trunk of a Chinar where he had fixed his weaving loom and would meditate day and night. The Sheikh warned him "like the hollow trunk of the tree your inner too is hollow." We know that Gautam Budha remained engrossed under the Bodhi tree with determination to attain sambodhi, he would not leave unless attained it. In this encounter with weaver Reshi, the Sheikh defies that a particular form at a particular situation can necessarily lead to spiritual emancipation. It should not mean to infer that Sheikh disrespected Buddha but adopted a clear manifesto for Reshiyat that no form of meditation is necessary for achievement of His Bliss, but, it is the sincerity to achieve Him.

The latter commentators of his verse and his biographers distorted both his versified thought and the facts of his life story. Most relevant is to quote his opinion about marriage. We know the Sheikh was married and had fathered three children, two of them were living till he went into deeper cave. All the anthologists, biographers and historians have after the encounter he had with his mother and wife at 25th year of his age, left the progenies to guess about his relationship thereafter with his family. Impression is carried to posterity that the man wandered throughout the country thrice but totally omitted Kaimoh, his home place, from the itinerary of his travels. We have earlier on reasons, though scattered, held that he returned to his home and his wife Zai was one of his first disciples. Even at Kaimoh cave, he had established a humble kitchen wherefrom he fed the ailing Outur Thakur (Nassar Baba). He got one of his disciples himself married to the daughter of Sangram Dar. Most relevant here is to clear that impression which has been left by misinterpretation of the following quatrain:

مسلیو موکر کو لے
غوسلس کھنڈ چے کولہ چھاو
رِدَس یاد کلی توے
سو لے گژھی کو لے تراو

It has been translated by Baba Mohammad Khalil in Persian verse.

زن مکن اے مسلم دین پرورا

کُن بہ نہرِ قند ہردم غسل ہا
یادتو زائل شود جملہ ملال
وصل اوخواہی اگر روزین خیال

For my readers the translated version of Khalil is put in English as:

"Oh, yee the faithful Mussalman, don't opt for marriage,
Married life shall make you to forget thy Lord.
(instead of post-intercourse bath
Have the bath in sweetness of His pleasures)
If you desire union with Him, abandon thy wife.

This distortion is not only foolish but condemnable. These Persian scholars who edited Sheikh's verse were ignorant of the source language, which was their mother tongue. In the first verse poet uses the term 'ko-lie' whereas Khalil and Kamal both translated it as the word 'kolie'. The former means: "ill-concentration" whereas the word 'kolie' is used for wife. Suffix of 'ko' to a word makes the term as an antonym of the real word. 'Kaal' means: "time" and 'ko-kal' means "bad times". Similarly: "lye" means 'concentration for good and 'ko-lye' means concentration for bad. Thus this quatrain means: "oh thee the faithful abandon the concentration for mundane. wash thyself in the streams of the sweet bliss. Thereby you will forget worldly pleasures. Concentration in Him shall save you from other concentrations."

Above discussion show that the Sheikh received some influences even from Buddhist form of devotion but which was not repugnant to Islam and its fundamentals. With reverence and respect to the sensibility of other religions, he Islamises (converts to Islamic philosophy) words and phrases of Buddhism. For example the word "Sehaj" (blissful) from that glossary he appropriately coins as an alternate phrase of Muslim theology. He stresses the Bliss in Quran with vehemence and calls the Holy book as "SEHAJ Quran." In clear terms prays to achieve such bliss which the lord Buddha has achieved.

Blessed with Bliss is 'Sehajanand' (the Blissful),
Who performed countless services (to His Lord and the people)
He did abandon both riches and power,
Oh! My lord, bless me with similar prowess.

Three distinct facets present in his life and teachings are mainly connected together to plead Buddhist influence. They are firstly his retirement to cave which remained later a tradition with all Reshis. Secondly, his extreme type of self mortification which was evolved as life style of Reshis. Thirdly, his stern warnings are against those who tease, injure or even damage the greenary, insects, animals etc.

The first facet is not due to Buddhist or any other influence but even the Prophet (PBUH) to concentrate, had to retire to cave of Hira, near Mecca. It is in this cave the Angel Gabriel reveals the first verse of Quran to Him. For His lovers all His practices are fundamentally to be followed. Even the greatest of the saints, committed theologian, Sheikh Syed Abdul Qadir of Geelan did follow this tradition. Self-mortification too is part of the practical teachings of the Prophet (PBUH) who in spite of his political powers lived in utmost poverty and had to fasten stones upon his belly to subside the extreme hunger. His loved and cared 'Ashabi Suf' (companions who meditated in close vicinity of Prophet's Mosque on a raised platform), have provided unique examples of self-mortification. In spite of their utmost poverty, hunger and thirst they not only remained deeply committed with untiring meditations but also participated in holy wars. To be fair the love for the creation of Almighty has been essence of every religion. This strain upon Reshiyat might be cumulative effect of the teachings of Islam and the impact of Buddhist philosophy, the influence of local conceptions of morality evolved for centuries together but in our view these all influences, impacts and effects have become a philosophy of Reshi-ism for the love of nature which was so ingrained in the mind and heart of the Sheikh that in comparative study of the histories of various parts of the world he, establishes himself a pioneer environmentalist of the world. Topic already discussed.

The Buddhism had left its imprints in the theosophic culture of Central Asia where Tassawuf (Muslim mysticism) flourished and received such influences too. Orientalists even qualify abandonment of power and riches by Sultan Ibrahim to have been the result of such influences. Therefore we have to reckon the presence of Buddhist teachings upon Reshiyat as a contributory factor. It should not be considered a source of inspiration at all. There are basic differences

rather wide gulf in between the two. Buddha is so committed to 'anityata' (impermanence) that he refuses even the permanence of the soul and propounds anatmavada (non-soulism). In wider connotation it denies the Absolute Soul, the revival of soul on the day of resurrection and ancillary prepositions. On the other hand gamut of the Sheikh's teachings is that the 'soul is subjected to reward and punishment'. He also pleads that the ultimate bliss with which the lord shall bless his faithful devotees will be an achievement of permanence with the Absolute Soul. Therefore, the essence of Reshi thought pivots around the permanency of the soul, though they believe that everything beyond that is perishable. Here "anityata" is present in Reshiyat but 'anatmavada' is totally defied. The earlier conception is a derived philosophy from Quran itself. The 'Fana' (mortality) applies to all beyond the 'soul' which has permanency.

The net result is that in spite of many similarities and dissimilarities neither Reshi thought is 'derived' from Buddhist influences nor is in total conformity with it and nor is there a total conflict between the two. This influence is however, inherent in the soil of Kashmir. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din as a scientific missionary widened his thought according to local perceptions, so various influences are present. According to the Sheikh, it is the soul only which is bestowed by the Lord what it deserves not beyond or lesser.

لیس یُتھ دِتُھ رُوح تَس تیُتھ اوقات

(b) Reshi-ism & Vedant

Soon after 2000 BC, thoughtful restlessness was conceived by the soil on the north of Indian peninsula for the interaction between incoming Aryans who spoke Indo-European language and local population who conversed in a language akin to Dravidian. The time did undergo terrible pangs and the 'sruti' (Revelation) was delivered. This process ranged from 1500 BC to 600 BC, a full nine hundred year period These revelations consist of four separate schools - often referred to as the four Vedas: Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda and Attarva Veda.

The Aranyakas or "forest treatises" deal with the speculations and spirituality of forest dwellers (vanaprashita) - those who have renounced the world. Upristada - the culmination of Vedas represent the both

mystical and philosophical aspects of the Vedas. The strain upon Reshi-ism has from the earliest days remained to meditate in dense forests. Kashmir was (and in spite of utter devastation) continues to be a country of forests. Therefore, the Gnostic mind fell lulled in this scenic beauty and so thought about and perceived the realities behind the nature in this nudity of the nature. Kashmir Brahmin remained deeply committed to Vedic philosophy.He came, later on, in open confrontation with Savism the local religious philosophy - which augmented, grew and evolved on this soil.

We can discern influence of Vedic teachings in the verse of the leader of Kashmir Mystic Thought, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din only by comparative study. It is the presence of such influence which can show that Vedic teachings have also contributed to the emergence of this thought. Otherwise to play hide and seek with history might confuse our reader. All accounts about the 'Reshi Movement' are mysteriously rather intriguingly too brief or misinterpreted or even interpolated.

The most renowned mantras of the Vedas is 'Gyatri' which technically is a Vedic poetic meter of twenty four syllables authored (according to tradition) by Visvamitra. Its content bears resemblance with Quranic teachings also.

Om we meditate upon the glorious splendour,
Of the vivifier divine
May be himself illumine our minds.
Om (Rig Ved III 62, 10)

ژٕے دِوِ درتس تہٕ گرتس پژ کھ
ژٕے دِوِ کرژن ہُندُ ے چھانپ
ژٕے دِوِ ٹھنوُں رۆستے وَز کھ
کیاہ چھے پُن کیاہ چھے پاپ

(We meditate upon thy glory)
Which has bestowed life to the earth of creation,
Thee only are viewed through bodies upon the skeleton.
Voicelessly echoes thy voice.
Over and above the vice and virtue is my Lord.

In many texts Vedic Revelation qualifies the 'Waakh' (the word) is not a man made tool of communication but is infinitely much more. Taittiariya Brahmina II (8,8,5) defines the Vedic ambit of the words as

"The word imperishable is the First Born,
the truth Mother of the Veda, the hub of
immortality......"

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din describes that the Absolute Creator has intermingled with the pasted clay and sand - the two constituents of the matter; rolled it on the wheel of the process, the Time and Space and finally He himself bartered with Himself so created 'word'. The Vedic thought pre-dates word to the Creator, the Sheikh a Muslim thinker makes it the essence of Almighty's creation. Here he is totally guided by Quranic description that the God gave the Adam the knowledge of Names. Thus the first lesson which the Created received from the Creator, was the word - the hub of immortality.

'The Veda is neither 'inspired' (having God its author) nor the 'word of God' (containing or expressing the message of God), it is simply the primordial word. This word is 'nitya vaakh', an eternal word'. ("The Vedic Experience, Mantramanjri", edited by Raimundo Pannikar for All India Books Pondichery). On the other hand Quran is the 'word' authored by the Almighty and hence the Sheikh proselytise the Vedic influence to Quranic realism. Cosmic Refulgence is the essence of this Vedic word (Rig Ved, X 170, 4)

Diffusing glory with your rays,
You have scaled the shining realm of heaven.
By you are supported, all things that are,
Oh God, All Creator, essence all divine.

گگن ژہے بتُل ژہے

ژہے دبن پوَن تہٕ راتھ

ارگہِ پوش پان ژندن ژہے

ژیٚنے سوٗرے لاگے کیٚا تھ

[Thou art the Glory of high heavens,
Richness in the earths,

The light of the day,
The darkness of the night
The black wild rose,
The red tulip,
The fragrance in sandalwood.
You are essence divine,
How to describe thee].

Sacrifice is the essence of devotion, the purpose behind the gnosticism and the rationale behind the emotional meditation. All religious and even secular systems have laid stress on sacrifice. Sacrifice need not necessarily be tangible or abstract. The Sheikh was on tour of Pargana Krohein in north Kashmir; found a fish vendor had put in frying pan a fresh fish. His appetite for the dish got immediately sharpened and desired a piece of it to experience the taste. He rushed to the shop, lifted a burning piece of wood from the oven of the fried fish vendor and instead to provide hot, tasty, piece of fried fish to his desire, he burnt with the flame his mouth and lips. Such control of the desire is tougher than to butcher a ram on Idi-Qurban or to distribute as largesse one's whole property.

Rigveda (1, 164, 35) puts it as:

This sacrifice is the navel of the world.
All power to our life through sacrifice!
All power to our lungs through sacrifice!
All power to our eyes through sacrifice!
All power to our backs through sacrifice!
All power to sacrifice through sacrifice!

Satapatha Brehmana (III,6,2,26) puts the essence of sacrifice as:

"All this, whether exists, is made share in sacrifice".

Now read this poem of the Sheikh:

Sacrifice is to play with thunder and cloudbursts,
Sacrifice is to forebear pitch darkness at midday,
Sacrifice is to pound one's self in a watermill,
Sacrifice: swallow in single dose, a quintal of poison.
Sacrifice is to lift Himalayas,
Sacrifice is to handle flame, fire and amber.

Minor difference is patent. Vedas convey the essence in sacrifice and the Sheikh defines sacrifice. This definition is not un-aimed. It

indirectly conveys the gamut of its essence. Thus the influence might not be too direct but we must bear with historical gap. In between Vedic period to medieval age many and varied influences remained moving on the wheel of the Time.

We have referred to 'Aranyakas' a facet of Vedic epiphany which is continuation of Brahmanas and deals with speculation and meditation of those Gnostics who retire to forests - vanas. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, his predecessor reshis and all his successors have dwelled in jungles though for some fixed or limited duration but our anthologists made them totally jungle dewellers. Whatever the length of the period the Vana Yatra (living in isolation in forests) was part of the Reshi meditation, rather the primary part. We have earlier referred to some verses of the Sheikh in which he highly praises the 'loneliness' at scenic spots and claims that those who devote in isolation at such picturesque locations and decorate mountain peaks as their thrones, they only in reality, understand the word of the God, so have become priceless. It has also been said that he dubbed his action of retirement to forests an act of immaturity. But in spite this warning, his successors continued with the tradition - rather followed it with stress and strain. Sheikh's poetry is replete with his commitment to forest dwelling as a seeker of ultimate truth.

یارِن منز پھیو رُس جنگلس

شرٛ اونہٕ چھہ لُج اُوِجہِ ہیے

موختہٕ بدوٗن تھوٗی زِنہٕ زَلس

ٹوکھ مازربر لالَس دِیے

ربہہ کالی ژھبتہٕ گرٛ ھ اَلس

نیہہ اَدِ شامَس پانَس پےٚ یے

Wandered through lush green pine trees,
The warmth of June did snatch,
The softness, fragrance and flavour
From the delicate petals of lilies.
Indiscernible is distinction in dew and pearl.

(This warmth of the season)
Might damage the delicacy of those diamonds.
Sooner the flame of tulips shall be extinguished,
And the time shall take me to slumber.

اَندوَن روٗزِتھ کند کپاٗوُم

بِنا اَولے بناٗوِم گوپھے

اَنتھ مل وٗنتھ درشُن دیووُم

لحدِ ہنز صوٗرتھ ہاٗوِم گوپھے

کونگہٕ تہٕ کوفُورِتن من نووُم

شوٗنج پرٕنے کتھ ساٗوِم گوپھے

Aloof in the solitude of the forest,
I traversed in the cave to my being,
By ablution of my mind and thought.
With the rehearsal of the life in grave,
I was benefited with His glimpse.
Washed my soul and body with fragrance around.
The cave rested me to conscious slumber.

Though Vedic age was overtaken by equally two philosophies. Buddhist and Savists also were overshadowed by Islam; yet the conciliatory interaction of all these philosophies synthesised. A process which prepared Kashmir soil for a practical philosophy that condensed together flavour of varied virtues emerged therefrom which contained in the local Trika philosphy. Reshi movement was conceived by the interaction of Saivism and Tassawuf and its full time delivery as spiritual, moral and social code was certain by the consolidation of Islamic revolution. It has been explained that this revolution had three phases. The first was political phase which was poineered by foreign missionary saint Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul in 1320-21. The second was to establish mass base for this revolution, that was created again by forign Syed Saint Mir Syed Ali of Hamdan in 1373. The third and final shape was modelled by Sheikh Noor-ud-Din from 1400 to 1438.Reader should not get confused that the influence of Tassawuf, as impression

has been left,commenced here from the mid of 14th century as Sufi saints arrived here in bulk. We have shown that the spiritual descendants of Owais Qarni viz; Zalka, Plas and others were here active from tenth century. Their very claim of descendence from Owaisi Cult makes it manifest that influence of Tassawuf had come here with the entry of Islam. We have earlier seen that Islam had silently and subtly turned Kashmir society from one of monolithic to a mixed one. Muslim pockets were strayed but universal in the country. There presence had neither created any stir nor any confusion. So, the contemporary historian dismissed this presence of any formidable consequence. These were the days when Savism dominated celescial life in this country. Hence the incoming religious civilization, though limited and scattered, came in contact with this philosophy. This contact was not conflicting but conciliatory. The incoming influence was neither imported by invaders nor by theologians, nor even by missionaries but was accepted by the local population for a few patent reasons which have come within the purview of this study in different forms at different places.

(c) Savistic influences

The Sheikh grew mentally during the period when Sufi missionaries and Savist devotees were involved in a process of interaction between their respective philosophies. Eminent Sanskrit scholars and propounders of Savist thought were, according to established tradition well guarding the theories during 14th century. The Yogni 'Lal', the practical laboratory of these ideals was the popular image of this philosophy. The hold of the theoretician Brahmin had not only eroded but had derailed and degenerated. Zulchu's destruction of Kashmir in 1320-21 had exposed this theoretician as spiritually shallow, mentally confused and morally weak. Erosion in this age-old charisma of the institution had shaken the common faith. The Savists were divided among dualists and monists - the former conception was closer to pantheism whereas the Monists were to a great extent aligned to the teachings of Tawheed. Both these branches had confronted each other but such confrontation was scholastic rather sectarian. Had the institution of Brahminism been as powerful as it was during pre-Zulchu invasion, the Sufi missionary stressing Tawheed would have faced stiff

opposition. Consequently the soil for conversion would not have been so fertile. The episode of Lal and Sidi Shrikanth establishes that theory could not stand before the practitioners.

Precise comments on Trika thought and through it study of the facets of Shaiva philosophy is most relevant to understand celestial environs of 14th century Kashmir. 'Trika' is the sectarian facet of Shaiva philosophy evolved in Kashmir in middle ages. It contains within its ambit that what constituted the old Sankhaya lessons derived from the philosophy of cosmic development. Pushupata and Pancharitra sects emerged in due course. Advaita or Monism dominated. According to this philosophy the self (soul of a being) and the supreme spirit are deemed one. On the other hand Dvaitas or Dualists consider them separate entities. 'Shakti' is the creative power inherent in the Almighty creator. This conception is closer to the mystic thought of Zaat (the supreme Being) and Sifaat (the Attributes of the Being). Daita thought devised a separate entity for Shakti and so emerged two poles apart contentions from the womb of single thought. As earlier said the two sects remained in constant confrontation that remained within the ambits of discourses. The two sects though did not literally co-exist nonetheless were not intolerant to one another.

The sovereign Lord's will is only responsible for all manifestations. Maheshwara with Vimarsa Shakti (inherent in him) performs, creation, preservation, dissolution and abounds in bliss and consciousness. His unrestrained will provides spontaneous flow to the stream of cognition. This conception with minor amends and deletions touches closely the boundary of Tassawuf. It is for these similarities in theory and practice that Sufi preacher through his word and deed attracted local mind. The visit of Shankaracharya before 850 AD, who was the great apostle of monistic interpretation of Saivistic philosophy, gave support and stir to this sect. The emergence of Lal Ishwari, as the popular exponent of monotheistic practices and her physical interaction with great Sufi saint of international fame Shah Hamdan prepared the field for Sheikh Noor-ud-Din to create a progressive synthesis between monistic Shaivisim and the teachings of Tawheed.

Sheikh has, treated Shiv or Parmeshwar synonymous with Allah and praises Shivas attributes with same spirit and emotional commitment

with which he reveres the Attributes of Allah.

شِوچھے زأوِیُل زال وُبأرِتھ

تی چھے سرُن تُرِتھ گتھ

زِندے روزَ کھ زِندِ پان مأرِتھ

پانہٕ منٛز پان کڈنُرِتھ گتھ

Invisible is the net of the attributes of Lord Shiva,
That only is He realised.
Grasp the secret in it.
By killing the living self, immortality is the achievement.
Remove thy being from the existence,
But by trial of the secret.

شِوچھے تھَلہِ تھَلہِ رَوزان

مَوزان ہیوٚ ندتہٕ مسلمان

تُرٛ گے چھُکھ پان پنُن پزٕ وزان

(تُرٛ گے چھُکھ پان پنُن پَرزان)

سوے چھے صاحبس ستی زأنی زان

The Shiva's manifestations are everywhere,
The distinction between Muslim and Hindu.
Is, therefore, unwarranted.
Wise art thou! Consider thyself ray from Sun,
(Or alien to thyself)
Therein lies His Realisation.

This Wakh is included in the Wakhas of Lal Ded, but historically that is not correct position. She had no such situation which could necessiate her to warn the communities so harshly. This situation which demanded such admonishes was the situation created by Seha Bata after he was converted and became a minister of Sultan Sikander.

Kashmir has its own version of Ramayana according to which the Vana (forest) in which Ram spent fourteen years is located in district

Baramula, north Kashmir and was till recently named as Dandakvana. Its present name is Rafiabad. Sheikh has all admiration for Ramchandra.

نر بچھو نارائن بچھو　　اپشر بچھو اَتھ ہتھ کپال

ڈنڈک وِنکی رامہ راز بچھو　　اَسہِ تے بچھو اَسہِ کیاہ گال

Similarly he has great regard for the heroes of Mahabharta. Pandavas are to him symbols of righteousness and valour. Qasim Manami 16th century historian of Kashmir had studied the autograph manuscript of Miratual Awliya by Mula Ahmad Kashmiri. Mention has earlier been made that the Mula was contemporary of the Sheikh and was a minister of Sultan Zainul-ul-Abidin (1420-1470). He is reported to have authored Kalhana's Rajtarngni in Persian. Miratul Awliya is Persian commentary of Sheikh's poetry but is non-extant now. The author of Gauhar Aalam (Qasim Manami) makes the comments on the Sheikh's attachment with Pandavas. He had studied from that vital source that the saint-poet had established by cogent reasons that Pandavas were believers of One God and had allegiance to the religion of prophet Noah. This historian has not made a mention as what was source before the Sheikh on which he made such a claim or Mulla has not deemed proper to refer that source.

This small poem depicts the reverence which the Sheikh attaches with Arjuna. He preaches that by acquisition of His Bliss, by having Hajj pilgrimage of Kaba and by demonstration, Arjun's valour one can very easily walk upon sharp edged but too thin like a hair strand the bridge to enter the paradise.

نامن بل غسلا کأرتو　　حج کعبہ گذارتو

پھمبہ کالیس سِلاح پأرتو　　لأ گتھ نیرتوار جن دیو

ٹِکان پُلِ صرأ ژتأرتو　　اتی وَن تو مبارک چھُو

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali collected the flavour from this garden of varied civilizations. Earlier said, Kashmir has remained cradle of Vedant philosophy and Advaita Thought; it has sung the hymns of Ram. It has remained so attached to Pandavas that ruins of any grandeur in science beauty is called Pandav Ler - the house of Pandavas. "Paanstan Pandavan

hinz Moj" (mother of five Pandavas) has traversed form Sheikh's poetry to the daily conversation as an oft used proverb. All these influences have been strictly accepted, evolved and explicitly acknowledged if,however, were in consonance with Islamic tenets or did not come in the way of teachings of Islam or had no conflict with fundamentals of Islam.

With Syed Abdur Rehman Bulbul and Syed Ali Hamdani spread into nook and corner of this country, the sincerity and simplicity of Tassawuf. Those mobile laboratories of purity, moral emancipation, piety and conformity between word and deed prepared ground for the Sheikh to cultivate the fertile soil of spirituality and harvest a disciplined spiritual movement. Both these distinguished missionaries had prophetic vision to exploit this fertility for tangible results. It is in the second chapter hinted that these both saints belonged to different schools of Muslim jurisdiction. It is rather stressed by some that the both were Shias. That position is, however, disputed. But it is universally admitted that Hazrati Bulbul Sahib was Hambli whereas Shah Hamdan was a Shafi. But as Kashmir Muslim society from 10th century had evolved upon Hanfi interpretation of Fiqah, both these stalwarts carried on their mission of conversion to Muslim Hanafi school. They completely avoided any controversy lest the drive might hamper or deter. With same zeal and spirit Syed Hamdani permitted loud recitation in mosques which otherwise is not practice in Muslim world. This exception was regularised for the reason he migjht have found local Muslims had already evolved such vocal music oriented recitation culture from thier fellow countrymen, Hindus. Mention is relevant here that from many centuries Kashmiri Hindus, for weather compulsions and for thier zest to meditate, had evolved a culture to remain too engrossed in Mandirs in singing hymns in praise of the lord. Circumstances make the reason to presume that from 1oth century as there was silent and sou moto recruitment to Muslim fold from local population they had taken with them many customs and even akin form of meditation from their old society.We have seen that the Sheikh has even found Muslims around him painting their houses with cowdung as had been practice with Pandits. This prayer which the Hamdani specially coded for we Kashmiries is the gist of Quranic teachings of Tawheed. In every mosque

this devised form of detailed and collective loud recitation of Auradi Fateha kept the local converts engaged in prayers in the mosques up to the sunrise form the early dawn. In Muslim world the morning prayers otherwise consumes 5/6 minutes. On the bank of the river Jehlum in the midst of the city local Pandits would sing hymns in praise of Lord Shiva in Mahakali temple. In its close vicinity in Khanqah, Muslims, in the same tune and meter, also loudly recite syllabuls of Quranic verses arrayed in the Aurad. This synthesised vocal music lulls the atmosphere in a unique ecstasy. In the rest of the sub continent particularly in India, mosques situated near temples face a situation of annoyance because the Muslim place of worship is to maintain strict silence and Mandir is in hustle bustle due to recitation of Lelas and bhajans. This diversity causes many a times, communal riots. God whether remembered as Allah or as Shiva is one and the same, devotion is the same - languages might differ. Mystic stress is upon the co-existence which is called 'Sulhi Kul'. In this background the Sheikh found fabric ready. It required his talent as craftsman to weave the brocket out of delicate spun threads.

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali is a Mussalman - rather a fundamentalist. This word 'fundamentalist' need be construed in its lexicon meaning and need not be politicised as a dogma antonym of the revisionist dogma. Any revisionist in the matter of faith loses his faith in such accepted discipline. More so, Islam is a perfect religion as Quran itself declares, it is a perfect code for both mundane and spiritual lives. Hence any 'revision' in this code causes expulsion of such innovator. However, interpretation is not rigid. The scientific inventions have clearly explained to human mind many such prepositions enunciated in Holy Quran which before such scientific discoveries were subjected to varied interpretations. The net result of this discussion is that the Sheikh was "intolerant" about the fundamentals of Islam and tolerant rather perpetuator of appropriate interpretations. In spite of this (which might be considered) rigidity the Sheikh by his action and explanation afforded proselytised local Buddhists, Vedic and Shavistic tenets and Islamised those teachings. However he applied strict test that such adopted principles, forms, dogmas, practices etc were not in contradiction with Muslim faith. But however, he neither adopted Vedic teachings as his code, nor Adaivata nor Buddhist teachings and nor even Tassawuf. Out

of the interaction of all these he carved out Reshi order of meditation which is more a movement than merely a spiritual order. Hereinbefore we have attempted to highlight these local influences which he had inherited in his environs. Now we will discuss as what he received from Tassawuf. Before we make such study, a brief mention of origin, development and evolution of this Muslim mystic thought is a pre-requisite.

(d) Tassawuf

"There is no evidence, historical or otherwise, to authenticate the claim that the Holy Prophet (PBUH) actually communicated certain esoteric doctrines to Ali or AbuBakr" opines Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia" (London 1908 P:107). However, it can be shown that the Quran as well as in Hadith there are the 'germinal ideas' of Sufistic doctrines. Dr. Mir Wali-ud-Din has made reference of some verses of Holy Quran and of some sayings of Holy Prophet (PBUH) which have bearing on the Sufi doctrines and mode of life of he Sufis. The verses are:

i) Whatsoever ye turn, there is the face of Allah (Chapter II, - 15)

ii) He is the first and the last and the outward and the inward (Chap:42,LXII-80)

iii) There is no God but He, everything is perishing except His face (XXVIII-88)

iv) We are nearer to Him than the neck artery (1.16)

The continued remembrance 'Zikir' of God is a derived lesson of this verse: "In the places of worship which God hath allowed to be raised, that His name therein be remembered, do men praise Him in the morning and in the evening. Men whom neither merchandise nor traffic diverts from the remembrance of the God and keeping up prayer." (XXIV:36-37)

In our view the fountain head of various streams and disciplines of Tassawuf is Holy Quran itself. Read this 35th verse of 24th Sura Alnur:

"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as (if there were) a niche and within it a lamp: The lamp is in the glass, the glass as it were a brilliant star, lit from blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east (i.e. neither it gets sun rays only in the morning) nor of

the west (i.e. not gets sun rays only in the afternoon, but it is exposed to the sun all the long) though no fire touched it. Light upon light. Allah guides to His Light whom he wills. And Allah sets forth parables of mankind and Allah is All-Knower of everything."(translation Dr. Taqi-ud-Din Al-halda)

Though there are many sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) with direct or indirect mystic strains we confine reference to the one oft repeated by the both the theoritcians and practitioners. It is:

"I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, I created the creation in order that I might be known." (Hadis Qudsi)

Explaining these verses of Quran and the sayings of Prophet (PBUH) commentators have interpreted these secrets conveyed with such details which bear metaphysical strains than physical facets. In the strict sense Mussalmans are to prostate only towards Kaba but 'Sufis' make endeavours to find Him from every side. Such devotion is justified by the verse of Quran (II-15) supra. His omnipresence is essence of all monistic conceptions and more so it is the corner stone of Tawheed. However, mystics inspired and guided by verse 3 of chapter 42 (supra) find Him both within there being and within their environs. Principle of the search within is contained in the attributed saying of Hazrati Ali. He says:

مَن عَرَفَ نَفسَهُ فقد عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ

"Who recognises his self does recognise His creator".

To find Him outwardly, the Sufis preferred to meditate amidst the exposed nature.

Similarly the Sufis have during their devoted meditation tried to reach such Eternal Light through which His Being has been described to some extent explained in sura Nur verse 35 (supra)

كُنتُ كنزاً مخفِياً

(I was a hidden treasure, got exposed by His Love)

This Hadis is also one of the cornerstones of Muslim mysticism. According a view 'Sufi' is derived from 'Souf' - the wool because the Muslim Derveshis followed Christian Hermits and dressed themselves in woollen cloths. Similarly some connect the word with those companions of the Prophet (PBUH) who used to meditate on a raised dice (Souf) near

Masjidi Nabwi and are known as Ashabi Sufa. Dr. A. Nicholson has taken benefit from a fictional anecdote authored by Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1207-1273) to convey that every theoretician of this particular mystic practice defined it according to his own perception just as the elephant was described by those who had in pitch darkness touched any part of the body of the beast. Confined the description of the elephant according to his own perception. It is therefore, difficult to embark upon a definite definition of this system. It can be known from various variations it has undergone in various parts of Muslim world. To develve in such details is the purview of a work on Tassawuf. In this introductory treatment such details are unwanted.

Tassawuf is not a sect but it is a definite 'path' (Tareeq) for travellers (Saaliks) from all sects of Muslims and from all schools of Muslims, a Sunni, a Shia, a Hanafi, a Maaliki, a Shafiyee, a Humbli etc who feeds urge to reach the destination of His pleasure, wishes proximity with Him and seeks to be enlightened with the Eternal Light and so chooses the mystic path (Tariqat). Shariah is the exterior of religion whereas Tariqat is known as interior of it. According to former system the common Muslim is to pass life in accordance with defined code of conduct as devised in Holy Quran, practices of His Chosen Servant (SAW) and is defined, interpreted and followed in the letter and spirit by the masters of the schools of Muslim theology. Shariat therefore is to model one's being so that he is saved from the punishment of hell and is benefited with the pleasures of the heaven. Tassawuf, the mystic path does also evolve the same code, but is not confined to the prescribed theories as contained in black and white. One might himself be a great scholar but is bound to seek guidance from a matured, experienced and perfect traveler who has traversed the path and has witnessed its curves, ups and downs, clarities, ambiguities, transparencies or woven riddles or intricacies. The 'book' cannot guide such matters but the experienced 'guide' who has himself been guided and has traveled varied stages of the path has received and shared impacts and are able to convey those impacts to the followers. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi has with most pornographic details and unavoidable obscenity conveyed this point through the medium of a rich lady and her pet ass. These pages cannot bear those

details. The moral is that even for base acts one should seek guidance form experienced in that field. Thus the first main deviation between the Shariat and Tariqat is that Shara is itself sufficient and complete to guide. However, for a 'Saalik' the guidance is pre-condition. The Shara has no intricacy of stages whereas the Tariqat is path which runs through various stages till it reaches the destination. These stages on the path are very intricate, mysterious, obscure and complex. One can hardly leave from one stage to other unless led to traverse. Shara is an inherited or adopted discipline which is evolved to live a socio-economic life. Tariqat is the same description but it evolves urge or love (Ishq) and it is such love that leads the traveller. Initially he must love his spiritual master to such an extent as to get his self merged in his self (Fana-fi-Sheikh). It is from this merger or from the first stage of 'Fana' that he is carried to the love of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). This love is neither expressed by chanting nor by recitation nor only by meditation nor only by His remembrance. But, the lover of Prophet (PBUH) is strictly to mould his life according to 'Oswa Hasna'. Bayazid of Bustani (D:874 AD) desired to eat a particular fruit....., got it and to cut it, he obtained a knife. As he had to cut a piece, his conscience guided him to cut by that side alone wherefrom his beloved Prophet (PBUH) had cut it. Record or tradition could not reply the question so, he did never use this most wanted fruit.

Similarly, Owais of Qaran (Death: 642AD) heard that a tooth of his beloved Mohammad (PBUH) broke in the battle of Uhad. He could not immediately know exactly which of the teeth was broken. So, he broke all his thirty-two teeth in the process to follow. This stage involves the traveler so much in the urge to follow practices of that perfect Man (SAW). The follower gets totally merged in this urge. This state is called 'Fana fi Nabi' (To perish ones being in the love of the Prophet). This state of 'fana' leads to 'Fana Fillah' or Baqa Bilah - to perish in the love of Almighty so as to achieve eternal life. Mansoor (D:913 AD) arrived at this stage but according to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din "could not bear the brunt to merge in that Oneness...."

There are other stages through which the traveler reaches to the above explained three stages of Merger - Fana.

Repentance is the visa to enter into 'domain of Salook or Marifat'.

Pre-requisite is to repent for previous misdeeds. Even those who were born mystics and entered into fold during their very tender age, they too repented for latches which they might have suffered in utter innocence. It is repentance for such early age deeds that the Sheikh composed some best verses but ignorant historians and anthologists made such verses of repentance a basis to concoct legends. Thus maligned the record about this born saint. It is followed by abstinence - to abstain to repeat such or similar practices. Thereafter the traveler must make renunciation of the mundane. It is a situation which to an ordinary theologist (Mulla) might appear as hermitage. In reality; renunciation is to be in the active world but in a state of severance of bondage from worldly affairs. Is it possible to be active in the worldly life and to be severed from the commitment to it? The life of Prophet (PBUH) is the best model in the matter which the genuine Sufi follows in letter and spirit. Humility (Faqr), poverty (Faqiri) etc is a natural consequence of renunciation, which is the essence of all religious codes. Mystics of all systems have dubbed 'krood' (pride) as root cause of all evils which burns the estate of the spirit. The Prophet (PBUH) has therefore, expressed pride in his poverty (الفقرُ فخرى). The poverty (Faqr) cultivates patience, forbearance or tolerance and this form of mystic life imbibes the tawakal - Trust in God and finally leads to Raza: Satisfaction. While traversing on the path, passing through the stages hinted above the Saalik (Traveler) receives certain impacts which are qualified as Ahwal - the plural of Haal. These 'ahwals' constitute a chain of impacts upon the most alive and active conscious experiencing mind of the traveller. These impacts descend upon the heart and mind notwithstanding saalik's ambition, aspiration or desire. These impacts do create perfection in the mystic character and so Sufi acquires Maarifat - the gnosis. As said, all these stages of the Safar - travel, the safir (traveler) is to be guided by his Murshid - the Sheikh. Who can be the Sheikh? No formal qualifications have been prescribed nor such prescription is possible. To put it in present day phraseology a traveler to Taj Mahal must receive guidance from the guide who has visited this wonder of art, has mastered in art of stone architecture, has well understood the psychologies of love, history of Mughal romance etc. and is able to distinguish between the lust or sex and devotional faithfulness.

He must have himself received the impact of the Taj in full moon so that such experience he can convey to the traveler who goes to enjoy full moon at Agra. Anywhere in the wide world pictures of Taj, its description through word and knowledge about its background and history the Taj will get introduced. However, the impact which its view leaves can only be acquired by personal visit.Therefore, the experience must be shared with one who has earlier experienced its impacts. It is thus that the glorious sons of versatile genius, who had acquired great knowledge from books, from their rich environs, from inherited tradition, in spite were left by their perfect parents to seek guidance from those who had achieved the spiritual perfection. Very common to us is the great name of Hazrati Syed Ali Hamdani, Amir-i-Kabir (Shah Hamdan) who had pride as a descendant of Prophet (PBUH). His revered father, besides being a reputed lord, was a scholar of distinction himself and was known for his piety. This illustrious son was asked by his great father to acquire for himself guidance. So he left to make search and fell at the feet of Hazrati Muzdagani who was neither a great scholar, nor had lineage of pride but had adopted a too ordinary profession to earn his livelihood. At his feet this distinguished scholar and rich lord had to live obediently. But, he was a perfect Saalik - had traversed all stages on the path of spirituality. The stress upon Murshid (Pir), as an essential pre-requisite for a Sufi is made clear by such instances. Even the head of all saints Hazrati Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jeelani directed his son Sheikh Abdur Razaq to seek guidance from a perfect Sufi. On the other hand the institutions of religious clerics devolved upon successors as hereditary offices. The great scholar and grand son of a monarch Sultan Khawarzim viz; Jalal-ud-Din Rumi got madly involved with a Darvesh - Shams Tabrizi. Though the former boasted for the eminence he had acquired in 'Qaal' (the sciences & humanities) the latter exposed his eminence by 'Hall' the (state of ecstasy).

The essential form (which is common with all mystics of the world) to achieve the eternal bliss is the self-mortification. This discipline dominated Tassawuf to that extent that the orientalists were baffled and connected it with the exterior influences on Islam - either from Christian hermits or Buddhist monks or from Hindu synyasis or from

Neoo-Platonism. This pattern of criticism is also made against Reshis. We will meet this point at proper place.

Through repentance, renunciation, mortification etc the Saalik is to finally achieve union or proximity with Eternal Reality - the Absolute Truth - the Almighty God. The devoted faithful also goes through a mill of disciplined formal meditation - regular on time - compulsory five prayers a day, optional prayers like; Tahajud, Chasht, Naful etc, the compulsory fasts during Ramadhan and / or even Naful fasts, pays religious tax of Zakaat without failure and also travels for Hajj pilgrimage. Besides, has to adhere into mundane life strictly within the defined limits of Halal (permissible) and Haram (forbidden). He does so to save himself from the punishment or get reward in the world hereafter. The Gnostic besides modelling his being within the prescribed model of Quran and Sunna undergoes terrible trials of renunciation, adheres to poverty, goes for mortification of his self and all these viscitudes he faces as fully contended disciplined servant of God. It is neither for the fear of the flames of hell and nor for the comforts in the paradise. He undergoes these ordeals not for these petty considerations but to know Him (experience the Maarifat) to realise Him; to have the glimpse of "that light of the heavens and earth which is a niche and within it is a lamp in a brilliant star lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of east nor of the west...." He has the courage to face the brunt of the glimpse, which reduced to particles the huge mountain Sina, is not involved in scholastics with which Moses demanded. Have a glimpse upon me. (ارنی), received the reply (لن ترانی) - you can't bear. In spite insists and fell unconscious. The Sufi by his dedication goes on all stages of the path from repentance to self-mortification, then merges with the desire for Him and realises within, nor without, that eternal light. That illumination - the state of ecstasy is achieved through divine love: العشق(Ishq). Love is defined in an attributed saying of the Prophet (PBUH) as His Fire which consumes all and every except Him.

العشق نارَاللّٰه یحرقُ ما سو اللّٰه

The fire, attribute of his wrath, Hussun (the beauty) is His manifestation. Thus both love and beauty are but two distinct and

connected facets of His own manifestation. It is therefore He loves Himself. This contention gets support from mystic doctrines and parables. It is contended that He the Absolute Creator desired to see His own Power and Prowess, created universes. Through His created creation He saw but Himself. The parable has become allegorical theme of Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Attar's poem: Mantaq-ut-Tair (logic of the birds). Mountain of 'Qaaf' and SeeMurg (Phoenix) both are creations of legend. Attar in this famous poem, collects all the birds of all hues and colours, they confer together to travel up to mountain of Qaaf where lives the 'SeeMurg' (literality means thirty birds i.e. a bird with thirty facets, colours and dimensions). They undertake hazards of journey. Hundreds of birds die en route and only thirty of them reached the mountain of the 'Qaaf' where they witnessed the bird with thirty facets - rather the collage of the thirty birds which reached the destination. Thus sum total of the Muslim mystic thought is to travel to the Absolute Creator through the creation He has created.

The Tassawuf developed as science, evolved a lexicon of its own - peculiar in nature. The names of particular stages on the mystic path have quite different connotations than their ordinary dictionary meaning. Taffakur (to think) connotes to revert from falsehood to the truth and to experience the whole from the part. It can be acquired both by logic and wisdom and by Maarifat - gnosis. The first form has philosophical strains, Ma-Tazilas and Asharies adopted it but got lost. On the other hand the Sufis do not adhere to logical thinking which they consider defective. According to them the mind conceives thought and concentrates upon it only if it has no lust for mundane. Certain type of Taffakur (pondering) has been dubbed immoral by mystic ethics and some types of it are part of gnostics. Sufi thinks about his origin, so travels within himself. The 'Aarif' (Gnostic) is defined as: "one who removes barriers between him and the absolute truth and achieves proximity with truth". The question arises for Sufis to ponder. Similarly Sufis were posed with problems. Is the declaration of 'I am Truth' - Annal Huq the result of the mystic ecstasy or merely a bluff?

We have tried to introduce our reader to complexities of Tassawuf. We do not claim to have introduced Tassawuf to them. We have, according to the parable of Rumi, described the elephant with the

limitations of our perception.

Now we will discuss Reshiyat on these lines on which we have based our discussion about Tassawuf. It is that comparative study which will make our readers to judge for themselves whether Reshiyat is derived from Tassawuf or whether it is a distinct spiritual cult (Roohani Silsila) of the world of mysticism. It is qualified either as Reshi Silsila (Reshi mystic order) or as Owaisi mystic cult. So its spiritual lineage is connected with Hazrati Owaisi Qarni. It is pertinent to say at the outset that the history and tradition both are silent about the fact whether the Prophet (PBUH) guided AbuBakr and Ali, His two important comrades with some 'secret' guidance so as to support the claim that from the former eminates Naqashbandi silsila and form the later other more than a dozen of silsilas (orders). We are sure that there was no direct sharing of secrets between the Prophet (PBUH) and Owais. The latter never had physical meeting with the Prophet (PBUH). But the Sheikh in a small poem (quoted earlier) claims that Prophet (PBUH) is the first Reshi, Owais the second and he himself the last (the seventh). In the light of both history and the claim of the Sheikh due treatment to this preposition, at proper place, is a requirement.

We embark upon the comparative study under a few sub-headings and appreciate whether such tenets of Reshiyat are planted in its soil from the nursery of Tassawuf and if so is it thus a local (Kashmiri) facet of Tassawuf only. Details of comparative study require a separate volume but significant fields of such study are confined to six positive aspects which a Reshi should adhere to and to six negative principles which he should abstain to perform.

a) Murshid - Taalib *(Guide and the Guided)*

We have seen the guidance from a 'Sheikh' (Pir, Murshid, spiritual guide) is the sine quo non to traverse the mystic path. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din qualifies, in unequivocal terms this relationship most essential to achieve the devised spiritual goal. To him 'Pir' (master) is more than the parents. It is he who widens the disciple's vistas and decorates his being. It is the light through which he sees. His Pir is the partner of his virtues and destructor of his vices.

پیر ہے چھُم مول تہ پیر ہے مأ جی

پیر ہے چھُم دون أ چھن ہُند گاش

پیرن مُرِس میأنِس وسعت لأجی

چھُم پُنِس بوج تہٕ پاپن ناش

My guide embodies in him the effection of my parents.
My guide is the light of my eyes (through which I see).
It is my guide who adorns the edifice of my being,
He is sharer of my virtues,annihilates my vices.

We have seen that Parampara (tradition) of Guru and Shash has been dominant both with Brahmins and Shaivists in Kashmir. Thus a question for determination arises: whether the stress upon the Sheikh in Reshiyat is a collective impact of the local traditions and of the teachings of the Sufi missionaries? The reply to this question requires some precise discussion.

It is universally acclaimed principle of the mystic world. This institution of Murshid-Mareed has origin in Muslim teachings itself. The invisible spirit (Gabriel), in the cave of Hira on the mount near Mecca conveyed to Prophet (PBUH) the essential and fundamental essence of religion. This revelation remained usually till whole Quran descended from High Heavens upon Him. It is thus that till He lived among his comrades and after Him His four Caliphs who headed both the celestial and temporal empires of Muslims, all these five guided them. Later, the Khilafat got eroded into autocracy, the office of Khilafat shrunk into temporal institution. The political head simultaneously assumed the religious headship to him. This assumption severed the celestial domain from temporal for an inherent reason. Forceful reason was that Maawiya was accused of usurpation. His successor Yazid Ibni Maawiya by killing Hussein completed this division. Hence in such situation Junior companions of Khalifas (Taabiyeen) like Sheikh Hassan Basri (642-728) were approached to solve those problems which were neither within the competence of Khalifa nor could be solved by the scholars. Sheikh Basri had deeper associations with Hazrati Ali, the fourth Caliph. It is thus that the tradition descended from one progeny to other and so it evolved into the fundamental principles of theosophy.

Thus evolved from the teachings of Islam that a scholar might competently solve any question of Shariat, but the spiritual destination cannot be achieved only by scholarly guidance. Hence the Tassawuf under influence of these teachings made creation of 'Sheikh-Mureed' relationship as sine quo non. Net result is, that this strain upon Reshiyat was inherent in mental and spiritual genes of the Sheikh - founder of the system. The influences local and imported consolidated this strain to the extent that Pir - Mureed reverence became the corner stone of this indigenous mystic thought.

گوٚر گتھہٕ چھیٚے نابدتہٕ ٹنگ

یوٚ دوَے وبژی تہٕ پزٕیی

گرِتھ غور گورَس منگ

وونٛدس شہلتھ پیٚی

Sweet and Juicy are advices of the 'Guide'
But if you treat so and value them.
Fully concentrate and demand from thy guide,
Thy burning heart shall get solace.
Thy unconscious being will become aware,
And thereby you will find thy Lord.

In this quatrain Sheikh conveys the efficacious impact which the advices of the guide leave upon the mind. Through such leadership the mind gets alert and the eternal being receives its bliss. For all this the condition precedent is that the seeker should evolve commitment with his leader and should repose unflinching adherence to the dictates of his guide.

b) Mortification

We have seen that the local spiritual traditions had established the self-mortification as the chief essence of Kashmir spirituality. During the Vedic influences, Kashmiri Brahmin excelled the Indian Brahminism to the extent as the south looked towards this northern country both for inspiration and guidance. During Buddha period the self mortification of the monk invited great attraction towards it from various Central Asian

countries and China. We have seen that Buddhist teachings not only for their merit but for the eminence of its preachers and missionaries from Kashmir overwhelmed eastern world. This eminence was achieved by Kashmiri Buddhist missionary, by his examplary nature of mortification. All the schools of Shavists - Monists or Pluralists competed to outwit one another in the discipline of self-mortification. In this competition, they created such innovative practices of self-mortification which look (greatly) beyond human competence. In our study of the life style of Reshi saints, we will find this competition present with such stress that makes us to hesitate to digest many details. The stress owed its origin, most probably, to the competition of sacrifices adopted as form of dedication by the companions of Prophet (SAW). Environs of Kashmir had attracted ascetics from Transoxiana and local Muslims, to leave indelible impact upon local communities who had developed apptitude to accept advices only of such people who, to thier view had untiring meditation and had borne brunt of self-mortification. Thus it was the most effective and appropriate essence of the missions of preaching. The self-mortification of Reshis became so akin to local Hindu ascetics that the great predecessor Reshis of the Sheikh: Zalka, Pulas, Ruma, Meeran, Khilasman, Yasman and many others could not be identified as Muslim mystics till the start of 20th century when Pir Hassan Shah Khoihami in the third volume of Kashmir History came with an account on them prepared on the basis of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's poems.

Muslims from the first day did undergo the ordeals of self-mortification. Five times a day, the Mussalman is to offer prayers with punctuality so that he is separated form vice. He is, in a year, to undergo regularly for 30 days, (from the last hour in the night till the evening) the pangs of hunger, cannot taste even the most desired item, might be in negligible in quantity. He has to observe fast of his aesthetic sense too lest even his thinking might get polluted. He is (though not obligatory) to retire, yearly, or at least once in life to confinement - Aitikaaf. He has to offer on every Idd Qurban sacrifices. Pilgrimage of Hajj, is not only a monetary sacrifice but in this trial he has to undergo training of 'faqr', has to tolerate viscitudes of travel etc. All and each of

these duties are aimed to kill evil self. Sheikh praises his beloved Prophet (PBUH) for the forbearance of hunger. He did taste item of food after continuous fasts of several days.

نبیؐ صابُن اہار سرتہ

ترینہ ترینہ دوہی تمُ کوُر افطار

(Do appreciate the diet of the revered Prophet (PBUH), who did break the fasts after three days.)

What can be more severe form of mortification that a warrior who had to remain all along in uniform to fight as soldier, who had to devise military strategies, had to govern the state in making, had to face all these challenging jobs but usually either as hungry or as poorly fed. He would tie stones upon his belly under the pressures of hunger

Ali, the fourth Caliph and son-in-law of the Prophet (PBUH) is the great warrior, brave soldier, known as the "gate to the city of the knowledge" and an eminent strategist. He has no means to purchase any food item for his hungry family. Borrows some money, purchases barley flour, his great wife Fatima, the daughter of the first head of the Muslim State, prepares breads so as to use at breakfast. As the time for the breakfast reaches nearer, a poor man requests for some food. The great lady prefers her hunger, hunger of her children and husband and feeds the poor hungry. Next day comes a just released prisoner and on the third day came a traveller. The family is fed with hunger and loaves of bread are given to more needy. This is the unique degree of self-mortification?

The self-mortification with Reshis bear religious sanctions. However, it is equally important that the stress on this aspect in Reshiyat was for the competition in this field. Local Shavistic hermit had inherited the acute type of mortification. The masses would get attracted to such seers, saints, men of miracles, synyasis and hermits who possessed exemplary command and control for practices of self-mortification. In this situation the transforming Muslim society could receive influences of many un-Islamic customs once they were left to become fans of those hermits. To be clearer, the monotheistic revolution was prone to the dangers from pantheistic counter-revolution, hence to arrest such tendencies, Muslim Reshis outwitted local hermits in this discipline.

Simultaneously they had to perform supernatural acts (miracles). Therefore the stress on this aspect became essence of Reshiyat. But origin is neither in local traditions nor in Tassawuf but in the teachings of Islam. The local tradition and necessity added the stress.

c) Faqr: (Poverty\Humility)

"The Gods have begged alms, even the Ishwar begged with begging bowl in his hand. The Maharaja Ram (in spite of his riches, position and stature) did beg during his externment. We also did 'beg' and feel no shame in it".

(Sheikh Noor-ud-Din)

The begging was made a characteristic of the movement and the Reshi cadres had to undergo through this mental and psychological degradation so that the pride within or even the faded influence of mundane ego is totally dispelled. It is by the mid of 15th century before Baba Nassar's death, that Reshi cadres had for their public service, acquired popularity and received reverence. People would, out of respect, invite them to their houses, to have food. Probably, in this entertainment sumptuous items too were served. Nassar Sahib felt that such reverence might build a superiority complex among them and might deviate them from the devised path of self-mortification. So he directed all Reshis to collect, by begging some ounces of food, to subside their hunger. This small quantity too was not to be obtained from one home but from 3 to 5 homes. Thus the Reshi was turned into petty beggar. It should not be inferred that Reshis who were stationed at head quarter or at sub-quarters had licence to beg. They had to cultivate land and feed with themselves trainees in the Reshi Boarding Houses. Only the traveler Reshi had to beg. On Baba Nassar's death in 1450 AD, Malik Tsogi Raina was selected as head of the movement who was minister-in-waiting of the Sultan. Strictly according to discipline, Malik Sahib also, while on missionary journey, felt necessity to sustain his body and went in to the compound of a house, requested as a beggar for an ounce of cooked rice. In the neighbourhood, per chance his wife and children were present in connection of a social get together. The kids did not recognise their father but Malik's wife told them: "Lo, look your father, yesterdays lord

is today's beggar."

The Prophet (PBUH) has described His "Pride in His poverty". The Sheikh on the subject says:

بوپأرى كانگرِتہٕ جندس

تيمٚى وَندس كُرم تِرِرأ چھى

بى تہٕ بُہہ مُت نعمژ وِندس

نوٚن تہٕ ءسترِ كأنز چھُم يۆڈرأ چھى

بو كنياه منگہٕ قلاے قندس

ہَند تہٕ ہاكھ چھُم چھوٚت مانچھى

بگى مُہراژ ءھنتَم وِوندس

دِوِ بندس كريم شرمہِ رأ چھى

Committed I am to my rags and Kangri
Both have protected me against the chill cold of winter,
The refused boiled rice,
Is my sumptuous diet.
The sour water of wild walnut added with a bit of salt,
Have protected me from hunger.
I have no liking for sweet drinks,
Prepared in nickled copper Samovar.
The bitter wild fallen vegetable,
Tastes as white Honey.
My lord has filled my heart with His love.
It is He who shall forgive my sins.

زٕٹ مىٚٹ تہٕ بتہٕ دٕجى

ميلى تہٕ يژ مولجى چھيے

سُوِ تيمٚى گنڈتَس آلوٗ دژ جى

ءاخرتس ،کڑسوے ڈ جی چھیے

دِل تیمٔ گوٗنڈتہٕ پڑ کتھ چھُجی

تس درگاہ وَتھ موجی چھیے

A rag to wear, a morsel to eat, a field to cultivate,
If you have access to these essentials,
That suffices enough.
One who adopts strict self-discipline?
Scars on his fair mind are washed,
He only cultivates to harvest Hereafter.
Who devoted his sense to Him,
Did clean with devotion his conscience
For him entry into His edifice is guaranteed.

More particularly he defines Faqr as:

فقر چھے دوزخس وُرُن ٹھوٗرو

فقر چھے انبیاہن ہُند خوے

فقر چھے اِلُک پِلُک ژرو

فقر چھے مشک تہٕ بیہٕ خوشبوے

فقرُک مَزیَس وونَدس شرٕوپو

سُے زحمت سراسر رحمت ؤندے

تَس کالُک نیوٗل تہٕ پگہٕ ہُک پوٗپو

سُے ٹِکان تَرِ بُہہ سندے

یہِ کینہہ خوداے تہٕ رسوٗلؐ دوٗپو

تی تیمٔ پول سُے ژاوگرندے

Poverty is the effective defence to the flames of hell,
Poverty is the essence of prophet-hood.

Poverty is superior to both the worlds.
It is colour and fragrance of a rose.
One who devoted his heart to the taste of poverty,
He only gets blessings out of curses,
Within night ripens field of his action.
He alone can cross the flooded gushing river,
Follows the commandments of God and Prophet (PBUH).

فقر گوٗب چھے بڈ بن نکھن

مہندِ دکن وَچھ گس دِیے

فقر دِتکھ نیکن تہٕ سوکھین

سو کأم لُکن نِش کوٗت پیے

Too heavy is the burden of Faqr (humility)
Even upon broader shoulders.
Difficult is to undergo its heavy weight.
Humility is gifted to virtuous and contended.
The commoners can never imagine it.

This poem encompasses within the gamut of 'faqr' such tedious tasks which are difficult even for multi-faceted personalities. People of average talent and forbearance can hardly cope up with these trials. Only such people can adhere to the viscitudes of imposed poverty (the faqr) who are gifted by nature the qualities of exemplary courage.

نأدِروقتن قأدِرنہٕ سوٗ رُم

الخان ارواح پھوٗ رُم ہِندے

خوٗنہٕ گوس غرق تہٕ تی نو پتہٕ رُم

کونگ تہٕ رونگ چورُم ہندے

پاپُن بوراہ گردنہٕ بوٗ رُم

زأنتھ اَپُز گوٗ رُم کندے

Didn't avail of opportune opportunity,

To serve my Lord.
Alas! got my soul and spirit,
Flooded through gushing waters of lust.
Drowned in my own blood.
Had to bear all.
I applied special species of spices,
To an inferior bitter dish.
Deliberately did prefer falsehood upon the truth.

Through this poem the saint-poet makes bold confession of his worst follies. The bitter and inferior pleasures of this world have been preferred upon the niceties of devotion. Consequently his assets of virtues got inundated. He got drowned in the blood of his own veins by adherence to lust and greed. Such admissions and confessions can be made only by such genuine faqirs who voluntarily impose pangs of poverty and humility upon themselves.

زاڈے پُشی دیلو' اَو ذوتو
نہ کھیئس گُر گپن نہ گاو
سُے یلہِ شاہس شیرِ ووتو
اَو ذوتو درپنٹھ کتہِ آو

From the mud of swamp grows,
The 'Deol' - soft blade of lotus grass,
That attracts neither the appetite of cow nor of an ass.
(As the same refused blade of grass)
Reaches the head of a monarch,
Looses its base identity.

Through this poem, Sheikh has conveyed two aspects. Firstly his own 'humility' which he compares to an inferior blade of grass that is refused even by the hungry animal. Second aspect is the eminence and heights of elevation he has touched due to his involvement with the men of talent and values. 'Deol' is the grass which grows from plant that represents distaste for active life but its flower the lotus, is very beautiful. Its' grass is being heaped up while dredging of the Dal lake daily around

upon the shore. But even the neglected donkeys do not get attracted to subside hunger from these heaps of grass. During my childhood it served one common purpose for grocers. They would tie it around the paper bags in which they would pack sold items of grocery. Nowadays, it serves only the purpose of gardeners. They tie this inferior blade of grass around various types of flowers to make a multicoloured bouquet. During the poet's time, in spite of strong central rule, the tiny lords used to hold royal courts. All of them could not afford to decorate their turbans with jewellery so to have a distinction a smaller bunch of flowers would be tied on their turbans. Through this general experience the poet conveys the gamut of '*faqr*' - humility. He dubs himself so inferior as to have been refused company even by base creatures. Appreciate the stress and strain of the humility upon his thought and practice as conveyed in this quatrain:

زیتھ کیاہ گرم سیاہ روئی
پاپن لاریم بوئے بد
پاپہ نبن کامبن گرم خوئی
سأری نیک ہے اوت بَد

By my black deeds throughout my life,
Blackened my own being.
This fountain of foul smell of my sins,
Always attracted me to base values.
Alas all are virtuous, I am the only vicious.

About his contribution to his society he is all drowned in repentence. Its plain reading leaves an impression as if the saint has throughout his life lived in sins.

سرِ منزی خرن زَن دِژام تھاہ
دیو گنہِ دونت لبہِ ہا
دیُت نہِ بوچھس بُزن ئنس پھاہ
پیتہِ دیُت نہِ تتہِ لبہِ ہا

In an ocean I a drowning ass,
Tried to come out but alas!
Jumped in uselessly and got drowned.
Did not feed any hungry,
Nor did dress a shivering naked.
Had I adhered to such practices,
There I would get compensated.

زیوُن کھورہَس الکس تہٕ مُلکس
خلقس ژھانڈِتھ اَنی ہَم واے
نانہٕ ہنزِ شراکھ کونہٕ وژھام حلقس
دیوٕ نہٕ پاہٕنز بَڈ ہَم ژھاے

On my birth maid servants were engaged,
To lull, the baby, the pivot of affection.
Had the knife used to cut the umbilical chord,
Pierced deeper in my belly,
This vicious could not have accumulated sins.

The baby on its birth experiences the first surgery as its umbilical chord is severed with a knife by the expert maid wife. The poet repents on his actions, and deeds that he believes to have added heaps of sins. Therefore, feels it would have been in the fitness of situation had the maidservant missed her target and instead of severing the chord, had killed him. He would not have been a burden of sins upon this earth.

We have seen that Sheikh's humility is not a formality nor a poet's exaggeration and nor even the preacher's sermon. His action reflected what he preached or conveyed through his poetry. His life story is a tragic tale of turbulances that he voluntarily imposed upon himself only to live a life of poverty and humility. Later anthologists edited his biographical data with inaccuracy that the facts about his life were edited on these poetic expression of humility. His sworn enemies, the Mullas had a game in such interpretation as to tie this great man with base origin. Study about lives of his successors through all the four strains, shall establish that 'faqr' has remained the basic trait of the Reshiyat.

d) "Ishq"

Sheikh's poetry directly and indirectly conveys the strains of the pangs of love. Beauty manifests the grandeur and grace of the Creator. He has two dominant attributes which he has reflected through whatever He created. Mystic believe that the absolute Creator wished to visualise His own prowess and so created the creation to reflect His attributes through it. Dominant attributes are: JALAL (wrath) and JAMAL (beauty). Hence, every thing of beauty reflects the Absolute Beauty through it. Quran elucidates precisely the process of His creation. "Great is the Allah who is the best Creator or who creates the best." These items of beauty in whatever manner they might exist, leave certain impact upon the mind of the observer. It is this impact of observation which formulates a thinking in the mind to probe inquisitively. This inquisition strengthens into a particular state of mind that develops into a psychological commitment with that object of the beauty that leaves such impact. It is this commitment that proceeds through various stages and creates an unavoidable urge to know the reality behind that 'object of beauty'. It is finally this urge which takes the shape of 'Ishq'. The word 'Ishq' is too wider in its faceted connotations than its English version 'love'. The Sheikh has specified distinct boundaries for these stages through which the process of love (Ishq) proceeds:

ژیوُنم گوُنم ژھوٗنڈُم ژھوٗرُم
پرٕگرٕژ دیہہ اہورُم میے
دُہلی دوبس نفس مورُم
گار اہورُم تہٕ سوٗرُم دَیے

Observed, concentrated, struggled and searched,
I fed my urge with my prowess.
With the daily routine (of zest) I conquered the evil self,
Fed my appetite with the dozes of steel and iron.
Thereby I did achieve my Lord.

The poet has 'loved' the love itself, he has carved urge to create process of urge, he searches for the search, aspires the aspiration and the

very conception of 'Ishq' is his Maashooq (Beloved):

شئے وَن ژٹھ ششکل وُزم

پزنے کتھ بوزم پَونہٕ ستی

عشقہٕ نہٕ نارٕ وأنج بُزم

چھُم عشق معشوق ہمن ستی

Inundated six deserts to achieve the sixth sense,
Subdued conscience, did enlighten through vision.
Roasted my heart in the flames of love,
Love is my beloved and so I will achieve it.

In this poem 'six deserts' mean the 'six abstentions' (which we will later on describe). Precisely those are: "Moh, Loob, Ahankaar, Tsakh, Rish and Bugz" - Lust, Greed, Arrogance, Anger, Hatred and Jealousy. 'Shashkal, is that stage of Trika meditation where the practitioner achieves total control on hunger and thirst. He is fed by his inner satisfaction. The poet has achieved such exalted stage in meditation through his complete abstention of six sources of evil. Ultimately he has realised that this urge in itself and this struggle in itself is his destination. The 'Love' is his beloved, so he claims his utter attachment, devotion and involvement with it. This conception of "Ishq chhum Maashoq" - (the Ishq in itself is my beloved) - has unique and original facets. The construction of this verse might appear somewhat ambiguous but its impact has creative essence.

Ishq is not obtained, acquired and achieved per one's desires. By its nature, it is a gift from nature. It is in other words, the desire of the beloved which cultivates love in the mind of lover. Earlier in explanation of the sayings of Prophet (PBUH) that 'Ishq' is the fire of God; we have explained that the beauty is the bliss of the God. It has been said that the attribute of His wrath loves the attribute of His Bliss, so the lover himself is the loved one. In other words the lover is devised to be so by the instinct in His creation.

کیژھن دِتکھ اورے آلو

کینژو رَچے یہِ نالہٕ وبتھ
کینژن مس چیتھ أچھ لَجہِ تالَو
کینژن پُتھ گُے ہالَو کھبتھ
کینژن سوٗد مولہٕ کیٚاہ مالو
کینژی گیہِ وانَن فالَو دِتھ

Some have been called by the beloved to love.
Some did achieve the glow of river within the ambit of stream.
Some were intoxicated, looked aghast,
The ripened field of some is devastated by locusts.
Some achieve profit without investment,
But some turned bankrupt in the midst of floureshing trade.

This below quoted piece has all qualities of earliest Kashmiri Gazal. Its comparative study with its contemporary Persian Gazal can sufficiently vindicate our contention and prove that both thematically and technically it is the specimen of complete Gazal. Unfortunately, some of our contemporary critics, who possess sufficient study of English, Urdu, Persian or Hindi letters do lack in exhaustive study of Kashmir literature. They confine the evolution of Kashmiri Gazal only from second half of the last century. To be very direct they indirectly convey that they are the pioneers of Kashmiri Gazal. In this background let us study this Gazal of the Sheikh:

یارن تیر دیُت نَم نَزِ زاہ بَلہٕ یارِ دود تھوٚنَم للہٕ وُنو
اڈیام دودِرُم ژَمہِ تَلہٕ تامَتھ تہِ لگمِ زلہٕ وُنو
وارُن زَن لوٚگُس زالہٕ برانت لُہم نہٕ موکہٕ لَنو
دماہ روزِ دماہ ژَلہٕ وتہٕ پراس تھووُن برِ نو
ہمہٕ عاصہٕ جندِ تہٕ مُسلہٕ ناٚوِتھ تَن ہمہٕ وَلہٕ نو
گوناہ گارس کرن پلہٕ پلہٕ ژوٗرس ہنم سلہٕ نو
تَغفِرلَنا حَق تَعالیٰ گُل زَن ہنَم ٹھلہٕ نو

The arrow of cupid pierced too deep,
The wound caused is incurable.
His pangs I lull in my heart,
Till the skeleton covered under my flesh decays.
This burning fire shall remain roasting me with pangs,
A perching bird, I fell in trap of intricacies.
Couldn't find way out.
Uncertainty, perplexion, embarrassment.
Its consequential ingredients, are the cess I am to pay,
To traverse on this path.
I would prefer now to adopt hermitage
(By holding a stick in hand, by wearing rags.)
The vicious shall get vituperated.
Like a thief, a lover gets interrogated.
In case the Allah does not forgive,
The tree of my being shall get uprooted.
The pauper shall at last get pacified.
Castigated am, like a clown in a theatre.

"وان لم تغفرلنا حق تعالیٰ"

(In case the exalted God does not forgive His servants.), is a verse of Holy Quran. The last but one verse of this poem conveys that the narrator pins his hopes in the generosity, benevolence and mercy of his Lord. In absence of such mercy, one will decay as an uprooted tree. Logical end of a tree is its decay after it lives its normal life. Felling of a tree is a punishment, yet its severed roots have possibilities to emerge into a new life but uprooted tree does not leave trace of its existence in the soil.

This Gazal has continuity in theme, particular to genre its every verse has independent ambit of thought. The idea conveyed in one verse is, in no case, dependent upon its preceding or subsequent verse. This love lyric has all traits, characteristics and essence of a gazal. The poet through the medium of 'love' conveys his experiences connected both with physical and metaphysical realms.

He has defined 'Ishq' in relation to the experiences which an Aashiq (lover) gathers by going through this process. These various ambits

encompassed in the poem quoted below are neither idealistic nor philosophical, nor project any theory and nor devise any obscure picture of the love or lover or beloved. What Ishq is, let us appreciate this poem:

عشق چھے کُن شُر ماجہِ مرُن سُے سوکھ برِ تہٕ کُہو
عشق چھے کُنڈی زال وتھرُن سُے زولاہ کرِ تہٕ کُہو
عشق چھے تُلربو ببب برُن سُے دماہ بَرِ تہٕ کُہو
عشق چھے کرتجہِ سر دارُن سُے دوبرِ تہٕ کُہو
عشق چھے جنگس بروٹھہِ نیرُن سُے پتھ پھیرِ تہٕ کُہو
عشق چھے رتہٕ جامہٕ پأرُن گُنڈِتھ موٚژرِ تہٕ کُہو

Ishq? Death of a lonely son to a mother,
How can she have a moment of rest?
Ishq? To lay upon a bed of thorns,
How can one have a wink of sleep?
Ishq? A lull in naked lap a bee-hive,
How can one exist in this situation?
Ishq? To offer head to the blow of sword,
How can the victim come safe?
Ishq? To be on front-row of war,
How can one retreat?
Ishq? Is to wear robes of honour dyed in blood,
How can one surrender?

In this context, he defines Aashiq (lover) as one who burns in the klin and turns out glistering like pure gold, through his veins runs love like blood, he alone reaches the space-less destination. Laa Makaan. The "Makaan",Space includes even the atmosphere, the space-less is the place which is neither named nor can be specified. It is believed that the Almighty dwells in spacelessness. Therefore some interpret it: a man's heart which through the system of nerves pumps the blood but to the metaphysical sense is the dwelling place of the Lord.

ہَیَے ترِ تہٕ ہَیَے تَتے ہژِ ے گژھبس خوے تہٕ لوئی

عاشق نثار چھُ بس تتھ وَتے ییتہِ نیربس تہٕ پوشش آسی خوئی
پے یس روٗد سُے اِد متے تس اَتی گژھبس دوییہِ اَکوئی

What is the general nature of Aashiq (lover).
Merely with a breath he will get warmth,
And with the same breath he will be cooler.
He will have only His desire,
Will evolve behaviour akin to His.
This Aashiq, shall thereby sacrifice his being in His path.
Shall he deeply be involved with his beloved?
Similarly as green leaves lull a flower.
Insanity shall be the lot of the one,
Who is conscious of the secret?
(Out of that madness) he only shall acquire,
Unity in duality.

In this small poem, the effect of two breaths is defined. One sooths the inner, the other provides inner heat. These breaths relate to the form of Dhikir - recitation of the name of Almighty (Allah).The Dhikir consist of two syllables: 'Allah' and 'Hoo'. This recitation is the essence in approach to Absolute Love.

The secret lies in the Oneness of the lover and of the beloved.

بو چھُس کُن ہتی گوژھُم یار
یارس ہتی دَمہٕ دَمہٕ پکہٕ
یار نَے ڈیشن گُل گژھم خار
ییتہِ میون یار تتہِ میون مکہٕ

Alone I am, Unity with friend is my aim,
So as to be permanently with Him.
If I do not see my friend, my rose shall become thorn,
My Mecca is the dwelling abode of my friend.

Who is the friend:

سوی چھُم نہٕ زِ سودا کرے

بازرِ لوبُم نہٕ گُن نو!
وأنجہِ گُرِنَم زألی پنجرے
خنجر دِتھ گوم مارُن نو!
ببب برنَم بوسرے نارَے
گسہٕ نو پوشُس وَنہٕ نو!
ہَن ہَن گُجم سسرِ نارَے
دِلَس کوزنَم پرِیُن نو!

Had he been tuned, I would enter bargain with me,
His benevolence is not a purchasable commodity.
He, pierced deeper into my heart,
Sword of love hurled fatal blows.
He, has filled burning amber in my bossom,
So secretly so mysteriously.
Gradually consumed my being,
Upon invincible heat.

This conception he has thoughtfully projected through the theme of Mansoor who was condemned to death for his claim: "I am the Truth". The theme of this poem is philosophical but too relevant to this subheading.

The poem with its translation is contained herein before. Here we revert to another relevant quatrain:

عاشق سُے یُس عشقہٕ ستی دَزے
سون زَن پزلبس پُنن پان
عشقُن دود یَس وأنجہِ سَزے
سُے اَدِ واتی لا مکان

(Translastion of this quatrain has been given above).

In that poem about Mansoor, the stress is on the theme of 'Divine

Love' - The same term has been referred to Maarifat (gnostics) also. However, the poet has propounded his particular Egoist theory as well. To him the declaration of 'Anna' - (I am) by Mansoor is the essence of true manifestation rather an aggressive stress on one's existence. It is the claim of the 'created' that the Creator reflects through him. Particular reference is made to this stanza:

When the Absolute Truth made the limited truth to drink,
The nectar of love in abundance.
The (intoxicated) drunkard got crucified.
Only a tide of the ocean was seen,
That the lover dived deeper in depths.
Collected there from pearls and jewels.

Thus it is the beloved himself who shows but a glimpse to the lover and the latter discovers the realms of valued experience.The lover's qualities are:

کم سَنہٕ نِندرِ تہٕ کم سنہٕ وٚودی
کم سَنہٕ نیشہِ بوٚدی بون
کم سنہٕ لولہٕ عشقنہِ ژٕدی
أسی ساس تہٕ سپنی سون
کم سَنہٕ مرنس برونٹھے موٚدی
روٚٹکھ گیان تہٕ بنیاہِ گون

In drowsiness are drowned commoners.
Lovers are awaking alert.
Identified are distinctly by their innocence.
Or(Identifiable are by their humility).
They have been consumed by the fire of love.
Were but dust turned into pure gold.
They died before the destined death.
Achieved the sovereignity upon the domain of wisdom.
And became multi-dimensional personalities.

It is to be noted that he last word of the first verse is differently recorded in manuscripts. Biyon (بیوٚن) means 'distinguishable' and

'Boun'(بون) means 'downwards' - a sign of humility.

The lover will become the favourite of his beloved and He shall Himself make him to act as He would like to act him. The lover will positively devise the course of action of his beloved. The second part of the first also has two distinct connotations. In one form it means: "The lover shall make the beloved to do what the former wishes him to do." This aspect makes the 'Beloved' the guide, friend, advisor and master of the lover who can neither afford to do anything that his beloved does not like nor will be guided towards any such manner of action by way of commission or omission which might defy the liking norms of the beloved. Second position of this second part conveys that the Beloved would devise the course of action according to the wish of his lover. So conveyed thought touches closely the boundaries of Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal's this verse:

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے

خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

Let us share the experience of the poet conveyed through this 'defective' English rendering. I am conscious that its spirit is hardly transferable even in prose form of the same language. Translation in any other language can hardly convey gamut of its connotations.

Himself shall He transfer the behaviour of Love,
To one who devotes himself to Him through Love,
He shall make him act only in the manner He wishes him to act,
Jewels of this lover shall be purchased on higher prices.
His restlessly impatient person,
Shall be lead to unconscious state of commotion.
Neither the beloved will get displaced with the lover,
Nor will deprive the lover of His pleasures.
The beloved shall confer upon the state of eternal prosperity,
And shall be bestowed with conscious awareness.
Sooner he will reflect His being upon him,
Shall kill his desire,
And make him unmindful of the mundane.

[یُس گربس سِوتَس پانہٕ ہیچھناوبس
تی گرناوبس یہِ یِیَس خوش
مول اَدِ دیاوبس لعلہٕ خزانس
ابکھ نیشہٕ ناوبس راوبس ووش
رِچھس لَلہٕ وبس ما روشہِ ناوبس
آسبس خوش حال تھاوبس خوش
دوہہٕ اَکہِ ٹوٹھبس موکھ ڈیشہِ ناوبس
تیُتھ ماشہِ ناوبس تھوس نہٕ ہوش

. Who those lovers are:

عاشق تِم یِم پاک رچھن بدن
لاشک حورِ تھونگھ خُدمُژہے
آہَو تہٕ ووشَو لیّدربکھ بدن
اَدِ گُنہِ موکھ ڈیشن صوٗرُ ژہے
بہشتس برونٹھ تمے پاد لدن
یِم لولہٕ تُہندِ وَدن یُژہے

"Aashiq" is one who purifies his being.
(of all what the beloved dislikes)
Hurries of paradise shall serve them
Whose being gets diseased,
With his own sighs and tears.
Then alone he will have glimpse of Beauty.
Shall be he first entrant in paradise.
He who incessantly weeps in His love.

In this poem the use of the word Huri in the second verse confines the meaning of the first verse to human beauty, particularly of a woman. Husni Majaz (worldly beauty) and Husni Haqiqi (the Absolute Beauty)

are to be distinguished. The lover of worldly beauty should reach through it to the Absolute Beauty.

In another quatrain he says:

عاشقس تریش تہٕ بوچھِ نہٕ آسی
عاشق کُمس پَتھ انی نہٕ زاہ
دُرس وطن صدٕنے آسی
ژوٗرس ہندٕر پیٚٹی نہ زاہ

The lover is:

Over and above the hunger.
Is not blinded by the mundane,
(He is involved with his beloved in the manner)
In which the pearl is with the oyster shell.
(Above rest and sleep is he).
A thief has not a wink of sleep.

The lover is brought up by its pangs, turbulations, viscitudes, troubles and trials to a state of surrender (Razaرضا) where he is contended with everything what befalls upon him from his beloved. This surrendered becomes complete, absolute and resolute. The Sheikh describes such state as:

کانن ہندبن دأرزِ نہٕ سپر
کرتجہِ چھوگن پھرزبس نہٕ روے
بلایہِ تُہنزِ ؤندزبکھ شکر
اَدِ چھے پیٚتہِ کیٚو تَتہِ آبروے

The devoted doesn't put shield to His arrows,
Readily offers his neck target to His sword.
The curses which befall from Him,
Are His sweet pleasures.
Thereby glory here and there is his bargain.

Stress on the facets, consequences and achievements of Love is an oft repeated theme in Sheikh's poetry. He has given such treatment to his

various experiences as a dedicated lover that the summary reading detects some sort of conflict in these expressions. Such assessment is defective study and consequence of haphazard criticism. It is either due to editing of Sheikh's poetry or for defective study of these fractured verses that such defective assessments are made. The editors of his poetry have fragmented his longer poems in quatrains, thus the continuity of the theme has permanently been impaired. In this behalf I will point out about one poem Mansoor Nama - in which through Mansoor's claim of "I am the truth" and his consequential crucification, the secrets of 'Love' have been philosophically conveyed. Both the 19th century compilers of Sheikh's poetry: Baba Mohammad Kamal and Baba Mohammad Khalil have produced this poem in their monumental works as one piece, as a poem. Our modern scholars Jenab Amin Kamil, the editor of Noornama (for J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages) and Late Moti Lal Saqi editor of Kulyat (for Sheikh-ul-Aalam Hexa centenary Celebrations Committee) quoted one or two stanzas and qualified those as a shrunk (waakh). So, they made fragmentation of poems into quatrains. Kamil could not lay hands on source material, the latter borrowed the manuscripts from me, which he duly acknowledge but for some reason, unexplained so for, he committed mischief of fragmentation. This topic is therefore closed with this conclusion that the Divine Love, the dominant theme of our poet, too has source in Quranic teachings which has also inspired the saints of Islamic world. It has no peculiarity with Tassawuf alone.

Divine Love' cannot be attributed particularly to the teachings of Tassawuf. It has inspired all the leading religions of the world. More so, Quran and Hadis are eternal sources for sincere Love.

e) "Tawakal"

The divine 'Love' leads towards the magnificent goal of Tawakal - trust in God. Holy Quran makes trust in God obligatory. In this behalf chapters: 3(verses 122, 160), 5(11,23), 8(2), 9(51-52), 10(84-85) etc need to be studied. In many verses Almighty has ordained that Tawakal gives strength and courage. References be made to verse 89 of chapter 7, verses 61-66 of chapter 8, verses 71-72 of Sura 9 etc.

The Prophet (PBUH) has settled to rest a controversy raised for centuries by philosophers, thinkers and scholars worldwide in a

commonly intelligible parable easy to grasp even to a rural ignorant. The controversy has been raged whether destiny supersedes human action or the action creates the destiny. An ignorant villager called at the place of the Prophet (PBUH). The worthy host directed the guest to 'tie' the legs of his camel and then leave the animal to the care of Almighty. Thus he reconciled the controversy in the most practical manner. With these guiding principles contained both in Quran and Hadis, Sheikh made Tawakal a strong theme of his poetry and imbibed in this conception his personal actions. Simultaneously developed a discipline of trust in Almighty (Tawakal) as an encompassing part of Reshi code of conduct. It is not therefore, the influence of Tassawuf or of any other philosophy but is the gist of the teachings of the Islam.

f) "Zikir"

Another impact of this Devotional Love is the Zikir - recitation of the name of Allah or His Remembrance. This word has been translated into English by Dr. Nicholson as "Recollection". One who loves any person, does lull in his heart facets of His beauty and his tongue is always busy in recollection of his memory. Therefore the Divine Lover's heart is always filled with the urges to have His Bliss, his mind remains permanently engaged with thoughts of the beloved and he remains always busy with his Zikir. Quran ordained the faithful to: "remember God often". It is simple form of meditation which keeps the meditator's heart, mind and senses always connected to the devotion. The 'Sufis' made it a technical form of Gnostic practices but Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has not accepted those innovations instead maintained its Quranic spirit. He has, often recited the first verse of Quran which is title of its preface i.e. Bismillah Hirah Maan-i-Rahim (I begin with the name of Allah the most benevolent and merciful). He had directed his disciples also to remain always busy with recitation of this Quranic syllable. He did not innovate tradition of local yoga practitioners. He impressed to all and every that they should remain often busy in His recollection. Thus he preached the Quranic teachings in this behalf without any interpretations, innovations or intricacies. To him, human heart is like a fish, which can serve only in the water of Zikir. This quatrain is quoted at proper place with its English rendering and scientific interpretation.

g) Renunciation.

There are two aspects of renunciation. One is to renounce world by living a life of hermitage. The other aspect is to live a social life but to abandon the mundane pleasure. Local Reshiyat before Sheikh Noor-ud-Din felt within the first aspect. Even Muslim Reshis of pre-Sheikh era were, to our guess, adhering the manners of Buddhist monks and Trika Shastries who lived totally severed from the society. We have no historic material available about those Reshis like Zalka, Pulas, Ruma, Meeran, Yasman, Sheeban, Angool and many others. These were leaders and we do not know even names of their assocates, disciples etc. Earlier said, our information about these Reshis is confined to what the Sheikh has mentioned about them in his poems. Poetry has its own technical limitations; the historic details are usually sacrificed on lyrical beauty. The Sheikh as poet, was not engaged like Firdausi of Tus (Iran), or Hafiz Jallandhari to versify history of Reshiyat but confined his references relevant to his poetic theme. However, those stray and most precise references expose to our gaze the norms of self-mortification which those great predecessors of the Sheikh had evolved upon themselves. In spite certain twisted hints do follow which show that like Hindu or Buddhist Reshis these predecessors of the Sheikh - the Mussalman Reshis were not so unmindful of the society. Ruma Reshi confronts Sultan Mahmood of Gazni not to embark upon a military adventure in Kashmir. He was consciously aware and involved as a missionary in Kashmir and had grasped well that these 'invaders' only create hurdles in the spread of Islam. This intervention of Faqir with a despot monarch shows: (a) that the Reshis were performing the role of benevolent leaders of the society, so, were part of it. (b) had a manifesto beyond their personal purification and that was to preach Islam not by their words but by their deeds and (c) they commanded sufficient courage to face any situation.

Second pointer is the martyrdom of a number of Reshis during the invasion of Zulchu in 1320-21 when the ruler Raja Sehadev fled and left his subjects to wolves.

It is to be grasped that our historians have no-where made references of the deeds of scholars, philosophers, mystics, religious

leaders etc unless they were part of Durbar or the deeds of any one of them did bear relationship with the rulers of that time. In these circumstances only these two pieces of information have descended down to our time which shows that Muslim Reshis had not abandoned the world in the manner in which their co-activists among Buddhists and Shavists had done. The Sheikh also seems to have reacted against the mundane in the same manner, retired from world in 1402 AD and did not return back immediately though his mother and wife both persuaded him. Even it is part of his life story that the two women left Sheikh's two children at his cave to pressure him to have a retreat. Sheikh leaves his kids to the decision of his Lord. Even we find the similar strain upon many of his great followers. His first Khalifa a Hindu hermit converted to Islam Baba Bam-ud-Din continued with his hermitage even after he embraced Islam in the same cave of Arya Rai in Buma Zova where he had earlier, lead an Ashram for the revival of Savistic practices.We are made to wander to know wether he remained confined to that cave even after he became a Muslim or reverted to active life,in any manner, whatsoever. There are two incidents quoted about Bam-ud-din in record relating to this period.Firstly, he was while on some mission in Pargana Martand taken on forced labour to carry head load of the drums of wine to military contonment and his miracle at the end made those tyrant state officers to become his Disciples.Secondly,he refused interview in his cave to the ruler of his time Sultan Ali Shah. Joint reading makes us to infer that in spite of his too much committment to that isolation he had actively engaged himself to remain on tour within the jurisdiction of his sub-centre ie; Pargana of Martand.

In spite of all this severe strain it is manifest that he Sheikh within 5 to 7 years returned back to his active life. Even during his self-imposed confinement in that cave, he has remained active in propagation of his mission. It was for that fame of wide publicity that men like Owter Thakur (Nassar Baba) reached that place from farther area. His declaration that his escape from world was the result of immaturity, was not a corrigendum but reflected stress on his manifesto. It was impress that his retirement to isolation was not to be severed from the Creation of His Lord but to publicise his mission. The term: 'I thought' used in this verse is a subtle form to castigate the hermitage. He says:

جنگل کھسُن خامی گیم

مے دوپ یہِ آسہِ عبادتھ

In a six-stanza poem (each stanza six verses) the Sheikh defines a Mussalman through his duties and actions. This poem and its translation shall be given during the discussion on 'Sheikh's conception of a Faithful". Herein I quote its last stanza:

Who puts in practice the (heavenly) advices,
In the solitude of an isolated forest.
Behaves like a roaring lion.
So controls his appetite,
Lives in peace and commotion.
Practically consideres himself but a handful of dust,
In utter aloofness remains devoted to Him,
He alone deserves the title of Mussalman.

In this stanza poet has used two words (اندون) (at the extreme end of forests) and (اندگن) (aloof - so that none sees him). The two read together do not convey the utter renunciation of the world but stress that the meditation should be conducted in a manner which shuns every publicity. One should meditate at places far from the maddening crowd in the physical involvement of natural beauty and in a manner that publicity does not bring it within the ambit of 'Riya' - hypocrisy.

After the Sheikh spends about seven years in the Kaimoh cave, he had emerged as a full timer missionary, preacher, environmentalist, organiser, teacher of thousands of members of his cadres, reformer and organises mission of public welfare. Thrice he tours around his country, develops personal rapport with all public shades. In spite of the detailed mention of his tours and of the observations he makes about various places during these tours, his biographers leave us guessing about his behaviour with his own place of domicile Kaimoh. These authors of Reshinamas, Noornamas and historical accounts take him close to Kaimoh but censor totally his engagements at his home. These circumstances provide sufficient material to presume that he lived, after his return from the Kaimoh cave, a social life but remained deeply committed to his mission. Sheikh sometime in 1408-9, shifts headquarter of his movement from that cave to his house. While appreciating pieces

of his autobiographical poetry, we have concluded that the man had constructed even a house but sooner remains busy with his missionary work. What was his mission? To preach Islam and to organise on that basis an edifice of Reshi Movement. In the result, we arrive to this conclusion that his renunciation of world was not that of a Christian hermit or a Buddhist monk nor his involvement with world was similar to that of Mulla or Brahmin. He lived in the world but for the world hereafter. His worldly life is explained through one of his particular poems.

گرِ کرُن چھے کرتجہِ سیزٕ
کُہہ ہیکہِ وَچھس نیزٕ دِتھ
پانَے کوٚرُم وَن کس خیزٕ
داٛنبرٕ مورُس نیزٕ دِتھ
روٚدُم نگھ ٹُوتھ پھیکی وہأرِتھ
وودُر ہیوٚک مَس نہٕ بُرِتھ کبتھ
ژَجاس دوٚر اوٚن نَس گأرِتھ
کُونژھ روٚدُم پأرِتھ کبتھ
واللہ ژھُن مَس پَلاہ تُلِتھ
باٰاللہ تَنہٕ چھُس شِہلتھ کبتھ

Active life? To tread on sharp edge of a sword,
Can one pierce his heart to pieces?
Whom to accuse? I voluntarily opted for,
Household necessities, marred myself,
(It resembles to an evil spirit)
Which plays hide and seek,
Offers shoulders to ride upon,
Twists shoulders again to show down the rider.
I ran away , it dragged me nearer.
A dragon revolved poisonous being around me.

Now I have with the will of God defied its urge,
Bye God! I am in a state of peace.

In this poem the Sheikh clearly states that I have opted for active social life and also states that he had escaped from it but was persuaded back. Thus the poem has been composed after Sheikh returned from cave. The question arises as what is conveyed in the last verse. It is unambiguous. He has with the will of God, brought these urges and demands of social life under control and has thereby attained a state of peace and tranquillity. This verse does not convey escapism but the strict Tawakal - Trust in God.

But later on we find successor Reshis of the Sheikh too detached from the world and its affairs. However, they continued with their un-tired meditation, gnostic practices and utter mortification of their selves simultaneously find them involved in social work. They were busy with plantation on pathways, bye-passes and highways, they would carry from low levels pitchers of drinking water on their shoulders and place those pitchers under a tree so that thirsty traveler quenched his thirst, they would purchase salt form their own sources, wander in meadows to administer salt to diseased cattle, sheep and goats. They, almost all, lived bachelor life. Hence it is on the basis of their life style that authors of Asrarul Abrar (Dawood Mishkati) Waaqati Kashmir (Khawaja Azam Dedmari) Fatoohati Kubrawai (Ab. Wahab Noori) and others defined, explained and treated the Reshiyat in second half of the 16th century. Even Emperor Akbar's minister historian Abul Fazul gave the same description.

To be precise the renunciation of the world is the special trait of Reshiyat. Its degrees might vary. It can be attributed to the composite influence of Tassawuf and local mystic tradition.

We have quoted the quatrain in which the Sheikh dubs the meditation in isolation in the dense forest as immaturity. Let us read that 'shruk' with this one which projects the culmination of his ideology.

وَنن پٔنزی تہٕ واندر آسن
گگر غوپھن برن واس
یم پانژن وِزن اگہٕ مل کاسن

نِشہِ آسن باژن تمے خاص

In forests dwell monkeys and wolves,
In caves rats play hide and seek.
Those who clean their hearts five times a day,
Those who live family life,
They alone are the chosen servants.

کِسب یم کرن تہٕ نماز گذارن
نِزِ تِم سمسارس زاے
چھکھ لاگہٕ نَے بڈ تہٕ پالہٕ نَے کرن
پُتھ پیگھ بڈ رہکاے
تارِ ترن تہٕ نارِ اوبرن
توُک فأض دِیگھ خوداے

Who labour to earn, offer Nimaz,
They only live, with a purpose.
Cultivate landed estates,
Work hard on it,
Such people only shall have rich harvest.
Only such people (who work hard and meditate),
Shall cross the sea to other shore.
They only can cool the flames of fire,
They only will be blessed with His Bliss.

It is in the light of the poem (supra) and many other poems established that the Sheikh laid stress upon hard work both as a peasant and as an artisan. He has prescribed manifesto for his cadres and for his countrymen to work hard and remain connected to socio-economic life but committed to obligatory prayers, fasting and meditation. We will find that Reshis at Tsarar headquarter were made to cultivate huge landed estates of the centre at Tsrawani and Tsraripora villages. Sufficient and succinct details were not given by the authors of Reshinamas about such facts but have provided stray instances as they describe miracles of the

Reshi saints. Put together these instances, provide convincing material that the Reshi cadres worked hard to sustain them and co-Reshis.

In this book bulk of the Sheikh's verse is contained. Its total study will show that the saint-poet must have positively had the deeper study of the different layers of his society. The parables, illustrations, metaphors, terms etc he devises, constitute ample proof that the Sheikh had gathered varied experience from his association with various sections of the then society. Such grand and wide study shows amply that he had deeper contacts with the then socio-political ethos. We have not in this book given separate treatment of the observations which were repeatedly made by the Sheikh during the extensive tours of his country. Almost inhabitants of every village claim and recite some comment made by their patron saint about their locality. Even if such comment is adverse they feel pride in it that their leader has taken name of their locality. The topic is too wide that collection and collation of these observations require deeper study and research. It should have been done by the P.G. Departments of Kashmiri, History and Sheikh-ul-Alam Chair of the Kashmir University. But the talent there has no such conception. The moral derived herein is that the Sheikh had not abandoned world but was intelligently involved in it and had only renounced the mundane.

Some pseudo-researchers are basing conclusions too on summary treatment, conjectures and surmises. Said repeatedly the sources are too ambiguous to guide us to a conclusion at when and what stage the Sheikh has composed a particular poem or quatrain. On the other hand they have jumbled on the topic by devising stories of background to each poem. We have rejected such background anecdotes as part of legend which terribly mar the universality and eternity of the Sheikh's poetic genius.

In this background we are of the view that the Sheikh remained involved both as activist and as creative artist in a process of development. Hence we should of our own divide his creative journey among imaginary phases.

h) Nafsi Mutmaina ***(The Contended Self)***

Earlier it has been stated that the Sheikh has qualified two distinct aspects of self. One is evil self which he equates with the Satan and the

other he calls: the God. Thus according to him both these sources of vice and virtue are within one's own self. By suppressing the vicious being, one controls the Satan's devices and by identification of his virtuous being he devises the path to achieve union with the Absolute Being guided by the divine love. The evil self (Nafs-i-Ammara) the appetitive soul or feeding of the flesh is the greatest obstacle in the path leading to the union with one's Divine Beloved. The evil self is the fountain head of certain streams, of vice which are broadly categorised as: lust, greed, anger, arrogance, jealousy and hatred. Reshiyat ordains its cadres to adhere strictly to six acts of virtue and together evolve into the personified Being of Absolute Truth. It simultaneously prohibits to swim in either of the six streams of sin - which flow from Evil Self, confluence ultimately in it and develop into the evil being of Satan.

These both aspects of 'Nafs' are within the bosom of an individual and so when it is contained, it evolves into Absolute Virtue. As it is left unchecked, it becomes the Iblis. Prophet (PBUH) has said: "Thy worst enemy is thy self which is between thy two sides."

By killing this evil self, the Reshi is to achieve the contended self "Nafs-i-Mutmaina". Quran explains this as: "Oh! (you) the one in (complete) rest and satisfaction, come back to your Lord well pleased (yourself) and well pleasing (unto Him). Enter you then among my (honoured) slaves. And enter you in my paradise.

Who is: the one is in complete rest and satisfaction? The reply is one who controls rather kills the evil self. He is satisfied with his lot and rests in the rest. It is such satisfied slave of God who is given the tidings. 'Come back' to enter among His honoured slaves who enjoy the pleasure of paradise.'

Evil self is like the un-useful and refused wooden log which can neither serve the purpose of carving out a plank nor can be made a plough out of it. One who cuts it into pieces and burns it in his oven such person follows the ordained path of Shara devised by Mohammad (SAW).

The Nafsi Mutmaina or controlled self is achieved thus:

کُس نہٕ گوٚنڈُم کُس نہٕ ژھوٚنڈُم

ژمرِو ہانکلہِ گوٚنڈُم ہیہ
نفسِ شیطان ژھلہِ پأٹھی گوٚنڈُم
گوٚنڈُم ونڈ تہٕ وأٰلم پژیہ

[Who is beyond my control?
Who can flee from my grip?
(All are within my command)
I have gripped the lion within strong reins.
With (wise) device I controlled evil self and Satan,
Thereby I have raised a concrete wall,
(to protect me from all dangers)
I have made all to surrender before me.]

جِورِ رٕوسُتے جہاز تژوُم
مأرِتھ ژَکھ رش تہٕ موٚہ
شوٚدِ وونہِ رٕہتھ گوژُم
اَدِ پرزِنوُم پٔنُن رُوح

By killing anger, jealousy and lust,
My ship safely sailed to the shore.
With contended heart I endeavoured to achieve Him,
It is only thereby, I did recognise my soul.

Sailing of the sea with safety to the shore, recognition of one's soul and its sense is that stage which Quran has defined in the last verses of 89th chapter (*Walfajr*) as Nafsi Mutmaina - The controlled self.

We have under six sub-headings explained the six positive facets of Reshi order. The primary necessity to seek guidance from an experienced traveler of the path, renunciation from the mundane, mortification of one's self, adherence of divine love (Ishq), the faqr (poverty or humility) and the achievement of the contended self. All these six metaphysical principles are dependant upon six abstentions. They are: Lust, Wrath, allurement, greed, arrogance and hatred.

(*Kaam, Krudh, Moh, Loob, Ahankaar and Rish*). We could accord separate treatment for each of them but, we will confine to this six verse

small poem wherein precise treatment is given to three of such vices. At the outset, let us quote from his verse stock and then we can embark upon his practices and may at places elucidate from the life stories of his successors.

لوٗب موٗہ تہٕ مدہنکار چھے
دوزخن نار چھے دوان برائے
کرٕنے تہٕ کارن وونٕدٕ آدار چھے
چندس دیار چھی مو کر ضایے
حضرت محمدؐ خریدار چھے
یٔنتہٕ وبژارس بیہی خودائے

Greed, Lust and arrogance are thy assets, therefore,
The flames of hell shall adorn thee in its lap.
The meditation is thy natural instinct,
Follow it, waste not the cash in thy valut.
Mohammad is thy customer,
In that market of bargain,
There, where, the Almighty shall sit in Judgement.

In this poem the poet awakens the human conscience which is by nature tuned to act in obedience of his Lord but three burglars plunder this asset gifted by nature. Those three are: greed, lust and arrogance.

Note the treatment given in this poem to the ideas pivoting around these three matters of abstention

Thy nature is a field of saffron bud,
Greed, lust, wrath, arrogance, allurement and hatred,
All these six constitute water, to destroy it.
By adherence to these vices, one looses bargain
As if a trader becomes bankrupt.
How in that situation, he can adorn-shop in Bazaar?
(Now what to do at this fag end),
The decay has gripped the perching bird.
How to mourn upon the demise of my youth.
The graveyard is oh! friend our rendezvous,

The assets are gripped in flames,
How to (at this late hour) dug out earth,
For water to extinguish this fire.

اَند وَن نِرتھ تپ ژھرِ ہا
اوہر کرِہا وو پل ہاکس تہِ ہندے
آہژ ژکھ پتھ یوڈ کرِ ہا
تی یوڈ کرِہا مرِ ہا کندے

In aloofness, far from the populace.
I would meditate and concentrate.
Tune my appetite to simple diet.
Had I controlled the sudden wrath,
Had I tuned life to these values,
I would get immortalised.

In this poem, control of grave provocation is equated with devoted meditation. The suppression of these evils have basic relevance for socio-economic life. A hermit, who lives on most simple diet, has almost lost conception of delicacies and is tuned to bitterness can hardly get allured or fall prey to lust, or can behave angrily or can in rare cases have chance to be jealous or arrogant. It is in social relationship that one faces provocation and so has to control his reaction to that provocation, his conduct assures a peaceful society. Hence these six abstentions are six pillars for a disciplined emancipated society which can lead to a peaceful social order. These six abstentions have been the basic stages which the Reshi had to cover during his training course in Reshi centre. It is thereafter that he would be permitted to leave for service of mankind and go around the country. Reshi ethics is thus based on these six abstentions which are attained by killing the Nafsi Ammara - evil self. To achieve that prowess the recruits to the cadre had to undergo strict diet control and had to face viscitudes of isolation too. The complete control upon these six sources of evil leads to the great stage of Humility - faqr - which is in itself the visa to enter into the domain of sainthood.

The study of Reshi history provides ample evidence that these saints had a deep sense of competition with each other. Such competition

should not be construed as jealousy. The lovers of worldly beauty or the lovers of the Absolute Beauty had to compete within their categories with co-lovers of the same beloved so as to be closer to their loved. The dedicated lovers of God too had intense competition. At a challenging time, when Muslims had to defend the state of Madina from aggression, the Prophet (PBUH) called for generous donations, Ummar this time wished to be ahead of AbuBakr in generosity, so, divided his whole property in two equal halves. One he offered to his Beloved and the other left for his family. His Beloved appreciated his mode of generosity as 'Just and fair'. Immediately came AbuBakr with loads of donations. "These are my assets I owned. I offer it to my beloved as a humble token."

"What you left for your family", enquired his Beloved. AbuBakr replied.

"Names of my God and of my Beloved Prophet (PBUH)".

Among Reshis we find Baba Nassar had tied a cloth pouch with his right hand which contained some grains of rice. He would dip the pouch in hot water and drink that tumbler of water with semblance of cereals. His colleague Zain-ud-Din asks his disciple to fetch from market black pepper so that with such 'bitter pill' he could break his fast. But as the commodity proved costly, the disciple, instead got from adjoining forest, the bitterest herb, Zain tasted it and declared "This shall be the normal diet with me hereafter so that my appetitive self is duly marred."

This competition can in no case be treated as jealousy. Reshis had freedom to express their grievances even against the leadership. An ordinary Reshi member of the Tsrar Reshi Headquarter lodges a complaint with the leader Sheikh Noor-ud-Din against the second in command Baba Nassar and the leader makes a surprise check to verify for himself. Finds the accusation a matter of misunderstanding. Such and many similar instances should not be construed as expression of ill will, but matters connected with collective discipline of the organisation.

Proper and logical assessment shall convince that all ills are rooted in the lust, greed, allurement, anger, wrath and arrogance. These evils are the main targets to be curbed so as to traverse the path without obstacle.

We have made brief study of Buddhist thought and practice that developed in Kashmir. We have found that effect of Vedic philosophy

has greatly moulded Kashmir spirituality and have taken stock of Kashmir Shavist thinking. We have also studied the interaction of these philosophies and have examined how for their collective impact is reflected from the indigenous thought, as it is discernable from Reshiyat. We have also made its comparative study with Tassawuf. These aspects of our study have specified the distinct boundaries of Reshiyat. In spite, it cannot be ignored that all these influences made the spiritual mind of Kashmir too receptive to mould its own synthesised celestial mode in the local container so as to contain in it the nectar of the teachings of Islam. To be precise Reshiyat is the distilled extract of simple teachings of Islam contained in locally devised and formed bottle made of local raw material. Reshiyat has neither complicacies of Trika nor intricacies of Tassawuf. It is pure Muslim mode of meditation liberated form institutionalised hierarchy.

The Reshiyat has been (at the outset of this part) introduced. It has been pleaded that no textual treatment was met on the subject till late 16th century and treatises written during the second part of that century were based on the degenerated Reshi practices. Those very authors created mist of legend and exaggeration upon the life story of the Sheikh and did not care to study Sheikh's poetry to guide them on the subject.

Under the heading "Reshout" we have specified ngredients that together constitute the Reshi Thought. We have quoted some relevant creative verse pieces of the Sheikh and some are contained hereunder:

ریشی پتم أسی ریشی

تمن پیٹھ جندِ بنگہِ پَن

منگتھ کھارہَن وِشکے کوشی

تپ سرِہَن پَتھ وَنن

أزِکی ریشی کیلکی ریشی

یمن ماز کھنبَس گم

کھاسی زِ تھوَن نِشم نِشی

أ ِکس گوگل بنیس کزم
تہِ کھبتھ ییلہِ خوداے مشی
ریشی ہَے توہی تہِ ژوٗر گم

Reshis, in real sense, were our predecessors,
They would wrap their bodies with hemp leaves.
Would beg the barely chaff, carry to jungles,
There they would meditate.
Would feed anger with that chaff.
Our contemporary Reshis,
Feed their belly with mutton and flesh.
They place two bowls close to each other.
In one they keep cooked turnip,
In the other boiled dry vegetable leaves.
Swallow both these bowls,
In spite, of this luxurious feeding,
They forget their Creator.
They are broad day robbers.

In this poem the description of two bowls exposes the duplicity and hypocricy. The cooked turnip usually channelises the urge of non-veg diet. In Sheikh's poetry we find at several places that turnip was then cooked as substitute for mutton or mutton and turnip were together cooked whereby a cooked soft piece mutton would resemble to turnip piece. The hypocrite Reshi would swallow the cooked mutton piece resembling to a cooked piece of trunip. Sheikh criticises his contemporary Reshi that either due to lack of self-control he channelised his urge by deceitful substitution or pleaded hypocratic tricks with his fans as for his diet was concerned. This comparison makes us to discern difference between the devoted Reshi and a hypocrite. This distinction provides a pointer towards understanding of Reshiyat. It strictly and precisely conveys that undiluted 'Reshiyat' is manifestation of self-control, determination in mortification surcharged with utter humility. The Reshi would beg not to sustain him not even with ordinary diet but such commodity, which is refused as human diet.

The similar theme is given a different treatment in this quatrain:

اَسہِ برونٹھ یم آے تمو کرِ تپہٕ
چھوٚن دوٚپ دوٚپ حأصل کیات

Our predecessors devoted to gnostics,
What can (we) achieve with hallow grabbing.

Appreciate this smaller poem too:

کیلکی گرِ گرِ ریٚش لاگن
یُتھ پأتھر لاگن منج رنگن
نیٚشہِ بوٚدی أنتھ وانہٕ لاگن
ووَن مُٹھ کپَس تہٕ اَن
تی اَدِ نفسہٕ ژوٗرس لاگن
تاو بووِ لُوکھ لگن وَن

Falsely will act as Reshis
Just to play Reshi role in theatre.
They would exploit simpletons,
Tend them to plough their land.
To sow pulses, cotton and grain in thier landed estates.
They would feed their evil selves,
Shall dress their bodies,
With the harvest of exploitation,
Shall enjoy falsely solitude in beauty of forests.
The heat ridden enjoys mountain spot - the health resort.

In this poem, Sheikh though foresees the degeneration of his organised system but conversely defines the real ambit of Reshiyat. This literary piece proves that the Reshi centres owned landed estates upon which the under-training Reshis would cultivate three essential items of necessity: the food grains, pulses to prepare dishes to be taken with boiled rice and cotton to meet necessity of dress. We have from stray and indirect mentions found in Reshinamas and histories, made out that 'Reshi Headquarter' at Tsrar owned landed estates at Tsrarwani (presently Chrawani) and Tsraripora (present Chararipora) which the under

training-Reshis at the main headquarter would cultivate. The Sheikh entrusted its supervision to Sangram Dar. In 1530 AD, Baba Rukundin alias Repi Reshi, as head of the movement, did foresee that immediate snowfall might deter the harvesting so, he himself went to Tsraripora and for night cut the standing Shali crop and collected it in bigger heaps to protect from devastating snowfall. The Sheikh foresees that in 'Rang Manches" (roadside theatres) different parts are played by theaterists, similarly hypocrite Reshis will play but a role of Reshi to cheat. He will also ostensibly retire to forest but that will neither be for meditation nor for mortification but just like a picnic, at a spot or health resort.

In absence of any recorded historical testimony about the theory and practice of Reshiyat, we had no option but to knit a velvet sheet from the fabric of references made by the Sheikh about the positive or negative approaches adopted to this way of life during his time, or before him or what did he speculate about its future. The material in his poetry creates a convincing and authentic case for and against this conception. On the other hand the definitions and discussions made about it in later part of 16th century either by Mishkati or by Dedmari are defective as they are based on the deteriorated Reshiyat what the Sheikh had foreseen in the above quoted poem.

To conclude this treatment, we once again stress that the manifesto of Reshiyat is contained in twelve items, six ordained principles and six abstentions. The Reshiyat should not be considered only as a spiritual cult but as Movement. As a mystic cult it prescribes a code of conduct. The Reshi who burns his being in the klin of that code of conduct is qualified as 'Perfect' above deceit, hypocrisy or self-interest. Such Reshi is assigned missionary duties and is to have extensive tour of the country. This strain is not just for enjoyment, nor even for pure acquisition of experience nor for compilation of any travelogue but strictly for (a) service of mankind and (b) protection and improvement in the environs. This book has separate chapters covering both these fields of the Reshi Movement.

Patent Strains of Tassawuf:

We have in this chapter treated Reshiyat as a cult and as a Movement. As a spiritual cult it must possess some mystic intricacies

because all Mystic Thoughts - including Tassawuf pivot around some delicacies and intricacies about the soul, its relationship with Absolute Spirit, about the causes of creation of the created, the relationship between the Creator and the created, about the spiritual path and its stages, about the special forms of meditation distinguishable from common norms and manners of the same, etc.

We have unequivocally opined that Reshiyat does not go in those intricacies, obscurities, delicacies and other metaphysical niceties. On the other hand it creates overawing impact of the flames of hell, the deterrence in punishment for sinful and simultaneously nourishes the seekers mind with happy tidings about the pleasures of paradise. Quran has qualified its chosen servant, the Prophet (PBUH) as 'Nazir' and 'Bashir' - the 'warner' and the 'giver of good tidings' (read Quran chapter 7, verse 188, chapter 11, verse 2, chapter 25 verse 56 etc)

وَما ارسلناکَ اِلا مُبشراًو نذیرا ٥٦

[And we have sent you (O, Mohammad SAW) only as a bearer of glad tidings and a Warner]

Sheikh and his cadre carriers ahead the same mission of 'glad tidings' and 'horrible warnings'. But we find like Rabia Basri and Dhun Noon of Egypt the Sheikh claiming:

کُس پیہِ ژنے گُن بے غرضے
کس آسہِ دِلس تژھ وُسعت
جنتہٕ کہِ ہاوسہِ دوزخہ کہ پیے
دَیہِ چھی کران عبادت

Who comes to thee in selflessness?
With broad minded (sincerity).
They do come to thee for the pleasures of paradise
To serve thee for overawing dread of hell.

Compare this theme with: (a)

کندیو مازیوکھ لُکہِ ہندِس حقس

منافقس لَدِ نَے بور
دوزخہِ نہِ نارِ پأَلس تہِ پاکس
ناپاکس پھکھ پیہِ ژوپور

Tempted are we to grab rights of others,
With load of sins the hypocrites shall surrender.
They will face the flames of fire in hell,
Will be drowned in foul ocean of puss and filth.
Their foul smell shall pollute all.

(b)

نمازِ پژبہہ تہِ پأنتھن وِسی
نمازِ ژدِس کھسی ہر
نمازِ اِلُک تہِ پلُک لَسی
نمازِ بہشتس وُسی بر

Nimaz shall cure thy laziness, thy vacillation,
It shall revitalise dry branches of thy being.
Both thy worlds shall flourish with its bliss,
The Nimaz is the key of paradise.

In the quatrain quoted (supra) both the desire of Janat and fear of hell are dubbed as cheap selfish goals. But in (a) and (b) above the awe of hell is created to create a sense of righteousness and the pleasures of heaven are defined as remuneration of virtue. This distinction is niether contradiction nor conflict in thinking. It shows that Reshis too have two types of divisions. Reshi's person is moulded according to *Shara* - religion. The Reshi who passes that stage and enters the fold of 'Aashiq' - the Divine Lover - for him fear of hell and desire of paradise fall to background. He devises his being as the most obedient servant of God and so his reward is but the pleasure of his Master. In this context read this poem too.

بَیہِ یُس نہِ نرگس تہِ بزمہِ یُس نہِ سورگس

تُمی مے ارگس ژُھنُم پزیہہ
عاشق سپُن دوٗپ نَم مرگس
نَتہٕ یَتھ ورگس لبہِ ہمم چھِہہ
اتھہٕ وگ رٔٹِتھ کھوٗتُس بو تورگس
کرگس ودپھہٕ وأژم ایہہ
شہو یلہِ شہپر دِیتَنم مورغس
ژورگس کھُسِتھ بزمس ژِھکی
رَوُن گاہ پیوم بُرگس بُرگس
رِوٗن دیتَنم شِوَن وِہی
ہرموکھہٕ وُچھُم ارگس تہٕ مرگس
سوے پَژھ پَیٹھُم کس کرٕ دِہہ

Doesn't fear hell nor is lured by heaven,
Selflessness created stir in sub-conscious mind.
That imbibed love of the death,
Infectious otherwise this mortal being would be.
With tight reins I controled the horse of time,
Fast running idea lagged behind my soaring prowess.
The Sovereign Power bestowed wings to this bird,
With grandeur I fly in atmosphere,
Enlightened each facet of my being,
With the light of the dazzling sun,
Tears conferred attributes of Saiva.
I find Him in all facets of life and death.
Faith I devour hatred I defy.

In this Gazal, the poet has woven thoughtful impact with the fabric of selflessness in Devotional Love which provides wings to the 'bird' (lover) to fly in high heavens, the each feather of its wings get

enlightened with Eternal Light, the time (Turug = means red fast running horse i.e. time) becomes subordinate to such devotee. Under the pangs of separation the tears shed by the lover expose facets of his Lord upon his vision and then ultimately death and life both become stages in his process to culminate his faith.

This quatrain also has similar strains:

گہہ ہیکہِ دُژیتہِ پُتک وأزِت
گہہ گرِ ایشرس سبھاو
گہہ ہیکہِ پانژن یندن پأزِت
گہہ ہیکہِ بوکے رٔژتھ واو

In the momentary fit of confusion,
Can one memorise by heart heavenly book.
Dead impossible is to memorise the attributes of the Lord.
Impossibility is for an individual,
De-silting of the five rivers.
None can arrest the wind within his palm.

The third verse reads in some manuscripts as:

"گہہ ہیکہِ گولرٔوولُر پأزِت"

"**Golur**" is the cover of a walnut, which covers its crest, it falls as the kernel inside ripens and its two halves look like two small cups. The verse means:

"Who can dredge out an ocean with feeble cover of walnut." Late Mr. Muquiem has opined that the verse does not contain the word 'golraw' (with the cover of walnut) but it is 'who the golur (too feeble green crust of walnut) can ooze out the water of an occean? Thus human knowledge is compared with the feeble cup of walnut crest and the occean is the Divine Being.

In the first verse the term (دُژیوٗت- Do-Tseout) is too difficult to be translated. It is an impact of bewilder-ness which a traveler faces while on journey in an unknown meadow during pitch darkness as soon the dark clouds burst and a momentary ligh comes and disappears within a twinkling of eye.

لا الٰــه الاللّٰــه صحی پوٗرُم
وحی کوٗرُم پنُن پان
سجودِ اندرِ موجود میوٗلُم
ہرموکھہِ وُچھُم پنُن پان

Imbibed the essence of Tawhid on heart and mind,
Thereby I become His revelation,
(The heavenly descended message).
Within a single prostration achieved existence,
I found my being multidimensional
Saw Him through His every facet.

علمُک آگُر کُلمُک معنے
کزیہِ ہُند آگُر مینے کھین
شِنزِ پہُک آگُر پانے زانی
سُدرُک آگُر لبس نہِ ژھین

The origin of knowledge and sciences
Lies in connotation of Kalima.
Mortification is the origin of meditation,
He only knows the origin of atmosphere,
The origin of ocean lies in infinity.

In this poem the poet refers about the 'Blessed Stage' (Muqami Mehmood) which for a student of Tassawuf bears relevance to that particular lexicon. But, the logical treatment with which the Sheikh treats the theme make one to infer that it might have come to him due to his very close appreciation, study and understanding of Sufi literature. Having full study of his poetry we are of the wieve that such creative pieces bear with his commitment to Shariat.

کلمہ محمدؐ تحقیق کوٗرُم

سجود موجوٗد میوٗلُم پانہٕ
وجودِ أندریُم موجود سوٗرُم
درشن دیُتَم ہر گیانہٕ
مقام محمود محمدؐ میوٗلُم
فرض تہٕ سنت باوٗیَم پانہٕ

Sincere research of Kalima,
Lead me from prostration to the Existence.
Did realise Eternal Being through Existence.
My every thought had union with His Glimpse.
At the Praiseworthy stage I got union with Mohammad (SAW).
He personally taught me the modalities of theology.

Very intricate experience or impact of experiences is unambiguously and directly conveyed in this small poem. Kalima - the fundamental syllable constituent of seven words is the very entrance pass, recitation of which formally admits a being into monotheistic religion of Islam. But the statement made therein is to be translated through one's life style, with sincerity of heart. It reads:

لا اِلٰہَ اِلا اللّٰہُ مُحمَدُ رَسوُل اللّٰہ

(No god exists but Allah, Mohammad is his messenger)

The poet has gone in deep research of this Kalima. The process of research revealed upon his mind and heart the perfect truth in this statement. This 'Tahqiq' (research) is not a formal study but he modelled his life with the unshakable faith that no power in or outside the universe is able to control the course of universe or can mould the destiny of even a humble creation. With this unshakable faith that the God is one, He is omnipresent and Has authority to punish or reward us. The belief that whatever Mohammad (SAW) ordains us to do, He does so only as His messenger. With total belief in the God and in the Prophethood, the poet bowed to the will of His Lord as directed by His Messenger and so achieved union with Absolute Existence.He claims to have received direct guidance from Prophet (PBUH). In the life sketch of the saint poet,

we have contained an incident in his early life. He was blessed by Prophet (PBUH) with his vision and entrusted him for future guidance to Owais of Qaran. "Muqamai Mehmood" is the station of praise and glory, the honour of intercession on the day of resurrection conferred by Almighty upon Prophet (PBUH) - (Ref: Quran chapter 17, verse 69). Sheikh through his love, dedication and meditation reached that station and so had union with his beloved Prophet (PBUH).

From these mystic experiences of the Sheikh our reader might infer that the Sheikh too was a follower of Tassawuf and Reshi cult can be (to such understanding) one of the many cults of Muslims Sufis. We admit it as a cult and Reshiyat is also a Muslim mystic thought but is not a branch of Tassawuf. It consists of pure teachings of Islam, assimilated in it some influences of Tassawuf and local mystic philosophies which were not in conflict with the mandate of Islam. The Reshiyat is independent Kashmir Mystic Thought, which has emerged as a necessity in Kashmir due to historical reasons after it became a Muslim country. It is for its assimilation of local celestial traditions with the teachings of Islam that Islamic Revolution in Kashmir remained unabated. The impact of these teachings remained so great that many non-Muslims, though continued on their religion, involved themselves as disciples of Muslim Sheikhs (guides). The guide too would not press for conversion. In such situation Baba Nasib-ud-Din Gazi while passing by the side of Shamshan Ghat (Hindu Cremation Ground) would offer Fateha in the same manner in which he would do on the grave of Muslim saint. Questioned by his pupil Baba Dawood Mishkati the reason, Nasib Said: "Many of them who were put on flames on the pyres did die as faithful but their kith and kin didn't know so."

Let me make part of history certain instances which I have witnessed so that the prevalent confusion of competition in opportunities and politicalisation of our culture gets a jolt. I was only ten year old when in Rahbab Sahib Mohalla, my mother's cousin took me to living seer 'Side Chhan' whose obedient disciple Jia Lal would attend his visitors. Jia Lal would recite Auradi Fathiya as it is recited in Muslim mosques in the same tune and with similar devotion. He had memorised this rare Arabic prayer - the gist of monotheistic teachings of Quran. I would visit to the Ashram of Swami Nand Lal in Budgam district in later

fifties. He would narrate interesting details of exchange of mystic experiences between Swami Parmanand and Abdul Wahab Khaar, two famous poets and mystics of 19th century.

Sham Lal of Mahend, now settled in Jammu is a versatile poet and has composed hundreds of lyrics but so far unpublished. He receives guidance from a Muslim Pir and himself, has in my presence, guided a Muslim disciple to recite hundred times a Quranic syllable.

Though both Reshi Movement and Reshi spiritual order have gone out of practice within a century but its impact protects Kashmir society even today, from collapse of values. It is pertinent to give precise treatment to the causes of the decay of both this cult and the movement.

***The Fall of Reshi Movement*:**

Reasons of the fall of cult: Our readers must have known that as a spiritual cult Reshiyat is a very tense and difficult way of life to be adopted. Though this order is very simple in other respects. Like other spiritual orders the Reshi too has to seek guidance from a matured guide, has to remain strictly under diet control, has to avoid even many permissible (Halal) items of food. Few theologians consider such avoidance Un Islamic. Deriving principle from Sura Al-Tehreem (66 verse 1) they hold that whatever is permissible to eat cannot be declared Haram, even by Prophet (PBUH). Reshis for that purpose by adoption of diet control, do not declare those things Haram but avoid, for the sake of God use of those items. But the list of items excluded from Reshi diet is too long. Mutton, beef or any kind of flesh is totally to be avoided. The Reshi ethics has declared these restrictions for the sake of God as permissible, so, adherence to such a type of self-mortification proved challenging. The hypocrites gradually (as was prophesied by the Sheikh) made it more difficult. Consequently recruitment gradually declined.

Though Sheikh was married, had fathered three children, abandoned family life for five years, then (according to our research) reverted back. He even got Zogi Reshi, one of his disciples married to the daughter of his trusted comrade Sangram Dar, even his Syed disciples viz. Syed Ali Balkhi and Syed Ghulam Din of Brein lived socio-economic lives. His Disciples included scholars and historians like Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri who was a minister but was not asked to give up the office or live as an ascetic. His another disciple Tsogi Raina was also

allowed to continue as an important officer of the state. It is after the death of Baba Nassar the last Khalifa that the Raina was ordained by his spiritual master to take reins of the leadership of the movement and so had to give up his job and even his homer. Later on too much stress was laid to be bachelors while taking to this cult. Gradually a tradition developed that any married man who had even reared children, had to leave his family, as he would enter the Reshi cult. The travel around the country for general public good, preaching and more so as mobile institutions of guidance made the adherence to this cult much difficult for men of ordinary determination. Hence the recruitment declined. Consequently the Reshi Order squeezed till a Reshi became a rarity. The tirade of Mulla against Reshi practices brought the Reshi in close confrontation with the cleric dominated society. The Mulla dubbed it as hermitage. Mulla had old grudge against Reshi. The latter dubbed the former as exploiter, luxurious and hypocrite. In this confrontation though Reshi's superior action made him popular but he suffered due to his illiteracy. The Mulla, used his book knowledge against him. It was a great setback to the cult and movement that after 15th century no well read people or members of elite class got enrolled in the cult. So, the illiterate Reshi fell in inferiority complex which imposed superiority of Mulla and consequently the Reshi cult declined. Many Peer dynasties contained certain Reshi traditions within other spiritual cults especially in Qadri Mystic Order. The use of beef was declared prohibited for the followers of Qadri Order. The pilgrimage of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's shrine became revered practice of all cults prevalent in Kashmir. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has only eulogised the five greatest figures of Islam - the Prophet (PBUH) and his four Caliphs, and the great lady Fatima - the daughter of the Prophet (PBUH). He has nowhere made any direct or indirect statement indicating his allegiance to Qadri mystic order or with its leader Hazrat Sheikh Syed Abdul Qadir Jeelani (RA). Much after his death a story was introduced connecting him with this cult. It is reported that preparing for the last journy he asked his favourite comrade to observe the position outside who went, returned and informed that some unique creatures dressed in red uniform were outside, the disciple as ordered again, and on return informed the disappearance of the army in red unifirm and instead found the soldiers wearing green dress.The

Sheikh observed that red army constituted the agents of Iblis (Satan) who had come to rob his faith but Sheikh Syed Jeelani came with his army of saints and defeated evil spirit. The aim to add this anecdote was to connect Sheikh with Qadri Silsila and adherence to that cult was thereafter deemed as adherence to Sheikh's cult.

In our discussions on relationship of the Sheikh with Syed Ali Hamdani and his revered son Mir Mohammad we have on cogent evidence, come to the conclusion that the Sheikh was not a member of Kubrawi clan. In spite, strong tradition exists that he was member of Kubrawi mystic order. The admission of Syed Ghulam Din in Reshi Order by the Sheikh himself laid a basis of close affinity between Kubrawi Mystic Order and Reshiyat. Therefore, committed fans of the Sheikh later adopted easier mystic way of Kubrawi Order. Hence recruitment to Reshi cult receded.

In 16th century the great Reshi saints Baba Hardi Reshi of Islamabad and Sheikh Dawood alias Batamaloo were persuaded and admitted into Suharwardy Silsila (sub clan Makhdoomi) by Sheikh Hamza (RA). An impression was created and established that the separate identity of Reshi Order was not spiritually felt necessary so a process of merger with Suharwardy clan was argued vehimently which also tended the people with too ascetic bent of mind to be Reshies but be aligned with some other Mystic clan. All these pretexts worked together to justify very limited recruitment in Reshi Order. The main reason was the tough practices of this Order.

We have earlier declared on the basis of intrinsic evidence that the Sheikh considered his established Reshiyat as the Kashmiri version of Owaisi Silsila. The Owaisi order remained exceptionally in vogue till date. Its last saint Hazrat Mohammad Amin Qureshi of Keshara, Kupwara died some time back in the last decade of the 20th century.

The Reshi Movement had various facets: spiritual, social, reformative, ecological and even political. It had clear single manifesto to dedicate as true servants of Almighty so as to achieve His proximity, be benefited with His Bliss and seek His pleasures. In the achievement of this goal the so dedicated cadre chose the most effective way of love for His creatures. Thus this movement pivoted its activities around the service of mankind, the protection and development of man's

surroundings and for the protection and service of other living being including the wildlife etc. Thus the movement naturally and logically had to imbibe its cadres with the spirit to serve their fellow being. They constituted the society so, the social work. It included help to a man in need or distress, discharge of the burden of old, infirm, sick or disabled, preaching of values by word and deed. It has been said with stress that this movement had no political manifesto rather was totally apolitical. But the fundamental objective of he movement was to protect every object of His creation from any and every excess. The chief and pivotal object of His creation is man. Therefore, whenever and wherever this main creation of Almighty, 'the man' was subjected to excess, to render help to such agrieved fell within the service ambit of the Reshi. Kashmiri was even during the reign of its popular rulers subjected to varied types of excesses. Begaar (corvee) was a rule even during the reign of Sultan Zainulabidin (1420-70), which was considered the golden era. Reshis came to the rescue of such wronged subjects. In the process, the exploiter or his agents confronted directly or indirectly. The 'movement' cautiously avoided any confrontation but an element of political controversy was imposed upon it. Hence intrigue against it was politically motivated and patronised. The subject is discussed under the title of 'Intrigue'.

The popularity of the movement created enemies too. They made onslaught upon this simple and sincere movement. The most effective form of onslaught was that quacks, cheats, hypocrites and agents of status quo penetrated into the cadres and so polluted the movement from within.

In 1556 AD, when Akbar the great, hypocritically created foothold for Mughal rule in Kashmir, it was felt that the Reshi Movement was bound to revive patriotism so it became the first target. Had it been curbed through pressure that could have paved a way for a popular revolt. But on the other hand it was killed by giving a good slow poisoning doze of huge corruption. We have detailed it earlier. The most effective stage which the Sheikh had selected for his cadres was a simple location chosen for meditation which could, due to the miracle in Reshi's tough forms of meditation and his other miraculous deeds, attracted the masses. So from this stage - most viable one, the Reshi could penetrate in the emotion, sentiment, belief and thinking of general public. The pulpit

of mosque was dominated by Mulla who was hand in glove with forces of exploitation. But as graph of the recruitment to Reshi mystic clan gradually declined, so this viable stage for the movement largely ceased to function. In the later part of the 16th century when Akbar corrupted the Reshi Headquarter at Tsar-i-Sharief, his scholar minister Abul Fazal found only in Srinagar hundreds of Reshis performing social and environmental service. Sooner as their headquarter did shrunk in pleasures of the Jagir granted to it by Akbar, these Reshis adopted to a type of wandering. The central authority was absent, the guidance to discipline the cadres had died. By the 17th century this Movement had totally squeezed. Its traces were reflected in the isolated, individual and stray activities of individual Reshi. Though they were good in number, but could not coordinate to revive an organised and disciplined Jamat - party - as was case during Sheikh's leadership even up to the leadership provided by men like Loli Haji and Repu Reshi.

The government sponsored, engineered and executed drive of conversion to Shia sect put the Reshis in direct conflict and confrontation with the State. It is during this period of frenzy that a state sponsored Shia Muslim opined to win over the support of Reshi Tehreekh, approached its leader, requested him to embrace Shia sect. The Reshi put the condition that both of them shall retire to isolated meditation in two caves for forty days, with small ration of barley chaff and water and whoever would return out with clearer vision his faith would prevail. The Mulla did not accept the challenge but on one or the other pretext Reshis were teased. This process of victimisation did follow even after migration of Reshi from one Pargana to other. So, the emergence of the proverb: "Reosh Ay Tseli Paneni Dishi Tooti Tsalisne Reosh Naaw". (Even if Reshi excapes from his place of domicile cannot escape form the stigma).

Though Pathans had great reverence for Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, yet the utter misrule during that period brought this simple but devoted Faqir in confrontation with the authority. It was the impact of Reshi environs upon Maulana Abdul Rasool Khanqahi of Tsrari Sharief that he dubbed Kashmir under Pathans as "Zulum Abad" (The terrorised Land). Though we have no historical data of particular victimisation of Reshis during that period but as terror was a wholesale affair in which Reshi movement

could not stand. It had no capacity to fight so virtually shrunk within the shells of hermitage. Yet its crest had some warmth.

The Sikh era (1817-1845 AD) introduced most violent policy of religious discrimination. There had been instances (in our past history) of outrageous plunder of religious institutions but such acts were motivated with the motives of accumulation of wealth. Sikhs targeted Muslim houses of worship in Kashmir with dominant object of sacrilege and to torture the Muslims on the whole. Under the gloom of pessimism, Reshi cadres felt. But those devotees of truth who were born for His obedience surrendered the mundane and lived not as Reshi seers but as soothsayers or locally called Majzoob.

By the start of Dogra rule in 1846, this movement had shrunk into a group of bachelor beggars who would be sustained by the refuse of offerings offered at the Dargah of Baba Pyam-ud-Din Reshi in Tangmarg. Sooner, as urge for comforts and luxuries dominated, the corrupt political leadership made revival of any movement on the pattern of Reshi organisation an utter impossibility. However, I must keep a record of its ruins as I have seen in my childhood.

Young, dirty, roughly dressed Derveshes would visit Tsrari Sharief, the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din. Some of them would be entertained at lunch in our house too. I would, as a boy, enquire about their identity and was told that they were called: 'Bapam Reshen Ket' - the boys of Baba Pyam-ud-Din Reshi. It is one among all Reshi shrines which is visited by thousands of pilgrims, who offer sacrifices there. Exceptionally this place has not been occupied by any Mujawir dynasty. Till early forties of last century, it retained something of the eroded character of a headquarter of Reshiyat. In this shrine one oven on which Reshi saints' simple diet would be boiled is maintained with reverence. Any lady who does not deliver, in spite of her fertility or delivers but the children do not survive, such lady makes mud wash of this kitchen and according to common belief she too acquires fortune of successful motherhood. Many such deprived ladies would later vow to leave their one child for the service of the shrine if they deliver and the sons so delivered survive. Thus such left over boys would be recruiterd not as Reshies but as servants of the shrine. They would be fed from common kitchen of the shrine. They usually appeared like 'young lamas' of Buddhist Gumphas of

Ladakh. I have met last batch of such hermits in 1947-48. They were devoid of any spirituality were but a liability. Such skeleton of the movement too is now a complete rarity.

This movement left behind certain great enviable traditions. One such tradition was 'Hall·Shree' voluntary social work under which agriculturists would desilt the water canals, make link roads in the villages, or fight with the menace of wild animals, or would take upon themselves voluntary construction of smaller dams to control the recurrence of flood. Now in view of many developmental schemes, out of which, a class of political concession seekers grew and dominate the society the 'halshree' spirit too has decayed.

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Mystic Intricacies & Scientific Realities

Verses of the Sheikh have become part of our commonly spoken discourse, so even the appreciative critical mind does not dive deeper in the peculiar and particular use and selection of words, phrases and terms in Sheikh's poetry. The dimensions of a word or phrase used by this great poet have been by and large confined to ordinary lexicon meaning. Let us note the use of the word 'Woupdun' (وو پدُن) [to evolve] in this quatrain.

آدم وو پدووُن سبھاوِ
میرِژ، آبہٕ، نارِتہٕ واوِ

(The Absolute Creator)
Has Evolved Adam with noble shape,
From the material constituents;
Earth, water, fire and air.

The poet does not use the word 'to create' instead deliberately uses word 'evolution'. It is not contended to attribute to him belief in any theory of evolution but it is argued that the Sheikh believed that the creation of man was a process and scientific too which relates to the constituent matters. The word 'Subhao' (noble shape) conveys the term (صوّرَنکُم) [and gave you the noble shape] in its literal and thematic sense. The noble shape is derived from the material matter. In Sura Al-Araf (Chapter.7) Quran mentions this noble creation and the dignified position accorded to it in Verse 11 as:

"And surely, we created you (your father Adam) and then gave you shape (the noble shape of human being); then we told the angels:

"Prostrate yourselves to Adam..." [Noble Quran KFC; K.S.A]

It is highly pertinent to appreciate that the Sheikh explains through commonly used metaphor the teachings of Holy Quran on this matter.

"And (remember) when we said to the angels: "I am to create man (Adam) from dried clay of altered mud. So, when we fashioned him completely and breathed into him (Adam), the soul which I created for him." [Noble Quran Chapter 15, Verses 28-29]

In continuity of this topic read this poem also:

آدم وو پدووُن میٚژے میٚژِ ہُند کر گنڈِتھ کبتھ
سارِ نعمژ وو پداوٕن میٚژے رنان میٚژِوٕن بانن کبتھ
زُو ژَلہِ نیرِتھ موٚر موژِ میٚژے میٚژے میٚژ گژھ میلتھ کبتھ

Adam evolved from the earth,
Rooted deeply in earth.
All the blessings emanate from the earth,
Land produce is cooked in earthen utensils.
As the soul leaves the earthen home,
The frame, housing it shall revert to earth.
And the earth shall have union with earth.

Here the poet gives treatment to a particularly different topic - the relationship of 'man' with the earth. But, readers may kindly note that he does not state that this growth was a spontaneous action either of the nature or of the power of this nature. To him, the creation of Adam tentamounts to a process of the growth in the matter. But he believes with certainty that this process is not inherent in nature but is controlled by a power behind.

Let us now read only the opening line of another smaller poem (quoted earlier). It reads:

دِل چھے گاڈہوٚ کھ موتژ اوُن
ذِکرِ ہُند پونی دِس لَسی تَو

Thine heart is a fish, don't leave it in dry environ,
Feed it in the water of Ziker, thereby it will grow.

Zikir - remembrance of Almighty, total involvement of one's mind with Him. The 'zikir' is a special concept of Muslim mysticism -

Tassawuf and thus this poem manifestly bears mystic strain but the frame containing the thought is logical and scientific. Heart is surrounded by a sort of thin layer of fluid called pericardium and functioning of the heart is greatly, rather vitally dependent upon it; this conical sac of serous membrane encloses the heart and the roots of the great blood vessels of vertebrates. Thus poet has chosen this peculiar simile of fish for heart which is dependent of water. Hence to a physist this fluid in the sac of membrane is vital for physical life and to the mystic Sheikh the metaphysical life is dependent upon total involvement in the remembrance of his Beloved.

Noorani Calendar

This is rather the original topic which, for the first time this author has privilege and pride to collate from scattered and ignored material. Indebted I am to my late grandfather Mr. Muqiem who had left for me much material on the topic. Equally I am indebted to late Mr. G.M. Mugloo (Rafique) who at 86, in a discourse disclosed that he had been working for years together on Kashmiri Calendar, propounded by the Sheikh. After his death in 1994, the material of his research work remained mischievously hoarded with his disciples. Hence the treatment on this subject herein may suffer a few infirmities which can be cured if and when Rafique's work is published and if this author gets time to have further research on this independently distinct topic. It is one of the gravest consequences of the slavery which has been destiny of Kashmir from 1580 till date that even the great literatuers, historians and scholars of geography are ignorant about Kashmiri months, the seasonal rotation and of Kashmiri era etc. Up to the end of seventies of 20th century, almost in rural Kashmir old men knew at least names of these Kashmiri months and used to call it as 'Fasly' Calendar or the 'Agrarian Calendar' governing the cultivation of land. It is based on 'Lunar' system, so there remains a difference of ten days within one solar year. Lunar year is 354 or 355 days whereas the solar year consists of 365 days and every fourth year has 366 days. To arrest this variation so as to systemize the seasonal relationship with these months, the Sheikh sometime in the first decade of 15th century, evolved this lunar calendar by adding one month after every three years and provided every third year to have 13 months instead of twelve. It is thus after first three years, the first month; "Wayek

or Weshaik" repeats occurrence. We have no earlier record to show that names of these months were in vogue in pre-Sheikh era too. It is either he who on the basis of "Shaka" calendar evolved almost similar names for Kashmiri months or the people had from generations accorded these names, many of those resembled to the names of the "Bikrami" months. For instance, "Haar" is adopted as "Hard", "Katik" as "Kartik" and "Phagan" is "Phagun". Before we discuss the connected facets, let us first contain herein a table of three years :

Year:1, Kash.(1320-21) Year:2, Kash.(1321-22) Year:3, Kash.(1322-23)

S.No.	Kashmiri Month		Gregorian Month
(1)	Wahek/Wesheyk	(1320-21)	15 Mar to 13 Apr
		(1321-22)	05 Mar to 02 Apr
		(1322-23)	22 Feb to 23 Mar
(2)	Jeth.	(1320-21)	14 Apr to 13 May
		(1321-22)	03 Apr to 03 May
		(1322-23)	24 Mar to 21 Apr
(3)	Haad	(1320-21)	14 May to 12 June
		(1321-22)	04 May to 01 June
		(1322-23)	22 Apr to 21 May
(4)	Shrawon	(1320-21)	13 June to 11 July
		(1321-22)	02 June to 30 June
		(1322-23)	22 May to 19 June
(5)	Beydr.	(1320-21)	12 July to 10 Aug
		(1321-22)	01 July to 29 July
		(1322-23)	20 June to 19 July
(6)	Aashid	(1320-21)	11 Aug to 09 Sep
		(1321-22)	30 July to 28 Aug
		(1322-23)	20 July to 17 Aug
(7)	Kaartik	(1320-21)	10 Sep to 08 Oct
		(1321-22)	29 Aug to 26 Sep
		(1322-23)	18 Aug to 16 Sep

(8)	Munjihour	(1320-21)	09 Oct to 06 Nov
		(1321-22)	27 Sep to 25 Oct
		(1322-23)	17 Sep to 15 Oct
(9)	Poh	(1320-21)	07 Nov to 06 Dec
		(1321-22)	26 Oct to 24 Nov
		(1322-23)	16 Oct to 14 Nov
(10)	Maag	(1320-21)	07 Dec to 05 Jan
		(1321-22)	25 Nov to 23 Dec
		(1322-23)	15 Nov to 14 Dec
(11)	Phagun	(1320-21)	06 Jan to 05 Feb
		(1321-22)	24 Dec to 22 Jan
		(1322-23)	15 Dec to 13 Jan
(12)	Tsither	(1320-21)	06 Feb to 04 Mar
		(1321-22)	23 Jan to 21 Feb
		(1322-23)	14 Jan to 12 Feb
(13)	Wehyek	(1322-23)	13 Feb to 14 Mar

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The third year is of thirteen months, almost seven months of the first year had thirty days permonth whereas other five months had each twenty nine days. The above table explains as which month had thirty and which only twenty nine days. Being lunar, hence the variation. The first two years had each 355 days and the third year 358 days. In total the three years had 1095 days equal to the total number of three solar years.

We have herein before, at many occasions expressed that the Sheikh has made constructive synthesis between the local traits, thinking, values and conceptions with the traits, thinking values and conceptions of Islam so as to make forbearance, understanding, amity and mutual co-existence amongst the religious communities, the cornerstone of Kashmir culture. The non-Muslim ruling class itself, for the superior values of Islam established a Muslim Sultanate and the same Pandit Wazir, military general, civil servant, soldier all rallied behind the throne voluntarily with same zeal and spirit with which they would support Buddhist monarch Renchen before he became Sultan Sadrud-din in 1321. Had not this conscious, voluntary and conscientious collective and unified support rallied behind the new emerging leadership after the valueless terror, tyranny and devastation let loose by Tatar invader

Zulchu; the country of Kashmir would have been balkanized totally. Hence the Sheikh, after a full century of the process of this consolidation commemorated this process in Kashmir history as rebirth of Kashmir. He churned this process as a great revolutionary would do. Among many such acts of the assimilation of values he made synthesis between local geographical principles with those of the practical aspects of incoming influences. Local months which were(probably)in vogue but totally confined within rural agriculturists were introduced by him to rotate with the rotation of the moon. Local festivals were being celebrated according to lunar system. Even the greatest religious sacred festival of Savists viz. Shivratri had been and is being celebrated not according to solar calendar but during the night intervening 26th and 27th day of lunar Poh. The Muslim calendar is and was strictly lunar so here also the Sheikh made the constructive synthesis. The lunar months lack accuracy, the lunar month consists either upon 29 days or of 30 days. In this background, some formula was to be adopted which could facilitate the purpose for which this local calendar was in vogue. The main purpose to introduce with the incoming influence of Qamri (Lunar), the local months suited to particular Kashmir geography. The agriculturists, everywhere, has to keep occasions of sowing of crops, plantation of saplings, harvesting of crops etc. The solar months have no seasonal variation. The Gregorgian Calendar and other calendars evolved one or the other formula to have cohesion with the seasonal changes. Gregorgian calendar has seven months of 31 days, four months of 30 days and one moth (February only) of 28 days which after every fours years consists of 29 days, the leap year.

Similarly the great original thinker of Kashmir who had masterly command upon geography evolved a principle according to which the every third year is to consist of 13 lunar months. We have for the facility of our readers, contained the relevant table. Its other facets, ingredients and explanations though fall within the ambit of this discussion but, to avoid the length, are avoided. I will later on come with a booklet on this topic.

Precisely relevant reference of poem: "Hundred Thirty Questions about Muslim Jurisprudence" (which was called "Keyshir Naami Haq") explains greatly the variations which human shade undergoes during

each month of this lunar calender. In primitive schools (Maktabs) this poem and Persian: "Naami Haq" were being specially taught together to educate the students about the niceties of fundamentals of Islam which are particular to Nimaz and ancillary religious rites. Mention is pertinent that even upto mid fifties of the last century this particular poem was supposed to be memorized so as to be tuned and cultured to the discipline of Nimaz. Replies to these hundred thirty question contained in poetry through common metaphor relates to "Fiqah" - Muslim Jurisprudence. Each reply versified, establishes poet's grip and command on the Sharah (Muslim Jurisprudence). Too relevant to us here is one stanza relating to discerning the accurate time of the descendence of sun towards the west from its zenith. It is to bear in mind that there were no watches and particularly common rural populace had no avenues to discern accurate time of five prayers a day. Stress is laid on the aspect that Muslims are ordained to offer these five prayers at fixed hours to maintain universal identity in discipline. The Sheikh has himself advised his audience to adhere to such punctuality and says that offering of prayers earlier or later has but negative dividends.

وقتچ نماز چھے تختس رندو

بےوق نماز نداق تہٕ خندو

(The Nimaz on fixed time,
Chisels thy heart of irrelevance
The prayers offered earlier or latter,
Amounts to self ridicule.)

The relevant stanza quoted herein with its gist and summary shall show how the scholar saint had command on fundamentals of geography, besides the command upon theology. Original text is contained to acquaint the local talent how to decipher this hitherto unpublished poem:

بوزبایہ قدم اصل سایہِ شراونس ڈوڈ تہٕ بأدرس ڈایہِ
أشدس ساڑٕ ترٕنے کف کھور پایہِ کارتکس ساڑٕ ژور پارٕدی پہایہِ
مونجہأرِس ساڑٕ شنے کف کھور سایہِ پوہس ساڑٕ أٹھ گنزرنہٕ آیہِ
سار دار ماگس ساڑٕ دَہ بایہِ پھاگنس ساڑٕ أٹھ پھیرتھ آیہِ

ژِترس ساڑ شئے قدم دپہایہِ ساڑِ ژور وہکس موژان آیہِ
زیٹھس ساڑِ ترٕنے، ہارنہِ ڈایہِ
یا رسولؐ چونے موکلن پایہِ

One's shade if one and half feet found after measurement during the month of Shravan (12 June to 1o July); two and half feet during Beyder (11 July to 9 August); 3 and half feet during Ashid (1o August to 8 September); four and half feet during Kaartik (9 September to 8 October); six and half during Manjihour (9 October to 6 November); eight and half feet during Poh (7 November to 5 December); ten and half feet in the month of Maagh (6 December to 4 January); eight and a half feet are repeated during Phagan (5 January to 2 February); six and half again in Tsiter (3 February to 4 March); 3½ during Zeyth (14April to 13 May); 2½ during Haar (14 May to 12 June); indicates the accuracy of the noon.

Before we conclude advisible is to meet the unauthentic mention of 19th century historian Hassan Fazili.In the first volume of his three volume project he on page 378 makesan entry about this calendar andclaims that it had been introduced rather devised by the first Shahmir king Sultan Shams-ud-Din.I have with details rejected this contention in an essay in Kashmiri, however sumup precisely those reasons:

There is no mention of this calendar in any official record even during the period of that Sultan also. He would not devise it just for pleasure but for his official record as main official calendar or at the least as an alternate system.

Why should not he start it from the date of his coronation and why it begins with the assumption of kingdom of Kashmir by his rival Renchan The both Shah Mir and Renchan had rivalary both for the throne and the last heir thequeen Kota Rani. Renchan through more segacity and intelligent manuvoring outwits Shahmir and occupies Kashmir thron in 1320-21, marries the Hindu Raniand confers motherhood upon her. Had nature favoured Renchan and granted him time to consolidate his rule Shahmir or his dynasty would never get a chance to inscribe its dynasty role in the history. In such background Shams-ud-Din would not have conferred honour of poineer Muslim

rulerupon his rival.

Hassan is in a habit to authenticate his fiction by creating a connection between his story with 'Wiqa Kashmir',history of Kashmir written by a scholar and minister of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin but has not remained available even to his own immediate successors in 16th or 17th centuries.Even the editor of the first volume, Taariekh Hassn adds as note 16 on page8 that " thi history is non-extant, possibly might have been available to the author but had not been seen." Hassan in all his three volumes quotes this source, he in the first volume claims to have benefitted from this source, inthe second he includes a good number of kings which Kalhana had not mentioned and in the third while making entry about Sheikh Noorud Din. It shows that the source had remained with him uptothe end of his project. Where did it then go? It is claimed on his behalf that while he was crossing a river on a horseback his bag containing that pecious treasure got drowned. Had heapprehended such dramatic loss and so had kept notes for his project. If so where those notes have gone?

In third volume of his history he claims to have derived bio-data from this very source but it is more than clear that he had collected that information from a poem of the Sheikh and quotes that poem. So these matters erode his credibility at least upto his claimed accees to Wiqa Kashmir. In my view he too had some material whch exposed to him that particular Kashmir era had also been devised so, he connected it with the first king of Shahmir dynasty. To accord authenticity he took refuge under that non-extant source. Had he then only a conception about the dimensions in the personalityof the Sheikh,the job for him would get facilated.

Ideas & Ideals of Reshiyat

We have more than once reiterated that the poet had deeper commitment to spread Islam through his deed and word. Hence he rather refreshed the memory of Muslims and reminded them what their Prophet (PBUH) has taught them. It is therefore that his poetry is called 'Kashmiri Quran and his sayings are qualified as 'Shruk'- the Kashmiri version of Hadis.
Hence his teachings are the teachings of Islam and we have under various topics and sub topics highlighted those aspects. But, in spite within those defined parameters the poet under study has blended the values in local morality with Islamic teachings. He had to provide original treatment to the malaise in the then prevailing society around him. He had to cure those ills which had to blend the cherished local values with the influences of pure monotheism of Islam. To carry such mission, his messages, ideas, ideals and teachings bear both these imprints. Hence his teachings have all qualities of an original thinker which have moulded for last five centuries national thinking of Kashmir. This topic will highlight only such aspects in Kalami Sheikh (Sheikh's verse) as have been demonstrated in action by him and his successor Reshis and do not fall within the narrated discussions. The reader might feel some sort of repitition but that is unavoidable as a single verse, stanza or poem or action of a great man invariably project more than one facet and those all dimensions fall within just and bona fide purview of discussions. Oft repeated theme with the Sheikh has been:

Stress on Morality:

Godly men in all societies and in every set-up have laid utter stress upon moral values and their teachings mainly pivot around one

point, i.e. to build a society on such values which broadly respect the rights of fellow creatures. Morality has certain universal standards and therefore many such values have either evolved into a governing law of a society or are being enforced as religious codes of conduct or are implemented as codified state laws. There are such moral values which are related to the cultural habits, national thinking or religious mandate. For example every moral code, everywhere in the world considers truth as virtue and condemns falsehood, on any level, as a vice. But there are values which vary both in purpose and application. Two neighbours living in the same locality, possessing all social habits alike, speak one and the same dialect but one approves a certain social act and other condemns the same. A Muslim if marries his first cousin does not only act within the precincts of permissibility but also in certain cases such act becomes a virtue. On the other hand even if with similar sympathies his Pandit neighbour marries even within Gotra, commits a sinful act. In spite of these superficial variations our seers, saints and preachers have, at times, build our society strictly on such moral values which have cultivated, nourished and flourished mutual love and respect among the members of society. All moral thinkers have in every atmosphere and on all levels considered certain ills as the cause root for deterioration of the society and so greatly fatal for humanity. In this selected list the truth is considered the foundation of the edifice of morality and falsehood is dubbed as the destroyer of a value based society. The lust for worldly pleasures is unanimously declared as root cause of individual strife and national confrontations. After full reading and understanding Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's poetry, a definite national moral code of conduct for Kashmir is easily formulated. Though it has universal application, but the immediate beneficiary have been all the communities of Kashmir. Safely, a claim can be made that 'Kalami Sheikh' (Siekh's Poetry) provides the text of Kashmir Ethics.

In this respect the repetition is not inappropriate that Sheikh propagates that one must model his being in the frame of the blessed actions of Prophet (PBUH) - the 'Oswai Hasna'.

The frame in which righteous person is to mould his person are the actions of the Prophet (PBUH). One should not confine that code only to

Mussalmans because none of His practices bear limited application. The Sheikh has stressed to follow in strict sense, the practices of Prophet (PBUH) and His four Successors and with certainty claims: "Therein lies the solution for worldly problems." This claim is in no case sectarian. If any one looks into it through such spectacles, he is himself shortsighted, sectarian and biased. The problems of the world are of various nature viz. political, social, economic and celestial. If we examine the actions of these great five teachers of the world regarding all are any of these four aspects, we will agree with universal truth in this saying of the Sheikh.

Truth & Falsehood:

A person came to Prophet (PBUH) and requested humbly that he could not mould his life on religious values, could not cultivate regular habit of Nimaz on time, did not adhere to religious tax (Zakat). and many evils had crept in his routine life. Prophet (PBUH) advised him; "Speak always truth, adherence to this only principle will prove efficacious treatment to all these ills." The man fell surprised and agreed to this only advice. Considered its adherance too easy. But this simple antidote cured the snakebites on his person and mind. The Sheikh therefore, admonishes the liar and appreciates the truthful as:

پوز وَنان پَن زَن نٹگھ اَپُز وَنان لگی رَس

خوداے ترأوِتھ ابلیس رَٹگھ سُے چُھے وُچھان کھٹگھ گس

While speaking the truth,
Thou will (under the pressure of wind),
Tremble like a leaf.
You will enjoy the lies in fiction.
The falsehood shall become thine second nature,
Thou shall; by adhering to falsehood,
Detach thyself from God.
Attach thyself with Satan,
Beware, He is keenly watching your actions.
You can never succeed to hide form Him.

These four verses describe the two origins of the falsehood and the truth. The former emanates from the devil (Iblis) while the truth has origin in the Absolute Truth i.e. the God. God sees even minute details,

detects the intentions and the liar might with all his knack and author-mindedness cultivate justification to impress the addressee and might deceive him but cannot deceive the God. The poet posès a warning while asking a question: "From whom to Hide?" This warning conveys all the consequences which the tactful liar has to bear.

رَزِ تہٕ گزے بوٚتل میوٚنُم اَپُز کران ژیوٚنُم مو

پتو منز سَرِ ہب زَن ژھُنم زبتھ دنیاس کیوٚنژہ ژیوٚنُم مو

With the tape and yardstick,
I measured this earth.
Did not grasp consequences of lies,
I threw pebbles in the deep and wide ocean.
Could not create even wrinkles in wast waters.
I lived invain.

In the first verse, the poet speaks of two instruments of measurement, the *Raz* (rope or tape) and Gaz (the yardstick). The use of one of these two words might appear irrelevant and the critic might observe that the poet should have preferred only one. But the use of both these words once again proves that the Sheikh had extensive study of the earth and knew that the yardstick can measure only plains whereas for measurement of uneven earth the use of rope is the scientific method. The poet feels that his life eroded in this falsehood like a pebble that got lost in a wide ocean. A liar is ultimately lost in wilderness whereas a truthful carves out his distinct position.

Hypocrisy:

Hypocrisy - contradiction in pretension and action has been universally condemned by all preachers, moral philosophers and activists in such field. Sheikh also condemns the both, hypocrite and the pretender. He has exposed that weaver as a worst pretender who falsely acted as a Reshi saint imposed upon himself isolation, had retired from his family life, used to live in a wide hallow trunk of an old Chinar, had fixed his carder in that trunk and would card the cotton therein but would live on meagre boiled vegetable only. Sheikh while on his tour found the weaver involved in recitation of Allah and would simultaneously be carding wool. He sooner detected that in an adjoining trunk there was a

beehive and the noise created by weaver Reshi disturbed the bees and they wandered around. The Sheikh therefore logically inferred that the weaver Reshi was pretender. Had he been a genuine seeker, he would not disturb co-creatures. The Sheikh conveyed the impact of his observation to the Reshi who showed utter indifference. Thereafter the Sheikh tested his spiritual standing, found him free of any spirituality and then admonished him: "You are as hallow as this wide trunk of the tree."

The similar experiences he conveys through his verse and warns the Mulla, the Pandit, the pretender Reshi, the Sufi, the Sheikh against pretension and hypocrisy. It will make this sub-topic too lengthy to quote those verses. References have at places been made and may even follow but herein I confine to quote only this poem.

پتہٕ پتہٕ پوٗکُھ نفسِ شیطانس ہَے کندِ پھوٗرُکھ پأنی پانہٕ ہے
ظأہر پیراہ بیوٗٹھُکھ دُکانس اتھہٕ ہتھ تسبیح بیٚیہِ ہتھ پھأسی
شہباز لأگتھ کھوٗتُکھ اسمانس ہَے کندِ پھوٗرُکھ پأنی پانہٕ ہے
زألی ڈَبہِ ہتھ بیٚیہِ روبہٕ خانس کھیٚے کھیٚے گوکھ امأسی
زیُن زَن کأنی ہولاگہٕ نَے دانس ہَے کندِ پھوٗرُکھ پأنی پانہٕ ہے

Thou hast strictly followed the devil in thyself,
Alas! Thou hast deceived none but yourself.
Pretended as if a priest thou hast opened,
A shop (for medication of souls),
Carrying rosary in thy hand,
Did hide knife under thy long sleeves to kill others.
Pretended a falcon soaring in high heavens,
Alas! Thou hast deceived none but thyself.
Adorning the veranda of carved wood,
Projected out of the edifice of delicacy.
Thou hast grown fat by the sumptuous diet.
Sooner like the fuel thou will be put to flames.
Alas! Thou hast deceived none but thyself.

The life style Propounded:

The quatrain (Shrukh) referred hereinbefore in original with translation is relevantly quoted here again. But only English rendering may do:

The devoted doesn't put shield to His arrows,
Readily offeres his neck as target to His sword.
The curses which fall from Him,
Are deemed and received as His sweet pleasures.
Therein lies the glory, here and hereafter.

This poem might leave an impact that the poet advocates complete surrender to the dictats of the destiny and thereby it is inferable that so defined devotee shall bear no choice to devise his life standard. Hence it might be argued that the carving out of this sub-title may amount to a contradiction. Such impression need to be dispelled. The poet does not mean whatever comes in one's way should, invariably be considered 'curse' or 'bliss', but only from Him and so human being has no control to mould his actions. Such interpretation is untenable. This view is fortified by a host of verses contained in the poetry of the Sheikh. Let us confine here to this quatrain alone:

ڏوک تہ مٺ ڏر ٽيوٺ تہ زہر خونِ جگر تيم اہر ڪِو
تيمي ٿيتھ پيٽھ ہيڙ ڏبڙ تہ قہر سُہ تَتھ شہر گُڙھتھ پِو

Sour, sweet or bitter poison,
Whoever did tolerate these conflicting experiences.
And tastes the blood of his own liver,
(By undergoing terrible hard times),
Whoever with patience tolerates viscitudes,
To achieve his goal,
Is bound to reach his distination.

By according a single treatment to both these crative pieces and read those conjointly, the art and thought contained in the two explaineach other. According to the first, the devoted servant of God accepts with pleasure and pride trials and turbulations as blessings from his Lord. According to the second, the servant shall discharge his routine duties with such devotion that the master gets pleased. It is that pleasure with which the devoted servant achieves his destination. With this introductory note on this sub topic, let us proceed ahead. It must again be

borne in mind that the Sheikh is the preacher of Islam, he is missionary of the message of peace and he himself moulded his personality according to the model provided in the actions of the Prophet (SAW) - viz. "*Oswai-Hasna*". Hence he has no independent thought on it. But, herein we will discuss the priorities and preferences with which he likes his nation to become true servants of God and humanity.

We have earlier quoted his one verse in which he has stressed that salvation lies by strict adherence to the traditions laid down by the Prophet (PBUH) and his four Caliphs. Thus he strictly adheres to none but the one life style carved out by the two cardinal principles of Islamic jurisprudence "Amar" (order to do a certain action) and "Nahay" (order to abstain to do a certain act). This model devised by Quran has been demonstrated practically by Prophet (PBUH) and his four friends. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din has not added or subtracted any ingredient nor could he dare to do so. However, he has explained the various facets, ingredients and characteristics of that defined and demonstrated life style as relevant to the material and celestial pecularities of his homeland. It has been said more than once that Kashmir has always remained abode of spiritual activities but simultaneously it has seen hypocritical pretensions in the name of meditation;exploitation by the pretended spiritualist and was subjected to varied types of royal intrigue hatched by the same section who got all reverence for the sanctity attached to the institution. It was erosion of those institutions that religion of Islam, which had neither clerical domination nor institutionalisation in religious life, attracted the Kashmiri in general. But as a measure to counter this revolution the similar practices had started creeping into the newly developed Muslim society of Kashmir. In this background the Sheikh had to interpret principles of Muslim life style relevant to the compulsions faced by him. The foremost consideration was to stress upon sincere piety committed to devotion devoid of duplicity, hypocrisy and pretension.

ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوِ ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوِ
فکرِ کران دُور گےٚ وَن تو پتہٕ مہارینٛز گٹہٕ لُج گژھاوِ
تَتہِ مو پاپنٛز بار اندن تو ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوِ

ہرزہ مربن یم زاگن تو انتہٕ موٗلے نیرکھ نہٕ دَرے
تِم کندِ یتھ سمسارس زبن تو ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوٕ
اصل یم پنہٕ نُے حق خنتو لُکہٕ ہُند زانَن حرام چھُوٕ
ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوٕ پننہٕ زبانُی پوٚز دپن تو
ہرس او پکار یم کرن تو برن بوچھس تَمے چھِ سہہ
پر تہٕ مُہم پانَس ہَن تو ژبن تو رن لُجی ژپنتھ اَوٕ

Realise thou art in confrontation with contradictions,
Beware thou art sandwiched between contradictions and conflicts.
While thinking (about thy goal) the goal has become farther,
The bride of destination has fallen in oblivion of darkness.
Impossible is to defend the accusations of sins there,
Beware thou art sandwiched in contradictions and conflicts.
Those who sneak opportunities to grab rights of others,
They shall never achieve success.
Alas! Useless is their birth on this earth,
Beware thou art sandwiched in contradictions and conflicts.
(Successful are those) who confine to their own rights,
Who strictly protect their own rights.
And shall treat usurpation of,
The rights of others strictly forbidden,
And those who adhere to truth,
They only are liberated from conflicts.
Beware thou art sandwiched in contradictions and conflicts.
They who feed the hungry, respect the others,
Readily take upon themselves the misfortune of the needy,
They alone are brave and valiant lions,
Beware thou art sandwiched in contradictions and conflicts.

Unfortunately the editors of Sheikh's poetry could not decipher correct version from defective rendering of Sharda script to Persio-Arabic and so could not understand the meaning of 'run'(fight,war,conflict and the like). They read it as 'ren' (wife). They translated the first verse:

"Realise, let thy wife is sacrificed for thee."

In 3rd verse the use of word 'bride' again bewildered them and so

devised an anecdote that the Sheikh while going towards a destination passed by a place where marriage was being performed and so he adressed these verses to the groom to give up the world and abandone his bride. It is how his great poetry has been made too base and a laughing stock.]

In the following poem the poet has encompassed in appropriate poetic metaphor, symbols and similes the human failures so that measures for success are adopted.

سنگر لُوستِس کانگری ژھیوُم گَجہِ نہٕ پیوٚوُم لدس کیاہ تی
پھل ڈیر ترأوِتھ مل ڈیر وُوِم کل بود کھیٚیہِ نَم دبن کیو رأتی
سون روف ترأوِتھ سرتل رُوِم کرتل پُھٹرِتھ گری مَس دزأتی
سونتَے وٚوُم ہردے لوٚنُم لُونتھ لوٚگُم پانَس سأتی
دوہ لوٚگ دَرِ تہٕ داٹبرِ ہیوُوِم اوگُن ژھیوٚوُم بانہٕ نہ وأتی

Exhausted in trekking of mountain peaks,
The (traveler) needs a fire-pot,
(full with burning embers)
To provide heat to benumbed energy.
Wherefrom to bring those embers,
I didn't lit my hearth.
(I had stored two stocks on my field).
One, the huge debris of decomposed cowdung,
The other, the bulk of seeds to be sown.
Alas! What a fool cultivator I am,
I did sow the manure wasted the seed.
Ignored silver and gold, preferred the brass.
Alas! I broke the (steel) sword,
Forged out of its molten metal a sickle.
The seed which I sowed in spring
Its crop I harvested in autumn.
After the sunset I lit my hearth,
The flame extinguished,
The stuff in utensils (cooked food) turned waste.

In this poem the poet has described the agonies of man's failures through his own person but has used three different facets by giving went to his experiences.The failures of a trekker, a cultivator (agriculturist) and a housewife. None of the three are directly mentioned but their presence is inferred from the diction. Kashmir is surrounded by snow-bound peaks, mountains and valleys. It is an agrarian state where whole population directly and indirectly depends upon agriculture and half of the population consists of women who are mainly housewives. The poet conveys his agonies through the experiences of a traveler who returns tired, exhausted and benumbed with cold, requires to heat up his energy but has not taken care to make fire, so, how can he revitalise his being? He is a reckless agriculturist who instead of sowing of seeds, spreads the dumped cow dung upon his field, which grows unwanted wild bushes. He is to cut that and clear his field, so requires a sickle. But, again with utter foolishness he gets his sword (required to defend himself and his property) molten. Out of that superior molten metal he carves out an agricultural tool the sickle, which required inferior metal. Consequently this steel made sickle injures his hands and fingers. Instead of cutting this wild growth he did cut his own fingers. He reaps the same filth which he had sown. The poet then describes his failures through the symbol of a foolish housewife who did not care to light her hearth on time, instead uselessly waited till the dusk spread darkness. Consequently the fuel was lost in ashes, the utensils containing the food remained un-boiled and so wasted.

In the light of these negative type of suggestions, he has described what the narrator should not have done, so that his addressee, the reader, the listener learns from his experiences and carves out his life habits in a positive manner taking full care of opportunities, possesses time awareness and exercises a genuine discretion.

The Sheikh lays stress on cleanliness but more upon the clarity of one's mind and intentions.

ستہ سرأنس پھل یوڈ پوشہی گاڈِتہٕ کزٕ ہمس أسے اَکے ذات

دوپس دِنیے دَے یوٚ دتوشہی درائد للہٕ وی ژھنہِ ہی نہٕ ذات

If one who seven times takes a bath in a day,

Would get salvation, the fish and frog would be seers.
If God would be pleased with starvation,
The pauper would have been a revered saint.

Fish and frog are always in water and pauper is usually hungry. Hence much more is required to achieve His pleasure than the mere formalities, whatever the nature of those formalities.

تسبیح پھلی پھرِ تھ ٹھسلی　　ٹھسن رَس لوٗگے کوو
نمازِلاَ گتھ مسلی　　مُشدِ برتز وپرِ تھ سُوو
جندس نُری ژھنتھ خلی　　بلی ہوؤلی سپنگ زُوو

Hast counted sacred syllables on the rosary publicly,
And have with deep interest narrated bundles of lies.
Have confused the spirit of Nimaz in the intricacies,
Have so closed entrances to the mosque.
With loose sleeves in your long robes,
You claim to have acquired sainthood.

یامَتھ نہٕ تپ زَپھ کرٕشی　　تامَتھ نہٕ کرٕنزوَ درہ مژ ژاو
یامَتھ نہٕ انتھ تَوٕ پرٕشی　　تامَتھ سُہ ریوٗش نوٗن گتہٕ آو

Unless you sincerely devote to Him,
Otherwise thine skeleton is spiritless.
Unless His kindness is bestowed,
That Great Seer is least found.

گندٕ پانس مودِ رَندو　　اَمہِ صابنہٕ صأفی نہٕ رٔٹیے
اَمہِ تسبیح آسہٕ تہٕ جندہ　　اَمہِ فندٕ تیی نہٕ اٹیے
کل ترٔ اُوِتھ آس مالِ بندہ　　اَتھ توہ بیٚیہِ اَ کی لٹے
ڈل ترٔ اُوِتھ لاگ چرندہ　　ہوٗل موپگھ اندٕ چھے مٹے
پانژن یندن یُس دِیہِ نندہ　　تمٔ ڈیوٗنٹھ اندہ سُے تس مٹے

Why so keenly and forcefully you chisel thy body,
These detergents can hardly brighten you.
With this rosary, stick and rag,

He is not found with these tricks.
With devotion and dedication search Him,
You will once find Him too close in a single attempt.
Ignoring these base surroundings soar in heavens,
Be straight, don't tread zigzag paths.
Follow strictly the straight way,
Who five times a day removes unwanted bushes from his field,
He sees in privacy and is taken in Divine care.

Similarly the saints have with humility, by shedding tears and by heaving sighes with agony and dejection searched Him, they can find Him. But by purposeless or insincere weeping one can only loose his eyesight and achieve nothing positive, even may invite His displeasures.

ودنہٕ ودنہٕ اُچھن گاش سوری　　بدنگ شرنیرنہِ ذات
بیٚنتہِ چھے ژوپأرِ نَتہٕ چھے ہیٚری　　وٚودنہٕ وَدنہٕ تس پھیری نہ ذات
دِل صاف کرکھ تہٕ پھیری زیری　　نَتہٕ شالہٕ ہنزِ وُنگہٕ رایہٕ نیری کیات

By this repeating weeping, you will be blinded,
In spite, your cherished desire will remain unfulfilled.
He is all around not only on high heavens,
By weeping even while you stand (for prayer),
You will not appease Him.
The genuine intentions shall invite His immediate attention,
Otherwise by jackals groaning thee disturb others.

Sine quo non for a disciplined, superior, devoted and result oriented life style is to be above greed, jealously, lust and anger, Sheikh's poetry is replete with such stress and at each time he advises with original treatment of his theme. Though the frame of idea at many places is the same but the picture it contains has at every place a different shade. This Gazal is also a specimen of earliest form in this delicate genre. Here the poet does not use the traditional refrain verse and it is strictly both in form and meter close to Persian Gazal. It is a 'Gazali Musalsal' - a lyric with continuity of thought as is case in a poem. But reader will grasp fully that in spite of connection of theme among all, each verse conveys a distinguishable experience. It has musical and aesthetic appeal too.

ہَے بندِ موٚت چھُکھ لوٗبس تہٕ مُہَس

سوٗت چھُکھ لأ ، گتھ وأنی
نفس چھے پھِر وان دوہَس
پتہٕ چھے گوٗنڈمُت لأنی
پھَکھ چھے یِوان گُرٕ وہَس
مسہٕ چھیے بُرٕ مژ مأنی

☆

ہوٗن چھے گومُت کھُہَس
پاک کھبتھ سپدی پأنی
گُرٕ مُت چھہُ مِلہٕ وان فُہَس
کھنبس پڑی نہٕ دأنی
برور چھُکھ اَتھِ زَن ٔ سہس
کتھاہ بوز تومیأنی
خبرنا تھُونے روٗحس
تھوکہٕ چانہِ اَتھ پأری زأنی
ناوِتھپ کرتو نوحس
سَئدرَس تھاہ کیاہ چأنی

Comrade! Fondly thou art involved,
In greed and fascinating pleasures,
In spite you behave like a docile gentleman.
For full day you pivot around your desire,
To which your destiny has tied you.
Away from miles, you emanate foul smell,
As if you carry head load of filth.
The dead dog is fallen in the purity of thy well,
How can you purify its water?
Cow urine is mixed with thy tumbler of milk,
How thy sensitivity can allow you to drink it?
A cat thou art within the grip of the lion,
Beware of thy situation.
Your sensibility ignorant of results,
Alas for thy wit and wisdom,
Behold strongly the ark of Noah,
Otherwise can't be safe in this inundation.

The central theme of this poem is to seek the apprentice ship of a perfect master bestowed by nature such perfection as the Prophet Noah had to save with miraculous skill from the dangers of destroying floods. The poet warns that every situation in this universe around us resembles to a devastating flood, which can wash off one's actions, deeds and achievements. Hence to protect his contribution significant or ordinary one should feel at the feet of a perfect master who has hold to overpower the tides of this flood.

Lust is yet another evil which has inherent quality to spoil even the lives of high standards. Therefore one should build his life style by holding in grip the faculty of lust for mundane pleasures. The worst and degraded type of lust is sex perversion. Prophet (PBUH) has wisely dubbed forcination the seed of all ills and has compared it with a hungry wolf. World presently is in alarming position due to 'Aids' fast spreading disease which is originated, carried and spread due to free sex. See how Sheikh warns about this evil:

پر پَین کندِ کرکھ نالہٕ مُتی کندیو کرکھ مُتی خیال
بازرِ نہٕ میلان ہُتی کندیو کاژس کُنگھ لال

You crave to embrace lustily wives of others,
What madness!
You can't purchase in the market for any price,
(The commodity which you thus put on auction).
Oh! Fool why you go to give thy rare diamond,
In exchange of broken pieces of a glass.

Similarly he dubs the music and dance as originators of ills.

پیٚنتہِ چھی درگہِ تہٕ دمامہٕ وزان تَتھ جایہِ شیطان رزان آسِیے
تی آسن کران پِنہٕ آسہِ پزان توٚے بلایہِ ژہ سوزان آسِیے
میوٚٹھ کھیتھ مازان تہٕ پزان تَوٚ اِلُک پِلُک دزان آسِیے
شیخ تِم لأرِگتھ وَتہِ پیٹھ رزان دِوَن کُن رُجوا کران آسِیے
یَند گُنڈِتھ آسن کرزان صدوٗر بوکے گرزان آسِیے

سون چھے گوب تل کُن روزان سرتل زیرے وَزان آسیے

In the hustle bustle of orchestras,
Does live the intrigues of the Satan.
During (such hustle bustle) evil deeds,
Of condemnable nature are performed.
Therefore the curses befall from heavens.
While performing such evil deeds,
They resort to delicious, extravagant diets,
Hence both their worlds are destroyed.
They pretend like saints on highways,
But obey dictates of evil spirits.
They shall boast for their abject deeds,
(Consider), ocean over floods by their handful of water.
(They must realise) the gold is heavy so is at bottom.
The brass is hallowed and creates noise by a mere touch.

This poem has different dimensions. The each idea expressed appears unrelated but are strictly interconnected and if these principles are held in esteem and a living is accordingly devised one will evolve his person as model for a disciplined life style.

To live a life of higher order reflecting the manifestation of the Absolute Truth, one has to put under grip his evil self. There are few aspects of one's self. Spiritualists have specified these facets of one's self in three broader aspects. The evil self, conscious or accusing self and satisfied self or contended being. The evil self within one's own being tempts him for pleasures, extravagance and for sinful career. The conscious self warns against these derailments and then the inner self gets contended which leads union of limited truth with the Absolute Truth. A saying is attributed to fourth Caliph Ali (considered the main link of contended spirit with the Prophet) that who recognises his 'self' recognises the God. This 'self' which leads to the highest celestial path can neither be one's evil self nor the conscious self but contended self. Thus within one's being dwell both Satan and God. It is therefore the power of discretion, which can overpower the evil self and lead to contentment. Nafasi Amara (the evil self) is therefore to be curbed so that it does not mislead. The study of Sheikh's poetry will convince the reader

that his main stress is upon this aspect and repetition of this idea here does not diminish the interest but unfolds various facets of this evil being.

نفسی موزُس تہٕ واے أژِتھ روٗدُم گٹے
اَتھے پیہِ ہَم تہٕ کیاے کرتل ژھنہٕ ہَس ہٹے

My evil being has, alas! Marred me,
It has darkened my inner world.
Had it ever been traceable,
I would with sharp-edged sword, cut it into pieces.

نفسو کامہِ کرِتھَم کشی ژُہُن دِژاے تروٗش اہار
زاگہِ دُشمن چھُہَم نیشی نفس چھُم رتس تُرش ہار
نفس روٗتُم نہٕ تہٕ لُجم اندیشی نفسہٕ پُژِ ژھوٗنڈُم تُرشہار
نفسہٕ نہِ دادِ کأتیاہ پُشی نفسی ژھنڈِم اژَری شہار

Oh my evil being thou hast undone my actions,
Though I made thee to suckle the hard substance.
Thou are the nearest enemy, closer to my bossom,
Thee hast suck my blood of veins.
Did not control thee in my grip so apprehend,
For thy satisfaction, I had to forebear the viscitudes.
Great and many did repent for its extravagance.
Made me to traverse the cities of sin and vice.

ہَے کندِ زاے تہٕ ہے کندِ أسی زتھ پان ووُلم تُلَے
جچام جورام ہونزِ سأسی اتھہِ نہٕ ہار لُجم مولیے
گوم بنگہِ منز نوٗن خت گوم سأسی گَیم ڈوٗنی ژوٗرن ہولیے
ہارِ منز پُھلی وٗوِم نوأسی اَڈٕ پھوجہِ إر کم پھُلَے
بالہٕ وی ہِن لوتھ سماسی سادا دأست سولیے

What for birth? What for the being?
Devalued my being after my birth.

Decorated & designed (my being) with thousand devices,
Alas! In spite I did not achieve a fraction of desire.
My lot has been the hemp addict's dance,
Who wonders aimlessly?
Or like the thief who climbed on walnut to steal the fruit,
Fell on the ground by mere whistle of the watcher.
A foolish peasant I am, who:
In the spring devastated his semi bloomed lilies.
To sow in it seeds of the hemp,
Ultimately in the end I harvested but pathos.

In this poem certain references from the then social life have been made by the poet; some of them look now obsolete. Even up to my childhood in rural areas it was a hobby to enjoy the kernel of unripe walnuts and therefore one would un-hesitantly steal this fruit to meet the desire. Initially he would try to throw bricks, pebbles etc upon the branches of sprawling walnut tree. The device would make a few walnut to fall, the taste of its kernel would tempt him to get more, would climb on the tree and sooner the watcher would raise hue and cry seeking help to catch hold of the thief and the tempted traveler would run in confusion, lest he might be caught red handed, tries to jump down and would get his bones damaged and would also be caught.

This poem is of three stanzas. Its format is unique. The first and third stanza of two couplets each and the middle one has three couplets. The rhyme, rhythm and meter is the same. The thoughts expressed bear continuity. But in spite, following tradition, the biographers and editors have fragmented this poem in three different quatrains (Waakhs). It has been unfortunate trend with editors of Sheikh's poetry. Even some of my senior and junior contemporaries are not able to liberate their minds from the phobia of so-called 'Shruk' genre. Earlier discussed 'shruk' is not a genre but qualification of 'Kalami Sheikh'. Unfortunately critics and linguists who have least study of the Sheikh's poetry insist that 'shruk' is a particular genre and confine it within the technical ambit of 'wakh'. In my view (as expressed earlier) Sheikh's quatrains do also fall within 'wakh' genre. He has not like Lal Ded confined to that genre only. But his poems are unnecessarily being fragmented into wakhs. With this repetition, pertinent here, let us translate it for our readers.

نفسی ئرم ادل تہٕ ودل　　نفس میون شیطا نس بدل آو
نفسی مونڈم کزیہٕ ہُند کُدل　　نفس میون دوزخس بدل ژاو
نفسی لوگم نارو کرٕوژھو　　دَمہٕ دَمہٕ مونگنم کوٚژھے ہو !
صرٕ ہَن بگی تہہ گوم اوٚژھو　　بگی صُرن گرژھو ہو!
سمسارس آس پانژھ دوہ پوٚژھو　　گیَم اپرٕ گاو تَرِ. وٚوژھو
نفسَے میانہٕ ژیروِ اَگو　　دِژامَے دَگ تہٕ پھوٚلہَم نہٕ زاہ
مندنبن مُہتھ ژوٚلہَم ٹھگو　　ہا سگو پتہٕ ژوٚلہَم نہٕ زاہ

My evil self has disturbed my being,
It substitutes for the Satan.
This evil self has demolished the bridges of meditation,
Alas it substitutes for hell.
The evil self has burnt me with cruel fire,
It has been in constant demand of bribe.
I would search for my Lord,
But loosened my determination,
One should search Him alone.
We are but guests in this world,
My cow is drowned in fast running stream,
Its calf wanders in distress.
Oh my evil self, though art hard wood,
I did try to cut you with axe, but alas?
Thou art a dacoit, who robbed me in broad daylight,
Alas thee like a dog follow me.

The question will partinently arise as how the cow or calf are introduced in 5th verse above. We have somewhere explained from Sheikh's another poem that the guest on his departure would be gifted a cow and calf by the host. Here in this verse the poet says that 'we' mortal being have come to this universe for brief stay, on our departure the host world gifts away as tradition prevailant cow and calf. But alas on completion of my term as I left from the universe, the gifts it had bestowed upon me (worldly assets) all fell in utter wastage.

The moral relevant to our theme is to evolve a life style by keeping under control the devices of one's evil self. What is this evil self?

Evil self, the rejected log,
Unbreakable toohard, can't be sawn.
It can neither be utilised for a doorframe,
Nor can be used as a plank or plough.
Who broke it into pieces and as fuel burnt in oven?
He alone follows the Righteous Path of Islam.

نفس چھے وَنک اَگہِ ذالُو نیربس نہٕ پٔٹ کٔٹ تہٕ منزالُو
تیمی ژٔٹھ گنڈِتھ گجہِ ذالو تمی شرع محمدؐ پولُو

Kashmir has been a deep, dense forest and yet in spite of devastation of such green wealth it has pride in its forests. Hence the poets have borrowed similes; symbols, metaphors etc related to forests, woods, bushes etc. Sheikh's poetry is replete with such references. Forest produce is of various kinds. Its rejected stuff too is used as fuel. Thus mystic poet makes his audience to realise the uselessness of evil self. Rejected wooden log is not worth to be used as fuel.

Successful is one who overpowers his evil self, its satanic devices. Only such a conqueror deserves to boast for his achievement. Sheikh also feels pride to have overpowered these enemies

کُس مے گوٚنڈُم کُس مے ژھوٚنڈُم ژمرِو ہانکلہِ گوٚنڈُم ہیہ
نفس تہٕ شیطان ژھلہٕ پأٹھی گنڈِم گوٚنڈُم ونڈ تہٕ وأٹم پژیہ

Subordinated and conquered I all,
Fastened in shackles the wild leopards.
Skilfully did I subordinate,
Both the evil being and the devil.
Constructed a concrete bund around,
My being is now immune of destroying floods.

In this poem the poet has described the same idea but quite differently;

جورِ روٚستے جہازِ ترووُم مأرم ژَکھ رِش تہٕ موٚہ

شُودِ وونڈِ رٔہتھ صاحب گورُم اَدِ پرزِنوُم پٔنُن رُوح

Safely I oared my boat to shore,
Controlled anger, jealousy and greed.
With devotion searched Him,
Then alone I recognised the Absolute Soul.

The discipline in one's life style comes as one with conscious awareness discharges his liabilities he owes to his society. Usurpation of rights of others is hypocrisy, which burdens the hypocrite with heavy loads of sins.

گند یوماز یوکھلکہِ ہندِس حقس منافقس لدن بأرو

دوزخِنہِ نارِلاگن پاکس اَدِ ناپاکس پھکھ پیہِ ژو پورو

Tempted to usurp rights of the people,
Loads thyself with huge burden of sins.
Thou will be put to the flames of hell,
Your foul smell shall spread around.

The poet conveys that all ills and sins emanate from social injustice. It is by this single act of derailment one gets lost in confusion. Such usurper emerges ultimately as a hypocrite, which leads him to the deterrent punishment in the world hereafter. In this world also he gets widely defamed.

A quatrain encompasses within its ambit various dimensions of a glorious life style. It sums up various stages which evolve in one's meaningful life. Thy are: (a) to conceive the desire (b) to imbibe that conceived desire as the viable guideline to achieve the desired goal (c) utmost endeavours to reach that goal (d) the definite location of the goal lest one does not fall astray (e) to control the urges of one's evil self which derails him in his efforts and (f) finally merges all his desires with the path leading to his Lord. Urge should not die; one should create new aspiration as the one created is achieved. Once the highest goal of His pleasure is achieved other all urges should merge with desire to achieve "Pleasure" of His Blessings.

These principles enunciated in this quatrain are universally applicable both to the seeker of Spiritual Bliss and for one who cherishes

for a better, disciplined and respectable worldly living. Greed, lust and arrogance are such evils which deter development of one's personality.

لُوبس تہٕ موہس مدہنکارس　　کونگم ڈارس وَیَم نہٕ پأنی

دیارسوٗرِم سوداگارس　　چھوٗن بازارس کیاہ بیہہِ وأنی

زٕ زری تھھ گُرصد ہزارس　　یاون یارس کأتی گرِ وأنی

أخرسَموسأری مزارس　　نارس وون گتہٕ سارس پأنی

The glorious rich fields of one's Life Style,
Get destroyed by greed, lust and arrogance.
As floods destroy saffron flowers.
The trader thereby falls in loss,
For what shall he open a shop?
Perching bird is thus made to sing elegies,
For his decayed charm.
The short span of life reaches its end,
How can one extinguish the flames of fire at fag end?

Stress is specially laid on moral values. On the one hand, he advocates the 'positive' values must guide to develop one's personality simultaneously negative aspects impair the development of disciplined personality. The poet has blended values which, as adopted with proper synthesis shall, on one side, lead the person to a blissful growth and on the other side shall make him popular with the people. Adherence of the spiritual values chisels the conception of the life standard. These additional stresses are specifically religious in nature. These ideas and ideals have roots in Muslim theology and have universal application. Sheikh's poetry is replete with warnings that reliance in the mundane is fraught with dangerous consequences. Hence arguments about the accountability of the deeds performed here in this world are advanced repeatedly but such repitition possess convincing facets. Action but with pious designs is sine quo non-for a blissful living.

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Accountability of Deeds

The Sheikh, with originality in thought and sincerity in his expression has propounded certain priorities and preferences to be evolved in building one's personality. The items, which, to his assessment, mar the growth of disciplined life style, must essentially and initially be discarded. Thus he lays stress on certain 'does nots". His first priority is abstention from commission of such deeds, acts and practices that fall within the category of 'Nafi' (forbidden to do) in Muslim theology. It is thereafter that one should evolve a code for positive deeds. Certainly and strictly he follows the basic conception of Islam under which the priority lies to deny the existence of all gods i.e. Nafi (Negation). It is then that "Isbat" - assertion or declaration in the existence of one supreme power follows. Sheikh therefore preaches to undo with certain human weaknesses and thereafter to adopt the positive course of righteousness. This stress has been elucidated from his verses referred to herein before. The utmost priority must be; to abandon such thoughts, desires and purposes that make the development of one's worldly person subordinate to mundane lust. The second priority is to evolve life on permissible tract rather to be derailed. Tract is certainly defined and it is Siratul Mustqeen - The straight tract. In these priorities one should have strict belief in the accountability hereafter.

نکیر تہٕ منکر جوابس وَسن　　پربت ژَسن ہأبتہٕ ستی

شُوبلس پانس مارن تہٕ ڈسن　　بأژتہٕ پوتھر موو سن ستی

گُنی ہے ژَنس چھم آوَسن　　لسن پاے نَتہٕ مرن کتی

بگرِ پیٹھہٕ یِیلہِ کفن گسن　　سَرف تہٕ گُنسہٕ وَسن ستی

The two angels shall pounce upon to cross-examine,

So dreadfully, that hills shall shatter in fear.
The delicate body they will tear and bite,
Neither wife nor the sons shall succour me.
All alone I will have to bear that brunt,
To defend, I have to tread carefully.
They will lift the shroud from my face,
The snakes and poisonous reptiles shall surround me.

This description appears a physical matter. The metaphysical situations can hardly be described except in the terminology, which makes the intricacies intelligible for common sense. The Sheikh has to leave an overawing impact upon the common mind so uses common word and metaphor. The gist conveyed relates to deterrence in punishment, which our misdeeds shall invite. It is further conveyed that the families we love with so much dedication so as to leave our deeds unchecked will be of no help. Those pivots of our worldly love are incapable to help us. Here the poet accuses his own self that he had nourished with pleasures rather with caution:

زُو گندِ رو چھمکھ دارُو سون زن　　ژِ گبنہٕ زَن مُلے نہٕ درنی
والن ڈاین گزن بون زَن　　تتہٕ لونی زبن پننۍ کمائی
زُو کبتھہٕ نہٕ وُچھائے گزبہہ زَن　　جنگلی خے زَن پیٚیی
آدنہٕ لوگتھ راہ زَن　　یہٕ راہ زَن پننے چھے
بگی پیٚتہٕ وبندن ہہہ زَن　　تتہٕ شاہ زَن آسکھ شیٚیے

Oh! My "self" I cared for you like a mine of gold,
In spite, couldn't remove thy natural scars, thine inner dirt.
(Never did you realise) the earth is our end,
(One is to reap harvest of his own deeds.
Oh! My 'self': why didn't I realise,
You are fallen in a ditch, in deep dense forests.
Like a fast running chased thief.
From early age you carved out of thyself, a dacoit,
The highways have bewildered you.
Treat thy Lord a chasing lion,
Then alone, there you will receive choosen treatment.

Inevitability of death is the greatest reality which all, theist or atheist, equally believe and experience. This reality gives rise to a consequential reality - the mortality of this material world. Hence through these admitted realities the preacher Sheikh warns his reader to prepare for this inevitable certainty.

مرگ چھے ہہہ تہٕ تس کوٗت ژٕلی زے　　کھیلہِ منٛز کڈی ژاٗرِتھ گٹھ

مرگ چُھے شربت چینہٕ روٗس نہٕ بٕلی زے　　سُلہِ کونہٕ گیاس ژٕپلتھ گتھ

Impossible is to escape from ferocious tiger - the death,
It shall choose thee out - a ram from a herd.
Nay! It is the sweet medicine, cures the disease,
Alas! Why didn't I realise at proper occasion.

The two aspects of death are described. Its inevitability has been explained through a common experience of his people. In his days almost two-third of the population owned herds of sheep and would daily experience how a ferocious beast would enter into herd and pounce upon some animal irrespective of any choice or selection. Its second and sweet aspect is that it cures the ailment of life. To the poet mortal life is in itself, an ailment. Certainly it is so. A healthy youth may not feel so but as age advances, in spite love for life, one experiences agony, pain and distress, which are incidents of, advanced age. Therein lie the anguish of 'being' and so life on the whole is logically termed a disease for which the death is the efficacious remedy.

کیاہ کُری زِمرنس تہٕ مرٕ گنبن وکانن　　گوکمن جانن چھانگر کُرِتھ

پونی زَن ژٕمِت گونون بانن　　وأنی گیہِ وانن فالو دِتھ

To overpower death or its causes, but how?
It has shattered edifices of beauty.
Under its awe, the existence,
Evaporates like liquid in a fresh clay pot.
Ultimately the merchant runs away,
Leaving the shutters of shop open in despair.

The stress in this quatrain strengthens the belief in the fatality of all material beings.

یَس اوٚرِ یَمُن یارَوَسی　　تَس عالم وَدتہٕ لَسی مو

یُس ڈاین گزن بُتلہِ ژَسی　　نبی یے آسہِ تہٕ کھسی مو

Whom with warmth death embraces,
Can never come out of grip,
Let the world mourn or weep.
Who ever is laid to rest in the grave,
Shall never rise, may be an apostle of god.

In the above quatrain the general term of apostle is used but in its wider sense. With stress, the same idea is impressed within the particular reference.

The beloved of the Absolute Truth is Mohammad,
Gabriel had been his whole-time companion.
He too, unhesitantly prepared Himself for other world,
Alas! Untrustworthy is the essence of material life.

حضرت محمدٕ دَیہِ سُند پیارو

دَمہِ دَمہِ جبریلؑ یارتس

تمٔ ییٚاہِ سکھر گرتوٚت پارو

دَپھ تہٕ دُنیاہ سور چھُ کس

This lyric in its thought and treatment appears an elegy composed on the demise of his own youth. The expression is so universal, effective and pathetic that reader feels as if he mourns on his own demise.

نصر بابہٕ زُوچھے شمع زَن تارس　　زُوچھے دماہ پنجہِ پوٚژھے

زُوَس پَژھ گری زِنہِ مکارس　　یارس دِم اندمزارس وٚونے

ووٚنی چھُم بہتھ منز بازارس　　دُکاندارس کیاہ سَن بوژھے

وَرگوم اَپارِ رَزژھنم تارس　　یارس دِم اندمزارس وٚونے

ژوٚراہ ژامولالہٕ انبارس　　موختہٕ ہونیوٚنَم بوکہِ کیو دوژھے

مُہتھ ژوٚلُم ووٚنی کوٚت لارس　　یارس دِم اندمزارس وٚونے

Life; a burning candle on a candle stand,

Oh! Comrade search for thy companion,
But in some graveyard.
It (the soul) is a trader adorning a rented premises,
Needless is to repose trust in such a shopkeeper.
In the midst of ropeway its tied knot gest suddenly loosened,
The traveler gets hanged upon uncertainties.
Now oh! Comrade, search for me in any graveyard.
The dacoit has robbed my hoarded asset of gems,
He has looted the pearls of my achievements,
The dacoit ran away, how to chase him,
Now, oh my comrade, try to find me among these graves.
Hypocrite and cheat defies the trust and faith,
Oh comrade, don't try to locate me in bewilder-ness.

This world is mortal, so is its every facet. All its momentary phases are unreliable. Our preacher poet expresses this eternal truth in various manners. To quote such verses will make details lengthy, hence we suffice to quote this poem:

بایو مو مازدَنن تہٕ دیارن　　خوے کرژون یارن ستی
تَتہٕ ہونمازِ پُژی مارن　　یٚیتہٕ دبانہٕ لگہٕ بُتھہٕ ہأبتی
کٹہٕ راین مرأس پیٹھ پہارن　　تیُتھ ہیوٗ سنگینہٕ روٗدنہٕ پیٚتی
سکندرٕ کی راج کوٗردون بوسارن　　تَس تہٕ رأنم ویژہے نہٕ ستی
ژھأنڈاہ دِتو بأنلن مزارن　　پتوبز ماہتہٕ ژموتی

Brother, be not lured by cash and riches,
Devotedly follow the (humility) of Four Friends. (Caliphas)
Answerable are we for strict adherence to Nimaz,
There, where deterrent punishment shall follow,
Where the awe and fear shall squeeze us.
(Don't you know) the rich lords had constructed,
Forts of valour upon high mountains.
Those steel based stone structures have turned into ruins,
Alexander the great subjugated land and waters,
But in spite left with empty palms.
Go, search these devastated royal cemeteries,

You will realise the end is merely a deceit.

In continuity of this theme appreciate these verses of a 'gazal':

ییۍ گراہ گژھنۍ گراہ　　کانہہ گراہ تیَن ۔کژھ ہے

لَدِتھ ژھنِتھ وو ٔ گنۍ لَراہ　　ژمرَ کھ یہِ کس ۔کژھ ہے

أچھن وُنَر کنن زراہ　　نحقہِ پانژھ دوہ بَرِم ۔فژھ ہے

ہَچولَرِ گوم دو دُر کراہ　　آسمانس لَزِم میٚژھ ہے

اتھہِ گوم سارِ کوٚ رُم وراہ　　پشن زَن دِنَن دِژھ ہے

یَپارِ بَٹھہِ چھِم اَرِ سَراہ　　اپارِ پشن آسمِ یژھ ہے

دِمہِ ہاوُف لَبم نہِ تھَراہ　　پَرِ روٚستے لوٚ گُس سُژھ ہے

ژھنہِ ہاتھاہ بوٚڈ گوو ولراہ　　کھورنہِ وأیم تھکِم ہژھ ی

أچھ گن تژ وپرِ تھ تر أوِم لراہ　　جاے شیرِم نندرِ ۔کژھ ہے

حقہِ گُن واتہِ نہِ لَبم تھراہ　　سَتھ چھَم أخر چأنی مے ژھ ہے

Life? Constitutes of two moments,
One to come and other to go.
How to snatch a moment to meditate,
(Intervening these two moments),
Constructed I magnificent edifices, but for whom?
The mist has blinded my vision,
Deprived me of my power of discretion.
Only for five days this hustle bustle,
The house made of chosen species of timber.
Those very planks and rafters have decayed,
Senseless benumbed hands can't touch the earth,
To support the trembling logs,
So as to stand erect for a moment.
The ferocious beast kicked me in the ditch,
How to come out of it?
On this shore perplexed am I,

On the shore across is repentance in my stock.
Would fly to cross, my wings are crippled.
Upon these endless waves of ocean
With frozen legs and hands, can't swim.
Fatigued I have lied on the shore on this side,
A space to rest in slumber, effortless endeavour.
The salvation does not lie but in Thy mercy.

The narrator in this poem locates himself on one side of the big lake in urge to cross it, so as to reach the other side. He can do so either by flying like a bird or by swimming across. But neither he has wings to fly nor the power to swim. In desperation feels and acts like a blind and a deaf. Ultimately goes in sleep with mere hope of His mercy. It should not be construed that the poet advocates inaction. He preaches for appropriate action at appropriate time. The nature had granted him two moments - one to reach on this shore of this sea the other to cross it over. The intervening moment he had to devote to learn swimming or to develop wings to fly. That occasion he lost in mundane activities in construction of palaces of pleasure.

یاونہٕ میانے پونمہٕ ژٕ ندرو ٹک زن دیتمے ژٕ ندرٕنو
بوجرٕ پچہٕ زَن ڈٕ جی پِندرو بأژن گوکھاخرٕ وُنو
ہارَے شپن زَن ژسکھ ہِندرو مأنی زَن گژھکھ ناونو
روزن یارباَے سأری اندرو وٚون چھے ذِمہٕ تتہٕ گرٕ پنہٕ نو

My youth, the full moon,
Has reduced to insignificance.
(on the first night of lunar month).
Oh! the aged! thou art,
Like a broken spinning wheel,
(That is thrown to neglect).
So even the family members,
Treat thee with hate and contempt.
The heat of the month of June,
Melted into colder gushing stream.
Thee the glacier has been put in a pan on flames.

The kith and kin shall watch thee helplessly,
And you alone will have to face odds there.

What to get? How to act?? When to act??? We can find clues of the replies to these three queries in this poem:

سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے　　گوموٚٹھے گرِ پننہٕ نُے
وٕستھ گژھکھ توری　　شرم ہأوِتھ کیاہ ننُے
اکھ لچھ لگی نہٕ توری　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
تُوشتھ گژکھ مینَس　　تَو ہوہتھ اَنہٕ نُے
آدنہٕ پھَرکھ رینَس　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
کن گورِ وژُن بوزی　　تی پانہٕ گژھ پالہٕ نُے
دوٗرنو سمسارِ روزی　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
ژینتھ کرتو ذِکر　　کندِ ڈیشتھ لاگکھ اوٚنُے
گوٚمرٕنی مُٹھے فکر　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
کرٕ یاہ کرتو ذِمہٕ　　بیٚیہٕ ژَلی کالہٕ نُے
یُتھنہٕ وویَس گژھی لمہٕ　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
کرٕ یے تہٕ نماز یوٚدتگی　　آس تُسی کُن نَمہٕ وُنُے
اَدِ حضرتٕ اوشالگی　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
گُنہٕ یُتھنہٕ رَٹی ہِتہٕ　　تَتہٕ نوتن کُس باچوٚنُے
تورِ رژِہش کھیٚجاہ نِتہٕ　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے
کھیأوِتھ دوہ تہٕ گُے　　تی پانس پژے وُنُے
گُوٚسَرُن موٚٹھے بگی　　سرزُوگرِ پننہٕ نُے

نتبن تیر کھسن گری　　چھوکھ نیران برونٹھ تہٕ پوٚتے
تتہٕ موپلزن شُری　　سرزُوگرٕ پننہٕ نے
لوکُٹ اوسُکھ مانتا　　برونٹھہٕ کم دوہ زانوے
کرپٹھ چھےٚ اوچ راتھا　　سرزُوگرٕ پننہٕ نے
نکپرتہٕ منکروَسن　　جواب ہین منگہٕ وٕنے
مُلہٕ مادم اَدٕژَسن　　سرزُوگرٕ پننہٕ نے
منگ گورس بودباگی　　تتہٕ گژھکھ اِرٕوُنے
یُتھنہٕ شیطان زاگی　　سرزُوگرٕ پننہٕ نے
یُتھنہٕ پرٕنُن گژشکھ مُنزی　　برونٹھ چھےٚ تتہٕ پلزُ نے
وٕنی وبَتھ نُندیٚ سنزی　　سرزُوگرٕ پننہٕ نے

Act oh my soul and spirit,
Know and locate thy home.
Thou hast forgotten,
Thine ultimate destination.
What you to carry with?
Nay! assets not hoarded treasures.
Contentment lies in little He has bestowed,
Therein lies bliss and enjoyment.
Appropriately to act on opportune time,
Know and locate thy home.
Attentively listen the advices of thy guide,
Act and follow the spirit therein.
The world is short living, the shortest span,
Know and locate thy home.
Recollect Him consciously,
Thee witness the signs of His power,
In spite behave like a blind.

Be responsible and meditate,
Thereby you will overpower laziness,
Act before thee are dragged forcefully.
By genuine meditation, devoted prayers,
Seek the blessings of the Prophet.
Earn for thy real home,
Pretexts,excuses even repentence there are of no help,
Detrrent punishment is the waiting verdict.
None can dare to recommend thy case there,
The only recommendation is thy pious deeds.
Enjoyed fully the pleasures of sumptuous diet,
Those alone did attract thy taste.
Alas! we forget Him.
Huge earnings from the wool of herds of sheep,
Who gave you those herds to earn those riches?
Who gave you fast running horses to enjoy galloping?
With all these assets, you behave arrogantly,
Realise the reality behind and act for thy eternal home.
A small child innocent and ignorant were thee,
Unaware of thy future.
(Who led you to growth and prosperity?)
Beware very awful is the first night in grave.
Two angels shall descend to cross-examine thee,
They shall squeeze thee in the darkness of grave.
Beg from thy guide the gift of wisdom,
Lest you are drowned there in troubled waters,
Due to misguidance of Satan,
We fall in surmises and apprehensions.
Only your good deeds shall help you,
Alas! You oh Nund Sanzi, you did express wisdom, but late.

Kashmir society has been and even continues to be an agrarian society. So, the Sheikh has conveyed much of his ideas and ideals through the medium of similes, metaphors and technical terms and even through particular phrases related to agriculture. "Gungul Nama" is a full poem connected with that skill and profession. It has been qualified in

this book as: "anthem of a peasant". This small poem also related to that very category of poems through which the poet lulls sayings of his hero Prophet (PBUH). He has said: "This universe is a field in which actions sown are harvested in the next world."

داندس ؤ ندی پھلہِ گاسہِ پالنس　　سونتہِ رٔ ٹتھ کڈنس مٹو
بٹھی تھرِ پیٹھ گاسہِ لووزالنس　　حی کرِتھ مورنس لوٚ ٹو'
پگہِ نے اَدِ ژ کہِوانہِ لاگنس　　لال زٔ أ درِتھ کرنس گوٚ ٹو'
مُکہِ شرٔ اکہ پتوٚ پوست اَدِ والنس　　برم کند برکھ دُنیا چھُ ژھوٚ ٹو'

The ox (backbone of agriculture),
Is fed on special feed in winter,
In spring is pulled out from the cowshed.
(Being reluctant to be tied to plough) is put to punishment,
With burning grass his skin is burnt.
Then forced to move.
Refuses to yield, is tied to a cart per force,
Is blindfolded to pull the plough.
Even if it does not adjust to plough,
Is ultimately butchered mercilessly.
Why are you reluctant to act,
Act, the world is too short.

Stress on accountability in the world hereafter has been explained with detail. He has himself shown indifference with heaven and is not horrified by the torments of hell and devotes his being to seek only His pleasure. Breaking language barriers, he conveys to others with stress the pleasures of heaven and terrible situation in hell. He usually uses first person diction in his narration which leaves upon the reader indelible impact of awe and fear.

زُ ومیانہِ گُلِ اَنارِ　　چھی شوٚ بُل گلی تہِ رَنبہِ وُنہِ مژھ
یم یلہِ دَزنے دوزخنہِ نارِ　　اَدِ کیاہ کرِتہِ اَدِ کوٚت گرژھ

A pomegranate flower (red & charmful) is my person,
Strong my arms dazzling my body.

Alas! this beauty is to consume in flames of hell,
What shall I do? Where shall I escape?

ڈَکھ یِیلہِ ژَسن مندورِوَسن　　نوبرتہٕ بالُت آوَسن سأری
زُوَس سوئی لگُم گیاسن　　مولے مَرِتہٕ موجی ماری
مَیتَس گورِ بل آوَسن　　تَتہِ حساب منگن روزِنہٕ یأری

As these walls with which you prop, do shatter,
These edifices of grace.
The sweetness in the childhood and grace of youth,
Both shall be decayed.
Anxious I am with these apprehensions.
Under these pressures scared youth.
Curses his own parents.
As soon the dead is carried to the grave,
There we shall have to account for our deeds,
How can we face there?

In continuation study this six verse small poem:

یُس وِسُے میزِ تل آوِسو　　سُہ گُہی سو کھہٕ آسہِ پیٹھ بوسرٕ
یتھہٕ بوُزی بوُزی نشی أس نواسو　　لیس نہٕ آسہِ روزُن ڈرٕ
دُنیا لزگیلُن تہٕ ہاوِسو　　اوس نہٕ گُنہِ اوس کرسکندرٕ

All who exist on this earth (with grace and gaiety)
Are destined to become the earth.
How can one be in commotion upon the waves of ocean?
In spite of these warnings we have become insensitive.
We did not learn to live in His fear.
This world is shame and accusations,
When did Sikander exist? Did he ever exist??

The word "Sikandar" does not refer to Alexander the great. Sultan Sikandar the 5th Shahmiri King ruled Kashmir from 1394 to 1418 AD. The Sheikh died in 1438 i.e. only twenty years after the demise of Sultan Sikandar. This poem is composition within those two decades. This lyric (Gazal) details in various modes special experiences of the poet about

this uncertainty and fatality of the matter from universe. Within that brief period of less than two decades the man who had ruled with determination, piety and powerful authority had fallen out of the memory to such an extent that as if he had never existed or even if remembered people posed questions: "Did Sultan Sikandar exist ever?

The gimmicks is over, let's leave for home,
Let us leave for home the game is over.
You sacrificed dimensions of thy intellect,
But have lost the tract.
We all have to leave for home, Muslims and Hindus.
Who to graft one's desires with lust,
To get decayed with fungus,
The delicate saffron flowers.
That fall aside like rotten grass.
Indebted I am for thy blessings,
Burdened I am with dreadful fears of universe.
Thirdly I am scared of the deterrence of hell.
Fourthly, I devoted to my sons, daughters,
Ignoring the force in the nature.
Alas! I forgot the warnings of death.
The game is over, let us retreat.
Did neither adhere to His warnings,
Nor did devote to meditation,
Instead I constructed edifices with designed projections.
Did not consider the world is a dream.
One sees under the spell of slumber.
I did devote my energies to nourish my youth.
Ignored that it is like a green leaf.
That has to rot and fall under the pressure of wind.
(Oh! my well wisher) Prevail upon him,
Bring him back to me.
In the stocked heap of my stalk,
He lit the fire and reduced it to ashes.
I have lost the entity,
The wood has turned into smoke.

How can I recollect my being?
Secretly the burglar has robbed me of the asset,
The game is over, let us retreat to home.
Elastic are my sins, do spread limitlessly,
Deserving am not for any leniency.
Such thoughts and ideas bewilder me.
The game is over, let us retreat to home.
I didn't serve the saints and seers,
(I intent to do so now), but alas the time is over.
Useless worldly debt has burdened my shoulders,
Arrogance and eminence co-existed with me.
By now alas, I have decayed with advanced age,
Alone I will be helplessly dragged to grave.
Indifferently you lived here,
Where the dacoit has followed to rob thee.
Look now to go a step ahead,
Is as difficult as to climb on a snow bound mountain.
Thee behaved like an ass and thy youth defied thee,
In spite the lust of mundane did not abate,
Prepare thyself for hazards of the journey.
Game is over, leave for thy home.
Oh! didn't realise at opportune time,
Didn't accumulate stocks of pious actions.
Oh "Nund" thee have realised,
But too late.
The game is over, leave for thy home.

وۆتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو وۆتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
یَتھ دُنی یہَس کم گون ژُندِتھ وۆتھ مُٹھے پکنی ہوُو
مسلمان بیٚنہِ ہیٚندِتھ وۆتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
کربتھ شوخ پین پیوندی تَوِ کونگس کھوٚتُے لاوو
مُشکہِ وۆتھکھ گوِ لوٗندی وۆتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
ہونژ بوٚڈُس چانے قرضہِ دوٚیم تیٚمی ورزِنہِ واوو

ترٛنے یُم تَمہِ دوزخنہِ لرزِ وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
ژوٗریُم رچھام کورِ تہٕ گبر کھوٗت جبر واوِ وولاوو
گوِ مرٕنٛز مُٹھم خبر وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
زأنم نہٕ زلُن تہٕ تپُن دن تہٕ ڈبن زألی تراوو
دُنیاہ چھے کالُک سپن وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
نوبر تہٕ بالُت ژھرِتھ گژھمب پن زَن ہٕرِتھ واوو
ہوٗنژ روٗٹھُم أنی تون پھیرِتھ وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
پیٚژِ نار زَن سوٗلُم وُہتھ دار دُہتھ، کیاہ سندارو
لوتہِ ژوٗر زَن ژوٗلُم مُہتھ وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
دوہَے ڈٲٹھی چھِم رادان عار زن یٚیتہِ کونژ نہٕ آوو
یہے فکر گرِتھ چھُس ودان وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
سگ نہٕ دِتُم شاتنن سادن یام وز تہٕ آدن گوو
نا حقہٕ دُنی پیچ کھرژم لادن وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
مدتہٕ اوسُم یٚیہِ تھزار یام ہنگن رزوٗر ژاوو
کألی گُنی ہے نَم مزار وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
یٚیتہِ گوِ لوگتھ ننگر یوت بنگر مُہنہٕ آوو
کألی کھسُن پنڈی گرِژھ سنگر وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
کبتھ آدن ژوٗلے خرِ اَمہِ گرُک سوری چکہٕ چاو
وونی توگُن کر سکھرِ وتھوٗ گنِدِتھ گرِ گژھے وو
کونہٕ آدنہٕ ژینیاتھ وِزے کرمہٕ بُری بُری نزِ ہے ناوو

الٰہی ٹُندِس ترہنا کَزے وِوتھوٗ گِندِتھ گرِ گژھے وو

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Continuity & Development

We have shared the impact of the towering genius of J&K, Hazrati Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, Nund Reshi and have acquainted ourselves with various dimensions of his colourful personality. It has been seen that the great missionary of Central Asia Amir-Kabir, Syed Ali Hamadani, commonly known Shah Hamdan had entrusted the development of his personality to the two great exponents of the two dominating spiritual systems, which then ruled the spirit and mind of Kashmir. Those two teachers were Lal Ded, the great Savist monotheist and Syed Hussein Sinnani. The former might have taken care in the development of the Sheikh's childhood inquisition as she died during the eighth decade of the 14th century. The later developed close intimacy with the young budding saint-poet till the Sheikh reached to 18th year of his life. We know that both these spiritual dignitaries represented two different spiritual dogmas; viz: Savism and Tassawuf. The study made earlier has manifested both these influences dominant upon his thought and art. This exhaustive study has shown that the thinker poet has laid a formidable foundation of a particularly distinguishable distinct mystic thought and then has even moulded an edifice upon the main gate of which befittingly hangs the name plate of Kashmir Mystic Thought. A reasonable question arises whether this particular philosophy evolves with the Sheikh and culminates with him or did it evolve into a process of creative thinking that developed into a dominant national way of life and continues to mould the creative genius of Kashmir? The reply to this specific question is contained in the history of Kashmiri language and literature from 1438 AD (Year of death of the Sheikh) till date. It appears as if Kashmir soil had intellectually turned barren from the mid of 15th century to 17th century. No formidable creative exercise in this long

period of more than a century is reported to have taken place in Kashmiri language where as creativity works from this land in Persian successfully competed with Iran. It is therefore that Kashmir became known as 'Iran in Miniature' (Iran-i-Sagir). On the other hand not only a lull but also intriguing silence is imposed upon natural expression through the mother tongue. Why? The reply can be found out in socio-poltitical history, which is not ambit of this treatment. However, a few hints are inevitable. Probably the elite again dominated the common psychology in the same manner in which during the Hindu period Brahimin dominated the local scene through the richer allurement of Sanaskrit and threw the local language to total neglect. It seems that even during the glorious period of Sultan Zain-ul-Abideen, who was himself lover of his mother tongue, the superiority of incoming Persian culture and language dazzled even ego of that king and he too succumbed before this onslaught on history. After him his successors were too weak who had no courage to withstand before the might of their civil service that mainly constituted of Non-Kashmiri descent or careerist Pandith or complex ridden local up-start. It is mysterious again that two poet disciples of the Sheikh viz; Baba Zain-ud-Din and Baba Nassar seem to have ceased the creative faculties after the death of their master. Only one smaller poem of the former is recorded which seems to have been composed by him after the death of the Sheikh and conveys his forecast about the miseries which would, as he thought, befall upon Reshies. It seems either they considered that they could not compose in the diction of their teacher or thought (as eastern disciples used to think) that it was disrespect to dabble in the domain of their revered teacher or whatever they composed that intermingled with the verse stock of the Sheikh. It is also inferable that other poets who later succeeded Baba Nassar could not acquire due popularity so that their contribution could be engraved on the memory of generations or did not attract the literate section so that it could have been preserved in manuscripts. Through the Reshinamas and Noornamas the elegy composed by the woman disciple Sham Ded which she composed on the death of her master, has transferred to the posterity in almost correct phrase and idiom. Her later poems, even those lyrics which had all characteristics of Gazal and which she is reported to have composed under the pangs of separation from her master too are not carried in full.

Only such pieces were recorded which directly mentioned the pivot of her lyric. In this background we reach to the era of queen-poetess Habba Khatoon who pioneered Romanticism. She rose to prominence during the middle of the sixteenth century, i.e.; after more than a century of the Sheikh's death. As the foundation of romantic lyricism was clearly laid by the Sheikh but Habba Khatoon takes the loose thread and flourishes it with patent mystic strain. However, she cannot be accorded treatment as a mystic poet. As said the environs of Habba's Kashmir fed mysteries both inherent and imposed so she could not restrain such feelings. Such strains are patent as she was made to sing by cruel history but pathos, miseries and agonies.

She has laid the tradition to project the first person, the lover as feminine and beloved as masculine. She was a woman and so such diction of narration suited her to express but later particularly mystic poet considered such way of narration equally suited for the expression of their feelings. Earlier Lal Ded had devoted all her feminine delicacies to her Lord. The mystic considered the woman as the most sincere devotee so articulated upon itself all qualities of feminine sincerity for the overawing masculine attributes of Almighty. Habba's pathos became universal for the main reasons her narration is simple, feelings sincere and the word, phrase, metaphor and symbol she chooses and uses are related to social set-up, which, in spite modernisation are fresh and universal. Separation from her paternal abode has been the destiny of a girl. In old days in view of lack of means of communication the marriage of a girl did not only separate her from parents, kith and kin but also used to exile her from the place of native state and even from the country. In the new imposed home she had to crave for the love she recieved once from her parents, brothers and sisters. On the other hand here she is to tolerate the physical and psychological terror from her mother-in-law, sister-in-law and even from unscrupulous husband. Habba used 'Maalion' (paternal abode), Waariw (husband's home) 'Hush' (mother-in-law) etc as symbols through which she conveyed the urge of the separated limited soul to achieve proximity with the Absolute Soul. In a broader sense the great Persian mystic thinker Molvi Rumi makes the flute to express pathos for its separation from its source. The mystic strain upon her treatment is so fascinating that the human life seems merely a transitional

pleasure trip in a decorated planquine of a bride from paternal abode to the husband's place. Persistent demands of her mother-in-law there: "What gift (dowry) you have brought from paternal abode?" keeps her on pinpricks. Through this common lot of our fair sex, Habba has given went to her own experiences and then lulls such mundane experience in the cradle of sensibility which explains the gamut of mortality here and accountability there in the other world.

Her contemporary, Khawaja Habibullah of Nowshahar, a scholar, saint, trader and leading Persian poet from Kashmir has made considerable contribution to Persian poetry and has a Dewan of Persian Gazals to his credit. He has very few lyrics in his mother tongue. It cannot be accepted that he had so little contribution as for as quantity is concerned. It seems that whereas his Persian manuscript was preserved with care, the victims of complex against their own tongue dismissed his Kashmiri contribution. Only such pieces could transfer to the progenies, which had become part of classical vocal music. Such pieces too do not convey the impact of his mystic experiences. But, it is manifest from those too little available pieces that though a Sufi, staunch follower of Kubravi Mystic Cult and exponent of intricacies of Tassawuf in his Persian Dewan, he is greatly influenced by the local mysticism. Take for example his one Kashmiri Gazal that has evolved the sanctity of didactic poetry and that too for its local mystic fashion. "Oh! Friend let us go to enjoy the manifestation of devtas".

"I am the hidden treasure," declared my lord.
He displays (on all sides) his manifestation.
With what name, shall I call Him,
Let us enjoy the fair of His manifestation. (1)

In this nine stanza lyric Nowshahri has in the very opening stanza used the word 'Devy' from local Savist lexicon which commonly is now understood as a 'fair' but originally meant the fair of 'devtas' and 'devis.' In the same verse he quotes the first two words of the saying of the Prophet of Islam. In that saying, He says: 'I was a hidden treasure and it is His love, which exposed me'. This blending of phraseology from two philosophies logically and subtly paves way for synthesis between the two mystic thoughts. This poet lived as an eminent and popular saint of 16th century and from his death in 1617 AD his shrine at his native place

in Nawshahra, Srinager has become a rendezvous of mystics and lovers of music. He has himself in the same lyric claimed that though the music both vocal and instrumental is forbidden by religion but it is the only solace for lovers. Similarly very stray pieces of Kashmiri verses attributed to Mirza Akmal Badakhshi have been preserved as hymns as those were recited in spiritual congregations. He has composed a Masnavi comprising of more than 22000 verses in Persian in the form and style of great Sufi poet Maulana Rumi. In that he highlights intricacies of Tassawuf. The specimen of his available Kashmiri verses does not fall within that ambit but has local mystic strains. We are of the opinion that in 17th century our mystic poetry might have made considerable contribution but already stated the richer incoming and locally created Persian poetry overshadowed its eminence.

With the advent of 18th century the formidable foundation laid by the Sheikh recieved due fillip for consolidation into an indigenous creative dominant mystery. It is this mystifying impact which made the common Kashmiri influenced by Persian Letters to qualify it as Sufi Kalam. Another reason to call it so was that masters of Kashmir classic music, particularly queen poetess Habba Khatoon, had edited extracts from Persian mystic lyrics and Kashmiri lyrics fitted in various Kashmiri Ragas, which was known and continues to be known as Sufiana Music. In my view at the best it is Classical Music of Kashmir. It is thus that the misnomer developed. Our discussion duly illustrated will show that such poetry is not Sufi poetry but has distinguishable trait.

Momin Sahib of Baba Gam, Pargana Shahoora, now district Pulwama appears to have mastered the Persian Sufi poetry as he has successfully translated in Kashmiri verse the outstanding Sufi allegorical poem composed by Sheikh Farid-ud-din Attar titled, The Speech of Birds (Manteq-ut-Taire). The theme of this fantasy lies in the secret to visualise through the 'Limited' the 'Absolute'. Selection of this particular poem for translation by the mystic poet should not be deemed that he was a Sufi. It needs a mention again that greatly akin and similar notions dominate all mystic philosophies of the world and it is therefore that the Orientalists found Tassawuf greatly influenced by Neo-Platonism, Judaic and Christian mysticism. It is not so. The experiences of mystics who ponder

or have always pondered upon the Absolute Existence have almost undergone similar intricacies and so Kashmiri Momin Sahib, like Attar of Neshapur (Persia) feels that the Created is the reflection of the Creator, hence chooses this outstanding poem for translation. It has remained dominant influence upon local mystic that the Creator has created all to see His own prowess, therefore they believe to see Him through what He created. This theory is equally dominant with Sufis of Iran and so it should be liberated from the stigma of any foreign influence. It should be treated a commonly experienced phenomena. Let us now go to his original compositions. Herein I will suffice upon stray examples otherwise details shall demand multi volume book.

He believes to find the reality within his own self. This is also common to mystic notion dominant upon many such systems.

From exterior enter into thy interior,
It is within that the belief shall consolidate.
You will find the Emperor,
Thou hast found but what? (2)

The saying of the Prophet that 'He was hidden treasure and love exposed Him' dominants the creativity of all mystics both the Sufi and Kashmiri Mystic. Naushahri Sahib quotes this Hadith in original in his lyric but Momin explains the same theory through his own experience. Read this verse:

Love abruptly explored, spread the wind,
Dressed itself in the robes of earth.
The colourless decorated his self in varied colours,
Identify the Being through the being. (3)

The same notion is with severity expressed herein:

Quench thy thirst with thy own blood,
Consume that as fuel in thy lamp.
With that light see thy friend.
Each particle of energy to consume sustains upon own flesh. (4)

Appreciate:

Advised myself to die;
Repeatedly I advised it so, but it did never abide.
If we die, then we will never die,
Alas nothing I could learn so far. (5)

During the last quarter of 18th century was born in a village potter family, which lived below poverty line, a talented boy. He was accorded pure Kashmiri name: 'Souch' (heavenly blessing). His father Arif Kral too was a mystic poet but very less number of his verses is known. Souch Kral fell at the feet of then famous Dervish and poet Momin Sahib and in early age acquired spiritual eminence. With that he felt very intricate feelings and had such inner experiences, which at occasions not only confused him but also used to create a baffling stir in his mind and heart. He was totally illiterate and so had no knack to express till the overflow of his mysterious experiences cultivated in him the genius of expression through verse. Our readers will sooner come to know that the caravan of these mystic poets who dominate till date our public interest and who will positively even attract the elite have almost all been illiterates. Even in this background and with other reasons already discussed the great poet Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali was considered Wali-I- Ummi (illiterate Saint). Souch Kral had achieved such spiritual prowess that once as young potter he invited a party of singers to entertain him for full night but in the dead hour of the night he came to know that there was no oil in the home to fuel the lamp. He poured water in earthen lamp, which remained burning and for full night. His diction is peculiarly distinguishable as he conveys through mystic parables of too common import but with multi-dimensional canvas. One of his lyrics is too popular with common people, scholars and mystics. It creates a queer situation of a drama wherein the two actors converse and the both are within one frame, it cannot be deemed a monologue. The impact is inescapable that the conversation is between the lover and beloved rather between the Created and the Creator. Without further discussion I render all the twenty verses in English. The translation is word to word so that my interpretations, direct or indirect do not deter the conveyance of the original ideas to my readers and my projected theory that it is a distinct mystic thought is made out form the quoted extracts.

"Let us develop close intimacy;" I said to my bosom friend.
"Tuned I am to friendship, why not to be intimates." He said.
"Convey me the secret held up I am in confusion." Requested I.
"The conveyed have felt ashamed." Said he.
"Why so much cautious conceit?" Asked I.

"Who will then cause the succour?" He said.
"Though there was no point, how and where did it come?" Enquired I.
"Where will you contain, if I convey?" Replied He.
"Reveal unto me the secret of love." Prayed I
"Ripen thy being on the path of Love." Conveyed He.
"What contains inner and what surrounds the exterior?" Said I.
"The same is the inner which is appears around "Asserted He.
"Where is thine station?" Insisted I.
"That is beyond the morning and evening." Answered He.
"Explain for me thy Being." Requested I
"Tear out thine own being upon thine gazes by thyself." Said He.
"How and where do you rest?" I enquired.
"Just I wander and just I get habituated." Said He.
"Some are prosperous some in misfortune." Did I ask.
"Through such devices I play my game." Said He.
"Why did you dabble in childish gimmicks?" Frankly asked I.
"These Four Corners are my play ground." Asserted He.
"Why do not you take care" Asked I
"I do play (gimmicks) with care too." Said He.
"You are dressed in robes." Said I.
"Yes the craze of its shade even fall upon spacelessness." Said He.
"How do you get your robes dyed?" Enquired I.
"I do not demand from any one the dying charges." Said He
"Why did not you demand and get that remuneration" Asked I.
"In their complete use such charges get reimbursed." Said He.
"Thou are One without any partner." Asserted I.
"Yes beyond that is my path." Said He.
"Let me watch too minutely your such path." Suggested I.
"I apply to thy gazelle-eyed vision, Collynium." Said He.
"What happens with that black powder?" Enquired I
"Thereby the vision sifts truth from falsehood." Said He. (6)

This proximity with Him is essence in his thought and repetition is so fresh and original that each expression appears a novel idea. He advises to peep in ones own self and find that there is not slightest barrier between the Limited self and Absolute Being. To get that secret revealed upon one is to obey the dictate of the Guide (Pir or Guru). But

makes the traveler cautious that he should have discretion to recognise the gold- the true and matured guide lest he falls in the company of aluminium the pretenders. In case one finds the matured guide, he gets proximity. "What is that with which nearness is achieved; it is but the Word".

One gets union with the word,
The word is the essence of love. (7)

The reader who has been student of any or various mystic schools will find much similarity in what our illiterate Souch Kral has said with the notions propounded or explained by great exponents of world mysticism and such similarity reveals the genuine experience of the practical mystics. So, in spite of such similarities each notion bears a distinct seal of one or the other Thought. Souch Kral is truly influenced by the tradition he had inherited in his country and that had co-existed with both the Sufi Mystic Thought and Savist expressions.

Shah Gafoor is immediate successor of Souch Kral. The process of synthesis between the two dominant mystic philosophies is so apparent from his poetry that either his compositions are excluded from the array of Sufi poetry or we should properly categorise this bulk of creativity as distinct and distinguishable philosophy. If we start the elimination process with Shah Sahib in that case the cream of mystic masters like Shams Faqir, Samad Mir Ahad Zarger and many others is to be axed out and the left over verse stock will fall within the lap of romantic poetry. Though he (Shah Gafoor) believes in mystic conception of Wahdatul Wajood (Unity of Existence not pantheism) which is also deemed a doctrine of Tassawuf yet it bears the seal of local Savist philosophy which later developed into pantheism. But Lal Ded brought that notion close to monotheist doctrine of Islam.

At occasions wore mask of prophet-hood,
With mere gesture broke the full moon into two halves.
At occasions behaved like the Father of Ignorance,
Sowed the seeds of doubt,
It was He, Who played all these roles,
What shall I explain? (8)

Sheikh has said the same but in symbols whereas the Shah is too explicit. To the Sheikh, He is the hero of the play but the scenes differ.

Now read these two extracts:

[One who reads in Quran the verses,
"It is all from Him."
"We are situated closest to Him."
He is provided due guidance.
He will then have from all sides,
To which he moves, His manifestation only.] (9)

Read now the second:

[In the process of transmigration of soul,
The dividend is nil,
Except to tune the mind to the:
Sooham-so-Sooham
"Sooham soo-Sooham soo"
(Thou art He, He is All-He is All).
To search the Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshar,
Everywhere is He.
If He hides Himself thou shall kill thyself.] (10)

This poet with tactful delicacy and cautious dexterity has woven velvet of unique thought with selective verses of the Holy Quran and Vedic phrases. As his great predecessor the Sheikh had ridiculed Mansoor for his immaturity so has Shah Gafoor criticised that great Sufi saint of Muslim world who declared himself but the Truth (Haq). "The Mansoor went to gallows before he could divorce the all." In his desire to achieve Him, Mansoor had left everything of the mundane life and then made so serious a declaration. But this poet is critical of him that he did not even surrender to achieve Him then alone his declaration would carry sense.

"Shah Gafoor" does not express even an iota of truth,
Recites: 'I AM THE TRUTH' without manifestation of "I",
Alas! Mansoor went to gallows,
Without surrender of everything,
Never shall I deviate from the path of Love. (11)

Shah Gafoor seems to have received some influence of Hindu dogma of transmigration of soul. It is not inferable that he expresses his adherence to that dogma but impact is more than clear. It is again a speaking proof that this caravan of mystic poets, of which Shah is a

luminary, has consciously blended a fabric from the threads taken from Tassawuf and local Trika Shastar. The other symbols used like Brahma etc have no place in Sufi thought and nor the verses of Holy Quran used freely to convey the gamut of his thought can find place in the exposition of Savist philosophy. Thus this smooth co-existence of phraseology, terms and symbols makes a sweet mixture of distilled substance from two types of fruit grown in two different regions-tropical and temperate.

Karam Buland is reported to have received guidance from Momin Sahib. He had taken birth in village Tsewdara now in Beerwah Tehsil of Budgam district and later settled in the same district in village Heinz Gund, Wahthora of Tehsil Chadora. He has lived during the blackest period of Kashmir and has thus witnessed discrimination, terror and tyranny to which Pathan and Sikh rulers Subjected Kashmir. It was but natural that the suffocated mind diverted all faculties to ponder upon the mysteries of the universe. He died just before the execution of condemned mortgage deed under which British Crown mortgaged Kashmir to a soldier Gulab Singh, on March 12, 1846 AD. His grave situates near the 13th K.M on Srinager-Tsararisharief Road and J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has fixed a plaque upon it.

Too devastating is the fire, that lit my being,
Devoid is it of flame and smoke,
For what restlessness dominates me?
Karam had the vision of Emperor playing gimmicks,
The Alif bears the moisture of Meem,
For what restlessness dominates me. (12)

Each atom carries the heat of attributes,
How many to read? What to do??
Annihilated my being, merely a particle was I,
Wherefrom the earth acquired energy to rotate?
Wherefrom has come the circulation of the earth,
Testify the basis. (13)

Above, the reference has been made of the two letters of Arabic alphabet, Alif - the first latter, connoting Allah - the Exalted Lord and of letter Meem that starts the name of Mohammad, the last prophet. The poet conveys that the God is identifiable through Mohammad. Over all, the verses of this poet are normal statements of his feelings. Either such

portion of his poetry, which had strains of complexities, could not be carried to the posterity or he desired to remain too intelligible. It is thus that we find straight disposition, the localised devotion for monotheism and love for Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

The other great poet Rehman Dar lived from 1800 AD to 1875 in the locality in between 6th and 7th Bridges of Srinager in Mohallas Cattabal and Dana Mazar. These localities were considered even during my childhood, as border areas of the city though were part of the Srinager Municipality. I dare to assert that such great poets defy any labels. It is unfortunate that he has been clubbed with the array of mystic poets though he is an artist of dexterity with dominant control upon language, its selective use and gushing flow of expression. With artistic dexterity he blends physically erotic with metaphysical sensuousness. His poem Shash Rang (Six Dimensions) is one of the most popular pieces of literature with commoners, scholars and mystics alike. He was duly admitted to the Sufi clan of Kubrawi Mystic Order led by the great revered saint, scholar and missionary Syed Ali Hamdani. With that patent strain on his mode of meditation we reasonably should expect upon him undiluted influence of Tassawuf. But that is not the case. He also makes conscious blending of the principles of the two dominant mystic thoughts. It has been said that his poetry should be liberated from such labelization but in spite as he blends romance with divine love so he commands a knack upon mystic philosophies. The poem supra has in all 8 stanzas of six verses each. The poem has unique musical rhyme and rhythm which has made it so popular that two contemporary singers thrived as artists and materially due to their devices to sing it. Appreciate this stanza:

"Open the collar of thy shirt," I would bluntly say,
But alas! Cannot face to say so at his face.
Hanging upon the gallows of distress, exposed I am to shame.
Inscribed the pen upon my sheet of destiny?.
For seven re-incarnations I will remain in constant perplexity,
The opportunities provide union but momentary. (14)

All other stanzas of this poem bear similar diction and so we cannot qualify this masterpiece with one or the other qualification. It is expression of matured intricate experiences, which can be romantic,

philosophic, mystic or just poetic. But the sum total after one goes through his poetry is only one derivation that he is a poet - poet of romance but with mystic strains and that is expressed through both the metaphors-Sufi metaphor and local mystic metaphor.

Rahim Sahib of Sopore (death: 1865) churns with masterly craft the principles of the two mystic dogmas -the Sufi Thought and local spiritual tradition. He defines his thought and art as:

(On my inner spinning wheel), I,
Spun seven thousand plied delicate threads.
To weave for my beloved (the refined Toosha).
I will sacrifice my soul for him,
I shall wrap him with so woven delicacy,
Which with soft finish provided craze by technical wash,
Is designed with delicate softness. (15)

This stanza describes the stages from which the process of creativity has gone and that too not physically but within the creative faculty of the poet. Seven thousand plied threads have relevance to Kashmir artisan's Chinese hand. The Kashmir Toosh or soft Pashmina shawls both bear world fame. It is basically so because particularly city woman, there too from elite dynasties have art to spin with utter delicacy the Pashmina or Toosh wool imported from Tibet and Ladakh. The threads are so delicate that even making it thousand plied it retains the delicacy. Like Kashmir elite lady the artist has spun the threads upon the spinning wheel of his inner feelings, then got it woven upon the loom of his critical analysis, took the so woven shawl to the washer man (his master) who washed it, added softness and finish to it. Finally the poet claims that after such process the so conceived and delivered thought befits to be gifted to one's beloved. Being a mystic he is not concerned with scholastic appreciation but minds for the applause from his friend.

Now share with me the impact of these extracts from his two Gazals:

The Prophet has said for me: "Humility is my Pride."
He said that the humility is my ecstasy.
Thereby I am conditioned to Faqr (Poverty-Humility),
Each moment of separation is the heaviest burden. (16)

OR

Consumed my eyesight while sifting the fibre of Toosha,
Each string of it I separated from unwarranted,
The threads of OM I spin with delicacy,
But alas my cruel friend shows no mercy.
Search my friend in the depths of ocean, the heart,
Maheshar (The Creator) lies therein.
Dreadfully I fear from Kaam, Krood, Moh and Loob,
But alas my cruel friend shows no mercy. (17)

In the verse quoted supra the poet appears a Sufi and in the two verses that then followed he appears to be Savist. But is neither of the two, he is dedicated lover of his Creator who in Arabic is Khaliq in Sanskrit Maheshar. He calls Him through all the names, which he has learnt from his own environs, the tradition and from his Spiritual master. It is not only terminology, which is composite but also the two thoughts and a distinct thought has followed therefrom hence my contention that henceforth it should be known as: "KASMIR MYSTIC THOUGHT." It is astonishing as how the two scholars Jenab Amin Kamil and Late M.L. Saqi, while editing two volumes of Kashmiri Sufi Shaayiri (Kashmir Sufi Poetry) included such poems in that compilation. I am mainly quoting these extracts from their edited volumes. It is unfortunate that such gigantic task should be assigned to such writers who have had neither known qualification about Tassawuf nor about Savism.

Now let us take samples from Shams Fakir's poetry, the recognised exponent of mystic tradition. A critic of repute, Dr. Bhushan Lal Kaul has in his book "Arzath" dealt in detail the mystic strain upon Shams's lyric. He opines: "that the Love (ISHQ) is the central theme of his poetry but cautions that he is a Sufi poet, a traveler on the spiritual path, a seeker of truth and to him Ishq connotes the extreme devotion with his Lord." Then he quotes on page 70-71 six verses from one of his lyrics in which the poet uses two mystic words, Naasoot (physical universe) that has origin in Sufi lexicon, in the same verse he uses word Kama Diva (the god of love) a term alien to that thought. This word has pure local origin similar to that in Greek myth about the Cupid. Then he uses words Barzakh (Purgatory) and Arif with Kaama Diva. Other extracts quoted by him are too relevant for this treatment also. Take this one:

I have practised Shastar and so melted the steel,

Hamsoo; Soohamsoo, recognised, so conquered six dimensions.

In original I contain three more verses of this Pada, as it is the texture and not the content which proves the influence and the strain upon expression. To be realistic, if we get liberated from the phraseology the ideas conveyed would appear similar as the intricate experiences are equally shared by every leading Gnostic of any region. Human being is mostly alike so is his desire, it is the colour or dress or language which makes difference. In the case of a thought it is the terminology, the container of the thought, which creates distinction. Hence more relevant is the real text but does not exonerate me to avoid the translation. It is translated version that carries my point. The original text is for local readership from which the non-Kashmiri student cannot quench his thirst. He may, however, peruse, if possible the texture. Hence with precision necessary translation is also contained.

In this lyric Shams Faqir quotes in original the Saying of the Prophet (Hadith) in which He has said:

"Humility is my pride
Humility emanates from me."

Shams Faqir quoting this Hadith in his lyric sums up his thought as:

[I with pride declare the Quote of my Prophet,
"Pride of mine lies in my humility,
Humility emanates from me"
The pride in humility is the grandeur of destination,
Drunk I am with the wine of Love. (18)

Now read in original these verses from his another Gazal quoted as (19). The translation is:

The intelligent shall synthesise The Pran with Gyan,
And shall connect his knowledge with the Bhaghwan.
In the temples of Dharam and Shastar,
Worship the images of His attributes. (19)

In these four verses terminology is totally from Savist lexicon and even the manner to attain proximity with the Divine is also not that of Tassawuf. May be the poet has felt such experiences on the spiritual path which he could not describe in the Sufi terminology relevant but adopted local terms to express. Such argument if advanced is fallacious because

the usage of terms is so spontaneous that one feels as if the picture and its frame are twin results of the one and the same experience. To be precise the poet makes deliberate fusion in the two systems.

In this Gazal from which above verses are quoted the poet has used terms and metaphors strictly in vogue with Hindus and their form of meditation. Words like "Pran," "Gyan", "Bhaghwan," "Pooja" (Locally pronounced as Pooza) "Karam Dan", "Dharam Shastar", "Aakash" etc are irrelevant to "Sufi"style of narration and idea too is alien to that particular mystic concept. These words, phrases and terms used in this Gazal clearly reveal the imprints of the Savism or influence of Trika upon him. Dr. Shams-ud-Din (Ex-HoD Persian Literature), an outstanding scholar of Tassawuf, the subject he studied as student and taught as teacher. Dr. B.L Kaul is a known scholar of Vedanta and Savism and has taught those thoughts on post-graduation level. Both these scholars qualify Shams Sahib as Sufi poet. Earlier we have observed that two editors of Kashmiri Sufi Poetry have committed the same mistake. It is felt that this misnomer has crept in our intellectual ranks due to inherited understanding with our common people who qualify this Kashmir mysticism as Sufism thus make it a facet of Iranian Tassawuf or the Sufism prevalent in Muslim world. To them Sufi means the mystic and the term 'Sufi Poetry' is for them the Mystic Poetry of any kind or place. Very recently a Kashmir term 'Siri Shaayiri' has been devised for mystic literature and the word 'Siriyat' for mysticism. This book, at its outset has pointed out the elasticity in the ambit of these words is bound to confuse all and so to confine the operation of the term. We are justified to call it Kashmir Mystic Thought. (Kaishir Siri Shaayiree)

Now take similar specimen from Abdul Ahad Zarger's verses. He has expressed intricacies of his mystic experiences through symbols; "Meyts" (clay); 'Siyaahi' (Darkness); "Aab" (water), "Hawa" (wind); "Dil" (Heart), "Noor" (light) etc. His favourite themes are 'Kenhnai' (nothingness) and Sihahi (darkness). Look into these verses regarding the first theme:

Nothing is covered by nothingness,
Nothingness tangibly exists before my eyes,
The nothingness plays gimmicks and device with me,

Nothingness tangibly exists before my eyes.
From nothingness emanates the voice,
I saw nothingness dressed in robes,
Partly nude partly is dressed in velvet. (20)

Sufi impact is patent as is evident upon the quote of Shams Faqir (Supra). Like Shams Sahib Zarger also advocates the adherence to all time remembrance (dhikir). Though it is common strain with all mystic doctrines to remain involved with recitation of His name. Both these mystics strictly follow Sheikh Noor-ud-Din and even stress for such form of Dhikir as are squarely Sufistic.

For certain close resemblance in the diction of Zarger with that of Shams Sahib I prefer the treatment of Zarger's poetry. Otherwise there is a grand galaxy of mystics who have dominated literature during the intervening period between the two. We generally find Zarger as exponent of Islamic mysticism called Tassawuf but read these extracts also:

Be involved with trinity of purposes,
The truth, the virtue and the beauty.
To find out thy self is the essence of these attributes,
The universe evolved from the lotus. (21)

This conception of lotus has no connection with Sufi mystics. The lotus grows from the swamp and to say the universe emerges from the lotus has too local connotation and rather bears connection with Hindu thought. The Savites have resembled the feet of the Lord Shiva with of the Lotus. In the second verse the poet has used Satogan (truth), Razogan (Virtue) and Tamogan (Beauty) all from Vedic lexicon. Thus it is clearly a transgression upon set Sufi terminology. Therefore we have to distinguish such blending of thought and art from Tassawuf. Now read this:

Treading cautiously and carefully, traveler perspired,
Spinning the delicate thread, revealed minute details.
At every place did I cry: "Oh! Om; Oh! Om."
Enlightened I am with the light of Mohammad (SAW).
Tuned am I by the secrets of Rama.
Undoubtedly the Ram is to have union with Rahim,
The Gnostic drank wine from the Jar of Love,

Enlightened I am with light of Mohammad (SAW). (22)

In these last two verses of another Gazal he decorates his style with the clarity of lessons from Ramayana. Though it seems a narration from the legend but the conveyance is positively one of blending of the two mystic thoughts to establish that the inner human experiences are the same.

Shutrughan, Rama Lakhman and Bharat,
All the four were born to Dhashrata.
Nuptial bondage tied Rama and Sita
May he return by the dusk!
Ahad Zarger left with sincerity of purpose,
Dressed himself in the robes of Shaster,
Engrossed he is in the love of Shaster. (23)

Now take only three pieces from Sheikh Nooruddin, original already given:

The Almighty in His all dimensions,
Begs (alms) with a begging bowl in His hand.
Raja Ram, while in Dandakvana also did beg,
Why should we hesitate to beg.

(ii)

Decorate thy warm and delicate being with arms,
Be chivalrous like Arjun Div,
Then alone on day of the Judgment you can easily cross,
The sharp like sword edge the thin bridge,
Leading to the place of pride, the paradise.

(iii)

Art thou wise enough, don't Hinduise thy being,
Be not superstitious prisoner of customs,
Be careful lest one causes annoyance,
On the Day of Judgment for Mohammad
We will be dragged to hell he will feel ashamed.

Fallaciously some might consider that on the one hand the saint poet warns against imitation of un-Islamic Hinduised life style and on the other praises heroes of that religion. This may either appear improvement or contradiction or at the best just an exigency in policy to usher the society in mutual tolerance. Such inferences are all fallacious. The reality lies in the fact that the Sheikh was recipient to all influences of virtue.

This assimilation of influences he processed into a durable fabric of synthesis in systems of mystic notions without any compromise in fundamentals. This process started by him had immediately no takers during 16th and 17th centuries. Hence in 18th century the mission of which the Sheikh had laid a concrete basis attracted a caravan of mystics who remained deeply rooted in the soil though they received guidance from imported Sufi Silsilas (clans) like Qadri, Kubravi, Naqashbandi, Surawardy and Chisti Orders. But, in spite the expression of their inner mystic intricate experiences could not find channel through set of Sufi terminology. Persian poets and masters of Muslim mystic philosophy had evolved such phraseology or defined those in famous treatises on Tassawuf so as to cater the particular trend of expression for their specific experiences. Here in Kashmir the Muslim mystic faced a peculiar situation. He had continued and unabated interaction with the Hindu mystic as is evident from the episode of Swami Parmanand and Abdul Wahab Khaar. This association at times confined between the two as the taught and teacher and at times as two friends or at times it created a sort of competition to influence the mass mind. There, in the world of Tassawuf the famous treatises like that of Mehmood Shabistari's Gulshan-Raaz (thirteenth century) or Kashful Mahjoob of Syed Ali Hajweri (1009-1072) and A.R. Jami's Nafahatul-Uns or other books have to a great extant by strong tradition made a sort of codification of such terminology. In absence of such treatises the terminology used by Kashmiri mystic has developed in a balkanised manner.

It is a queer combination of Sufi and Savist terms and phrases. Each poet in peculiar form, particular to his diction has devised symbols. Such terms have not received universal approval and do vary from every individual poet. Take for example these carved out symbols "The perplexed crow on the branch of a dry Chinar in a desert", (Shams Faqir). "Inder Raza's (Raja's) Durbar" of Ahmad Batwari, 'Retirement to Solitude' by the Owl, Rehman Dar's 'Six Dimensions, Niama Sahib's 'The tree with various branches and sweet fruit'. Ahad Zarger's: 'Light,' 'Darkness, erotic phrase to Create fosterage with wife by suckling' etc, Samad Mir's: "Ornament of black gold". Rahim Sahib's 'Seven thousand plied thread'. Hundreds of such peculiar and unique type of terms and symbols have been devised by our representative mystic poets of 18th,

19th centuries which bear no similarity either in texture or in meaning or in connotation with the terminology used by Sufi poets particularly Persian poets.

With this relevant digression let us revert to main theme, the discussion of the mystic poetry composed during the intervening period in between the two giants Shams Fakir and Ahad Zarger.

Abdul Wahab Khaar was a blacksmith by profession and lived in village Shaar near Khrew in present Tehsil Pampore of the District Pulwama. His father Haati Khaar was also mystic poet so Wahab inherited the thought and the art. In my view he has taken birth some time in 1840AD. My maternal grand father Mohi-ud-Din Shah Imam of Bud Tallow Mohalla mosque used to receive respectfully offerings from Wahab. The poet, as blacksmith had himself fitted an iron case to the bottom edge of the stick which Imam Sahib used during delivery of sermon Khutba in mosque and preserved with care till his death in 1947 at the age of hundred. Many a times the poet mystic had shared secrets with him. He said with stress that the poet had such spiritual prowess, with, which, he had tuned a lion to carry him on his back from Shaar to Tsarar-I-Shasrief so that he paid respects at the shrine there during Friday night and would return within the darkness of the night. Imam Sahib would connect the opening verse of one of his Gazals with the poet's prowess to tame the lion for his ride. That Gazal he opens with this verse:

Where shall thee run now,.
Oh! the rider upon the back of lion?
The ferocious death is chasing you. (24)

Find the confluence of these two mystic streams herein:

Listen carefully, be attentive and hear,
The eternal call raises hue and cry.
The king has come out from Laa, (Denial)
Who taught it the art of such delivery?
"Illal-lah" (Except the God) has taken birth,
The eternal call raises hue and cry. (25).

'Laa' the denial of every thing else, in the existence of any supreme power or any supreme authority and the existence of any god is negated. This very negative assertion gives birth to the bold affirmation in the

existence of the Supernatural Being, the Almighty the Creator and Sustainer. This is the real Tawheed, monotheism that emanates from denial of all other false authorities. This real concept of monotheism is the fundamental teaching of Islam and the real essence of Tassawuf. Wahab had been illiterate but usually he used to be in ecstasy. He could not convey the real impact of such state of mind in the known format of term and phrase so expressed himself in the self-chosen and self devised terms. Hence such expression appears mostly complicated, even full of riddles. In such mental restlessness his expression chooses different courses of out-let. He just conveys himself through the aid of the Sufi phrase and just he devises his own carved out phrases, which have roots deeper in his own soil. Take, for example:

[Naag Arjun (the prince of serpents) jumped in the milk bowl,
The fairies enchanted him and took him to the under world.
Heemaal searches him in the world of her feelings upon earth.
My, friend I believe he was just now here with me.
The cunning old woman devised device to get Furhad killed,
Comrade how to overcome these devices of fraud?
A girl got the scholar burnt to ashes,
My, friend I believe he was just now here with me.] (26)

In these two stanzas the poet has referred two sets of love lore viz of Shireen-Furhad of Iran and of Heemaal-Naagi Rai of pre-Islamic Kashmir. This is the speaking evidence of the fact that our mystic poets created fusion between the symbols used by Sufi poets and they themselves derived from the local legends. In the first stanza the reference of the king of serpents to dive in the cup of milk is also outcome of the fraudulent device worked upon the emotional Heemaal, the heroine of that Kashmir legend. Similarly, the cunning device exercised by the old hypocrite woman upon the emotional lover Furhad works successfully as he kills himself with the same hammer he had dug out milk canal for his beloved Shireen. Heemal as tutored by hypocrites asked the king of serpents to dive into milk jar where from he was dragged to Patal by her rivals who had engineered the device.

Wahab died in 1912. His spiritual guide was Sheikh Ahmad Machami who introduced Naqashbandi-Mujadadi mystic Order in Kashmir which though an Indian branch of Naqashbandi Order has been

devised as an independent Cult by the Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind known as Mujjadid of the second millennium (1564-1624 AD). Wahab's friend, comrade and co-disciple Waza Mehmood is also poet of great merit, he can be deemed, and correctly so, as one of the founders of modern Gazal. I am not inclined to club him under any label as he is basically a poet but mystic strain is manifest. Its expression is so lucid that he appears like many great masters of Persian Gazal conveying his experiences through the use of the cup, the cupbearer, the tavern and the wine. But the drink he offers to his readers has all the intoxicating qualities which Persian classics does provide. To him the human being is the crux of the creation, rather it is He Who is dressed in the robes of Adam.

I am the purpose of the creation,
I have come dressed with robes.
The Almighty witnesseth the truth,
It is I who blossomed in every garden. (27)

Every garden means every human being whatever his colour, creed, caste and religion. To him it is love with which one gets his material being burnt and then burns every thing as the fire in the jungle.

Like burning amber I swallowed the flame of love,
After I did roast my heart I burnt every thing,
As the fire in jungle burns whatever faces its flame. (28)

The love, the severity of its pangs, its effect and then widening of the vision to the extent to realise that the same limited lover is the Absolute Lover.

Another exponent of Kashmir mystic thought is Ahmad Batwari who was meditating according to three Mystic Cults of Tassawuf. He expresses his inner experiences in the traditional terminology, which had developed, till his time by the interaction of Tassawuf and local mystic philosophies like Trika and Vedic teachings.

Without the gr fabric will destroy the whole process and neither of the two can stand on its own footing. Mansoor is a martyred mystic of Arab world who claimed to be the Truth, was dubbed as a heretic and was condemned to death. Among the later saints some even condemned him as Zindiq, and some considered him as a martyred saint. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din though approves episode about him as a theme to convey his own limited ego but dubs him of immaturity. It is as compared to the

legend of Heemmaal and Naigray too recent and as said too remote in distance. The legend of Naigray is of such antiquity that we can hardly locate the century before the birth of Christ when it had happened or has developed as legend. The poet connects the two in single situation of today here around him and me. The muse, that emanates from that Durbar is audible with mere overhearing and consequently maddens. This Durbar of Inder Raja is neither in Hades nor in purgatory- such underworld (does not mean the domain of criminals but a place considered to be under the earth). It is situated within the being where the same muses of Mansoor: the damsels (thoughts) those descend from the fairyland of ones imagination constantly play "Annal Haq (I am the truth)" on the strings of ones agony(29). This music maddens the conscious listener and in the result he develops love, urge and aspiration. The Prophet has said: "The Love is the Fire of the God, which consumes every thing except the God." Four materials; fire, earth, water and air constitute the human being. The element of fire develops wrath and arrogance, which is burnt by the fire of love. Thus fire consumes the fire. This love creates humility, Faqr, urge or poverty. The constituent of earth tempts the human being to be fond of mundane and the development of humility purifies urge of greed etc. Then in love under the pangs of separation the lover washes the constituent of water that develops in him the urge of the lust with his tears as he is made to weep always. Finally it is then the 'Fana' (Annihilation), merger of the Limited Soul with the Absolute Soul that achieves the designed destination. It is this final stage of Fana that the religious barriers get automatically eroded.(30)

In the garden of Gnostic Inder Raja is seated with Gopal,
The Lord Rama has titillated the emotion of the childhood,
It is he who has maddened me. (31).

Now read this Qita (quatrain):

Lock thy tongue shut thy mouth, enter in thy being, of her mole,
Find that Purgatory is within me.
Beware your each breath is a diamond,
Cautiously count each breath lest you loose a diamond,
Immortal Self is within me (32)

Samad Mir (1894-1959) is the last poet who with originality in his thought and freshness in his style, sung the muse reflecting the spiritual

ecstasy.

Oh! You conscious,
Seal thy lips,
Listen through eyes,
Each night is night of ascendance.
Peep into the garden,
Blend expression with feeling,
If can't withstand, be silent. (33)

Art thou cautiously conscious,
Listen with eyes secret whispers of thy heart.
Look with ears you really see Him. (34).
Annihilate the wrath, suspicion and doubt,
For him Rama and Rahim are but one.
Who clears the heart of hatred he is the Seer,
Recite OM, SOO, OM, SOO. (35)

Study of Kashmir poetry will reveal that mystic strain has remained dominant upon all our poets whether romantic, traditional, modern or even progressive. Azad has been dubbed as an atheist but we find even his later poems rich with this influence which he could not avoid, as his father was one of the leading mystics who guided seekers in four mystic clans. Mehjoor (1887-1950) a harbinger of patriotic and romantic trends bears this strain. Our great contemporary poet Prof. AR Rahi, has been fellow traveler of progressives and pioneer of modernity but with pride preaches for mysticism. It is not within the ambit to make sifting of the bulk of his poems and pinpoint such verses therefore only this verse is quoted. It may not convey any of his inner experiences nonetheless is a bold statement of fact:

(Ignore not thy mystic impact
These are experiences in which lie essence.)

This humble author has tried to run away from the stigma of mystic influence as is evident from the foreword to his poetic compilation: 'Sehra te Saraab' (Desert & Mirage). Conspicuously his longest poem (probably longest in Kashmiri poetry) titled; 'Wonib Waakh' pulls him by neck and drags him to this arena. The very title of this one hundred and one-stanza poem bears both apparent and hidden mystic nuances. The term is constituted upon two words. "Wonib" which defies translation

but means an impact of sudden but unexpected tragedy. "Waakh" is the most difficult precise poetic genre, which usually suits to convey the intricate impacts. Hence poetry of Lal Ded is known as Lal Waakh. Precisely this terms 'Wonib Waakh' means: 'condensed expression to complex impacts of sudden tragedies.' Prof. Rahi, a great critic is not in agreement with the poet and opines: "Gauhar has carved out the distinguishable diction for his Nazm. Wonib Waakh, a poem with more than hundred stanzas, each of five verses, is a great contribution to Kashmir Letters as it 'blends the mystic sensibility with philosophical imagery'". Only last two stanzas need to be contained herein:

Expression is to preserve the faith in the secrecy of burning,
The consumption of the being of moth lies in its faith in the Light.
To evolve the self as burning light, erosion of both boundaries is a must.
Himalayas shall lick the toe of feet as self reduces to weightless dust,
The deserts shall fall at the feet when one becomes his own dust.
That dust which rides upon the reality of:'Wanafakhto' (a)
Its depth is eternity and the shore is in: 'Wal-Asri.' (b)
'Wa- ma Ramite", hand in glove are the two, (c)
The word is the crux, "Oh! Beautiful woman talk with me." (d)
The perspiration of impact caused by the Word amounts to spring cloud,
The oyster with her inner thirst ripens raindrop into a pearl. (36)

In the second stanza, supra there are some references quoted in original from Holy Quran and Hadith. Reference (a) means: 'we infused our spirit in the frame of Adam created of dust and water.' The (b) is the first word of the 103rd chapter of holy Quran according to which the God swears in the name of the Time that the human being is in loss. The third quote (c) is also a verse from Holy Quran. It has a background that the Prophet threw sand upon his enemies and God said that it was not the hand of the Prophet which, threw sand but My Hand. The last is a reference to a Saying of the Prophet, according to which it is said that under the overawing command of Revelation from the God through Gabriel the human being in Him would get so perturbed that it appeared as if He would sink. At such time he would tell his wife Aysha: "Oh! Red and White woman talk with me." With these explanatory notes I should leave it to the reader to find whether Prof. Rahi is correct to detect in it the mystic expression or the poet by running from such label is correct.

It should not be construed that after Samad Mir and Ahad Zarger the stream has dried. No, it runs unabated but any remarkable overflow is not being detected. I have very recently read a book of Gazals of Pandith Brij Nath Haali (Briji Hail) who carries the tradition ahead.

A note of caution is necessary. We have bulk of didactic and religious poetry and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's contribution is basically religious poetry. It is he who laid foundation of Munajat (prayer poems), Naat (encomium in praise of the prophet) and Manqabat (eulogies in praise of religious dignitaries). Here as said he was succeeded by another caravan of poets like QutubWaiz, Mehmood Gami, AA Nadim, Nazim, Pitambder Nath Dhar Faani and Fazil. Among Hindus this thread was carried ahead by poets like Swamy Parmanand, Lakhman Joo Bulbul and Kishen Raazdan who composed Lela etc. All of them are revered, may be some of them bear even mystic strain that is clearly either of Tassawuf or of Trika Shaster but they do not belong to Kashmir Mystic School of Thought.

In Sheikh's poetry reference of any love-lore, local or foreign is totally absent. Our later mystic poets have all localised the love stories of Laila Majnu of Arabia and Shirin-Furhad of Iran as if the desert of Najad is situated somewhere near Pahalgam and the mound of Beystone which Furhad had dug out, appears to be situated just near Zabarvana of Srinagar. They have blended the allegory in those love legends with the local favourite legend of Aryan Princess Heemaal and Naga Prince Naigria. Even we have evolved local version of Ramayana under which Dandakvana is identified as a thick jungle in Pargana Hamal of northern Kashmir. All the symbols carved from these imported legends well suited to express complexities of devotion. With that set of symbols many were derived from the Heemal-Naigrai legend which include the 'Tal Patal' (lowest region infested by serpents.), 'Bale Pore', 'Heemali Heond Naag' (The spring of Heemal), entry of the serpent into the begging bag of 'Sada Ram' and coming-out form that in the form of the prince Naag Arjun (Naagi Rai or Raja Arjun) or then the drowning and disappearance of the prince from the milk drum. All these references from both the local and foreign legends, particularly from those two legends which have been too much referred by Persian Sufi poets so blended in the appropriate use that all these legends together appear facets of Kashmir

mystique. This blending of foreign and local love lore in mystic poetry is one more manifest and speaking circumstance which defy the claim that such poetry can be qualified as Sufi poetry. It is peculiarly that mystic poetry, which developed from the soil of Kashmir, has indigenous growth and evolution. However, the soil received due manure from Sufi thought that added fertility to yield richer results. It is Mir Syed Hamdani a foreign missionary who positively desired blending of spiritual values and so prepared the soil of Kashmir for such growth.

The Sheikh has used "Pyz" (falcon) and "Razahonz" (phoenix) as appropriate symbols. This has been so probably he had studied "Mantaq-u-tair" (The speech of the Birds) a long mystic poem of Farid-ud-din Attar of Neshapur (Persia) who lived during 13th century. The falcon or phoenix of the Sheikh later developed as definite mystic symbol with his successors in 19th century poetry. Peculiarly the 'Shaheen' (phoenix) is the oft-repeated symbol with 20th century Urdu poet Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal. He and the Sheikh, the both (as already) have woven egoistic mysticism around the story of Mansoor. The Sheikh has even authored a distinct poem Mansoor Nama and has even made him the sharer of secret with the Satan. This tradition has been with different dimensions carried ahead. Even particular poems under the title Mansoor Nama also were authored. Wahab Khar (1837-1912) has accorded to Mansoor one more dimension. He coins a term "Sozi Mansoor," 'Soz' is the impact of the Saaz- instrumental music. The term has basis in some personal experience of the poet, as the story of Mansoor Ibni Hallaj does not reveal any basis for coinage of such conception. Ahmad Batwari (1845-1918) connects this impact of Mansoor's music with the magic in Indar Rajas court of the Pataal, already discussed. It is to be borne in mind that the Indre Raja's love with Aryan princess relates to the pre-historic era thus thousnds of years before the episode of Mansoor. The imagination of Batwari revives the two happenings and makes them both a connected legend of his own time and as if developed in continuity with one purpose.

'Ake Nundun' is another local legend, which has devised a definite trend in blending these mystic influences. It is a story of devotion, sacrifice and forbearance relating to early Hindu period even before the birth of Christ. The legend has been the theme of mystic poets like

Ramzan But, Ahad Zarger, Samad Mir and others. Each of them narrates the story in too gripping style full with pathos without much difference but the distinction lies in the characterisation of the pivots of the story. The legend reveals the gamut of sacrifice and its facets. It we dive deeper in its antiquity we might trace its happening or emergence as an episode to the same or near about era of the Prophets Abraham and Ismail. The former was demanded by his Lord to sacrifice his son the later proved obedient as he remained contended to get sacrificed. The tale o Ake Nundun with some difference in location goes that a local king had no male issue, the queen had given birth to seven daughters, the royal couple craved for a son. They wandered from one seer to another sadhu and from sadhu to saint so that the God blessed them with a male heir. Ultimately a saint Sadhu appears, assured them with tidings to get a son but bound them under a pledge to keep the so born son at the disposal of the Sadhu when so demanded. The son is born accorded the name of Aka Nandun, reaches age of puberty, Sadhu appears once again, demands the compliance of the agreement, takes the young boy, butchers him in presence of his parents and seven sisters, the lamentation of the parents and seven sisters brings tragedy to climax. But he demands them all to co-operate with him as agreed by them earlier. They all with full hearts, are at his beck and call till he prepares seven dishes out of the butchered boy's flesh, distributes the so cooked dishes in several bowls, arrays the dish plates in a room and directs the mother and sisters to call Ake Nandun. They are reluctant to do so, but he threatens them so added insult to their injured feelings. The seven sisters are directed to call him by name from the seven windows of the palace. They cry: "Come oh Ake Nundun" and Ake Nundun appears to relish the dishes of his own flesh. This popular legend has provided seven facets of mystic expressions, which bear direct connection neither with Tassawuf nor with Savistic mysticism. This peculiar distinguishable mystic trait has local growth from the peculiar celestial psyche of Kashmir. Its moral is multifaceted.

It will make this book a multi volume reference project if we go in comparative study of original Persian Sufi poetry with Kashmir mystic verse stock. That will further require a comparative study of the Sheikh's poetry with that of the Sufi Saints of India like Baba Farid, Bule Shah (Punjab) Amir Khasrav, Chirag Dehlve, Mazhar Jani Jehan, Sarmad,

Vellothol of South India and others. Equally he is to be studied with the leading exponents of Baghti movement like Kabir and Guru Nanak. With Guru Nanank he shares use of common words and phrases, like; Kaam, Krod, Moh, Loob, Ahankar etc (desire, lust, greed, pride or arrogance etc).

We have to bear in mind that the seekers of His pleasure may tread any path but have almost similar or akin experiences. Hence we will after every such comparative study find many familiarities in all mystic conceptions but certain distinct traits justify the distinction of labels.

Some scholars are bent upon to present Sheikh Noorud Din as a Sufi Saint to justify their presentation of his successors as Sufi poets. Those scholars are requested to have mere glance upon the divisions made by the authors of Anthologies of Kashmiri Saints particularly the 3rd volume of Historian Hassan's 'History of Kashmir.' All these histories and anthologies have summed up discussions on Kashmir saints under three distinct divisions. In the first the Syed Saints have been described and discussed, in the second group Sufi Saints have been chronologically described and in the third section figure Reshi Saints.

Threadbare discussion on Tassawuf with reference to Kashmir mystic poetry on the touchstone of comparative study would make my argument more lucid but that is bound to make this work a multi volume project. In this back ground it is recommended that the students interested to understand these differences may study Tassawuf through secondary sources, like the discussions made by the Orientalists, Dr. Nicholson, F.J. Aubrey, Mathew Arnold and Prof. Brown. Even Urdu sources may prove sufficient for them. Scholars who have urge to understand the nuances in between these two mystic streams, for them these sources may not suffice. They need to study original Persian treatises on Sufism which include: 'Kashful Mahjoob' by Syed Ali Hajuri (written in 5th country Hijri- 11th century AD), Syed Shihab-ud-Din Surawardi's (12th century) "Hikmatul Ishraq", Nafahatul-uns and Lawaheh Jami both of AR Jami-880 and Sheikh Mehmood Shabistari's; "Gulshan-I-Raaz (770-A.H.). But those scholars who accept the assignments to teach Kashmir Mystic poetry, that too on post graduate level and who undertake research oriented projects on our great mystic poets should not base their study either upon the borrowed secondary

sources in English or Urdu or even upon the treatises of Tassawuf in Persian referred to above. They are requested, with stress, to study, at least, three great works of Persian Sufi literature Viz Hadiqatul Haqeeqat of Hakim Sanai (440-545 AH) Mantaq-ul-Tair of Sheikh Farid-ud-din Attar (6th century A.H) and Masnavi of Maulana Rumi. Besides, must have studied Kashmiri literature.

Local Influences Upon Sufi Orders *(Silsilas)*

In the Sufi world, both among Arabian countries and in 'Ajam' (Non-Arab countries) we are told more than two dozens of mystic orders are in vogue. Dr. Nicholson and Mr. Aubrey the two eminent Orientalists have both referred (in their respective works) as many as fourteen 'Silsilas' among which Gnostic form of meditation has remained dominant. What is a mystic order? Pertinent question arises for precise discussion. We have earlier referred Dr. Sir Mohd Iqbal's contention that there is no authenticity in the statement that the Prophet divulged certain close-breast celestial secrets either to Abu Bakar or to Ali, his two close companions. But the history of evolution of Tassawuf has created a formidable tradition that the message of the Prophet had two dimensions. The transparent and unambiguous commandments devising a code for individual and collective life, the "Shariat." The path through which spirit is chiselled to achieve proximity with Absolute Soul is called "Tariqat". This second code is derived from the secrets conveyed only to select companions, Abu Baker and Ali. It is also based on weaker evidence. In practice, during his lifetime a group of his close dedicated and disciplined companions practised upon those secrets on a raised dais (Sufa) within the precincts of Prophet's Mosque at Madina. Those companions are known as 'Ashabi Sufa' (the occupants of the dais) and hence one of the concepts about etymology of Tassawuf.' It is further stated that through Hassan of Basra (641-728) these hidden secrets conveyed to Abu Baker and Ali percolated down line and each interpretation in the form of devotional meditation evolved into an Order. Such particular interpretation of Gnostic practices remained connected with the interpreter who simultaneously becomes the source of guidance and pioneer of that particular Gnostic practice called: "Silsial". Only one interpretation through Hassan of Basra gets linked with Abu Baker, and

all others are connected with Ali.

One ambiguous and intricate mystic form of meditation which derives origin neither from Abu Baker nor from Ali is connected with Owais of Karan in Yemen (Death 642 AD). It has been said earlier that he was contemporary dedicated lover of Prophet but two had never met physically. Other Silsilas (Orders or mystic clans) spread among the Seekers of Absolute truth world-wide. This impression needs to be dispelled that these mystics had any differences inter se. We should not see them as protagonists of different doctrines as we find in Sunni and Shia theocratic contentions nor do they differ in the manner in which the followers of different schools of Muslim Jurisprudence do differ with each other. Emergence of these Silsilas (orders) is due to genuine urge for adoption of dedicated paths to reach the ultimate destination and to open competition among the lovers of the common beloved to win this pleasures. The study of these orders and the life styles of those saints who adhered to such Silsilas (paths, clans) will show that a particular saint has simultaneously been practitioner of more than one Silsila or has even guided disciples to more than one path (order).

In the sub-continent many such mystic clans chiselled the spiritual aspirations of the seekers of truth. Particularly significant among those are 'Chisti,' 'Qadri', 'Suhrawardy', Naqashbandi Silsilas which all developed local offshoots also. Dominant among all has been the Chisti spiritual clan, as the main missionary of Islam in India has been Khawaja Moin-ud-Din Chisti (1142-1236 AD). He developed under his own guidance a precious and dynamic nucleus of dedicated saints who spread both Islam the Chisti spirituality in India. Conspicuously the Chisti influence did not enter Kashmir. Neither Islam was introduced through Chisti missionary efforts in Kashmir nor Chisti mystic order had any roots here up to the end of 16th century. On this ground too Kashmir has not been and cannot be deemed a part of the sub-continent but a bridge of influences between the countries of Central Asia and the Sub-continent. Dr. A.Q. Rafiqui has in his Ph.D. Dissertation (later edited and published under the name: 'Sufism in Kashmir') made relevant discussions about such Sufi Orders which have dominated Kashmir spiritual urge but has made no reference of the entry in Kashmir of Chisti Silsila. The book is an important work, rather a maiden attempt to

introduce the subject to English readership. As new facts got excavated the book is therefore in dire need of total revision. It was Sheikh Baba, Radho Mohammad Chisti (D: 1721 AD) who introduced this cult in Kashmir, i.e.; after several centuries of its dominance in the sub-continent. However, it has been Surawardy Cult, which was practised by the first Muslim missionary who entered in Kashmir viz; Bulbul Shah, Syed Abdur-Rehman. Even three eminent Sufi saints respected contemporaries of the Sheikh namely Baha-ud-Din Gunjbakhsh, Sultan Phukhli and Haji Adhami were adherents of the Surawardy Order. But, in spite the clan could not take its deeper roots. None of the converted new entrants in Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah is known to have achieved such spiritual eminence, which could attract popularity. Similarly, none of the disciples of the above referred three saints did achieve some conspicuous distinction nor are we told that they had recruited disciples to succeed them. Mohammad Amin Mantaqi known as Owaisi Sahib buried in Bulbul Lanker another contemporary of the Sheikh lived as the adherent of Owaisi Cult but he too did not recruit his independent cadre. Owais Karni, to whom we are introduced, attracts the Sheikh and so he with pride claimed his spiritual lineage with that saint of Yemen. In spite, Reshi Mystic form is not Kashmir version of Owaisi spiritual sect but with many similarities it has grown locally and developed under locally suited environs and ceased to function as active code of conduct for local reasons. Other spiritual orders in vogue here in Kashmir were also lately introduced. It is amazing that who revolutionises Kashmir in all respects, that stalwart himself great mystic leader of his time and head of the Kubrawi Silsila did not admit any local convert to his Order. The man on whose hands thousands accept Islam is not reported to have taken any local convert to the spiritual heights. His Kubrawi Silsila has produced a galaxy of saints but from those foreigners who entered Kashmir with him or with his son and none from local converts. His son Mir Mohammad Hamadani by his fanatic behaviour, which was quite contrary to the missionary spirit and inspiration of his esteemed father, could neither contribute to the drive of conversion to Islam nor made any headway to spread the Kubravi Order. It has been repeatedly asserted that later fanaticism with certain anthologists made them to distort the record to the extent that Wahab Noori in his fanatic

fantasy claims that the Sheikh was a new convert. Thus ignored the certain mention made by the Sheikh himself in his poems that the name of his father was Salar-ud-Din. Dr. Rafiqui is correct to say that Nuri:"was bent upon to show that the Reshis were Kubrawi." In spite of the mutilation in the record and tradition by these anthologists of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the facts as prevailed during fourteenth century are self-speaking. It is thus evident that this Order (Kubrawi) too did not take roots immediately.

Quadiri Silsila is the dominant spiritual cult in the Muslim world but queerly it too is late entrant in the mystic fold of Kashmir. Great saint Syed Abdul Quadiri Jilani 1078-1165 has established it in Bagdad. It is reported that Syed Niamatullah Quadiri introduced this cult in Kashmir sometime in last four decades of sixteenth century. He too could not recruit from locals but handed over the reigns of leadership of the Order to Mir Mirak Anbrabi whose ancestors had come from Central Asian City during fourteenth century. He too had not recruited such disciples who could carry the thread ahead so another foreigner Syed Ismail Shamsi again comes from India to spread its influence. He also leaves this country after sometime but finds a distinguished successor in Mir Nazuk Quadiri who in real sense creates dominant influence of this Order here by the end of seventeenth century and dies in 1614 AD.

Khawaja Mohammad Bahaud-Din Mohammad Naqashband popularised Naqashbandi Order established in Turkistan, hence the cult was called Naqashbandi. It flourished by the start of fourteenth century in our vicinity towards the north on the other side of the river Amyl. It was the time when we had influx of influences from that area and it is also part of the history that Naqashband's fan Timor had eye upon this country. He then deputed his ambassador Noor-ud-Din to the court of Sultan Sikander but in spite this spiritual influence did not cross the river Amyl to enter Kashmir. However one of the disciples of Naqashband Sahib, Syed Hilali settled in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikander. He could not create any nuclease of disciples except to guide for some time Syed Amin Mantaqi Owisi Sahib whom later admits Haji Abraham Adhami to his own discipline. Later Mantaqi was, either by his own inclination or spiritually or directly by some saint introduced to Owaisi Mystic Order and was therefore called Owaisi. The logically

unavoidable deduction is that either these spiritual leaders themselves consciously left spiritual revolution to exclusive domain of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din or in presence of the mass popularity of Reshi Order and popular inclination towards those clans could not make dent into the spiritual sensibility of Kashmiries. It is once more repeated that the Reshi saints were active from the tenth century and the Sheikh only organised it as a philosophy and movement.

It has been said that the Sheikh has not made any mention of Muslim saints by name except that of Owais of Karan and of Syed Ali Hamdani and his son Mir Mohammad. As regards Syed Ali Hamdani he says that he (Nund Reshi) had requested him (the Syed) to lead him to paradise by admitting him in his mystic fold. It is just a factual mention about his life story. Likewise he only writes a chronogram on the arrival of Mir Mohammad. Beyond that it bears no connotation. It is also said that later in 18th century an anecdote crept in Reshinamas blessed him indirectly. All these varied facts show that after his death almost the leading Sufi cults for his popularity in the country connected him directly or indirectly to their Cults. It is under that spirit that in seventeenth century attempt was made to create a spiritual lineage between him and Mir Mohammad and thus admit him in Kubrawi fold. In this regard the import of alleged Letter of Authority has been in detail discussed. Thus it is clear that the leading Sufi Orders too common in Kashmir have developed a strong attachment within their cadres with this leading Kashmiri saint. Hence these received and accepted some of the influences from Reshi practice, which remained confined to Kashmir only. In the sub continent the beef is not only a permissible diet but also approved diet for the mystic cadres. Under Reshi influence the guide forbids the entrant into mystic fold to eat beef. The leaders of Quadiri and Kubrawi Cults viz; Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Syed Ali are so reverred by local Hindus that they swear in the names of 'Kahnowe' (the saint of eleven dimensions, Abdul Qadir Jilani) and Shah Hamdan (Syed Ali). This reciprocity of sentiments made a spiritual blending of the communal harmony.

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MERGER

Under the sub heading "Decline of Reshiyat" a hint has been thrown that in sixteenth century many saints meditating as Reshis or had adopted akin practices of meditation all had come under the influence of another greatest saint of the soil, Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom Sahib. Sheikh Hamza took birth 54 years after the death of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din in 1492 AD. He died at advanced age of about ninety years. He strictly adhered the principles of religion to the extent that according to the approved practice of his beloved Prophet he would have daily bath in running water. During chill cold he would break the ice slabs in frozen Jehlum and would perform the real ablution by taking a full-satisfied bath in the early morning. But he did not marry for his whole longer life, which is otherwise a must and obligatory. He did so for his commitment to his full time mission. Thus like the elder Sheikh he devoted his life to propagate Islam, reform the society and fight against sectarianism and also against the state interference in the religious matters. History had posed to him great challenges as some Chak rulers (Chak dynasty ruled from 1563 to 1588) tried to introduce the Shia sect by exploitation of state machinery, which was not the tradition here. Sheikh Hamza fought against such policies. It is worth mention that Sultan Ali Shah, the leading Chak ruler who ruled from 1570 to 1578 held Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom and his two disciples Baba Daud Khaki and Hardi Reshi in high esteem. He had respect and love for saints and had, besides constructed a projected veranda around the shrine at Tsarar-I-Shasrief. Sheikh Hamza's ancestors had migrated from Kangra, a district in present Himachal Pardesh. Kangra was known as Nagerkot, it was many centuries back being ruled by on Raja Meg Chand who was succeeded by his son Hari Chand. After him ruled his son Malchand who was defeated

so migrated towards Kashmir and settled here in 1189. He rose to the position of the commander-in-chief in the army of Kashmir Maharaja Jay Singh who was killed by Turkish invaders. The lords of the country were in favour of installing Malchand as the King but he arranged coronation of the crown prince Parmano in 1216. He proved both hearty and naughty and did not realise the value of the asset in the guidance of Malchand who died in despair leaving behind treasures of wealth. The new Raja Rajdev appointed his son Gugchand as Wazir. Gag's son Bladhi became minister on the premature death of his father. His grand son Ramchand was appointed army chief by Raja Seha Dev who ruled Kashmir from 1301 AD till 1320 when he fled towards Kishtawar under the threat of Tatar invader Zulchu who looted and plundered Kashmir for eight months. During that period of trial Ramchand protected his family and families of many other lords in the fortress of Laar, which was his estate. The result was balkanisation, chaos, confusion and political vacuum. At this critical juncture of history a trio of personalities had under ulterior designs to grab power joined together. All the three were non-Kashmiries.

Ramchand's great grand father had settled here whereas Renchen, a defeated prince of Ladakh had just sought refuge and a Muslim migrant from Rajuri area Shah Mir had also come here to exploit his ability. In spite of the marriage of the convenience amongst the three they were all waiting for a situation to grab the vacant throne and the wittiest Renchen stole the opportunity. To strengthen his hold he married Ramchand's daughter Kota Rani and appointed her brother Rawanchand as his Prime Minister. Sooner Renchen embraced Islam at the hands of Syed Abd-ur-Rehman Bulbul Shah so Rawanchand also became a Mussalman. Rawan was accorded title of Raina that meant 'The Lord'. Rawan Raina's son was then known as Malik Abdal Raina who was succeeded to his position by his son Daulat Raina. His son was Malik Outur whose son Halmat Raina fathered Jehangir Raina. Jehangir's grand son was a landlord of Tujjar in Zaingir Pargana of northern Kashmir now part of Tehsil Sopore. His name was Usman and his both sons achieved distinction as saints. Sheikh Hamza the elder, as said, is the second greatest saint and popular among all except some sections of Shia sect who have reservations against him which are generally based on

mutilation of history. Kaji Chak dominated power during the period of the downfall of Shahmiri Sultanate and during the establishment of Chak rule. He was brother-in-law of Sheik Hamza's mother and exploited his office to convert Sunnis to his sect. This brought Mehboobul Alam (the beloved saint of the universe), Sheikh Hamza in confrontation with Kaji Chak. Some family differences added material for distortion of facts. In reality Sheikh Hamza did not oppose any propagation but tooth and nail opposed the state engineered campaign. If allowed that would have thrown the country in perpetual confrontation. It did not pose dangers to the unity of the Umma alone but had posed a threat to undo the spiritual ethos of Kashmir. It is in these circumstances that unity was forged between the two dominant mystic practices.

It is relevant to state that late Mr.G.M. Mughal, 'Rafique' after his deeper study about Sheikh Noor-ud-Din opines that the his ancestors were not from Kishtawar as is commonly said. According to him they hailed from the same Surajvansh Rajput ruling dynasty of Kangra from, which comes the Raina dynasty of Tujjar, that has given birth to Sheikh Hamza. In our study of Noor-ud-Din we have seen that dozens of his disciples have achieved mass popularity and the valley is dotted on all its sides with shrines of those Reshi saints and the same is position with the recruited cadres of Sheikh Hamza.

Like the elder Sheikh he also traveled the darling motherland Kashmir and did not embark upon wider tours beyond the country following his senior. Like the Sheikh he established centres of his mission in all corners of the country. Like the Sheikh he meditated in the deeper environs of the natural beauty, which the Sheikh qualifies as 'adornment of peaks and cliffs as their thrones." He adorned the Mount of Maaran as his throne where finally he was buried and where his shrine is the second popular pivot of love and reverence with all sections of population.

It has been also said that within a century, the Reshi practices were found very difficult and the Reshi movement received set back by the infused corruption set in the Reshi cadres by the Mughal imperialism. Hence the leadership of Kashmir spiritual movement was entrusted to Sheikh Hamza who devised Makhdoomi local mystic cult out of Surawardy Order. The followers of the both towering stalwarts forged

one front, under one banner to carry to the posterity the spiritual movement. It has been asserted that the revolution, which Bulbul Shah pioneered to revolutionise Kashmir politics, which Syed Ali harbingers to imbibe mass revolution and which Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, consolidates to revolutionise the spirit that process culminates with seal of revolution affixed by Sheikh Hamza.

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The Reshi Centres

The Tsrar (Central Headquarter)

Tsrar was originally called Tsrarvana which connotes that it was a dense forest. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din on the last leg of his first tour selected this place as his headquarter. He did not wish to beg or borrow space for establishment of his preaching centre, houses for board and lodge of his cadres and the mosques. This estate was a state grant granted by the ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Sehdev to great-grandfather of the Sheikh viz. Durupta Sher. It will be discussed later. However, presently geographical location of the place seeks preferential treatment. Pertinent is to state that after the establishment of the Reshi Headquarter here, the suffix "Vana" was deleted and the place became known as Tsrar. After the death of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din in 1438, the Tsrar became Tsrari Sharief. It is not exactly known when this "Sharief" was added but seems to have acquired such recognition during the end of Shahmeeri reign. However, Mughals and Pathans, the foreign rulers, could not pronounce Tsrar so changed Tsrar into Charar, thereby mutilated its essence, eroded its historical background and made the phrase (the name of the place) meaningless. "Tsaar" is a Kashmiri word which means; to choose. Thus Tsaran, the original name of the place, meant the 'chosen place'. This connotation is fortified by the opening stanza of the poem of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din composed about this place. This poem is included as an appendices I to this Chapter.

The town Tsraari Sharief is situated at the height of 9400 feet above sea level and is towards southwest of the city of Srinagar. It is the only city in the Budgam District with 740.49' and 330.52'. According to my research, the locality under the present city of Tsarar-i-Sharief was known as Tsrar Vana (the forest of Tsrar). It consisted of three distinct parts viz. Shiet Veir, Owkhjimandow and Doonikule Naar. On its south situates a very deep ditch which is called Arzan Garzan and closely on its

northern side situated wide area of fertile landed estate called Rahkaai which extended via Haapathnaar up to the uncertain water stream known as Apezaer. The word 'Apezaer' indicates that the stream is uncertain and untruthful. The name has been so given as just it is flooded with water and within moments it dries up. Tilsara was tiny principality during the reign of Raja Sehdeva who ruled Kashmir up to 1320 AD. The estate holder of Tilsara regularly paid tribute to the central authority at Srinagar so was allowed to recruit his own forces, defend his territory and maintain his own fortress. It is also said that this ruler, Khumni Vano, appointed great-grandfather of the Sheikh, Ogra Sanz as keeper of his fort. He was then elevated to the rank of garrison commander. In recognition of the services rendered by the Sanz family to the Khumni Vano dynasty of Tilsara, the latter allotted Jagir to the former comprising of the areas:- Arzan Garzan, Doonikul Naar, Sheet Veir, Okhjimandow, Hapathnaar, Rahkai and the area beyond that up to the southern bank of stream Apezaer. There presently situate villages of Rupavan and Hafrubatapora. It is also earlier said that at the last leg of his extensive tour of his country, the Sheikh stationed at Rupavan, within his inherited Jagir. It is also earlier said that the father of the Sheikh, Salar Sanz migrated from Tilsara and had established his position in the village Gudsathu, that is now in close vicinity to the Srinagar Military Airport. Therefore, he had appointed a sub-tenant in charge of his Jagir from Arzan Garzan to Haftru Batpora. The tenant, Sangram Dar lived within the precincts of Sheetvari, where he had raised a big orchard of grapes. Later the Sheikh established in his life-time headquarter of reshi Movement near and around this grape orchard located upon Sheetvari. On its east, situated the locality of Doonikul Naar, which was a small valley situated in two slopes and had enough of walnut trees. The Sheikh would supervise this headquarter from the small hut he had constructed in Rupawan, where he untiringly meditated. As the number of trainee reshis increased immensely, the Sheikh consolidated the centre of all activities at Sheetvari in the Tsar forest. He constructed boarding-cum-lodging houses for the inmates of Reshi centres, a mosque and a training centre for the reshis. In the nearby locality, descending towards Srinagar, (where now locates Satellite Town of Alamdaar Colony, earlier called as Zalus) he established a training centre for lady

reshis, which was supervised by his wife Zai Ded and managed by his two lady disciples Duhat Ded and Buhat Ded. These two ladies have actively entered into discourse with Mir Mohammad Hamdani (RA) at this very place sometime in 825-26 (AH) corresponding to 1411-12 AD. Both these ladies are buried there. A magnificent shrine has been constructed at their graves adjoining a Jamia Mosque.

Late Ghulam Mohammad Mugloo - Rafique who has made much research on Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali (his whole work is disarrayed and unpublished) opines and records that the Sheikh had armed confrontation with Mullas of his time whom the poet Sheikh has targeted to the severe type of criticism. I have not found any material which can support directly such advanced preposition. Rafique also goes to the extent of saying that the Sheikh and Mir Mohammad Hamdani had entered into armed confrontation. Though I disagree with this assertion and leave it to the work of the future researcher, yet I have no hesitation to accept the view of Rafique to the extent that the Sheikh in his lifetime got a fort constructed around the so established reshi headquarter at Tsrar and fixed a big gate at particular point at Kukarseena. The road leading via Kukarseena to and from Tsrar was the only means of communication of this reshi Headquarter. So, at this particular point of entrance into the precincts of this Headqarter, the Sheikh got fixed a gate in the wall of this fort. Upon this gate was a room in which drum was fixed and drum beater was posted to beat the drum as he would detect arrival of some caravan towards the reshi centre. On hearing the drum beating, the Sheikh or his lieutenant or his disciple or his successor would under a guard proceed to the gate and examine the exit interests of the party and then after the proper scrutiny, the caravan or party of the guests would be allowed entry, otherwise refused to enter. In case of persistence, there seems that reshis would perforce clear the intrusion. It is unfortunate that these mentions or so scattered and indirect that common student of history might feel an element of exaggeration or concoction in it. Hence the following discussion becomes relevant to put record in convincing manner before our readers.

This place where this gate and drum beating station located is called Trajibal and Mohalla 'Nagar Khana'. The former name has been accorded to it because a pond fed under rainwater existed there up to late

fifties. 'Nagar Khana' means the "drum beating place". So, this additional name could not have been accorded to the place without any background. The background is quite deducible, logically so from certain quatrains of Molvi Abdul Rasool Khanqahi, whose chronograms been added as appendix to chapter on the 'Coin' so that this valuable, unpublished source of history is duly preserved. In one of such poems consisting of seven verses, Late Khanqahi has composed a chronogram about the fixing of the door in the Nagar Khana in 1225 AH as the same was burnt to ashes sometime back. In the same year, according to another poem of five verses, the fort has been constructed around the headquarter Tsrar including the Madrassa situated in the same fort in the same year. This devastating fire had taken place in 1206 AH or 1790-91 AD. Future details will show that during the same period, either by the end of 18th century or by the beginning of 19th century, Khanqahi Noorani was reconstructed, Sheikh's shrine was renovated and other building too were reconstructed. It is inferred from these poems that by the end of 18th, century whole town of Tsar-i-Sharief was reduced to ashes except the shrine which was only damaged. The ocular tradition, so strong conforms this. According to Molvi Abdul Rasool, Pathan Ruler Atta Mohammad Khan Durani had posted a contingent of army at Tsrar which during this devastating fire protected the shrine complex from perfect destruction.

Atta Mohammad Khan was a dedicated fan of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali. This aspect we have discussed pertinently in detail under the chapter "Noorani Coins". It is to be conveyed that this benevolent foreign ruler of Kashmir, Atta Mohammad Khan reconstructed what already existed before fire. Hence it is asserted that the fort around Tsrar fitted with a Nagar Khan existed from good old days. There is no direct or indirect mention in chronicles that any monarch of Sultanate (Shahmeeri or Chak) had constructed fort or Nagar Khana. Therefore it is inferred that the contention of late Rafique is correct that the fort around this headquarter was constructed under the directions of the Sheikh and his supervision. The fort was thus destroyed within three hundred years by the fire in the last decade of 18th century. However, there is specific mention in histories that during the reign of Sultan Yaqub Shah Chak, the Khanqah Noorani gutted completely and he entrusted its

reconstruction to eminent two rich lords of Kashmir. This reconstruction has taken place in 1565 AD. It is also reported in tradition that the said Khanqah which was gutted during the reign of Yaqub Shah, was constructed immediately by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470) after three decades of the death of the Sheikh and on the same location where till then stood the mosque constructed by the Sheikh himself. Khalil Baba and Kamal Baba, the two veteran anthologists are of the opinion that the first Khanqah after the demolition of the Sheikh's mosque was constructed by Yaqub Shah Chak and no Khanqah existed before that. Thus the tradition that Zain-ul-Aabidin had constructed the first Khanqah has no basis. The area was so widened that the land under and appurtenant to the Sheikh's constructed mosque, became the central part of the wooden Khanqah constructed by Yaqub Shah Chak. It is also said that the fort existed from the very start around the shrine. The first market which developed in this place after it became a locality, was called Qila Market and is known today as Kalai Bazar.

Further, the same researcher Rafique has argued that the ditches around the shrine were initially got dug out by the Sheikh through his disciples to follow the tradition of the Prophet Mohammad SAW which he has created during the war of Ditches (Jang-e-Khandak). He has argued that those very ditches, due to erosion became wider, darker and dangerous. He has supposed that so was done by the Sheikh because he then apprehended attacks on his centre by the violent Mullah, hence took such defensive measures. The present topography of Tsrar supports this contention but in absence of ancillary material, acceptance of this preposition is not plausible.

The under training reshis would receive training and guidance at this headquarter from the Sheikh himself, then from his chief disciple Baba Nasar and after his death by his successors and such trained cadre would be assigned duties to work either at any sub-centre situated in any of the pargana of Kashmir or would be asked to cultivate for this reshi centre the landed estates at Tsravni, Tsraripora and Rahkai (the landed estates which formed the part of Sheikh's ancestral Jagir). Such trained reshis were asked to return to their social life so that their interaction with the society would have itself created and organised nuclease of God fearing cadres. Such caderisation in the social life established a pious

culture. It took Mughal imperialism, Pathan oppression, massacre of values by Sikhs, the suppression let loose by Dogras and policies of corruption initiated from October 1947 till date more than three hundred years to erode the piety established by Rishyat but has not succeeded till date.

It has been hinted that a small market did grow in vicinity of the fort which was built around the shrine complex. It has also been said that this market has been known as Kalai Bazar. Initially this market provided necessary supplies to the inmates at this reshi Centre and to the groups of the pilgrims who would, from nook and corner of the country, come for pilgrimage. These pilgrims would prepare their food themselves either in the open or in this very fort which had sufficient accommodation for pilgrims. There was no system (as later prevailed) of Khadims at Dargah Sheikh Noor-ud-Din who would serve the pilgrims. The initial system was then prevalent as we witness presently in the shrine of Baba Payam-ud-Din reshi near Tangmarg Baramula. It is in the later part of the 16th century that Mughals occupied Kashmir under an arrangement of fraud and deceit. To perpetuate their rule and to severe the masses from the commitment with patriotism, Mughals introduced measures of corruption. In prosecution of such policy, on the instructions of Akbar, a landed Jagir was granted to the then Chief of the reshi Movement at Tsrar. The yield from the land granted as Jagir was 1800 mounds of paddy yearly. Besides, a Mughal lord got his daughter married to the son of the chief reshi at Tsrar viz. Haji Rasool reshi and it is he who made the office of the reshi Movement a hereditary office. He directed the reshis to accept his son as the leader of the movement after his death. With these facilities provided by the State, reshis went to active social life and turned this centre into a colony of reshis. Certain houses were built around the Khanqah adjoining the shrine complex and in close vicinity of the fort. This inhabitation created a necessity for tillers of the land, suppliers of the necessary commodities and the artisans required in a primitive village life. This growing necessity in this newly developed colony attracted from the nook and corner of the country people who, either for their economic compulsions at their places or for other reasons including the reason of attachment with this shrine made a good number of traders, artisans and peasants to migrate from their places of residence

and for settlement at this newly developing locality in Tsrarvana confined to the specific place called Sheetvari. The increasing rush from the migrants extended the territories of colonisation at this place extending from one side to the Doonikulnaar and from other side up to Owkjimandow. Thus all the three patis (sub-estates) of Tsrarvana developed into a single village. In the due course probably during the Sikh Rule (18th century) the guest houses in which pilgrims would prepare their food and spend nights were closed. The Jagirs granted by Mughals and Pathans were withdrawn by the Sikhs so the maintenance of those boarding and lodging houses became initially difficult and later impossible. It is inferred from the circumstances that they were closed. The position in Hazratbal where in 1711 AD Bulaqi Banday, the husband of Anayat Begum and son-in-law of Haji Noor-ud-Din Ishbari (RA) had declared a Wakf of Bagh-e-Sadiq Khan and Bagh-e-Afrasiyab Khan (present Hazratbal) both acquired by Anayat Begum was similarly deteriorated. According to this wakf the income to the shrine from offerings and Jagir was apportioned in three shares. One was to go to the maintenance of board and lodge for Faqirs; the second was to be utilised for repairs and renovation of the shrine and the third portion was to go to the heirs of the testator Bulaqi Banday. As the Sikhs withdrew the grants and with the poverty which consequently prevailed upon the Muslims of Kashmir, the income of shrine squeezed to meagre offerings. Hence the descendants of that very Anayat Begum whose father purchased Moi Muqadas from Bejapur (Karnatak) for one lac of Rupees and who purchased for the similar sum the Bagh-e-Sadiq Khan alongwith Ishrat Kada (Pleasure House - Guest House), fell upon this meagre income to feed their increased burden of families. Within some years, once rich lord of Kashmir evolved the profession of Pir-Mureed and would serve the pilgrims as their source of income. Similar situation prevailed at Tsrar. These pious reshis of Tsrar, who till then led the nation towards a pious destination turned into refined beggars and made their homes abode for paying guests. They would receive the pilgrims, would serve them and in return would receive meagre offerings with which they would sustain. This system developed in haphazard manner which gave rises to disputes among the reshi families. Later on, it was regulated amongst themselves in the manner that different families were allotted different areas in

Kashmir to receive guests from that area only and to go to those respective areas for collection of offerings during winters. It made a similar relationship of Pir & Mureed and a devotee living in any area of Kashmir would specifically know the family and the person whom he would recognise as his 'Reosh'. Thus the Reosh (reshi) who was to chisel the ingrained spiritual intellect reduced into an entertainer who would entertain his allotted pilgrim at his residence when he would come for pilgrimage. In due course of the time these reshis brought under cultivation land around this village Tsrar-i-Sharief on all the four sides up to an area of 3 to 5 Kilometres. This bulk of land is dependent on rainfall as it has no other system of irrigation. Tsrar, as said, is situated on a plateau which is devoid of any stream, canal or even a spring. There was only one spring from good old days situated in Doonikulnaar ditch and that formed the background to identify that area as Pokhribal. Pokhri means a small spring. 'Bal' means a locality around the water. So the Doonikulnaar Mohalla was a small locality around this small spring. In early fifties of the 19th century, the houses at Pokhribal were acquired by the State, demolished and that ditch was greatly filled in to save the shrine from erosion. It is for this absence of water that paddy the staple grain could not grow in this village. Hence the population had to import this essential commodity of paddy mainly from Parganas of Chhiraat, Shahoora etc in districts of Pulwama and Anantnag. The main produce of Tsrar are; maize, wheat and pulses. Due to shortfall of rains, every alternate crop proves a failure. Thus out of two or three years, agriculturists of Tsrar would only once enjoy a better yield. That yield too had seasonal variations, sometimes he would yield better Rabi crop (wheat) and sometimes only Kharif crop i.e. maize. He had to sell his maize and wheat and purchase in lieu of it paddy. Usually this bargain would prove costly for him. Hence up to my childhood (up to 1950s) the majority of Tsrar agriculturists would take "Makai Waath" as one time diet and the use of rice would confine to dinners only. Makai Waath is a sort of maize puddy. It is charming in colour. It had created a necessity to possess movable two stones of grinding mill as household item of many residents. The woman would grind the maize corn but this grinded stuff should not be refined, it must be only half broken. This semi-broken maize would be boiled in a cauldron but would require much heat to boil,

so as to make a sort of puddy out of it. For the lack of irrigation, Tsrar had no vegetable growing fields. The vegetable would be imported from the plains. Local vegetable; saag, turnip, radish, carrot and tomatoes would be dried in summer and stocked vegetable would be cooked to take rice or 'makai waath'. This poor yield from this huge land made the local peasant to turn towards horticulture. Ambri apple and Naak pears became two famous of this place. But mention is pertinent that Kashmir fruit up to later 40's due to the lack of the means of communication could not reach to the market in the sub-continent, had no local rich market, so the attempted horticulture could not receive encouraging dividends till 1950. It is thereafter that the export of the fruit revolutionised the destiny of the people in Sopore. Hence the grower in Tsrar also got attracted and now his economy has gone under terrible change due to the good price he receives for his naakh pears, delicious apple, apricot and walnut. It is worth mention that as a small child I heard an old man of the town (106 years old) Ramzan Shah Murad narrated stories of his young age to my father late Haji Muqiem. He narrated in 1945 AD that around Tsrar almost whole area was under Ambri apple. According to him during the first decade of 20th century Maharaja Pratap Singh had to supply the British Army in Gilgit with hundred baskets of red Ambri apple, so, Begaar was imposed ordering growers from Tsrar and Shopian to pluck apples from orchards, pack them in baskets, carry those on their shoulders up to Bandipora, a distance of 110 KMs. Though only hundred basket were to be paid as tribute but the growers had to supply more than a thousand baskets so that the appetite of 'collectors' and other officers could also be satisfied. Thus under the pressure of persecution, the growers removed their trees and the state made felling fruit tree a cognizable offence, punishable with seven years rigorous imprisonment under section 438, Rambir Penal Code. Late Murad thereafter narrated to the terrified audience that he and his young colleagues dug out secretly within dark nights the earth near roots of Ambri trees, applied sulphur to exposed roots, filled the dugout earth and by the end of winter wide apple orchards were reduced into dry wood.

According to our research colonisation, as indicated above, started by the end of 16th century and the place grew into a known and populous village densely populated by the middle of 18th century. During the

Pathan reign, it received special attention of all the Pathan governors who were devoted to shrines particularly the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali and Sheikh Hamzah. It has been said that both the local ruling dynasties Shahmirs and Chaks had greatly attached their activities with this holy place to acquire popularity among their subjects in the country. Sensing the popularity of the Saint at Tsrar, the Mughal invader Haider Kashgari, during the Chak period swam in the troubled waters of Kashmir (which were the consequence of Shia-Sunni feuds encouraged by some fanatic Chaks), eyed upon the throne and crown of Kashmir and to popularise the act of invasion, he exploited the communal frenzies. To derive the benefit he managed to get authored a dream in which he claimed to have seen Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali and claimed that the Sheikh had in that dream directed the invader to liberate Sheikh's Kashmir from the clutches of Shia fanaticism. The concoction was so baseless that the invader, himself a historian (author of Tariekh-i-Rasheedi) has not made mention of that dream. Thus the so concocted dream was only for public consumption and not for future record. This shows the control and dominance of the personality cult of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din upon the thinking in this country. Hence some rulers for their policies remained too dedicated with Tsrar-i-Sharief. Pathan governors have excelled each other in this competition. We have said that Akbar granted Jagir to reshi centre at Tsrar-i-Sharief. Relevant is the mention that his son and successor also granted a huge Jagir to the reshis of Tsrar. The royal Farmaan issued in this behalf by emperor Jehangir is yet preserved. It has somehow escaped all the three destructive fires which consumed Tsrar since then at three times. This document is in chaste and ornate Persian and its borders are decorated with paintings made in golden ink. I will try to include its Xerox copy in this book. I have no record to prove that Jahangir has ever visited this place though he has, several times traveled on Mughal Road running from Heerpora Shopian via Botamurran to Khampur Sarai just close to Tsrar-i-Sharief. He has, alongwith Noor Jahan stayed at Rest House at Khampur Sarai and has even saved himself and his caravan from torments of the cyclone at Tsodur (Chadora) in a trunk of huge Chinar while on his way to Srinagar. It is inferred from his Memoirs. Had he paid obeisance at Tsrar shrine, he might have made mention to that

effect. It is also inferable that he might have avoided such mention lest it becomes a pretended hypocrisy. There is no activity of Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb connected either in records or in tradition with this holy place nor we come across with any mention about their governors or any of their governors to have ever visited this place. Many of them might have visited with reverence but histories are silent. Their visit to this place is mere a matter of inference because none of the histories bear a mention that any Pathan governor had shown or demonstrated deeper commitment with Tsrar or the saint at this place. But the traditions are very strong and the chronograms composed in Persian by Molvi Abdul Rasool prove that almost every Pathan governor has contributed to the renovation, reconstruction or the constructions at Ziyarat Complex of Tsrar. It is established that Atta Mohammad Khan as Additional Governor then as Governor and later as the Independent Ruler of Kashmir has constructed the Khanqah in 1812 after it was devastated by the flames of fire (See Appendices II,III,IV,V&VI). The first verse of the appendex II sums up that Atta Mohammad Khan would come to this place for pilgrimage with a contingent of his army. It is again during Pathan Rule that the walls and doors of the shrine were painted with rare paintings (See Appendices VI&VII). This decoration was done under the management of one Hashim; probably he has been either a courtier or a civil servant. It has earlier come that another Deputy Governor Gaffar Khan got fixed a door upon the Nakaarkhana. Reference may be made to appendix VIII. In 1806 the fort was reconstruct after this fire by the Pathan government. Kindly read appendix IX. Had not the local poet Molvi Abdul Rasool authored these chronograms and had not the conscious inquisitive Late Mohammad Muqiem acquired and preserved this information, we had no material to connect the Pathan governance with the development of Tsrari Sharief. On this basis the deduction is logical that prior to that Mughal governors too might have continued with the tradition which the founder of Mughal Imperialism in Kashmir, Emperor Akbar had laid but no historian felt necessity to maintain such record. Earlier to the cessation of Atta Mohammad from centre at Kabul an assistant to the Afgan Governor Lala Sukh Jeewanmal also revolted against the central authority and declared Kashmir independent. To popularise his rule he appointed a team of five eminent Persian scholars

and poets to write a five volume history of Kashmir on the style and pattern of great epic of Persia, Shahnama of Firdousi. Mulana Abdul Wahab Shaayiq was assigned the task to versify history of Reshiyat that included specific treatment to the life story, contribution and works of the Sheikh-ul-Aalam. It is not known whether the other four authors did complete the tasks assigned to them but Shaayiq authored 22000 verses in Mathnavi genre and named his gigantic contribution as Riyzul Islam. This work is already introduced to our readers but here we confine its mention to subscribe the point that under Pathan rule attachment with Tsarar and the saint buried there was so deep that a non-Kashmiri Hindu ruler had to follow this tradition in an intellectual manner.

As already said; the successors of Pathan rule, Sikhs of Punjab executed policies of hatred, discrimination and repression particularly against Muslims. Specifically glorious centres of their worship were subjected to worst type of sacrilege. Though Tsrar was farther away from their wrath yet their policies of repression perpetuated such a situation that the Khanqah which was reconstructed by Atta Mohammad Khan after the devastating fire waited completion for more than one hundred twenty years. Mention will follow. This misrule, chaos and confusion eroded all the existing traces of the Reshiyat which the degenerated Reshi somehow carried with from the start of Mughal imperialism, but with many odds. The situation turned the successor of this great Reshi as a beggar who would spend whole winter out of his home in different villages of Kashmir collecting the offerings in kind from the villagers. Those villagers too were not in a position to offer cash or any considerable quantity of grain but each house would offer some kilograms of paddy. It has been said that his agricultural yield was too poor as it depended upon rainfall, in the result, the Tsrar felt in nadir of pauperism. This compelling economic situation made the descendents of the last Reshi viz. Haji Rasool Reshi to make a false claim that Tsrar Vana, (as it existed before colonisation) belonged to Sangram Dar who as a disciple of the Sheikh granted it to his master to construct the Reshi Centre. We have on the cogent reasons countered this contention and have proved that Tsrar Vana from Arzan Garzan up to present village Hafroo, Batpora was granted as Jagir by Raja Sehdeva in 1320 A.D. to the predecessors of the Sheikh. Sangram Dar, an original resident of

village Gudasuthoo was a trustee appointed by Salat Sanz (Salar-ud-Din). It is from him that Sheikh received possession and declared Waqf upon the said land for establishment of Reshi headquarter. Those descendents of Rasool Reshi further contended that the daughter of Sangram Dar was given in marriage by Sheikh Noor-ud-Din to junior most Reshi recruit Zoogi Reshi whom he entrusted to the care of his chief disciple Baba Nasr-ud-Din. It is reported that Sangram was survived by two sons Ismail and Yousuf who were both made by the Sheikh in charge of the landed estate attached to the headquarter and situated at the village Tsravani. Sangram Dar's daughter was given in marriage to Zoogi Reshi. It is averred that Sheikh desired that his mission be carried through the descendents of Zoogi Reshi couple. The point cannot be disputed but it cannot be attributed that he desired that the descendents of Sangram Dar's daughter would turn the shrine of the Sheikh as an industry for earning livelihood. It is further stated that Zoogi Reshi had four sons and two daughters through this wife. Sons were Ilyas, Karim Hashim and Nizam and two daughters were Hajra and Rabia. Hajra was married at Ashmuqam whereas Rabia was also married to a young newly recruited Reshi Abdul Rahim. She gave birth to two sons Rustum and Qadir. It is during the Sikh rule that descendents of these Ilyas, Karim, Hashim and Nizam sons of Zoogi Reshi and Rustum and Qadir sons of his daughter Rabia overthrew the Khilafat system of Rehsiyat, introduced offices of Sajadah Nishineen (the keeper of the shrine), Fateh Khwan (who offers Fateha), Tosh Khwan (the incharge of relics) and that of the Imam, Waiz and Khatib. Each office was occupied by the descendents of these six persons and thus the democratic Reshi movement was instutionalised to exploit the eminence and the popularity of the Saint. Sooner a dispute arose as how to distribute and apportion the offerings which the Sajadah Nisheen receives at the main gate entering to the Shrine. Ancillary dispute also arose about the rotation (Noubat Dari) according to which the office of the keeper of shrine would rotate among these families. The dispute became too sever resulting into litigation which was carried to the time of third Dogra Maharaja the late Maharaja Pratap Singh. It is in the first decade of the twentieth century that the said Maharaja made a historic judgement of about the distribution of this revenue received by way of the usurpation

of the shrine. According to this decision this particular item of revenue was apportioned into thirteen shares. Seven shares went to the descendents of the sons of Zoogi Reshi and the six shares were allotted to the descendents of the two sons of Rabia. Mention is pertinent that the offices of Toshkhwani, Fateha Khwani, Imamat and Preacher (Wazkhwan) were exclusively left within the descendents of the four sons of Zoogi reshi. It is through this judgement of Maharaja Pratap Singh that the right to receive offerings was recognised though Sheikh had no issue of his own nor such exploitation of his shrine is at all permissible by Islam and even by the ethics created by the reshi Order. In consequence to this judgement pressure to open new places within the shrine complex to receive offerings mounted more which culminated into begging rather extortion. Tsrar-i-Sharief - abode of learning turned into a mass of illiterates and the oldest school of the locality could not grow into a middle standard school up to mid forties. Though the primitive type of Maktab and Madrassa run privately by tutors, imparted elementary schooling in reading of holy Quran, some Persian books of Muslim jurisprudence and ethics and the poetry of Sheikh-ul-Aalam (that too confined to such verses which have little literary valve). The so educated person could hardly recite Quran but was unable to write his own name even. It is in this background that one disabled peasant boy Late Gulam Ali Dar became the first Matriculate who obtained degree from Punjab University in 1933. He had the honour to become the first graduate, the first teaching graduate and first Gazetted Officer of Tsrar-i-Sharief. He remained on the teaching staff of the local school and became the harbinger of education in the locality, rather in whole area around Tsrar. It is for his dedication and commitment that the then Inspector of Schools, Kashmir Division, Late Tayyub Shah Siddiqi elevated the status of this middle school to that of high school. This author is one of the six students of first batch who passed matriculation through this school from J&K University Hazratbal in 1951. Thereafter people of this place did not look back and now this town is, Kerala of Kashmir as for as literacy is concerned. Probably every family has one or the two members employed in one or the other department of the government.

It is in 1921, that the rich businessmen/Jagirdaars joined together

and formed a committee which gave finishing touches to Khanqah Noorani that was constructed by Atta Mohammad Khan in the first decade of 19th century. Due to his defeat at the hands of Fateh Mohammad Khan and thereafter due to overthrow of Pathan regime by Sikhs, this two-storied Khanqah remained without proper roofing. It is thereafter in 1921 that the roof of papyrus was laid upon it as was the common fashion. The same committee of Kashmir Lords made necessary repairs in the shrine complex too. Late Sultan Ali Shah Chak had sometime in 1574 AD constructed a cornade of Deodar wood around the shrine, each pillar was carved with designs representing the majesty in Kashmir beauty and the other woodwork called panjrakaari was reportedly masterpiece of dexterity. After partial damage caused by the fire to this mausoleum in the first decade of 19th century, the necessary repairs were made by Pathans but finishing touches remained undone. This cornade was built afresh in 1921. On the conclusion of these repairs in Khanqah and shrine, the devotees throughout the country celebrated the occasion with gaiety. It was so because under the compulsion of extreme poverty, pressure of political terror and for their suffocated aspirations, the people hardly believed that they had capacity both financial and otherwise to undertake such small repairs. Hence these celebrations. It is on this occasion that the Poet of Humanity and the Harbinger of Revolution Late Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948) composed a panegyric of 200 verses in Persian. Some verses of it will be given as specimen as an appendix to this chapter. [See Appendix: X on page 476]

It has been said earlier that Tsrar-i-Sharief has neither a river nor a stream running through it nor even any perennial spring. It is in this situation that three ponds were dug out on the three sides of the town which were fed either on the rainwater or a canal was connected with a stream running from Yousmarg. As this canal had to run through deeper ditches en route, so wooden channels were fixed at such places. These channels would usually break either with overflow of water or with heavy rains or with snowfall or by any other defect. Hence the water supply to these ponds would be scarce rendering the water contaminated with germs. Residents of the place and the huge rush of pilgrims from outside would use the same water of these three ponds (Talabs) for drinking, cooking of food, bath, ablution and washing of clothes. Even

the localities around these ponds would misuse this water to carry for irrigation of their kitchen gardens. Boed Talab (biggest pond) had and continues to have an element of sanctity attached to it for the reason that in the midst of it, exists a trunk of walnut tree on which last bath was given to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din before his burial. It is thus that the water of this pond was usually then being taken by the pilgrims in bottles or vessels to their places just like pilgrims to Makkah carry with them on their return the water of Zam Zam. Detecting this contamination and its effect on health a doctor from Islamabad, who was posted here as Medical Officer, took upon himself to construct the pond hygienically suited. Hence Dr. Sheikh Abdul Majeed constituted a committee with the headmaster of local middle school as its chairman and the local graduate teacher Ghulam Ali Dar as the Secretary. This committee raised donations and took charge of the repairs of the canal feeding this pond. Mention is necessary that there-before the canal was maintained under Halsharee (Voluntary) scheme initiated by reshis. This Halsharee programme was in vogue in every place in and around Kashmir for maintenance of canals, roads and other works of public utility. During the Dogra rule, this Halsharee initiative too was subjected to a sort of corves (begaar). Such element of force caused grave infirmities to the work done resulting into too often breakage to the wooden channels connecting the water supply from one plateau to the other. However, the repairs of Boed Talab only could not satisfy the needs, so local Zaildaar Late Jalal-ud-Din Haji raised donations to repair on similar lines the smaller pond situated in between Khanqah and the shrine complex. This plan could not achieve the target as after the landing of Indian forces in Kashmir, Jalal-ud-Din was dubbed as a voice for accession with Pakistan, was taken as prisoner and was confined in jail. The third Talab at Trajibal got totally ignored, dried up and now a mosque stands at that particular place.

It is 1951 the Deputy Prime Minister In the cabinet of Sheikh Mohammad Abudllah, viz. Late Bakshi Gulam Mohammad took upon himself to have necessary repairs in the shrine complex and to fix GCI sheets upon the roof of Khanqah as the papyrus roof could not withstood rains and snow, so, rain water would ooze inside the mosque. To carry the work ahead, he formed a committee known as "Intezamiya

Committee Ziyarati Tsrar-i-Sharief" that was manned exclusively by the leading transporters of Srinagar. Sooner Bakhshi felt that mere repairs cannot do and hence renovation was planned. It was really a gigantic task. There was no space for extension as in front of the shrine situated a big mound, which the reshi dynasty (later known as Babas), had turned into a graveyard. On the back of this mound existed a deeper ditch upon the mouth of which a public lavatory existed to fulfil the public convenience. It was too sensitive decision to dig out that mound containing the graves and fill in that ditch, so removed earth. The ditch was full with dirt and filth. The susceptibilities of the descendents of those buried ancestors where emotionally involved. But ignoring the stiff opposition Bakshi embarked upon the plan and sometime during this digging out of the mound he met a minor accident which caused minor fracture to his legs. He interpreted it as an admonition and changed his idea. A spiritualist Ghulam Qadir Kubravi informed the Bakshi that the saint Noor-ud-Din Wali has, according to his spiritual intuition, desired that the bones and flesh of such exploiters should become part of this filth. Bakshi thereafter without any fades or hesitation renovated the shrine complex, rather revolutionise the location. One who had seen the earlier town before 1950 would get puzzled if sees in 1963. With all my differences with Bakshi and particularly his policy of imbibing the corruption in the veins of Kashmiris it will be my dishonesty if I do not keep a record for the posterity that neither Bakshi nor his dynasty did exploit proximity with this wholly and sacred place - the pivot of adoration of the people of this state. On the other hand Sheikh Abdullah did with Hazratbal. From 1942 he exploited his attachment with Hazratbal to build his party and turned this shrine into a hub of political activity and a family estate.

In 1963 Bakhshi resigned under Kamraj plan and installed his dummy as his successor but Nehru got annoyed with this decision. In this political background the Holy Relic at Hazratbal disappeared and an unprecedented agitation was consequence. Please read author's book "Hazratbal Central Stage of Kashmir Politics" (Virgo Pub. New Delhi) and share my research exposing the intrigues behind the disappearance of that relic. Relevant here is to state that Bakshi got totally liquidated, Sadiq government was installed. It on the hand released Sheikh Abdullah

and his associates from the jails and on the other persecuted Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. It is in this mess of situation that J&K National Conference was converted into State Unit of All India Congress which Sheikh Abdullah resented to such an extent that he prepared the people to have social boycott against those who joined the newly established outfit. In spite of this open war between the State government headed by Sadiq and Sheikh Abdullah, the two sworn enemies coordinated efforts to overthrow Bakshi from Tsrar-i-Sharief Reconstruction Programmes. Sadiq's home minister Late D.P. Dhar got conveyed through me that they will help the Sheikh Abdullah to take any initiative under which Tsrar-i-Sharief Auqaf accedes with Hazratbal Auqaf. This message was conveyed to me through Late Abdul Hameed Kara cousin and brother-in-law of the Chief Minister Sadiq. Thus in 1964 Tsrar-i-Sharief Auqaf came under the umbrella of Jammu Kashmir Auqafi Islamia headed by Sheikh Abdullah and later in 1970-71 he declared Muslim Auqaf Trust upon these Wakf properties, which was hardly proper under Mohammadan law. No specific and worth mention constructions were made from 1964 till 1989 during the period it remained part of Muslim Auqaf Trust. Even misuse of funds is alleged. In 1990 the Chairman of the Auqaf Trust Dr. Farooq Abdullah almost migrated from the State and the Trust fell within the control of those trustees whom he had nominated. Hence majority of them, constituting upon his party men or relations also disassociated and the Vice Chairman Mr. Ghulam Qadir Drabu and a few trustees with him remained acting at the behest of the All Party Hurriyat Conference. It was probably on the secret directions from above ground or underground leadership of the movement that this author was nominated as a trustee in October 1993. Immediately after recovery of Moo-Muqqadas, I disassociated with it as I sensed that remote control was with conflicting centres. It is in this situation that in May 1995, the shrine complex the Khanqah and two-third of the town got destroyed in a devastating fire.

Before we discuss the devastations caused due to fire to this town and sacred places in the town, it is required to mention in brief as when Tsrar-i-Sharief village got recognition of a town and then as a city. It has been said that colonisation started at this place after June 1588. It is in 1556-57 when Yaqub Khan Chak was treacherously deserted by his

forces and he was forced to escape towards Kishtwar his Commander-in-Chief Abul Maulla gave stiff fight to Mughal forces but was trounced. He took refuge at Tsrar as this was the safest hideout. It is probably due to some miscreant Reshi at this headquarter who secretly lodged information with Mughal forces and so he was arrested here from. The author of Baharistan Shahi records from "Qariya Tsrar" he was arrested. 'Qaryah' means village, so is deduced that the place had started to shape into itself a village in Pargana Nagam. By the start of 20th century it had become more populated than the pargana headquarter Nagam and the latter had lost its identity as a town and as Tehsil headquarter. The pargana of Nagam had been alongwith village Tsrar-i-Sharief annexed with newly created Tehsil Sri Pratap Singh Pora (Budgam). This Tehsil extended from the skirt of Yusmarag up to the end of Tosh Maidan which now consist of a full district and is divided in six Tehsils. Swiftly by 1940-45 Tsrar-i-Sharief became the biggest village of Tehsil Sri Pratap Singh Pora (now Budgam district) out numbering in population figures the both biggest villages of the area Nagam and Beerwa. In this background the State government ordered in 1951 the establishment of the Town Area Committee at Tsrar-i-Sharief, that accorded official recognition that Tsrar-i-Sharief was the biggest village - a town in Tehsil Sri Pratap Singh Pora. The only graduate from the town late Ghulam Ali Dar was selected as the Chairman of the Committee but he was persona non grate to semi-literate imposed National Conference leaders who from October 1947 ruthlessly exploited the Tsrar area. Abdul Aziz Baba, the President, Akbar Shah Bangi Secretary, Ilyas Baba Mattoo the Treasurer and Khazir Baba Toshkhani the 'Deligate', four office bearers of J&K National Conference were imposed by the National Conference Government to exploit the area for their nefarious interests. These four persons had let loose a reign of terror. This group felt annoyed with this intrusion from a well read, refined and dedicated man. Consequently they created influence with Deputy Prime Minister of N.C. government at Srinagar. He persuaded the Health Minister Mr. Sham Lal Saraf to keep the T.A.C in suspension as his established Ziyarat Committee would, according to him, take care of the development of Tsrar-i-Sharief. Thereafter though the Town Area Committee remained suspended for a decade or more but the town

extended largely. According to 1941, its population was recorded as about 5000 men and women and in 1995 devastation the 2/3rd majority suffered the brunt directly. According to the meagre relief measures distributed, the number of effected came to 26000 persons. In other words the total population in May 1995 of the town was about 30000 persons but the figures of 1991 census (enumerated under the threat of two guns) was shown much less. Those figures were, therefore, only based on surmises.

After May 1995 devastation the sufferers were left in a lurch. They had not waited till the imposed, irresponsible and occupying governance of the Indian Governor (Retired) General Krishna Roa could come with planned scheme to rebuild the town so they made haste to build their houses in their agriculture fields and orchards spread over an area of about 8 KMs from one side and about 5 KMs area from south to north. Thus a city sprawled on this huge area and in 2004 the town was recognised into a city. Recognising this change, the State Government established Municipal Committee here and it was also declared a Tehsil headquarter. Few years back, Munsiff Magistrates Court was also opened here.

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Appendix X

Abdul Ahad Janbaz (Azad) composed persian penagyric consists of 84 verses. I have been able to decipher only 62 verses which were published in an annexure to my article in "Sheeraza" urdu Azad special number Vo:40 issues 7 to 10 year 2002. Interested students might, if so like, derive benefits from the said Journal of J & K Academy. Samle verses are:

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ولے از نورالدّین دلِ گلزار جنت شد
بیادش یاسمین در بر چمن در صحنِ من ہنگر

غُلام حلقۂ در گوش علمبر دار درگاہش
زِ ہے خاقان زِ ہے پاکان مہے انور شہے خاور

غُلامِ من بائس نامئم گرِد جامئس نوش تا یابی
نریمان فن سلیمان زر تہمتن تن غضنفر فر

بدامِ زُہد او پابستہ مخدوبِ ازل گردد
بہ کوئے جذبہ ائس گوید انا الحق واعظ و منبر

علم زد خامۂ جانباز در ہنگامہ مدحت
بہ خاقانی وطواط وظہیر وطوئی واشہر

Fires And Tsrar-i-Sharief

We have seen that the first fire occurred in Chak Rule (1538 - 1588). It is not known whether the whole town was gutted then or the only locality around Khanqah. It is however certain that Khanqah was reduced to ashes and the shrine at eastern side was particularly damaged. It is logically therefore, deduced that the flames of fire had engulfed only the western side of the shrine so that fire might have destroyed Khanqah Mohalla and might extended the damage up to eastern side of Boed Talab Mohalla. Thus that fire too might have destroyed at least half of the village Tsrar, as it then was.

Yaqub Shah Chak (1586-88) ordered the reconstruction of this Khanqah and entrusted the task to his trusted nobles including Khwaja Abul Fateh Drabu. He could not be himself associated with this construction because he was kept on pin pricks by aggressive Mughal designs and had to remain engrossed totally in the defence of his country. It is reported that on the completion of Khanqah the building was found defective. Every mosque should face towards Kaba (west in Kashmir) but its direction had some deviation. Hence Fatwa was issued to rebuild it. In the meanwhile came Neki Reshi who was in charge of Reshi Centre of 'Khoihama' pargana (now Bandipora). He was the leading Reshi saint of his time. He through his spiritual prowess is supposed to have set right the direction of this huge double storey wooden building. Later some Sunni Juaindiced Mulla mentally maligned the Sultan and attributed this misdirection to his sectarian prejudices. It is a discredit and condemnable propaganda for reasons:

a) Yaqub Shah was a true Muslim so could not have even thought of such mischief. He could not invite himself a sort of perennial wrath of Almighty by misguiding the devotees;

b) It is not only Sunni who is devoted to Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali,

but Shias, particularly Budgam district have been regular pilgrims though in lesser number. Those Shia pilgrims and traders too had to offer prayer according to Jafari Fiqah in this Khanqah. Could even a prejudicial blind ruler mislead even his own people;

c) Yaqub Shah was not sectarian by his policies. He depended for support from Sunni lords to survive. His army chief was Abul Maulla a Sunni;

d) Yaqub was devoted lover of Hazrati Sheikh. It is out of that love that on his defeat when he fled away to the Mughal India he did not take any treasure or riches with him except the autograph manuscript of Miratul Awliya - a commentary (in Persian) of Sheikh's poetry authored by Mulla Ahmad.

e) It is already said that Yaqub was himself totally engaged with wars and war like situation. The construction was carried, planned executed and completed by the Sunni artisans under the supervision of Sunni lords.

Earlier said the shrine complex too had been damaged. Those repairs were done under the orders of Yaqub's father Ali Shah Chak who also built a wooden carronade around the shrine. These all expenses were incurred by the Chak ruler from his personal purse.

Fire of 1801-02

It has been already said that the Pathan governors have all taken much care of both of the Ziyarat Tsrar-i-Sharief and of this place. It has also been said that Atta Mohammad Khan in his all capacities as Assistant Governor and then as the Independent Ruler of Kashmir remained dedicatedly attached with Tsrar. He would come to pay homage at this shrine along with a contingent of his army and had also stationed a contingent around the shrine complex for it s protection or just for reverence. During the start of his rule, this town again caught fire; the Khanqah and adjoining areas were all reduced to ashes whereas the shrine got only damaged. We have only some references about the reconstruction of some buildings or repairs of the shrine complex, which is gathered from chronograms, poems and stray verses of Molvi Abdul Rasool Khanqahi out of which some are to be appended as appendices.

There is no other record to provide details about the devastation which this fire occurred in the first decade of 19th century caused. It is, from this available material gathered that wooden Khanqah constructed during the time of Yaqoob Shah Chak in 1588 was totally gutted. As the poet Khanqahi composes a poem about the paintings made on the walls of the shrine complex during sometime in 1808-1810 leaves this matter in a doubt whether the shrine complex was constructed afresh after the fire or only decoration was added because fire had partly damaged. This conflicting situation is to a, great extent, settled by the traditional anecdote carried from one generation to another. Late Khazir Baba Toshkhwani (died 1963) while displaying the relics from the shrine pulpit would narrate a story how those relics where saved from the flames of the fire of 1801-02. He would report that the story was narrated by his predecessor grandfather who was a young boy during the occurrence of this fire. The anecdote sums up that when the whole town was gutted to the extent that it was reduced to such debris of ashes which did not contain even a spark from which locals would create flame so as to prepare there diet. It is reported that the only shrine complex remained unhurt. Then, the victims assembled in the compound of the shrine and loudly accused the saint in the grave to have been partial and had acted with utter discrimination. "*Thou hast saved thy abode and thrown us away from our huts*".

It is reported that after twenty four hours of the extinguishment of the fire a sudden flame arose from the mausoleum and got the shrine complex also reduced to ashes to the extent that the grave of the Sheikh was exposed for the first time. Thus, in such situation, I feel Atta Mohammad Khan must have, simultaneous to the reconstruction of Khanqah, reconstructed shrine complex also. Late Mr. Khwaja Mohammad Muqiem, in my view, has not been able to copy those poems, which must have been composed by Molvi Khanqahi but had copied only the one covering its decoration with paintings. In alternate, it is also possible that Muqiem might have copied but that portion might have gutted in 1965 fire. Said Toshkhwani would also narrate that the army contingent, which Atta Mohammad Khan had posted around the shrine was able to save the relics only. My father late Haji Muqiem had differences with this contention and believed that the real relics too were

gutted; only some were saved. We have already made mention of the buildings which were reconstructed or repaired after this devastating fire. Details herein amounts to a repetition

1995 Devastation:

It will make this chapter too lengthy in case background of this devastation, its five month long process, culmination in three phases, the total loss to the property, places of worship to rare monuments and to art, literature and culture is discussed even with much precision. Hence readers are recommended to read Author's 400 page book on the subject which contains exhausted, detailed and duly probed material. The book "Military Operation In Kashmir" (Mans Pub. New Delhi 2001) is the only work about this fire.

From 1989, Kashmir has remained sandwiched in between two guns. The gun which India dubs as terrorist gun and to the locals was popular culmination of 50 years struggle did burst with such big bang in the autumn of 1989 that J&K became topic of the world media. The other gun which India claims to have been used to bring to the mainstream the miscreants and derailed youth is being dubbed by the people as the gun to impose through force Indian subjugation which it has failed to impose through Machiavellian tactics. The discussion on this controversy is out of the ambit of present work. However, relevant references are highly necessary to mention something about the background of this devastation, In October 1993, some militants or pilgrims (the matter is again disputed) were holed up in the mosque of Hazratbal in which relic of the Prophet (PBUH) is preserved. Indian and government claimed that the holed up persons were militants who had taken control of the shrine to burst it with dynamite. So, did siege not only the shrine complex but the whole township of Hazratbal and created an overawing situation by burning the adjoining Dhobi Mohalla. The militants and above ground struggling leadership of J&K strongly denied this allegation and asserted that the occupying forces were bent upon to commit the sacrilege of the shrine, have put it under the siege alongwith the scapegoats - those devotees who are habituated to the night meditation in the shrine and who include woman, children and a mute devotee. To this write-up, probe into these allegations and counter

allegations is extraneous. Interested readers might read author's book "Hazratbal - Central stage of Kashmir politics" (Virgo Pub. New Delhi). The stalemate at Hazratbal came to an end by the end of the first quarter of 1994. However, the lesson which the administration could have derived was patent enough. It was the duty of the State considering itself to have been created by rule of law to bring under the umbrella of protection major shrines, particularly this shrine at Tsrar-i-Sharief, shrine of Zain-ud-Din Wali of Ashmuqaam and Baba reshi Saheb at Tangmarg. The location of these three shrines, in every respect was vulnerable and apprehension was reasonable. In middle of June 1994, I met the Home Minister of India late S.B Chavan and gave my assessment about such apprehensions. In spite no measures were taken. By the end of 1st week of November 1994, Urs celebrations at Tsrar-i-Sharief got concluded. It is during this period that a Pakistan trained militant Mast Gull, who had successfully manned, carried and executed certain actions against Indian forces (including paramilitary forces) at Tral and Zadura in district Pulwama and Dyalgam in district Anantnag, came to this place to pay homage (as he claimed) at this shrine for his successive successes. It is reported by the locals that later on he came with twenty other local as well as non Kashmiri militants, occupied a house and claimed to spend month of Ramzan at this holy place in recitation of holy Quran and with performance of Qayam-ul-Lail. With the onset of fasting month, another group of Lashker-i-Toyiba militant outfit headed by Abu Jindal also came here, occupied a house started himself leading the night prayers in Khanqah. Thus there were forty militants in two groups in this town which reasonably appeared to the administration as a sort of concentration and hence issued warnings to them to vacate from the town. Mast Gull replied the warnings with threatening to the forces and consequently exchange of fiery statements became a daily routine. The State claimed that the militants have concentrated at this place with ulterior motive to explode the shrine. This propaganda though seemed acceptable in some world capitals but locals and particularly residents of Tsrar-i-Sharief countered it as pure-false. The insistence on the part of Mast Gull not to leave before the fasting month concludes and the insistence on the part of the government that they should surrender before the government caused a situation for the destruction of the town.

It is a fact the Mujahideen/militants were subjects to the code of conduct adopted and evolved by them for themselves but the State as the protector of the person, property, culture and values of the society has to work cautiously, carefully and with prudence. We cannot ignore that had Pakistan administration or the administration of Pak administered JK or the above ground struggling leadership (APHC) desired with determination to save the situation, militants badly held in the siege of military in this town would have managed safe exit from the town in the manner and through the roots which they later adopted but after the destruction. Relevant is the mention that by the end of 1994 and with the beginning of 1995, the town of Tsrar-i-Sharief was brought under the three rings of the siege. The first ring was woven around it by 12,000 Jawans of Indian army on all sides. This ring was around the old village of Tsrar-i-Sharief that occupied Sheetvari, Owkhjimandow and Doonikulnaar. It also took into lap the extended portion of the town up to Nowhaar 2 Kms away from town towards Srinagar and up to Waza Bagh 2 Kms ahead from the town towards Yusmarag. On the north it extended up to Rahkai and on south up to Arzan Garzan. The 2nd ring of Border Security Force (BSF) guarded the military ring from extended situation sealing the all entry points into the town. This ring included the siege of many villages around Tsrar-i-Sharief. The 3rd ring commenced from the Tehsil headquarter Chadora extended via Dada Wunpura, Surasyaar, Brenvaar to Yusmarag and descended there from in a semi circle manner via Pakharpoar, Kamrazipora etc affecting the villages of Pulwama district bordering the Tsrar-i-Sharief town. This ring was manned by Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). It is intriguing as how after the devastation of Tsrar-i-Sharief town those very militants whom government of India blames to have destroyed Tsrar, did manage their safe departure correctively from all these three rings. Only one person Abu Jindal who was misled by some locals fell in the trap of forces. This confrontation between the forces and the 53 militants in all got extended for almost half a year. During the climax period, the forces ordered the inhabitants to vacate the town. They became during the chill cold of winter, refugees leaving behind there home, hearth, assets, livestock, trade pursuits even their disabled kith and kin some Jawans who could look after such disabled persons, pregnant cows etc. Thus in all one-third

of population remained there on pin pricks in there deserted houses and two-third of population had to wander in the vastness of the valley to beg for the refuge. I have no hesitation to repeat herein the conclusion which I have drawn in the volume supra on the subject but that will again be concluding remark to the statement.

Let me now come to the climax of this drama played by Government of India and its forces with 53 hidden militants on the sacred stage of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's town. 10th of Zilhajj of 779 AH is the birthday of the Sheikh. It is exactly on his 637th birthday that his abode was reduced to ashes. The swift developments which took place from the 9th of May are succinctly summed up as:-

Eid-i-Qurban i.e. the 10th of Zilhajj this year incidentally coincided with 10th of May. The town had four mosques including Khanqah. The other three are situated at Boed Talab, Trajibal and Gulshanabad. Three of the four Imams had migrated and left the mosques deserted. But on 9th they returned from their refugee camps leaving their families in the camps and after evening prayers unlocked the doors of there deserted houses. The fourth one had not migrated. The old couple stayed back in the town. It was on 9th of May that at 7.40 P.M. as Radio Kashmir Srinagar started relay of the daily Urdu News, the sound of gunshots echoed heavily through the deep ditches and moats around the shrine. At 8.15, amid these gunshots, a deafening blast shook the surroundings as a helicopter was detected high in skies. It took several rounds of the town and the whole area around it and the lagged behind portion of populace became apprehensive. This statement has been unanimous depositions of the four Imams the young and disabled persons who had not migrated and were stationed in the town, those migrated residents who had come from there refugee camps just to offer Fateha after Eid prayers on the shrine and of the residents of the adjoining village who had not vacated. Those villages include Hafroobatpora, Rupawan, Loolipora, Hampora, Gogjipathri, Neelnaag, Buzegooh, Watakul, Batapora, Darwan Nowgam etc. The same story was collaborated by my own sister who has aversion against Mast Gull because he had occupied their house and damaged property. Her husband had left for Hajj pilgrimage, her younger son alongwith his family was in USA and the elder son alongwith his family was at Srinagar. She witnessed this tragedy of devastation of her

property of more than a crore of Rupees. All these eye witnesses narrate without contradiction collaborating details of one another's depositions pivoting around the hovering of this helicopter around the town several times, spraying of some spurious material resembling to peanuts but white in colour throughout the town. They all say that immediately thereafter flames rose from the Boed Talab mosque which within moments engulfed that area and these witnesses found that immediately thereafter they felt as if fast wind was blowing or as if thousands of ceiling fans were fanning the flames till 3 or 4 AM. The whole town excepting Boed Talab Mohalla and Gulshanabad Mohalla was reduced to ashes. The winter mosque (hamam) adjoining the Khanqah was also taken by the flames in lap, Trajibal mosque was also burnt, the main Bazaar, Kalai Bazaar and Trajibal market all became ashes. But Gh. Nabi Mir Imam of Trajibal mosque and other witnesses saw Mast Gull and his militant party saving shrine and Khanqah. Thus these two monuments escaped the mischief of flames during the night of 10th May. From Srinagar, Pulwama district headquarter and from Anantnag fire extinguishers requisitioned by the local police and maximum of them arrived near Zalus (Radar Military Post) by 12 PM but the military did not allow them to proceed towards the town. The deposition was made by the SHO Police and District Fire Officer Srinagar. At 3 AM some of the extinguishers were permitted to proceed ahead as they reached near the shrine, they insisted to protect the shrine and Khanqah but the army posted there threatened them of dire consequences and even of death. They emotionally volunteered the death but in spite were not allowed to proceed ahead. It is the evidence about the burning of the town. During the next night intervening 10th & 11th May, the shrine and Khanqah both got burnt to ashes. No direct evidence could be possible in the situation. There can be only inferences which I presently postpone for a moment.

On 12th of May in the daylight, when military had conquered the ashes of devastated Tsrar, they proceeded towards extended locality Gulshanabad, where the house of the one of the holed up militant Mr. Zaffar Kaw situates. At that time except Zaffar Kaw and Abu Jindal, 50 militants had gone safely out of the three rings of the siege. Zaffar Kaw insisted to be with his family and live or die with them. As he found at

about mid day a patrolling party of the army patrolling the locality, he from his house opened fire upon them killing one or two persons but consequently got himself killed. Annoyed and disturbed army men put in broad daylight this locality also to the flames and reducing major portion of this locality to ashes.

We have seen that the occurrence of the night intervening 10th and 11th May was caused by the forces guarding the town so as to protect it from destination. About the occurrence of 12th of May there is sufficient evidence and even admissions which squarely proves that it was done out of provocation, which Zafar Kaw caused to the patrolling party. It was not, in any case, a justified reaction but an intended act of arson. In the situation what has been observed in the book referred to supra.

> "The logical inference, therefore, is that who has committed the antecedent act on May 10 and the precedent act of May 12, in a series of actions must have committed the act of the burning of the shrine and Khanqah on May 11, 1995."
>
> *(Chapter 12, p.264)*

In 13th chapter the authors have dealt with those factors which have contributed to this uncalled for devastation. In the light of the facts, inferences from circumstances and presumptions inherent in that situation the amalgam of struggling political parties in J&K viz. AHPC played a vicarious role in this devastation. The J&K Muslim Auqaf Trust connived if not in this devastation but could have saved relics and the rare manuscripts. Similarly it has been discussed and shown that the J&K High Court Bar Association which had legally acted during Hazratbal siege of October 1993 with mischievous inaction facilitated stalemate and final destruction. The treacherous silence and acquiescence on the part of writers' community made the two agencies - militants and forces bold enough to destroy this centre of spirituality. Non-governmental organizations who claimed their role for human rights and dignity have also equally been made liable of inaction in the said book. Readers are recommended to go through 13th Chapter pp. 285-306.

Chapter 15 of the book has dealt with the loss caused to the property of the inhabitants, to the history and culture of Kashmir. The bungling made in rehabilitation, relief etc are also detailed. On all

accounts, the authors (who include this author also) have opined that the devastation was an aimless competition of India and Pakistan to destroy cultural identity of J&K.

However, this devastation has caused a revolution in the thinking, life style and behaviour of the people of Tsrar-i-Sharief. The town which had squeezed so densely that it had no sewerage or drainage system and so was one of the dirtiest places has taken a drastic topographical expansion. The town which up to April 1995 spread over upon one square kilometre and by the middle of May 1995 was debris of ashes has now extended from east to west upon an area of 10 kilometres and from south to north upon an area of 6 kilometres. It is now newly developed city. However, its development has been not only unplanned but even mis-planned to the extent that the most fertile land which grew abundance of fruit - (apples, pears, walnut, almond, apricot, cherry etc) grows now multi-storied houses only.

The forest Tsrar (Tsrar Vana) is now a new city but no traces of humble Reshiyat are even remotely detected. Even the shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, rebuilt after this devastation bears least resemblance with the particular Reshi architecture. The Khanqah which is (a decade has passed since it was burnt) yet to come up. So any comment is out of place.

The Sheikh had chosen this place not to develop it into a city of luxury but as a centre of spirituality. The reasons of such choice are highlighted in his poem of which English rendering is given under. The original Kashmiri is appendices to this chapter.

At the place, Charan, I will search him,
At this chosen place I will make endeavours to find him.
In the hot season of June and bitter cold,
I want a place to rest, and to search him.
A as Reshi have wondered enough to find him,
I have circumbulated [my country]
I want to search Him here [in the surroundings of]
The black and sweet grapes, the ripened dazzling plums;
Which are in abundance here,
In "Doone Koil Naar"

By such natural diet the fair complexion becomes fairer,
I shall wait here at 'Tsaar' and search Him.
I would ascend above high hills,
Fruitless is the search for such barren land.
Those areas shall not grow vegetables.
I would proceed ahead of the bitter cold,
But those hills are snowbound.
Can't fight with such compulsions.
Even I would ascend to the top of mountains,
Would live amongst snakes and earthworms,
Am exhausted, fatigued, so can't go ahead.
I shall search Him here at this chosen place,
Can't guess whether any crop would grow in these barren lands.
Now 'Nund' shall search for Him here at this chosen place, Tsaran.

(**Note**: *'Ts' pronounced as in Tsrar-i-Sharief of Russia*).

*****

یُتی ژارن یُتَر ژھارن تۆیے یتی ژھارن یُتَر ژارن تۆ یے
ہارن رٹن ژترس گاون تُو بُہنس یُتَر گژھ مُو جائے
بُمہ رِیوش آیوس کھٹان تہٕ گاران یتی ژھارن یُتَر ژارن تَو یے
گڈچ دچھ ژُنن ہارن زُوَکھ نأرن چھوان تۆہ یے
دُوھے پر نیا یکھ انہارن یتی ژھارن یتَر ژارن توہ یے
یُتہ ہیوٗ ر دُوزہ ہا پہارن وۆجارن پھل کیاہ بُوئے
بُون کن ہاکھ وانگن وارِ بن یتی ژھارن یتَر ژارن توہ یے
تَتہ ہیوٗر رُوزہ ہاہُونبن مرگن ہُوتین مرگن ہیم پات پیے
پیکر نہ آرہ کرتھ آرِہ گرن یتی ژھارن یُتی اَرک توہ یے
تتہ ہیوٗر روزہ ہاسنگھارن کرہ ہا سرپھن گوٗنن لیے
تھکیم کُڑ کوٗ ٹھی پکم نہ پنگارن یتی ژھارن یُتَر ژارن تو یے
گُنھ زانُم نہ بُوٗ وِ یا کُنھہ وو ٔ جارن بُوتہ چُھتس تھارن تو ئے

ٹُندس گتھ سپڈس خُدائے یتی ژھارن یئتر ژارن توے

Notes

۱) گنت کنز آوِ یے جلوہ ماران دراوِ ہیے
کیاہ بہِ دِمسہٕ ناوِ یے وۆ تھوگژ وُودِ یوہ یے

۲) نبر ے اندراژھ أندرے بڈی پژہ
وۆ چھ ہن شہنشاہ لوٗ بتھ اے لوٗ بتھ کیاہ

۳) وۆٹھ ژ دژ عشقن ژ ہٹھ دتھ دراوُ و میژہ جامہ گنڈ تھے دراوولو
بے رنگ پانے ہر رنگ آوو پانہ منزی پان ہرزہ ناوولُو

۴) پنہٕ نُوی خون گژھ ترپہ کنہِ خُونیے سُے گژھ ژانگہ زالُن یےِ لُو
تمہ گے گاشہ گژھ یار ہرزِ نُونیے رژِھ رژِھ مژھ ماز کھیون نیے لُو

۵) دپیام پانے پانس مرو دۆ پمس دۆ ہے بُوزُن نہٕ زانہہ
یدوَے مرہ ہوادہ نُو مرو کنھ تہٕ نو سدم سرے ہو

۶) دپیوے بالہٕ یارس یأری لاگو تم دوپ نم بُوزہ وُن چھس کونہ لاگو
دپیو مَس بُوزہ ناوَ تم چھس بہ بندہ تم دوپ نم بُوزہ وَنی گے شرمندہ
دپیامَس پیژ کأژاہ نو کتہ گیری تم دوپ نم کرہ کس ادہٕ دستگیری
دپیامس قطہٕ اوس نہ تہٕ آوَ کتے مے دوپ نم باوِ یے تھاو کھژہ کتے

دپیامس نُوقطہٕ عشقُن باؤہے تیے
تم دوپ نم پُوختہ سپدن عشقہٕ وتے

دپیومس کیاہ چھ اندر کیاہ چُھ نبر
تُم دوپ نم یی چھ اندرتی چُھ نُبر

دپیومس اِدہ کتہِ نن چھے ژہ مقام
تم دوپ نم نے چُھ صُبح نے چُھ تتہ شام

دپیومس ہےٚ تہ ہاؤ تم پنُن آسُن
پانہٕ ہنن ٹھوٚر چُھ کاسَن

دپیامَس ادہ کتہ نس چُھے ژہ قرار
تم دوپ نم امی ستی چھم کأم نیران

دپیامس کہازہ کرٔتھ طِفلہ لگیے
تم دوپ نم یہ چھ مون چارسُوٚ یے

دپیامس کونہ چُھکھ پروائے وِبندان
تمٔ دوپ نم چھس بہ پروایس تہِ گندان

دپیومس جامہ کتھِ کُنی چُھکھ ژ رنگان
تم دوپ نم رنگہ ووٚ نو چھس ماکأتہ منگان

دپیومَس چُھکھ ژہ کُنے لاشیر لکاہ
تم دوپ نم امہ تہِ گژھ چُھوٚم طریقہ

دپیامس اتھ وریقس پیمہ یہ زاگے
تم دوپ نم پریہ چمُن سوریہ لاگے

دپیامس سورمہ لأ گتھ کہاہ چھ نبان
تم دوپ نم پُوٚ زتہ اپُوٚ زادہ چھ نبان

دپان سو چھ کرال الفش ماچھ ہندی
چھ پانے صراوندس خداوندی

۷) وأصل کیاہ چھ بنان کتھ
کھتے ستی چھے ننان کتھ

حأصل دردِ مُحبت
حأصل دردِ مُحبت

۸) گاہ تم پأ غمبر لُوگنیے
ابوجہلن شکھ تُرو دنیے

اشارہ ستن پھُٹرن ماہ
سہ اُوس ہانے ونے کہاہ

۹) من کانَ لھٰذِہٖ قرآن پرے
فَثَمَّ وجہہٗ ڈیٔہ گرہ گرے

ونحنُ اقرب چھس راہبر
عاشق کونہٕ تتھ دارے سَر

۱۰) یُوت تتھ زنمس کنھِ چُھنہٕ لارُن
برہما، وبشنو مہسُر گارن

دارنا یہ دارُن سویم سو
شُپتھ ہُو چھے تہند ذلی زُو

(۱۱) شاہ عفورر پزہ چھی رژھ چھنہ باون ان اوس وان ان ہاؤ نے
دارس کھوٗت منصور سورے تراؤ نے عشق اتھ زاہ تراون نے

(۱۲) یے نارہ دل دو دمتہ نہ چھسُ دِہ نہ چھبسُ رُہیہ
سہ نارو چھتہ زوراوار کووخاطرہ رأوِم نہہ

(۱۳) ذرِ ذرِ صفت ژہ کأیتاہ پرہ کیاہ کرے خودرا گشتم فانی بُودم یک ذرۂ
آؤ کتہ دَورِ دُنیا بو نیا کروسرے

(۱۴) دلسِ تنہ مُژ رجا من تے تتھ چھم نہ رؤے لمن
المن کھأ خبسِ چھم نا یمن تے کیاہ لیو کھنم قلمن
ستن زرمن مے چھ درمن تے وصل چھم ساتن

(۱۵) متہ سأ سِیوٗن پن ہے کھاجُوم سہ چھ لالسِ کیوٗت یے
جان وندہ ہسِ تھان ولہ یسِ دوبووانہ دراؤ رُوٗت یے

(۱۶) الفقر فخر حدیث چھُھے دوپ نبینؐ فقریون حال
الآن کما کان چھُھے
رُمہ رُمہے بالہِ چھم فراق

(۱۷) لُیہ لُوسم مے تُوہہ ژارن رُم ژرأمُس ہے مو یہ مُوٗ یے
اُومیہ کے ہِن زن چھُسِ کھارن بے عارس عارنُو چھُیے
بڈہ ہنہ سرہ یار چھُسِ گارن ماہ ایسرٔ اتھ مژ چھُیے

کام کرودنہہ لُبی بہٕ چھُس تھارن　　بے عارس عارنو چھُیے

(۱۸)　''الفقرُ فخری تُھیکہ نا۔ والفقرُ مِنی چھے گواہ　　فقر الفخر عألی مکان۔ موے چھُس چوان.....''

(۱۹)　زانہ وُن زان کرہ پرانس گیانس　　زان ملہ ناؤ بگوانس ستی
پُوزا کرٔ نو گیہٕ منز کرمہ دانس　　دھرشا تشدنس بُت خانس

(۲۰)　چھُ کینہٕ نے کُرتھ کینہٕ نرٔ زل وُ چھم کہنہ نے ہٕے دیدن تل
چھُ کنہہ نے کیاہ مے کرنم ژھل وُ چھم کہنہ نے ہے دیدن تل
چھُ کنہہ نے تہ صدا کتہ آؤ۔ چھ کنہہ نے تتہ کرتھ بآراؤ۔
چھ کنہہ نوٚن ہتہ صدا کتہ آو۔ وچھم کھ نے مے دیدن تل

(۲۱)　ترن کارتن سن بن انسان　شوگن، رزوگن، تموگن زان
من ژارن چھے تیمی سمات پمپوشہ منزہ گیہ پأدہ کائنات

(۲۲)　مُمہ سوتھ پکان گمہ ژھٹہ درایو　　رُمیہ رُمیہ سرگأم رم کُتی کُتی
اَوٚ یہ کی آلو دتم پرشایو　　گاہ پیوم میمہ چیو گرایو ستی
آرام بُوگر بس رامہ ژبایو　　رام میلہ بے شک رحمتس ستی
جام چے عأرفو لولہ صُرالوِ　　گاہ پیوم یمہ چیو گرایو ستی

(۲۳)　شتروگن، رام لکھمن، بھرت، دشرتس نُس ژورگے زبتھ، نیتھرہ مِنیل گورامہ سیتائے۔۔۔

(۲۴)　ہاشیر سوارو کور گژھکھ اُخرژہ مرچھے

۲۵) ہوش دار گوش تھو آلوگو
الا اللہ ہأدہ گو آلوگو

۲۶) نأ گراین وو ٹھلا ے اتھ دودِ پیالس
پاتال پرٔ یونیو سالس
ہیہ مال پھیران پٹھ ناگہ رأوی
ے وبئے یتٔی ھے اوس آدی تام
بُجہ اکہ فُر ہاد مارہ نُو وژھلے
ونی وِیتٔی ازلس کور پلے
کجہ اکہ زالہِ نُو وسعدی
ے وبئے یتٔی ھے اوس آدی تام

۲۷) مدعا بُو خلعت آدم وُلتھ آس
خُدا شاہد ہر گلشن پھُلتھ آس

۲۸) تیوٚ نگل ہوٚ عشقہ آتش مے ننگُل جل
جنگل مے زُول کرائے دل تُلتھ آس

۲۹) یندرازِ نہِ دربار نغمہ کران چھی پرستانو
سوز منصور وزان کن ہے دژام گوس دیوانو

۳۰) نارِہ ستی ناردزان، آبس آب آبس تن ناو ونو
خاک ستن خاک چھ پاک واوواون کوٚ رستانو

۳۱) باغِ عرفان یُندرازہ ہے ستی چھس گوپال

رلمہٕ شامن گوم بالکسے چھوٗ رأ ونن بال

۳۲) زِیوٗ دِتھ تأس اژ منز خأس، تل پا تأس مے منز جائے

شاہ پھیوٗ رینہ گژھ بے بہالاحس خودلانراس مے منز جائے

۳۳) مگر اے صاحب ہوش ژٕ کُرلب بستہ دأری

اگر چمن بنی گوش نہٕ ہر شب رستگأری

اگر ہتیکھ زاگ در باغ زبان تےٚ دل کُنوٗ ئی لاگ

درکھ نے کرتہ خاموش سوٗ چھے بڈ وستہ کأری

۳۴) أ چھوٗ ستی بُوز دِلُک اسرار چھُکھے بیدار چھُکھے بیدار

کنوٗ ستی وٗ چھ بنی دیدار چھُکھے بیدار چھُکھے بیدار

۳۵) ژلہٕ لیس شکھ دِے ژ کھتہٕ شُبوٗ رام رحیم تس یکسان چھُوٗ

گلہٕ لیس منہٕ دِے بنہ ساڈ و پرہ اوم سوٗ پرہٕ اوم سوٗ

۳۶) دپنُ چھے دَزنہٕ کس سیرس رچھس یژھ

دزنُ چھے پومپرس نورلنہٕ چی پژھ

بنُ چھیہ نوز دوشہٕ دِے سرحد وگژھ

سنگرُ پزاوکھ بنکھ یوٗ دبے وزن رژھ

سرَکھ صحرا پدبن تل بن پننی لژھ

سولژھ وفَخُت یتھ مرکب محمل

ازل تتھ ووٚنت چھس والعصر سأحِل

ومارمیت دست بادست چھ شأمِل

''حمیرا کلمینی'' کتھ چھے حاصِل
کلامہٕ کہ انفعالک گمہٕ نیسان
چُھ ہأنگِنہ تپشہِ اُندرمہِ موختہ پوختا

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GLOSSARY

Of

Words & Phrases Used In Sheikh's Verses

Kashmiri	Roman Script	English Rendering
أرُت	*Aeyrut*	Oppressed.
اہار	*A`haar*	Diet, Food.
اپریھ	*Apreyph*	Beautiful.
اَتہِگھ	*Ategath*	Travelling expenses or purposeless journey.
ارزُن	*Arzun*	To achieve, to earn, yield.
ارزُن دیو	*Arzundio*	Arjun Dev, The third among five Pandav brothers, symbol of valour and virtue as he fought in te Mahabharta war for righteousness with valour and dedication.
ارکھور	*Arkhur*	Rhus-sucedana (A bush with thorns and foul smell belongs to the family: anacardgeae.
اربن	*Areyun*	Desert, an inaccessible dense forest.
اسُر	*Asur*	Devil, evil genius, satanic devices.
اشُنج	*Ashunj*	Polluted, dirty, impure.
اگہِہوٗت	*Age-hout*	Tired, exhausted, fatigued.
الگن	*Algun*	Unattached, cool, passive.

امبر	*Amber*	Fragrance, dress, transparent.
امربتھ	*Amreth*	Nectar, water of life.
أنتہمل	*Antemal*	Biased mind, evil thinking, malafides.
اندکار	*Andkaar*	Disappointing situation, pitch darkness, disaster.
اوزُت	*Awzout*	Base, low caste, Antonym of "Zout" (higher caste).
اولاس	*Awlas*	Gimmicks, joking.
اول سول	*Awal Sawal*	Too ordinary, adulterated, inferior diet, such food which is devoid of taste and food content.
اومان	*Awman*	Antonym of "Maan" (honour) thus it means disgrace, dishonour.
اہنکار	*Ahankaar*	Arrogance.
آدر	*Aadar*	To respect, to honour, to give due recognition.
آدِ	*Aade*	Begining.
آدِنے	*Aadenai*	At the dawn of youth.
أژمن	*Aa-tsaman*	Drinking of water.
آش،اوش	*Aash/Owsh*	The Almighty, hope, expectation.
آلُو	*Aaluts*	Cash that is paid to singers amidst the chors as a token of appreciation.
آلُوھ	*Aaluch*	Lazy.
أگن یااوگن	*Agin or Owgin*	Fire, flame.
أگنیا	*Agnia*	Commandment.
ایکانت	*Eiykaant*	Far from the madening crowd, too away from the mundane, isolated place for meditation.

اُلگ	*O'look*	Material world, Its antonym is 'Pilook' the 'Next world', world hereafter.
اوّندیاوونڈ	*O'nd or wonde*	Mind, heart.
اوہر	*O'har*	To tune to a situation, to develop a habit, to adopt as life style.
اوتھ	*Oath*	The incised hole made in the upper stone of te grinding mill through which the corn is inserted for grinding, the noose of the grinder.
اوہک	*Ohook*	The hole of the grinding mill in which its wooden handle remains fixed.
برےزُن	*Brezun*	To glister.
بلےوٗٹ	*Balewout*	Strong enough.
بَوَن	*Bhavan*	Lodge, the dwelling house.
بی	*Bee*	The state cooked rice.
بہومُت	*Behowmut*	The state cooked cold rice that is made eatable by providing some heat on the steam.
بَیے	*Bye*	Fear, apprehension, danger.
بانگِر	*Baangir*	The street hawker.
باوَ	*Baw*	Honour, the market rate.
بِدِتھ	*Bedith*	Bonafide, with good intentions.
بَزرُن	*Benzrun*	To have union with, to assimulate.
بُتل	*Botal*	Abbreviation of 'Butrat' meaning the Earth.

بُشن	*Boshun*	"B" letter changed in 'w' and the word is now used as "Woshun" meaning warm, hot.
بُکر	*Bokur*	Face.
بُگہ ژھو	*Boge Tsaw*	Deceptive pretentions, hypocratic, distorted.
بُگی	*Bugee*	Supreme power, God.
بُہہ	*Boh*	The material world.
بوزَکھ	*Bowzakh*	Who gives patient hearing, who take account of one's deeds. The word be distinguished from 'Boozukh' which means: "they heard".
بُدھ	*Boudh*	Intellect, wisdom, wit.
پتھ	*Path*	A sub estate, a small village is called as 'Peit' - "Pathri" means amalgam of a few sub estates forming a village. it also means a highway.
پراکر	*Prakar*	The cracks particularly in wooden beans caused due to heavy load upon it or due to its inner decay.
پرَنے کتھ	*Prekath*	Conscious mind, awareness, conscience.
پنتھان	*Panthaan*	Pathway, a part of the hell.
پَو	*Pau*	Gait, inner urge to rise, creative faculty.
پوَن	*Pawan*	The breeze, air, atmosphere.
پاپ	*Paap*	Sin, vice, crime.

پاتھن	*Pathan*	To yield, to acquire, to get, to achieve, to reach.
پاےر	*Payer*	Th localities situated on low level, the inhabited areas in the centre of the country, the areas which grow stable food rice. It is now also called as "Paayeen".
پأنتھن	*Peynthan*	Evil spirit, dacoit, robber.
پٹارِ	*Pitare*	Vanity bag, a basket woven of delicate chiseled branches that contained cosmetics of a damsed Pandavas box.
پأش وول	*Peysh woul*	One who collects and stores night soil to prepare it as manure
پُلک	*Poluk*	The world hereafter, the life after death.
پُرُش	*Porush*	Man, human being, the Absolute Reality.
پُن	*Pun*	The virtue, good deeds, virtuous.
پُئی بتہ	*Poein bate*	On the death of a person the bereaved family is served with diet for the mourning three days by either relatives now presently by the local self-help committees in a locality. The so cooked rice and dish is called "Poeinbate".
پنزر	*Panzar*	The skeleton.
تأزی	*Taize*	'Aspi Taazi' is a Persian phrase which means Arabian horse. Thus connotes a special species of horses famous for fast running and courage.
تأزُن	*Taazun*	....
تپھ	*Taph*	Meditation, temperature.

تران	*Traan*	The courage, resistance.
ترےکوٹ	*Trikoot*	Three dimensions, a fort with three guard rooms, a mountain with three peaks.
تُرٹ	*Trut*	A necklace, a particular ornament with which woman cove their neck. It is either made of silver bedecked with immulation or made of gold designed with pearls or gems.
تُنزر	*Tunzer*	Harsh treatment, irrational reaction or emmotionally aggressive posture.
تُوک	*Tawok*	Of that, having relation with some act, deed or reaction.
ترتھ	*Tirath*	Kashmiri for Teerath; means a place of worship particularly of Hindus.
تِلکی	*Tilik*	Ornament, the items of decoration.
تُونب	*Tunb*	1) Primitive syringe with which blood from veins was oozed out so as to normalise the blood pressure. 2) A small quantity of wool or Pasham or cotton prepared by woman for spining on the wheel after it was thrashed well and combed to softness.
توزگ	*Turag*	A horse of special breed. Fast running horse.
توژھ	*Tuts*	Duability in an item of common use.
تھل	*Thul*	The children or grand children.
چھود	*Chudh*	Hunger.
دار	*Daar*	Timber, a deodar tree.

دایک	*Daayak*	The counsellor.
درالِد	*Draalidh*	The miser, a pauper.
دَرتھ	*Darath*	Kashmiri version of 'Darti' the earth.
دمامہ	*Damameh*	The drum
دنتھر	*Danthar*	One who bestowes riches, the rich lord.
دِو	*Div*	The Almighty, the Absolute Creator, God.
ڈہج	*Dehej*	Troublesome, irking.
دوہتھ	*Doheth*	Daughter or grand daughter.
ڈُہلِ دوب	*Dohel Dub*	The hustle & bustle during the day.
دیان	*Dyan*	Ponder upon, to go deep in self realisation.
دہن	*Den*	Day.
ڈَڈِ	*Dade*	i) The green logs of wood severred from the green tree haphazardly. ii) An idiot - one who appears sound but is too insensitive.
ڈنڈک ون	*Dandak Vana*	The forest wherein Maharaja Rama had to remain in solitude with his wife Sita and brother Laxman per orders of exile from his father. According to Kashmiri version of Ramayana this particular forest was located in and around present Rafiabad area in district Baramullah.
ڈیونتھ	*Diyoonth*	Ugly, vicious, sinful, bad, condemned; Ant:Nund.
رأنم	*Raanim*	Princely life, affulence.
رزُن	*Razun*	To be satisfied.
رگزائلی	*Ragzail*	Who charged exhorbitant price, who sells commodities on higher rates than normal price.
رم	*Rum*	The slipping away of a scared dare in the forest.

رٔنی	*Ren*	Wife.
رنگ منچ	*Rangmanch*	The theatre.
رٔون	*Ron*	Disabled, crippled, one who cannot move or walk.
رہکاے	*Rehkaai*	i) The landed estate ii) A fertile area in between Nagam and Tsrari Sharief which formed part of the Sheikh's ancestral Jagir where he breathed his last on 10th December 1438 after night prayers (Isha prayers) under a tree.
رٔہُن	*Rehun*	To stay, to wait for co-traveller.
رپنٹ	*Reynt*	A professional mourner. In Kashmir the rich families used to employ such women to mourn the death of their kith and kin. Even such custom was prevalent among the rich lords of Rajesthan who was called as 'Radooli'.
ریوٗنز	*Reyounz*	Inferior round pebble used in primitive age as arrow for wooden bow to hit a bird or other target. It also connotes a short statured person - a pygmy.
زپھ	*Zaph*	The syllables of meditation recited to achieve spiritual prowess or other supernatural acts.
زز	*Zaz*	i) Too old ii) Tax, levy and even the bribe.
زگھ	*Zagath*	The universe.
زلُن	*Zalun*	To glister.
زم	*Zam*	i) To take birth ii) caste or creed.

ژیتن	*Tsetnun*	To feel, to apprehend, to concieve, to remain warned of something to happen in near future.
ژزول	*Tsrool*	Watcher, gaurd.
ژکہوائی	*Tsakewain*	Ox that is used for husking oil seeds to deduce oil.
ژمر	*Tsamar*	The skin, hide, peacock feathers.
ساس	*Saas*	Particular type of ashes which had softness and was used as detergent. Ashes - the dust.
سائژن	*Seyntsun*	To bring under cultivation. A field prepared to grow a parti- cular crop.
سُت	*Sut*	Son, real son.
ست باو	*Sat Baaw*	Reality, Essence, Creed.
ست سران	*Sat Sraan*	One who takes seven baths a day
سروُپ	*Sarup*	The features, beauty, charm.
سکل	*Sakal*	The whole, the amalgam.
سلر	*Salar*	Water.
سمان	*Samaan*	Equal, Resembling to; To accord honour.
سمند	*Samand*	A fast running horse.
سندان	*Sandaan*	To fasten together.
سنگ	*Sang*	Co-traveller, participant in a task, partner, stone.
سنگل دیپ	*Sangaldeep*	Present cyclone.
سوباو	*Sobaaw*	Nature, tendency, inclination.
سوزُن	*Sozun*	A pious man.
سہز	*Sehaz*	Bliss.
سہن	*Sehen*	To bear, to tolerate.

سد	*Sed*	One who has identified his self.
شانت	*Shant*	Contended, peace, tranquality, peace of mind.
شاہوولگ	*Shahwolug*	'Wolug' was a special species of paddy which had very poor yield but its rice was too, white too delicious, had enough food value, was digestive and possessed rose fragrance. Its highest brand was 'Shah Wolug'. The crop is not now grown.
شُتر	*Sheter*	Antonym of 'Metar', metar means friend and so sheter means a foe, an enemy, antoganised.
ششکل	*Shashkal*	The sixth sense, the culmination of five senses in such a state of sensousness which creats a sixth sense and by such achievement in mystic path the traveler (Saalik) controls his worldly self and rises above need and hunger.
شُن، شُنیاہ	*Shon or Shuniyah*	Atmosphere.
شوبج	*Shobej*	Such kiln which burns bricks or earthen pots with normalcy; neither too stif so as to create cracks nor with insufficient heat so as to leave the burnt items full with defects.
شوگہ	*Showgeh*	A bird resembling to a parrot, "Raaze Showgeh" means a wooden parrot with the same features a wooden tool is fixed in grinding mill.
شل	*Shill*	Conscious mind, the mind.
شیش	*Sheish*	The balance, savings.

شِشہ رس	*Sheishi Ras*	A sort of moisture which develops in the carepellum of a mystic traveler somewhere in the anterior to an above the medulla. This moisture is the result of culmination which the traveler of mystic path achieves duetoshashkal. Itisthis moisture which extinguishes the thirst and hunger of such a 'Saalik'.
شےون	*Shevan*	Six stages of yoga practice which have from savistic traits transferred into practices of Kashmir mystics.
کاژ	*Kaats*	Glass, fragile, inferior metal.
کاشک	*Kaashak*	The cultivator, tenant, worker.
کال	*Kaal*	The time, cycle of the time, favourable situation, authority to mould the course of time.
کیلاس	*Keylaas*	A particular peak identified as the throne of the Godess of wealth situated near the lake Mansarvar, Shiva adorns this place with his grace.
کام	*Kaam*	Lust, greed.
کامان	*Kaamaan*	The urge.
کانتھ	*Kaanth*	Dress.
کاے	*Kaaiye*	The body.
کپٹ ریوش	*Kapat Reosh*	The quack Reshi.
کٹہ راے	*Kete Raay*	Defective prince. A prince of a principality in a balkanised country with loose central authority.
کُرژر	*Kertser*	Hard luck.
کرشُن	*Karshun*	To plough the land, to make land fertile.

کرشی	*Krishi*	Cultivation.
کرم	*Karam*	i) Deeds, acts, behaviour, profession, vocation. ii) An inferior vegetable, leaves of saag.
کرؤد	*Krood*	Arrogance, anger.
کرول	*Krool*	Paintings.
کرے	*Krey*	Dedicated meditation.
کؤٹ	*Kets*	Branches of a bush which are too delicate.
کِسر	*Kiser*	Lion, Husk.
کم	*Kam*	The earning, the greed.
کند	*Kand*	The body.
کندیو	*Kandew*	Why?, How??
کُنڈ	*Kend*	i) The crest. ii) Such inhabited localities which have come up in upper belts closer to forests but have no system of irrigation and its agriculture depends on rainfall.
کوزُن	*Kozun*	Antonym of 'Sozun' means a base or foolish man. Kozun is its opposite gender.
کستورر چھ	*Kastur Rach*	The musk.
کھلر	*Khallar*	The skin.
کھولُر	*Khalur*	The peal.
کھنز	*Khein*	A quilt. The double woolen blanket used as quilt in the bed.
کھولُن	*Kholun*	To glister with nickle.
کیزم	*Keezim*	Honourable lord, an honoured rich man, 'Leezim' ant; meaning a dishonoured poor man.

کیلک	*Kayluk*	An actor.
کینگر	*Kenger*	The peak of mountain, a cliff of a high peak. Pinnacle of a fortress.
کِہ	*Kih*	Loose hair strand, hair strand which fall due to defect.
کیوِل	*Kaywel*	One who believes in Absolute spirit, in the unity of the soul.
گار	*Gaar*	Persian.
گُپت	*Gupit*	In hiding (Hidden).
گُٹیُل	*Guteol*	Wood cutter.
گرتھ	*Garth*	The design of ornamentation.
گرشُن	*Grashun*	To enquire, to illicit information
گُل	*Gul*	i) Rose, ii) Nuse.
گمبر	*Gambar*	Too heavy to load.
گنگ	*Gung*	Ganges, the famous sacred river in north India.
گنن یا گُنن	*Ganun or genun*	i) To leave deeper impact. ii) To count.
گو	*Gow*	Wheat.
گور	*Gur*	The guide, teacher, spiritual guide.
گورِ پد	*Goure Pad*	The guide's guidance, teacher's advice.
گوندُن	*Gundun*	Complaint, sarcast.
گونگل	*Gongul*	In early spring as the snow melts the cattle that remains confined within sheds for three months feel new life. The pair of oxen is taken out, tied with plough and land is ploughed. This plough is called 'Gongul'; the farmer distributes walnuts to mark this occassion. Hence the word means the initiative to work.

گِہہ	*Gih*	Home.
گِہہ بل	*Gihbal*	The strength.
گِہیل	*Geheol*	The dense forest.
گیان	*Giyaan*	Knowledge.
گون	*Goun*	The facet, wisdom, identity.
لادن	*Laadan*	Appeasement, kindness.
لاگنے	*Laagny*	Cultivation of one's land.
لز	*Laz*	Shame.
لُزل	*Lazel*	The shameless.
لم،لمب	*Lam or Lumb*	The ditch caused by erosion.
لوئر	*Lolar*	The inclination.
لہُل	*Lohul*	Dazzling, which eminates flame.
لیزم	*Leezim*	Cultured, gentle.
لِنی	*Lin*	A wild bush found in jungles. It's branches are soft and durable so the 'Kangri' made of it is both durable and transfers warmth. *Botanical name:*Coloneaster- aitchsonii [Species:Rosaceae].
لیوٗتھ	*Leoth*	Near, in close vicinity.
لُوب	*Loob*	Desire, greed.
مان	*Maan*	Honour, dignity.
مرکھ،مورکھ	*Marakh or Moorakh*	Fool.
مُلکاے	*Malkaai*	To take into grip.
مندور	*Mandoor*	Edifice.

من متھ	*Manmath*	Love, affection, desire, the Goddess of love.
موہ	*Moh*	Paraphernilia, worldly grandeur, mundane desire.
مُہن	*Mohen*	To grab, to snatch.
میتر	*Metir*	The friend. Antonym: 'Sheter'
میش	*Mesh*	Lamb, sheep.
مین	*Meen*	Fish.
ناجہ	*Naaji*	Veins.
نیایک	*Nayak*	Hero of a drama, the main dominating character or personality of charisma.
ندبل	*Nade Bal*	The locality situated on the banks of a stream.
نر	*Nar*	Masculine, perpetual, immortal. Absolute soul.
نیٔژ	*Ne-tsi*	Oh! Fool.
نکس	*Nakas*	To every one.
نُند	*Nund*	Beautiful, virtuos, charactered, disciplined. Antonym: Diyonth
نُز	*Nez*	Hut.
ننگر	*Nangar*	Pamper.
نبترُن	*Neterun*	Unkind, one with cold behaviour unaffable.
نبسر	*Nesar*	Heavy sleep, drowsiness.
نبشبوٗد	*Neshiboudh*	Too gentle, simpleton, innocent.
نینہ	*Nainah*	Eyes, gazes.
نِوار	*Niwaar*	To forgive one's sins.
واس	*Waas*	The home, dwelling place.
واسے	*Waasay*	Scalter.

وآسی	*Waesee*	Inhabited.
وُد	*Wud*	Awaking, alive to the situation, alert, one who exerts.
ور	*Wur*	The device, something desired, costly.
ورزُن	*Warzun*	To abandon.
ورزُن واو	*Warzun Waaw*	Storm, fast blowing wind, disaster.
وُژ	*Wuts*	To talk.
وٚوژھ	*Wots*	To be prompt.
وٚوژھرُن	*Wotsrun*	To open. *(Presently the word is used as 'Mutsrun').*
وٚوشدر	*Woshdhar*	The self, mind.
وِشو	*Vishiv*	i) Scholar. ii) Name of river which runs through the area where the Sheikh was born.
ولاس	*Walass*	Merriment.
ونجر	*Wanjar*	Limping left or right while walking.
وو پدیش	*Woupdesh*	Advices.
وو پس	*Woupas*	A situation like that of famine.
وو پشم	*Wopsham*	Wise sermons.
وو پکار	*Wopkaar*	Virtue, good deeds.
وودُر	*Wodur*	i) Stomach. ii) An animal mainly found in rivers.
وو ءکھل	*Wokhel*	To walk on foot.
وپتھ	*Wepath*	Curse.
ویوٚد	*Wiyodh*	Known.
ویر	*Wier*	Brave, chivalrous, valient.
وبنتھ	*Wenath*	Supplication.
وبندُن	*Wendun*	To aspire.
وے وُن	*Wewon*	Winowing of the chaff from the grain.
ویوہار	*Wewhaar*	Life style, living trait, behaviour.

ہانگ	*Haang*	Army band.
ہائیک	*Haayuk*	Scales.
ہُپھ	*Huph*	Corpse, dead body.
ہر	*Har*	God.
ہلمت	*Halmat*	The Hanuman.
ہنزے	*Henzey*	In the state of unawareness.
ہونژ	*Hoonch*	One who adopts pretexts and devices.
ہیوت	*Heyot*	Sympathiser.

☆

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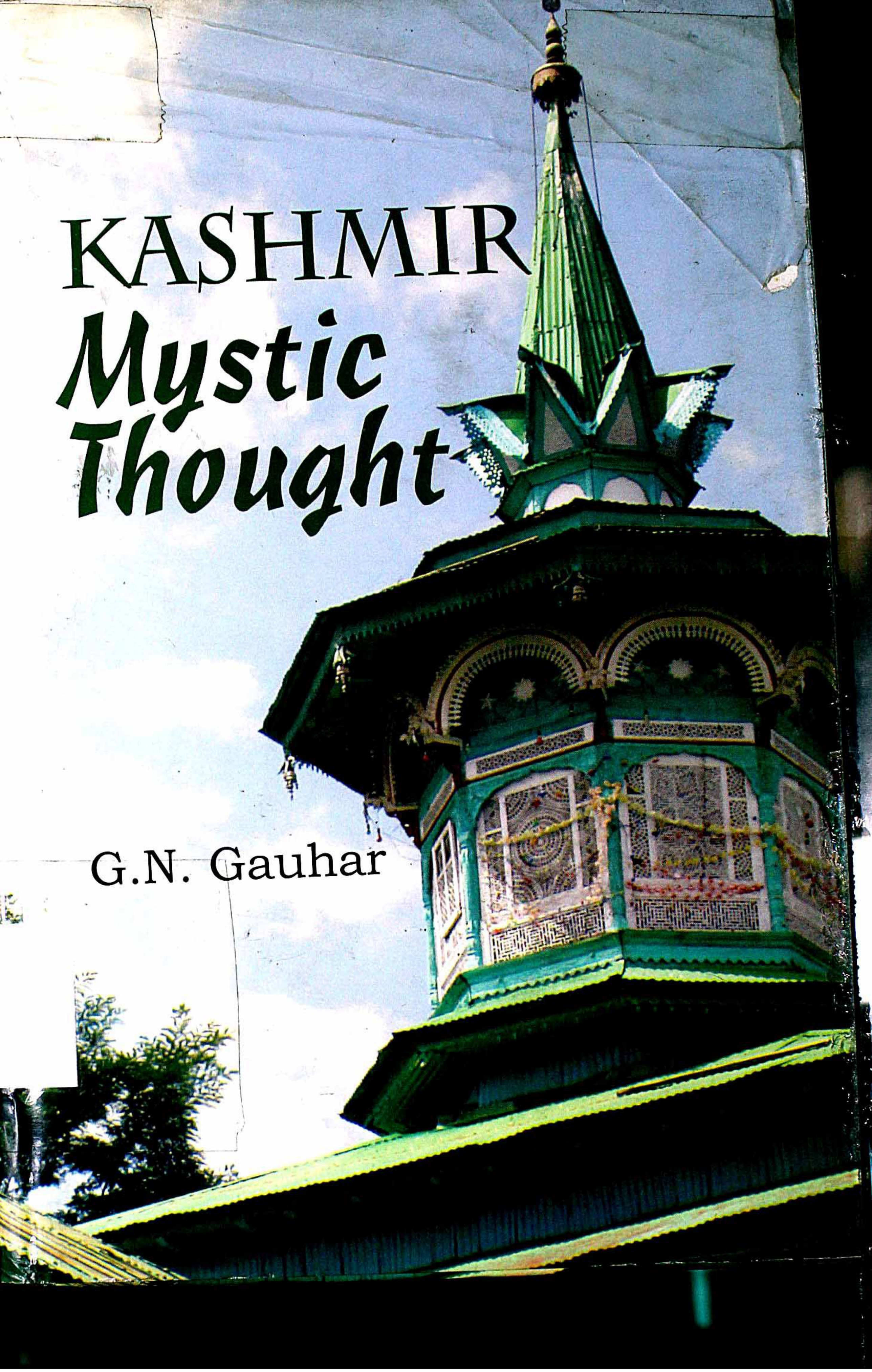

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