



**KASHMIR UNDER JAHANGIR
(1605-1627 A D)**

Dissertation Submitted for the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

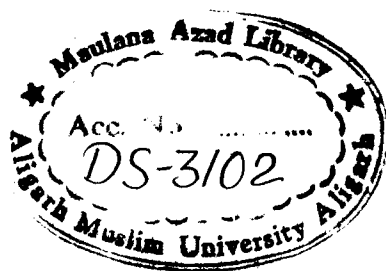
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KASHMIR UNDER JAHANGIR

(1606 - 1628)

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ABBREVIATION

1. A.N. Akbar Nama
2. Ain Ain-i-Akbari
3. Abul Hassan Jahangir Nama
4. B.N. Badshah Nama Abdul Hamid
5. Badauni Muntakhibatutwarikh
6. Baharistan Baharistani Shahi Anonymous
7. Bamzia A History of Kashmir By P.N.K. Bamzia
8. Waqiat Waqiat Kashmir Mohd Azam 1153 AH
9. Farmu A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1969
10. T.R. Tarikh-i Rashidi by Mirza Haidar
11. Eliot Tatima Waqaat Jahangiri
12. Foaster Early travels in India (1608-1613)
13. Furguson Kashmir, An Historical Introduction 1961
14. Glawdin History of Jehangir
15. HM BMMS Tarikh-i Kashmir By Raisul Malik Haider, British Museum Manuscript
16. Hassan MS Tarikh-i Hassan Manuscript
17. IHC Indian History Congress
18. Jahangir Nama BMMS
19. JPHS Journal of Pakistan Historical Society
20. Maasir Kamgar Hussain

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| 21. | K.K. | Mutakhbulubab Kafi Khan |
| 22. | Aziz MSS | Tarikh Kashmir by Narain
Koul Aziz 1710 A.D. |
| 23. | Tuzu | Tuzk-i Jehangiri |
| 24. | Kumbu | Shahi Jehan Nama
Mohd. Salih Kinboo |
| 25. | Lanepole | Rulers of India |
| 26. | Moorcraft | Travels in the Himalayan
Provinces of Ladakh and
Kashmir (1819-28) |
| 27. | Tabqat | Tabqat-i Akbari by Nizamuddin |
| 28. | Felsaert | Travels, Jehangirs India |

P R E F A C E

The Valley of Kashmir has a history of her own, a glorious past, a peculiar social set-up of her own but it had been of little importance to the outer world, for a pretty long time, not because of political backgrounds but because of geographical position, Mirza Haidar Dughlat who was impressed by the Kingdom, states that it is astonishing that so little is known about this beautiful Kingdom in the outer world. The internal disorder exposed the Kingdom to the outer world and the Mighty Mughals annexed it in 1586 A.D.

The period under review exposed the Valley to the outer world and we notice the influx of all types of men. The Scholars, the Christian missionaries, the European travellers came with the Emperor and thus the age long isolation of the Valley was broken. Some of them put on coloured glasses and represented the Kashmiri as a cheat, timid, some termed the Valley as the land of scholars, and intelligent people. Some found it the land of ugly men and women and some craved to see a single woman. Some of the modern scholar were influenced by one set of writers and some by the other. In this attempt stress has been laid on contemporary sources and the accounts of travellers. The views of modern scholars have also been kept in view. An analytic critical approach has been

adopted to acquaint the readers about factual knowledge of the newly annexed Kingdom.

I have great pleasure in acknowledging the help and guidance of Professor K.A. Nizami without which I would not have been successful in this humble attempt. I acknowledge the guidance and paternal affection of my teacher, Dr. M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, who took extra ordinary pains in making my attempt a success. I have to express my regards to Dr. M. Athar Ali for his scholastic advisement. I would like to thank Professor G.R. Bacha, Patron, Muslim Educational Trust, Kashmir, who induced me in this field.

Finally, I acknowledge the sincere help of my brother, M.I. Nisar. My sincere thanks to the staff of Maulana Azad Library, the Departmental Library of History, Departmental Research Library, Srinagar and S.P.S. Library, Srinagar, for their help and assistance.

INTRODUCTION

Kashmir is an ancient land with the high degree of civilization achieved by its people, its natural beauty and the sources made its neighbours cast covetous eyes to occupy it. People of this region took pride in their independence and self realization but the weakness instability and strife in Kashmir led to its annexation by the Mughals in 1586. The Kashmiris lost their independence but their cultural industrial, artistic and agricultural growth was not impeded but got a further fillip by the great change effected by its becoming a part of the Mughal Empire.

The History of Kashmir during the Mughal period has so far been neglected and the part played by the people of this region to the cultural traditions industrial and artistic development, social traditions and economic growth during this period have not so far received due attention from the scholars.

The period of Jehangir has a special significance in relation to Kashmir and must be studied in fuller details so that the contribution of Kashmir as part of the Mughal Empire to the various fields of activity be made manifest, hence the need of research work of Kashmir under Jehangir.

The Mughal conquest of Kashmir 1586 A.D. marked a new epoch in the history of the land. It brought

forth new opportunities and field of activity. It has its own advantages and disadvantage which introduced significant changes in the administrative machinery, ruling class, social set-up, economic condition and cultural institutions. The impact of the Mughal rule and the closer contacts of the people of the Valley with the rest of the country deeply affected, the social life of Kashmir resulted in greater participation of the people of Kashmir in the corporate life of the Empire.

It has been observed by Dr. Parmu that the Mughal conquest broke the isolation of Kashmir, with the outer world. This view may be partially correct because the land of Kashmir on account of its geographical situation and natural resources and beauty was frequented by people of the adjoining and far off lands. It had wide contacts with Persia, Samargand, Bokhara, China and Central Asia and regions beyond so its isolation cannot be pronounced. In fact the Mughal conquest opened up new channels and vistas of life in relation to the Indian plains, and established close affinity and ties with India which brought about the development of trade relations, fresh markets for the produce and merchandise of Kashmir and the flow of Indian corn to the Valley. The Mughals had deep aesthetic sense and tremendously developed the sciences sports, public works, forts, roads, buildings,

gardens and fruit orchards which added to the prosperity and the riches of the Valley. The extra-ordinary importance attached to the canals and horticulture lead to the development of agriculture and betterment of the peasantry. The abolition of torturous and prohibitive cesses and toll tax on merchants gave new impetus to agricultural activity. The administrative machinery of revenue realization was strain lined. A uniform system of assessment on the model of Todar Mal's reforms was introduced which led to the uniformity of land tenure and boosting of agricultural produce in the Valley. Though the state demand was enhanced yet the abolition of sundry taxes and illegal exaction and the benality of the revenue officials strictly conforming to the extent of the state demand actually improved the lot of the peasants. The construction of roads, rest-houses, inns and another works of public utility, pacified the masses, madad mash grants to hammams and madrasahs went to appease the people at large.

The Kashmiris had lost their independence, but they were not given the impression of subservience or servitude. The Mughals were careful not to oppress the Kashmiri people. The Governors and officials of the Mughal Government who persecuted or suppressed the people were transferred or removed or punished. Jehangir observed strict impartiality in the dispensation of justice and made efforts to

improve the lot of the common man used to pass through the streets of Srinagar watching the condition of the people and suggested measures of improvement so that the people of Kashmir should live in contentment. This enhanced his popularity and led to the identification of the ruler and the ruled.

The Chaks had made desperate attempts repeatedly to regain their lost Kingdom down to 1622 A.D., but the people won over to the Mughal rule did not side with them for any mass insurrection. The Mughals had created a new nobility in Kashmir from amongst the people which tilted the balance in favour of the Mughals and foiled the attempts of the rebellious Chaks.

A significant fact which contributed to the lost Kingdom of the Chaks and the popularity of the Mughals was the Shia-Sunni conflict resulting in loss of life and property. The Chaks had insulted persecuted and murdered the Sunni Ulama and had taken up religious prosecution. Even their places of worship were not left untouched, such a state of affairs compelled the elite to proceed to the Mughal imperial court, where they signed a treaty which furnished the base for the Mughal administration in Kashmir. This treaty constituted a turning point in the history of the integration of Kashmir with the rest of the Empire.

Because it gave Akbar a locus standi to interfere in the troubled affairs of Kashmir. Akbar who had pronounced his policy of Sabhi-kul could not have felt but unhappiness over persecution on religious grounds. Moreover, the strategic and military requirements were also weighted in favour of Kashmir's annexation to the Empire, an ultimately led to Kashmir becoming part of Mughal Empire.

The period of Jahangir (1605-1627) was a period of pacification, healing up the wounds caused by annexation and the creation of new forces seeking peace, tranquility and prosperity in Kashmir. The reforms introduced were bearing fruits as strife gave ground to concord, instability to consolidation, misery to prosperity, particularly due to personal interest taken by Jahangir in the affairs of Kashmir. The creation of new nobility in Kashmir, extension of public works and agriculture, administration of justice and boosting the industrial arts and the influx of the Mughals with their wealth to Kashmir in sufficient number provided jobs to the local population opened a new era in the region and led to the integration of Kashmir with the rest rest of the Empire.

Sources:

While assessing the Mughal period there is no dearth of source material. The matter available can be divided into three parts.

- (a) Persian Sources of Kashmir.
- (b) Persian Sources of the Imperial Court.
- (c) Travellers' Accounts.

Persian Sources of Kashmir:

Baharistani Shahi:

The author of this work has concealed his name.

However, it is beyond doubt that he was contemporary with Akbar and Jehangir. He was a Shi'ite and it seems he had been in the service of Bahauddin Sayyids. He had exaggerated the activities of the Sayyids who were his masters. However, he is not a narrow minded historian, where he has thrown light on the good points of the Chak rulers, he at the same time criticizes them for their narrow mindedness. One of the significant characteristic features of this work is that it is not written as a daily account as is the case with the rest of the Mughal historians. It discusses the details of various developments at one place. The author provided Hijri dates along with Kashmiri. The topography is reliable and the chronology is also correct. The account of Mughal conquest is exhaustively narrated. But eight years of Jehangir's reign have been discussed in four pages only.

It has found its place in India office library and one manuscript copy is in Research and Publication Library, Srinagar. It was completed in 1614 A.D.

Surikki-i-Kashmir:

It is a well known Persian History of Kashmir written by Malik Haider Chadoora who was conferred upon the title of Raisul Mulk and Chagtaf by Emperor Jehangir. Malik Haider had been a descendant of Ram Chandaram, Commander-in-Chief of Subah. Malik Mohd Naji, his father was a leading noble of the Chaks. He was exiled with Yusuf Shah Chak and served him in Bihar during the days of his exile. He returned to his own motherland only after his death. Jehangir gave him Zamindari rights in his native land. He started the writing of this book in 1618 and completed the same in 1622 A.D.

His work too had found its place in India Office Library. Two other copies are in Research and Publication Division, Srinagar. I have been able to consult all the three copies. The copy in Research Division, Srinagar, is a recent one and is an abridgment of the original work. The Mughal period has been discussed from 185 to 237. The striking feature of this work is the graphic description of the important places and roads. Kishtawar expedition which was partly led by Malik Ali has been thoroughly discussed. It gives us some information regarding the socio-economic conditions of the period. The chronology has not been fully recorded.

(ii) Later Works

Narain Koul Ajis the author of a history is the first Kashmiri Hindu who has written a book on History in Persian. He has written this valuable book in 1707. It is mainly based on the information of earlier Mughal works especially Ain. Only a few scratches of references are found about Jehangir's reign.

Wasiat Kashmir

This book has been written by Mohd. Azam Dada Mari in 1748. Due to his approach to some important sources not available to us has made the work much more important. The influx of Muslim Missionaries and their activities and the influence of their activities have been dealt with. It is a valuable source on the Sufi Movements and throws some light on the social history of the period.

Mukhtasar Tarikh-i Kashmir

It is recent work of Pandith Birbal Kachroo. It is based on the history of Tarikh-i Narain Koul Ajis.

B. Mughal Histories

(1) Ain

It is the main source of information regarding the revenue administration. During the reign of Jehangir only a few minor changes took place and the entire land revenue administration was based on the assessment of Quazi Ali and Asaf Khan. It provides the

detailed information regarding the assessment. However, the topography is not reliable. The names of various places are incorrect and some of them are not even traceable.

(ii) Akbar Nama

Court history of Akbar written by Abul Fasl is of great importance. It throws light on the Mughal Chak relations. Some socio-economic aspects of Kashmir too had been discussed. It is important so far the agricultural information is concerned.

(iii) Burk Jehangiri

This is the most valuable source of the period. It gives us a graphic description of the Kashmiri society. So far the economical history is concerned, it is not less significant. It provides detailed information about the dress, diet, manners, games, past-times, products and arts and crafts. The administrative measures and the expeditions launched by Jehangir have received full attention. The topographical information is not less important. The description of various roads leading to the Valley has also been dealt with. In short it is an indispensable history for the students of Kashmir history.

(iv) Lubal Nama Jehangiri

It has been written by Abul Hassan a Court Writer of Jehangir. It is an abridgement of the memories. A published copy is in S.P.S. Library, Srinagar.

(v) Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri

It is also important so far the socio-political information of the Valley is concerned. The author Kamgar Hussain has tried to throw some light on topography too.

C. Travellers' Accounts:

The accession to India opened the path for the European travellers. Even during Akbar's visit Jeron K. Zuvay visited Kashmir. He, in his letters, gives us information about the socio-economic condition of the Kingdom.

William Hawkins, who remained in India in the Court from 1608 to 1611 gives us some information about the economy of the Valley.

Palsart:

Some valuable and significant information regarding the economy, trade, commerce, export and import, has been given by him. However, he has believed in _____ and so his accounts do not seem to be based on facts.

Modern Works:

Valley of Kashmir:

Sir Walter Lawrence who was a revenue official of the Maharaja wrote a descriptive book on the social, political and economical history of Kashmir. It can be put in the list of most valuable books published so far about the state, but it has a brief chapter on the Medieval period. However, it provides some information about the old administrative set-up.

After 1947 the Kashmir question exposed the state to the outer world and a number of books began to pour in. But most of them dealt the present political situations, and scarcely of references are found in these works. It is difficult to discuss them one by one.

It was only in 1959 when a descriptive and exhaustive systematic work of Dr. Muhibbul Hassan was published. However, it is a history of Sultans (1339-1586) but it has a chapter on Mughal Chak relations. Moreover, it gives us insight about the old socio-political and economic conditions of the period which furnishes data for those who are interested in Mughal period.

A History of Kashmir by P.N.K. Basria is a comprehensive history of Kashmir. But it is based on the old tradition of "from Adam to present day." So it has been impossible for the author to do justice with either of the periods. It is but natural that it has so many flaws. He has not been able to justify his own arguments on so

many occasions. Subjectivity is manifesting everywhere.

A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by J.A. Parau:

It is certainly a scholastic work and more emphasis has been laid on socio-economic conditions of the Valley. The book is consisted of three divisions dealing with the Sultans, the Afghan and the Pathans.

As a matter of fact the treatment of the entire muslim period as one unit has definitely told upon the importance of the book. However, it is a book which is a must for any further study of the period.

BACKGROUND - POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

Kashmir was annexed in 1586 A.D. by Akbar and was incorporated in the Suba of Kabul.¹ Before we discuss the changes, causes and consequences of this annexation which was a turning point in the history of Kashmir, it is necessary to throw some light on the History of the so called Isolated valley.²

The Himalayan range of mountains had provided shelter to a number of valleys and the valley of Kashmir is one of them. It is adorned with some peculiarities which are lacking in the rest of such Valleys. Being at the average height of 5000 to 14000 feet above sea level, it has a good number of summer days and the winters are not unbearable too. The Kashmir Valley is surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow almost the whole year which is a blessing to this happy Valley and it is this snow which has turned the Valley into the paradise of Indies.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ This very part of the world which remained independent for about 6000 years had a history of her own. It has her own culture, language, traits and taboos, but it was not visible to the outer world for a pretty long time.

Every beautiful place had been victimised by the mighty rulers and Kashmir could not have been an exception. Her

1. M.H.F. (202b-3b)

2. T. Rashidi, Tr. N. p. 425

(ii) Bahristanishahi f. 185a.

independence was challenged since the advent of Mahmood of Ghazna¹, but these plans did not mature. Mahmood was not an exception, the Afghans, the Persians, the Turks threatened it. Their attempts did not crown with success because of the internal stability and the well established forces. During the Hindu period the peace and prosperity ruled and agriculture flourished. Muslim rulers gave the first priority to the agriculture and external defence.

During the decaying years of Lohra dynasty agricultural products started deterioration first and as has been the rule, caused the down fall of the dynasty.

Certain events have ever lasting effects on the people, and totally changed the course of history. It does not matter how least importance was given to the incident while at the time of hap, ening. Zulqadar Khan of Persian of Sources and Dulcha of Sanskrit, Chronicles struck the final blow to the Lehra Rule.² During the late period of the dynasty three fortune seekers entered the valley and all the three hastened the historical change. The whole situation revolved round the incident and the incident was Dulechas invasion, the persons were Shams-Ud-Din, Reichim and Pandou Chak and the place was Kashmir. The magnitude of the devastation caused by the conquerer could be understood only when the imprints

1. Travels in Hindustan, Bernier p. 452

2. Raja-Tarangni, Steen, (ii) Baharistanishahi ff.54-5.

of the same were traceable after 400 years, when Zainulabidin (1420-1470) ruled the Kingdom.¹ It was this incident which paved the way for the Muslim rule and it was this incident which once for all ended the Hindu rule.

Shahmir, a Persian by birth settled in Baramulla and during the attack came to the forefront, helped the people, and tried his best to elevate their miseries and misfortunes. Reinchin who was in Lar, came out and played equally important role, while the ruler took shelter in the strongest fort, left the people to their lot and saved himself. Reinchin, an intelligent and well versed prince of Ladakh found the apportune moment to establish his rule and took the Raja under surprise and through coup'de-main, threw down the last King and became the King himself. This was first step towards the establishment of the Muslim Rule. Reinchin was a Budhist, but he converted to Islam.² He remained as the King for three years and died in 1323 A.D.³ Kota Rani married her deceased husband's brother and again the Hindu Rule established for 16 years but Shah Mir again through coup'de-main established the Sultanate in 1339 A.D.⁴

1. Waqiat, pp. 34-5

2. Waqiat, pp. 28-31

3. Sufi's Kashmir Vol. 2 p. 427

4. R.K. Framu pp. 85-88 (ii) Muhibbul Hassan, p.

There is a general controversy in the Histories about the chronology of Muslim rulers. It is obvious, may be either because of the conversion from Hijra to Christian and secondly the coins excavated have added to this confusion.

Since the establishment of the Sultanate an administrative set up was established and while going through the available records the reader has a sketch of the same before his eyes. One of the important defects of these chronicles, as has been found in all the medieval records, is the unsystematic arrangement of the events and no stress was paid towards the administrative aspects, although there is scanty information available on the subject, still it is clear that the Sultanate could not have remained on established footing for 247 years, if there had been chaos and confusion. The rough and distorted figure painted by the Mughals ^{in their records} about the people and Sultans is mainly based on prejudices and show the magnitude of the hatred between the two. There was not the rule of jungle but gradually an administrative set up was evolved which the Mughals even did not change.

One of the basic points which requires our attention is if there was an over-night change in administration, when the sultanate was established and secondly was the change of form or the principle, if any at all.

The establishment of the sultanate does not necessarily mean the wholesale conversion of the masses the change was of the form only. The stage was the same, therefore, no change in audience but the only change of the actors. The bulk of the population was of the Hindus

and the only literate class was that of the Brahmins. They were the pillars of the Hindu rule and being the runners of the administration it would have been disastrous for the very basis of the sultanate and at the same time could not have carried on the plough of reform so deeply, because the masses were non-Muslims. The greater the changes the stronger would have been the resentment.

Basically, the very idea of a welfare state was non-existent and the functions of the state were the external defence, internal security and exaction of the revenues. So, there would not have been any immediate need also to change the very basis of administration.

These presumptions gain ground when we find important posts in the hands of the Hindus even after a rule of 70 years. Sultan Sikander had a Brahman Suhabat,¹ who later on on the instigation of the Sayid Mohd. Madni accepted Islam. Sharibat was the Wazir of Sultan Zainul Abedin.² There was not a slightest change even in the names of administrative officers for a pretty long time. The masters of the ^{passes} Guards were known as Dawarpadika and even during the reign of Zainul Abedin the name was not changed.³ It was not due to the inefficiency or incompetency of Shah Mir but because of the bulk of the population

1. Baharistani Shahi BMMS f 27a

2. M.C.H.I. Vol. 5 p. 391-2.

3. Muhibbul Hassan p. 109.

comprised non-Muslims; it would have been unwise and against the interests of the Dynasty, if there would have been a sudden change. Shah Mir followed a wise policy of non-intervention in the personal matters or in the religious beliefs. The firm foundation laid down by Sultan Shamsud Din lasted for two hundred years. The entire dynasty tried their best to avoid religious bigotry and it was in the reign of Sultan Sikandar,

"The idol breaker" when some incidents took place. Basically the seed of Religious bigotry was laid by Mirza Haidar Duglat in 1540 when he conquered the Valley.¹ One of the basic factors which was the cause of integration and at the same time the cause of disintegration was the composition of nobility as was the case with the Mughal Dynasty, requires our attention. Those Shah Mir Sultans who were stronger enough to maintain their dignity welded the entire nobility in an insurmountable force and no foreigner dared to intrude the borders. Whenever there was any possibility of such thing, they made a common cause against their common foe.³ So, the Valley although had a new rule but still remained in isolation and so was immune and the social set up did not undergo any drastic change. Sultan Qutbuddin, even, who was the Muslim had married two sisters at the sametime, which was an action against very

1. M.H.H. 139-42 (ii) Waqiat p. 82 (iii) Baharistani Shahi f 98.

2. Composition of Mughal Nobility; Dr. Athar Ali p.192

3. M.H. f. 146

principles of Islam.¹ There was not even slightest change in the dress and, Jahangir could not distinguish a Hindu and a Muslim when he paid his first visit.² However, due to the political disturbances in Persia, a host of Sayyids left their homeland and poured in the Valley. This influx of the foreign elements hastened the transformation of the society. Even the administrative branches of the state did not remain immune. New forces crept in; which forced their way ahead, and due to the action and interaction of the traditional and reactionary forces caused a new social and political set up.³ By the time of Zainulabidin, the Sultanate was on a strong footing and had not only ascertained their position in the Valley but even beyond the heights of the Himalayan Range of mountains.

The dim and black pictures painted by the Mughal writers, display nothing but their prejudices and jealousy against the Kashmiris. While comparing the Mughals and the Sultans of Kashmir, we could not but accept the facts of T.W.Hague that where Akbar failed, Zainulabidin succeeded; what the former preached the latter practised.⁴

The Administration had achieved a definite height and the same administrative set up was carried on even during the Mughal rule.

1. Muhibbul Hassan p.

2. Tuzk pp. 293-4

3. "Art and Men" Iran publication, Sabir Afaqi

4. (ii) C.H.M.I. Vol. 5 p. 182 (i)

The rule of Sultans was not that of hill tribesmen or of freebooters or plunders. There was no confusion or chaos, but there had been established an administrative set-up of their own, which was partly influenced by the old Hindu rule and partly by the Persian and Turkish Rule.

To be more clear, it will not be out of place to highlight the various branches of the administration, which will help us to scrutinize, if the above mentioned remarks are born out by facts, and at the same time will help us to have a definite and clear cut information about the valley at the time of annexation.

Political Divisions

The kingdom of Kashmir comprised of the valley Tibet, Pakhti, Rajouri, Jammu, Kishtawar and Dامتur.¹

The valley Lohra and Pakhli were under the direct rule of the Central Government². Tibet, Rajouri, Jammu, Kashtawar and Dامتur were only vassal states.³ The vassal states were under the direct control of the centre and were administered by the agents of the Sultan.⁴ Mostly the Governors were the sons of the Sultans⁵. The Governor of Lohra during Zainul Abidin, was his son.

Tributory States:

In addition to the directly ruled states and the vassal states, there were some tributary states also. These states

1. Muhibbul Hassan pp. 209-10

2. Ibid 209

3. Ibid 209

4. Ibid 209

5. Ibid 210 (Adam as Governor of Lohra under the reign of Zainulabidin)

paid an annual tribute to the Sultan, and whenever, there was a week one, those states stopped their tribute. Pakhli modern Poonch (only some parts and some areas of Uttar Machipora) the Kishenganga valley, Ladakh, Baltistan, Kishtawar and all the tributories of outer hills scattered over the area straching from the Ravi in the east to the Jehlum in the West.¹

Tributory States

The following states were paying tribute to the Sultan. Pakhli, the Kishanganga valley, ladakh, Baltistan, Kishtawar and all the tributories of the outer hills from the Ravi on the east to the Jehllum on the west. Broadly speaking it was the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir as it is existing today under the sway of the Sultans either directly or indirectly. After the Mughal annexation virtually no change either in the extent of the state or in the administration of the state took place. The only political change was the change of the Sultan. The emperor became the head of the state and the government of the Suba was run by the agent of the Emperor called Sahibi Suba³ or Hakim. The next step of the Emperor was to enforce his authority over the tributory Chieftains. As it is evident

1. Waqiat p. 81 (ii) Mohibbul Hasan 209

2. Mohibbul Hassan p. 209 (ii) Waqiat p. 81

3. Tuzk p. 294 Jahangir mentions on so many occasions the Governor as Hakim Suba

from the fact that when Yadgar episode took place, Akbar asked the Raja of Jammu and Kashtawar to help and proceed towards Kashmir.¹ However, Tibet, which was formerly annexed by the Sultans had again revolted and was not latter on ruled by the Sultan. During the brief spell of Chack Dynasty, due to the unstable government Lohara also separated from the Centre. Later on it was only under Jahangir, when Kashtawar was completely annexed,² and an expedition was sent to Tibet also. It seems that Pakhli had not tried to achieve independence as is evident from the fact that on the first visit of Jahangir, the Zamindar of Pakhli paid tribute and Jahangir at the same place mentions that the Zamindar had been loyal to his father also.³

The inherent draw back of the Medieval Independent Kashmir, as was in all the medieval governments that whenever there was a weak Sultan at the helm of affairs, the mighty intriguing, unscrupulous and mean nobles divided the state among themselves and the king remained only a puppet and a nominal head. This division not only minimised the the prestige of the Sultan but of the state too. Even when Mirza Haidar Duglat put Nazuk Shah a puppet on the throne, divided the valley into three divisions.⁴ This division

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1. H.M. Tarikh Kashmir p. 187 (a) (ii) Maasir Jahangiri pp.127-
 2. Tuzk Jahangir 294 (ii) Jahangir Nama Abul Hassan p 135-6 (iii) History of Jahangir B. Prasad 283-84
 3. Tuzk Jahangiri p. 290 (ii) Jahangir Nama Abul Hassan p. 130
 4. Baharistan 86, 124. T.Kashmir M.H. 133, 194

was not the first but it was one of the divisions which the state had faced so many times. The sharers of Mirza duglat were Abdal and Regi Chak. As a matter of fact, the Zamindar class played a vital role in the political economic and cultural life of Medieval India.¹ This class achieved great importance during the Mughals in India, but so far Kashmir was concerned, their importance was felt during the Sultanate period and a vital role was played by them during this period. When Kashmir became a part and parcel of the Mughal empire in 1586, the nobles did not accept the treaty concluded after the dissertation of Yousf Shah. It were these nobles who not only compelled Yousf Shah to resist the Mughal pressure but even took him to the boarders. But he defected his people and army and threw himself to the mercy of Raja Bagwan das at Bulyas.³

So it is evident from the facts that the landlords waged great influence over the Sultans and their influence was even felt by the Mughals when they deprived them off their fields and Kashmir was attached to the Khalisa⁴ and the entire nobility was deprived of the lands.

1. Baharistan 124

2. Zamindars under the Mughal: Prof. S.N. Hassan

3. Dr. Parm p. 286 (A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir pp 189-90)

But in T.Kashmir M.H. it is Khawar must and according Tabqat p. 633 it is Nagar (iv) Tuzk 282 (Phoolbas)

4. Ain II (Tarrrt p (ii) Baharistan Shah pp 187-9a ab

To have a detailed review of the Pre-Mughal administration, it would be proper to deal with the main stream of heirarchy stage by stage, and for a reader it would be easy to understand the role of these feudal lords too.

The Sultan.-

The Sultan was an autocrat.¹ He was the supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority in his kingdom. He could make and unmake laws and interpret Sharia. He was his own Commander-in-Chief and led the campaigns personally² or appointed Commanders for such expeditions. The Sultan was the highest court of appeal. His word was law. But the medieval Kashmir Kings were not religious bigots or having orthodox type of nature.

When we compare the Medieval Europe with Medieval Kashmir, and not to talk of Asia or even India, it becomes an established fact that the latter had an enlightened rule than the former. They were not tolerated altogether and sometimes general massacre was ordered. Even the 16th century Europe witnessed religious bigotry to such an extent that protestants were thrown in burning charcole alive. Millions of them were butured and many more either put behind bars or put to death. It was not done only for the sake of religion, but the internal will of the kings to oust their opponents and to secure the throne for

1. Kashmir Under Sultans - Mohibbul Hassan p. 194

2. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat pp. 34-48 (ii) Baharistan f 193

themselves and for their heirs. It cannot be denied that the slogans of religions in danger were raised and to protect the religions the opponents were put to death. While dealing with India the reader may automatically reach at the same conclusion.

The Mughals who were ruling India since the early quarter of the 16th century were much more advanced than European rulers in so many respects. But still on the death of the king their ancestral whims overpowered them and the new emperor achieved the throne while swimming through the pool of blood. Very often when the king in throne saw his throne in danger, he would atonce raise the slogan of religion only to protect himself from the overpowering opponents. The Medieval kings of India and especially the enlightened Mughals did not spare even their sons. They strictly followed the established fact that "kingship knows no kinship". Whether it was Khusrau the son of Jahangir in whose eyes hot lead was poured in or it was Shah Jahan the father of Aurangzeb, who was put behind bars for eight years. At the same time they termed themselves the light of God, the Gods shade on earth and what not. Aurangzeb who was called by his brother Dara 'the Nimazi' did not hesitate to intern his father, and the massacre of his brothers and the imprisonment of his sons. They did not follow any law of successions, but "might is right". And at the same time, the Sultans of the so called

"Isolated" valley were much more ahead of the Mughals and even of their own times. We cannot deny that the Sultans had a definite law of succession or they had no religious sentiment, which was order of the day. However, they did not achieve their throne while swimming through the pools of blood of their kith and kins. Exceptions accepted. The Mutilation of limbs and the gouging out eyes was introduced only in Chak rule.¹ It is evident the mutilation of limbs and the gouging out eyes of the culprits or opponents was only introduced by the Chaks who ruled Kashmir only for a brief spell of 30 years (1555-1586). The Sultans of Kashmir did not kill their opponents while putting on the religious garb. Sultan Shamir did not even kill the two sons of Reinchin and in the subsequent years we come across that the Sultans did not stick to the throne or did try to usurp or preserve for their sons. From the beginning of the Sultanate the Sultans gave first preference to their brothers as in case of Sultan Shihabuddin who was succeeded by his brother Sultan Qutubud Din in 1373². And in 1420 Ali Shah declared his brother Shahi Khan as his heir apparant.³ They did not assisinate their relations However, in certain cases there could have been some kind

1. (i) Baharistan p. 123a (ii) Waqiat Mohd. Azm p. 89
(iii) M.H.F. 154a

2. Kashmir Under The Sultans: Prof. Muhibbul Hasan p. 53

3. Ibid 69 Waqiat Mohd. Azam 48 (iii) M.H. 1113

of brutality or the other. But such exception could not be applied to general rule. So far the religious fanaticism is concerned, the Sultanate could be claimed a torch light for the medieval rulers and even to the modern governments of the world. Zainul Abedin (1420-1470) who not only threw open the gates of his kingdom for those who for fear of their lives have left Kashmir but also assured them full support and even allowed them to return to their old creed if they liked.¹ Zainul Abidin practised what Akbar preached, and he succeeded where Akbar failed. He did not discriminate his subjects or co-religionists to please his Hindus, non-Muslims subjects as Akbar in certain cases did.² Zainul Abidin or Badshah "the great king" not only gave peace and prosperity but made so many innovations and introduced a number of new arts into his kingdom for which Kashmir is always and will be always grateful to him. He condemned the religious bigotry in an age when it was at its climax even in Europe. The Sultans no doubt were aristocrats but did not misuse their power.

Apart from the powers mentioned above the Sultan had certain prerogatives, to distinguish him from the nobles and other subjects. All the rulers of both the dynasties; the Shahmir and the Chaks adopted certain titles. Shah was

1. Sirve, p. 72 (ii) M.H. p. 116a (iii) ^{M.C.H.J} Mohd. Gamb History Vol. IV p. 192

2. Farouqi, Zahiruddin, Aurangzeb and his times p. 25

attached to all the Sultans while studying them the titles adopted by them were mataching with the Safvid, Turkish and Mughal emperors.¹ Zainul Abedin called himself Naibi Amirilmumin² and the Chaks had their titles resembling with the Safvid Titles.

The khutba and sika were the two essential formalities which received the immediate attention. As soon as the king assumed the office his name was inserted in the Friday khutba and coins were minted in his name.

To sit on the throne and to w&ar a crown was the exclusive privilege of the king. The crown had great importance. When Yousf Shah was dethroned he sent the crown through Syyid Mubarak.³

The next prerogative was the Chatri and the Ghauri. The Chatrow as an umbrella and chauri (the fly whisker) was used by the Sultan.⁴

The Sultans on different occasions bestowed upon the nobles dresses of honour and, the custom prevailed right upto the Chak period.⁵

The Sultan kept a stern control over the treasury because it was the essential thing for the maintenance of

1. A.N. Vol.3 (2) p. 522. The **title** of Yaqoob was Shah Ismail.

2. Mohibbul Hassan p. 195

3. B.Sf 132a

4. Mohibbul Hassan p. 197

5. Ibid p. 198 (Incorporating Suka)

the administration. The first and foremost duty of the new Sultan was to get hold of the Royal treasury. The Royal Stable was equally important. The claimant to the throne thought himself the successful and secure if he got hold of the royal stable as in case of Adam son of Zainulabidin and in case of Fatah Shah the same happened.¹ The wazir which was most important authority below the Sultan wielded tremendous power. Under the early Shahmir rule the Prime Minister was called by the old name Sarvadibar² and by the time of Zainulabidin the persian language had got hold over thenobility and the post was called the wazir.³ He was constant adviser to the Sultan and had great influence over the Sultan. In the important matters, the wazir was consulted and as very often the nobles were trying to achieve this post, used to play fouls and a constant struggle was always going on among themselves. The Shah Mir wazirs were so much strong that they deposed their sovereigns and secured the throne for themselves. Under Sultan Sikandar-Suha Bhat, who was renamed Sheikh Sadrudin after his conversion to Islam was functioning as wazir.⁴ He not only guided the Sultan in administrative measures but even in religious matters also.

1. Raja Tarangni (Stain) Bk No.214 Baharistan Shahi f 189a

2. Tarikh Kashmir, ^{M. H} Sajjid Ali p. 40

3. M.H. 160b

4. Baharistani Shahi p. 27a

Mir Āb. His main functions as this name indicates controlled the water distribution. The post was to be considered equally important. His functions were to distribute the water at the various head works and look after the proper management of the canals. The post continued even under Pathan rule and after the Revenue settlement in 1880, this post became a public office and the peasants appointed any honest person with the mutual consent of the shareholders of the canals, to distribute the water according to the shares fixed by the revenue authorities.¹ There were as many as Mir ābs as there were canals and all have to look after their own canals, to see if there is any need of repairs. Their duty became more and more acute when there was not sufficient snowfall and the scarcity of water created thus immense loss to the peasantry and the functions of the Mirabs increased. When ever the canals were damaged they called for labour which was atonce deputed for the repairs. There was equally important post of Mir Bahar.³ This post controlled the rivers and looked after the ports of the Dal and lake wular. Their duty was to collect the taxes from the vegetable growers and the fishermen. This post was in vogue till recent times and

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1. The Valley of Kashmir Lawrance pp 323-24
 2. Ibid pp 323-324
 3. Waqiat p. 72

and an area of the Dal is still called by the name Mir Bahri. This post was a revered post and had great importance and had direct access to the king.

Diwani Kol. This post was introduced by Sultan Fatah Shah in order to minimise the power of the wazir.² He controlled the Finances and the rest of his functions are not known. But under Sultan Hussain Shah there was the post of treasures and the money distributed among the musicians etc. was directly by him, so it is obvious that the same post was already there and even before him this post existed in the reign of Zainulabidin³. The part played by Hassan the Khazanchi indicates that treasurer was under the direct control of the king.

Ministry of religious affairs:

In the early Shah Mir rule, there is no mention of any such institution but after the visit of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani the Sultans began to feel the need of such theologians who could guide them in religious affairs. But as it seems, was the function the Sultan himself right upto the accession of Zainulabidin. But he introduced the post of Sheikhul-Islam and entrusted him this work. The

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1. Waqiat pp. 34-5
 2. Mohibbul Hassan p. 199 (ii) Baharastani Shah 61a (iii) Mohibbul Hassan 203
 3. Ibid pp. 203-4
 4. Baharistani Shahi p. 34b (ii) M.H. 120a (iii) Tarikhi Kashmir Aziz Narain, Koul MS f 61 b.

The first person who was appointed Sheikhul Islam was Maulana Kabir.¹ The contention of Prof. Mohibul Hassan on the basis of the author of Tarikhi Kabir is the post was created by Sultan Sikandar, but neither the author of Baharistan and not even Mr. Haidar had made any reference to this.

The functions of Shaikhul Islam were to look after the waqfs and the cheritable endowments. In case of war he issued decrees and being highly honoured by the people and so responded wholeheartedly and during the Mughal attack by Mirza Haidar in 1532 the Shaikhul Islam asked the people to participate in the war and decreed it as a religious war³. The respond to the call was so great that the people came out of their houses and Mughals were terribly defeated. Under the chak rule the functions of Shaikhul Islam were taken by the Quazi of Srinagar. The prestige of the post diminished because the chaks did not attach so much importance to the Shaikhul Islam.

Administration of Justice:

The highest court of appeal was the king himself and the lowest the Quazi of the town. The punishment of

1. M.H. 120b

2. Mohibbul Hassan p. 199

3. Ibid p. 199 (ii) Waqiat p. 136 (iii) Baharistan 99a

4. Waqiat M.A. p. 86

death was imposed only under the imperial orders and no quazi and not even Quaziul Quzat was authorised to impose the death penalty. There was the post of Quaziul Quzat or the Quazi of the capital.¹ His functions were to lead the Friday prayers and guide the king where the theological guidance was required, and in case of any criminal case the Sultan consulted Sheikhul Islam. The Quazi of Srinagar was also considered to be the head of all the Quazis. Every town and even a small village had a quazi who were the spiritual guides of the people and led the prayers. The Quazi of Sopore had great importance and during the Chak rule the Quazi of Sopore was severely checked and the rulers generally feared their indulgence in the administration. Quazi Musa and Quazi Habib were two important Quazis of Chak Rule.¹ The Quazi of Srinagar who achieved great importance during the chaks was not as much revered by the people because of the hostile attitude towards the Sunnis. However, while Yousf Yandar a soldier stabled Quazi Musa there occurred a general chaos and Quazi Shah was compelled to surrender and Yousf Yandar was put to death². This verdict was passed by Quazi Habib and Mulla Tahir, who were put to death also by a Mughal envoy and this led to the cause of the downfall of the Sultanate and hatred against the Mughals.³

1) Baharistani Shahi p. 182a

2) Ibid p. 127

3) Ibid p. 128

The Quazis were the expounders of law while another post Mufti was to issue decrees and to suggest the punishment the implementation was the duty of Quazi with the permission of Shaikhul Islam. In the latter Afghan period there were four Kazis only in Srinagar.¹ The post of Mir Adal was perhaps introduced by the Mughals² and there are also some reference of this post during the reign of Fatah Shah³ and it seems that the post was already existing there and was not an innovation of the Mughals. The duty of Mir Adal were semi-ministerial.⁴

Army:

The king himself was the Commander in Chief and led the campaigns under his own guidance and sometimes appointed commanders for such occasions.⁵ The nobles had not only administrative obligations but they had military obligations too. The noble whether, he was a wazir or any other official was bound to keep a contingent and expect his presence in the battle field at any time. There were no diversifications. The nobles were assigned jagirs for the pay of their contingents. They had not to mention definite or fixed number of contingents as there is no such reference

1. The Valley of Kashmir W. Lawrance p. 296

2. Waqiat p. 134

3. M.H. 160b

4. Mohibbul Hassan p. 200

5. Baharistani Shahi p. 50 27a (Suha Bhat was both wazir and Sipah Salar of the army of Sultan Sikandar).

in the chronicles regarding the composition and the role played by them will be discussed latter on. The army consisted of the (a) standing army (b) provincial ~~ar~~ troops (c) Feudal levies and (d) volunteers.

The standing army was under the direct control of the Sultan and they were furnished and paid by the royal treasury. The standing army comprised of the cavalry and infantry.¹ According to the author of Raja Tarangni (Sriv) there was used some device which pierced the hearts of people, and horses. The stones were thrown out with a loud roar and the machine was not seen by the enemies.² The contention of T.W. Haigue on the above statement is that the fireworks were introduced in Kashmir in the early Shah Mir dynasty by the great king of the line namely Zainul Abidin.³ But this has been questioned by certain authors and Mohibbul Hassan does not accept the view. May there be some mechanism by which stones were thrown with a speed and had mentioned the same. If the above presumption is accepted, there must have been the frequent use of the same after his death. The author of Baharistani Shah had also mentioned that there was no use of artillery even during the reign of Mohd. Shah.⁴

1. Baharistani Shahi p. 50 (ii) M.H. 121-190-192-93

2. Srine BK (Stein) 2010 (ii) Mohibbul Hassan 210

3. T.W. Haigue M.C.H.I. P. 282

4. Baharistan-i-Shahi p. 481 846.

The foot soldiers and the Cavalry was equally important. However, the local breed of horses was not a good one and so the important wing was of the infantry¹. However, in the latter period of the Sultanate there were artillery pieces and while with encounter with, the Mughals there existed the guns also.² The army of Yousf Shah consisted of 15000 Sawar 25000 foot soldiers and 700 matchlockmen and Yaqoob after the defection of his father had an army 12000 sawar, 20,000 foot and 6000 matchlockmen. So at the time of annexation the artillery was not some thing new but had already taken important place which is deserved. The standing army was stationed in the capital and the provincial army at the provincial head quarters and in the important forts like Beru, Cheradar, Nagam, Banihal, Bahramgalla etc. etc. There was the use of elephants also but in a limited number.³ In the early Sultanate the standing army of Sultan Shihabud Din was 50,000 horse riders and 5,00,000 foot soldiers⁴ and Zainul Abidin at the time of Tibet expedition had 20,000 Sawar and 1,00,000 footman⁵ keeping in view the limited resources of the state it does

1. Tuzk p. 301

2. M.H. p. 190-3

3. M.H. p. 190-3

4. Ibid p. 192

5. Ibid p. 109

not seem a fact that such a small state could have maintained such a big army so it may be presumed that the strength at the time of war as mentioned above was along with the contingents furnished by the feudal and vassal Chief and the volunteers also. The provincial troops were furnished by the governors of Pakly, Dampur and Kashmir. The nobles as mentioned above had to maintain a contingency in lieu of the jagirs assigned to them. The part played by these nobles and their troops had great political value. It were these nobles who compelled Yousf not to surrender. ²

The weapons used during late Chak period were guns, swords, shields, maces, battle axes, blow and spear.³ The soldiers wore coats of mail and horses were caprisoned with steel. ⁴ Mir Bakshi was head of the department of Military. He maintained the proper records and muster the soldiers and horses⁵. He was responsible for the recruitment also. So far the rules of recruitment were concerned we do not get so much evidence from the contemporary records. However, the recruitment as it seems was based on tribal valour. The Magres, Rainas, Thobores, Sayyids (of Baihaqqi class) Maliks, damars, and dars, the Rajputs and Rathores, were the main tribes which usually were recruited. The dombas who even now are considered most sturdy people were mainly picked up. As

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1. Baharistani Shahi p. 50b
 2. Ibid F 191a (ii) MHPP 184-5 (iii) Baharastani f170a
 3. M.HF 194 (ii) Baharistani Shahi 164b also but in a limited number
 4. (i) Waqiat p. 90 (ii) M.H. 156a
 5. Mohibbul Hassan p. 210

a matter of fact there were no proper methods of training, they lacked the discipline and took to steeling even at the time of encounter. The Rathores who in Muslim period were termed as Rathars were also recruited. The Khasas, who were the residents of Dachanpara were famous for their skill. The chaks who were most sturdy and strong people played important role. The tails of their strength have been mentioned by Mughal writers too.¹ While comparing the Mughal recruitment system and the Sultanate (Kashmir) recruitment system, there seems little difference. The different leaders of the clans picked up well bodied, sturdy and strong people and in case of recruitment in the Central army the soldiers belonged to all the classes mentioned above. The soldiers of standing army were paid in cash as there is no evidence of land grants to the soldiers. The nobles who had jagirs in various quarters paid their troopers in kind. The pay etc. etc. is not recorded in any of the chronicles. The incident of the Mughal defeat in 1560 when Qara Bahadur invaded Kashmir, Gazi Shah proclaimed that anyone who gets a head of a Mughal will receive one Ashrafi (gold coin)² It indicates that the volunteers were paid in cash and

1. Baharistani Shah 67a (ii) M.H.F. 153b (iii) The Valley of Kashmir p 193 (iv) Mohibbul Hassan 145 (v) Waqiat, Mohd. Azam p. 84

2. M.H. 157b

and secondly the Sultan as per his promise gave land grants who presented a good number of heads of the Mughals.¹ It indicates that the land in certain cases was also assigned to the soldiers.

Revenue administration and Finances:

The entire land was considered to be the property of Sulcan and it was his discretion to whom he delegated his rights of the land.² The actual land under cultivation is not mentioned in the records but as the digging of some seven canals by Sultan Zainul Abidin³ indicates that most of the land of the valley was under cultivation. The revenue was fixed at one third of the total produce and remained the same right upto the Mughal annexation in 1586⁴ The land was measured and the assessment was made on the basis of standing crop and a Jarib of fixed length was introduced by Zainul Abidin.⁵ The entire land of the valley was very often parcelled out among the strong nobles whenever there was a puppet on the throne of the kingdom. When there was a constant tussle between Mohi Shah and Fatah Shah for the throne the nobles who were strong enough compelled the pupets to divide the valley. In 925 ah when Fatah Shah assumed the throne was made to divide the

1. M.S. 158a

2. (1) Waqiat p. 48 (11) M.S. p 133a (111)A in vol II trans Janet foot note p 366

3. waqiat p. 33

4. Mohibbul Hassan p. 214

5. Ain II (Jarret) p. 383

valley in three parts among himself, Jahangir Malik and Kaji Chak¹. Again in the same reign the valley was divided into four parts.²

The valley for administrative purposes was divided into three parts. Lohra was governed under a governor and in the reign of Zainul Abidin, Adam his son was deputed to Lohra. The valley itself had two divisions. The upper division and the lower division. The upper division was called Maraz and the lower division Kamraj³ Srinagar was the headquarter of Maraz and Sepore was headquarter of Kamraj. During the chak rule it gained importance and for sometime, became the centre of gravity also. The state was further divided into parganas which in the early Shah Mir rule as per Hindu tradition rule were called visayas. But in the chak rule there is no mention of visayas but word parganah only is used.⁴ There were 28 parganas in the entire valley under the Sultans⁵. The estimated revenue on the rate of 1/2 fixed by Quazi Ali was 3011619 Kharwars⁶ and at the rate of 2 1/3 which was fixed rate of revenue under the Sultan would have been round about 2007746 Kharwars⁷, if the presumption of Modern Scholars like

1. H.H. 133 (ii) Baharistani Shahi p. 86b, 124a

2. M. . 139, 194

3. M. . 194, 111 (ii) Gulzari Kashmir p. 14 (ii) Waqiat i.273
(iv) Travels in Hindustan More Craft 2 vol. p. 113
(v) Mohibul Hassan p. 206

4. Waqiat p. 34-47, 45 (ii) MH 116, 119

5. Gulzari Kashmir . 14

6. The Valley of Kashmir pp- 234-5 (ii) Ain II (Jarret p 367)

7. Mohibbul Hassan pp. 212-4

Dr. H.H. Farmer, F.N.K. Bamzai and others be accepted, who have based their theory on the Mughal Historians (Court Writers) that this was only the paper rate and actually 3/4 or even more was realized in the latter period of the chak sultans, then the revenue would have been much more. But so far Haidar Malik's statement is concerned that during the reign of Lohar chak the rate of one Kharwar equivalent to 128 sers (Ilahi) cost only on dam¹, which indicates the sultans were not mere chieftains but tried their best to look after the interests of the people and could not have been a party to the exploiters as pointed by Mughal Court Historians.

The people to whom the Jagirs were assigned in lieu of their obligations towards the state had to collect only as much revenue and other cesses as was realized by the Govt. also. The assignment of Madadi Mash grants to various people for the maintenance of mosques and religious institutions were also directed to follow the aforesaid rules.²

The state realized poll tax and cremation tax on the Hindus but during the reign of Zainulabidin it was reduced and Yousf Shah totally abolished this tax³. The

1. H.H. 176

2. M. . p. 115, 120 (ii) Baharistani Shahi

3. H.H. p. 183a, 116, b

other sources of income in addition to the above were the grazing Tax, Tax on the trees known as Sir DARAKHI the religious tax on Muslims like Zakat and Tax on the artisans¹. The people were compelled in his predecessors reign, to work without any compensation. The boatmen who had to serve the king² once in a week or in a family of three one has to serve the king without any compensation etc. etc. The tax on boatmen was most oppressive tax and Yousf Shah with one stroke of his pen exempted them.³ The artisans were much more oppressed, the revenue collectors exacted one article from each artisan as a legal cess⁴. The custom duty realized on octroi posts was also an important head of revenue.⁵

The Zakat was only a voluntary tax and only Muslim had to pay this tax. It was charged at 1/40 on the property of an individual and under the reign of Yousf Shah it was realized from all the people but boatmen who were considered poor people were exempted.⁶ In addition to the above taxes and cesses which were also

1. M. H. 183a

2. Ibid 183b

3. Ibid 184a

4. Mohibbul Hassan 214

5. Urban Centres & Industries in Upper India Hamida Khatoon Naqvi p. 46 (iii) Tuzk p. 291

6. M.H. p. 183a (ii) Mohibbul Hassan pp. 212-4

a source of income of the Sultans, like baj, Tamgah, tax on wood (or feul tax) which were latter on abolished by Yousf Shah, but the author of "Kashmir under Sultans" attributes the abolition of these taxes to the emperor Akbar.¹ While exacting the revenue, the police officials treated the people to some extent harshly.²

Police Administration:

Every town had a police officer called Kotwal and a Muhtasib³. The duty of the Muhtasib was to look after the morals of the people, supervise the markets, inspect weights and measures, if the public prayers are properly conducted that wines and intoxicating drugs were not manufactured or sold publicly, gambling and immoral living was carried on. In time of Mirza Haidar Duglat this post actually was of great importance. Every part of Srinagar and every village had a Muhtasib to carry on their aforesaid duty.⁴ The Muhtasib was only an executive head and the trial could be held by the Quazi only. His only duty was to initiate case and sometimes minor punishments were also inflicted by the Muhtasib. As a matter of fact Mirza Haidar Duglat who was a staunch

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1. Compare the statement of M.H. p. 183a and the account of Mohibbul Hassan p. 214
 2. (i) Rishi Nama Bahaud Din Masth M/s p. 74 (ii) Baharistani Shahi P 17a
 3. Mohibbul Hassan p. 204
 4. Mohibbul Hassan p. 204

sunai wanted to crush the sects other than those having Hanafi^{at} faith. This policy was not because of his religious bigotry but only motivated by politics. His sole aim seems to be to have believers of one faith only so that the chances of mutual dissension may decrease. It does not matter if his aim was political or religious. The serious cases which required proper investigation and legal exposition were referred to the Quazi and Mufti.¹

Espionage system:

The Sultans kept themselves informed of the activities of their subjects and officials by means of spies, who were directly responsible to the king. Zainulabidin himself visited the market in disguise and looked into the work and functions of the merchants and kept himself in touch with the people.

Administration of the passes:

The valley of Kashmir is surrounded by mountains and these form a natural barrier for the defence of the same. These mountains served this purpose for a pretty long time and right upto the attack of Mirza Haidar Duglat

1. Mohibbul Hassan p. 205

2. N.H. p. 122a (ii) Waqiat, Moh Azam p. 50

the commander of Abu Said in 1533 AD/939 A.H., the Northern mountains passes were considered insurmountable, and it was due to this assurance that the Sultans did not station a strong garrison on this side, with the result the Kashmir army was taken aback and they took to the flight¹. But the rest of the passes were well guarded and there were some 36 passes leading into the valley and only 11 of them were more important³ and still have not lost their strategical position. These passes were always well guarded and garrisoned by strong soldiers. The post holders were called the Nayaks. The important 11 passes were Razdhin pass, Burzal, Marbal, Banihal, Pir Punjal, Margan, Zogilla, Kara Kuram, Saril Dawan Tush-Maidan and the Nathsil Nar. The pass holders in the Hindu period were called Davarikapat and in the Muslim Nayaks. They maintained their own contingents and kept a vigilant eye over these passes. The well trusted persons were only appointed. The passes served the purpose of gates and if they were tribal the very basis of the kingdom were threatened. The holders of

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1. M.H.F 139a - 426
 2. The Valley of Kashmir Sir Walter Lawrance pp 245-6 but in Tarikhi Hassan the number of passes is 36 MS Vol 1 p 76a,b (ii) Travels in Hindostan, Moor Craft Vol 2, p 65
 3. The Valley of Kashmir S.W. Lawrance 245-6 (ii) Tuzk p. 299
 4. Ibid 246 (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri p. 149 (iii) Tuzk p. 314

the passes were most influential people, but at the same time were constantly watched. These posts were the life vein of the valley. So far the strategical importance is concerned but had great economical importance also. These were the main passes through which the trade of the valley was carried on with the outside world.¹ The defection of Naiks very often threatened the Sultan and caused immense loss to the valley.

The provincial administration was a true copy of the central administration, every parganah had a Kutwal a Quazi, a Mufti and a Muhtasib, the parganahs were divided into Mahals and Mahals into villages. The revenue was collected through the village record keeper, who was paid by the people themselves and not by the State.² The revenue was collected either in cash but more often in kind.³

(2) Pre-Mughal economy:

While going through the contemporary records of the Sultanate and of the Mughal period, and the accounts of the Europeans it becomes very difficult to form a definite opinion. Diametrically opposite views are held by these

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1. Tuzk p. 314 (ii) Valley of Kashmir pp 245-6 (ii) Urban centres and Industries in Upper India Hamida Khatoun Naqvi pp 46-48
 2. Valley of Kashmir E.W. Lawrance p. 403
 3. Ibid p. 404

authorities. However, on the basis of limited data available, it could not be denied that the masses were not economically well off as compared to the modern times. But at the same time, it is beyond doubt that the Mughal sources and the European travellers did not put on their coloured glasses while putting the accounts of the valley in black and white. The peaceful atmosphere which prevailed in Kashmir during the Sultanate period on the whole minus some brief spells, should have resulted in the prosperity of the people. After scrutinizing the available data as below we could reach a conclusion although the data at the disposal is negligibly scarce.

The Lohra dynasty after a rule of some 300 years collapsed.¹ In 1315 A.D. Shahmir became the Wazir of Sinhadine.² Another fortune seeker came into the valley in this very period from Ladakh (wrongly called Tibet) ... Rintjoo and settled in the valley³. A third person came from Daldistan Lankar by name and settled in Kupwara⁴. While these were establishing in the valley a natural calamity took place and it was the invasion of Zulfadar Khan 1320/7345.⁵ He devastated the entire land and it finalized the process of collapse of the Lohra dynasty, which had started decline a

1. Ain II (Jarret) p. 374 (11) M.H. F 92b

2. Ain Vol 2 (Jarret) pp 374

3. M.H. 101a

4. M.H. 92b

5. M.H. 95b (11) Ain II (Jarret) 381

century earlier. The entire land was devastated and it is said the marks of the destruction were even noticed after 4 centuries.¹ The unstable government of the Hindu Rajas had already told upon the economical life of the people and this invasion was a death warrant to the economic set up of the state. The aforesaid fortune seekers came to the rescue of the people and gained their good will and all the three persons played an imminent part in the political field of the kingdom. Reinclin paved the way for the establishment of the Muslim rule and Shah Mir actually alaid the foundations of the Sultanate and Pandus successors that of the chak dynasty. By 1339 Muslim rule was on strong footing and it was only in 1819 when again Kashmir passed to the Sukhs.²

Medieval Kashmir as the whole of the Medieval world was an agriculturist country and the economy was agricultural based. If the crops failed, the famines were the outcome³ while studying this period we have to consider the same Kashmir minus the inventions, discoveries and development of the modern technological age. As a matter of fact the agriculture of Kashmir was a bargain against the climate

1. M.E. 97a, b

2. H. I. 198a

3. The Valley of Kashmir, Sir Lawrence, p. 198

If there was enough snow fall during the winter, there did not accrue any scarcity of water and if snow failed, the outcome was the failure of crops, but if unfortunately there occurred an early snow fall, the crops were destroyed and the entire population was victimised by the hands of the natural calamity. As the same happened on various occasions and even human flush was taken.¹ But on the whole the agriculture which had faced a set back in decaying years of Lohra dynasty, was given the first priority by the Sultans.² Under the rule of Zainul Abidin Agriculture flourished and he got seven canals excavated and some old canals were repaired.³ Agriculture flourished and land yielded more than sufficient food and the rates were low and cheap.⁴ This was not the only period of prosperity, when art and agriculture flourished but even in the disturbed reign of the chak dynasty agriculture was attend to and Mirza Haidar Duglat also paid his attention towards the same⁵, he catagorised the land into various classes according to the fertility of the land and the revenue was also fixed accordingly.

1. H.L. 168a

2. M.T. p. 198a

3. Mohibbul Hassan, pp 248-49

4. Baharistani Shahi, p 521, 54a, 56a (iii) M.H. 150a

5. M.H. p 122a, b (ii) Baharistani Shahi 47a, 49b

In the latter years of Gazi Shahs reign the agriculture again flourished and the rates were so cheap that one Kharwar (128 seers) cost only one fourth of a dam¹.

The crops which were sown in the Rabi and Kharif seasons were the very crops which we see these days in the state. Rice, as today was the staple food and the chief product of the valley² in addition to maize³, millet⁴ barley and various kinds of pulses were also cultivated. The rice produced in the valley was inferior to that of the Kashtwar rice.⁵ Rice boiled in hot water was taken with different kinds of vegetables of which Kashmir had abundance. The vegetables were fried in the oil of nut Kernal⁶ and the ghee was not used⁷. The enchanting floating gardens of the Dal lake introduced by Zainulabidin resemble the chainampass of old Mexico⁸. These gardens were the main centres of vegetable production. The famous vegetables seem to have been the same which were found in the Mughal rule.

The cultivation of cash crops was not common. However, some crops like Safron were produced in abundance. This

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1. 1 dam was equivalent to 1 kasira a coin of Kashmir
M. I. E. I. P 176a
 2. Irfan Habib pp 36-7 (3) I id 39 (11) I F 164a-b (4) Hassan
IF 164a-b
 5. Irfan Habib p 37 (11) Tuzk pp 301-3
 6. Tuzk pp 30-4
 7. Tuzk p 302
 8. Valley p 344

was produced in the village of pampur in large tracts of land.¹ It was estimated that about 12000 acres of land was under safron cultivation.² The safron of Kishtawar was superior to that of the safron produced in the valley.³ The estimated production of safron was 400 maunds⁴ water nuts, a natural product of the Wular lake was a common food of the masses, especially of the boatman⁵. Meat and fish was also taken freely⁶. The tea was not in vogue as the same introduced in the valley by Mirza Haidar Duglat.⁷

Fruits of different varieties were found in Kashmir, among those were apple, melon, water melon, apricots, pears, plumes, nuts and almonds. The dry fruits were exported and Agra was a fine market for such fruits⁸. Tobacco was not cultivated in the early chak rule and was introduced by the Mughals.⁹

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1. Ain (ii) (Jarret) p. 358 (ii) Tuzk p. 296
 2. Tuzk 296
 3. Tuzk 296
 4. Ibid p. 315
 5. Hassan Vol. I f 164b
 6. Ibid
 7. Hassan Vol I 164b
 8. (i) Jahangirs India by Hellsaert, transt. Moreland on Geyl p. 34
 9. Tarikhi Hass Vol I N.S. f 164b

Trade:-

The kingdom of Kashmir had close contacts with Turkistan, Russia, India, and Central Asian countries since the very birth of the Sultanate in the valley¹ and by the time of Sultan Zainulabidin the influx was at large scale. The Muslim scholars, theologians and tourists poured into the valley and spread over the whole of it. The cordial relations would have automatically resulted in the increase of trade and commerce relations with these countries. The introduction of new arts and crafts through these agencies have made Kashmir what it is today. This ~~i~~increased the income of the people, and aided to their social wealth too. The scanty information available reveals that the trade was brisk new and finer things were imported and new arts and crafts introduced. Salt was not produced in Kashmir, and it was imported from the Punjab and salt traders made good profits. This had achieved so much importance that it was considered the unit of exchange.

Import:

Shawl wool was one of the most important articles of import. It was imported from Ladakh, Tibet and

1. Baharistani Saahi p. 23a, 27a, b. (ii) M.H. 110b, 114b (ii) Bernier, Travels in Hindustan p. 403 (iii) G.R., Duglat Trs ELIAS p 423

Kashgar from which shawls were prepared.¹ In addition to this musk, silk salt and other merchandise was imported through these mountains passes from Kashgar, where thousands of camels passed hailing from and to central Asia. Silk was imported from Kashgar.² But it is beyond doubt that silk worm seed was imported from China, Gilgit and Little Tibet.³

Exports:

The shawls⁴, saffron, silk cloth woolen rug walnuts and almonds⁵, finished fine paper⁶ and honey were exported.

The manufacture of shawls for which Kashmir is still celebrated through the world, were exported to central Asia and Russia through Bokhara and Yarkand⁸, and to every "clime". Mirza Haidar Duglat improved the quality and the export increased. The trade both internal and external was brisk.⁹

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1. Hunar, Na Murdum, Tehran publication Sufian-e-Kashmir Sabir Afaqi p. 66 (ii) Early travels in India, Foaster I, 169
 2. Ibid, p 169 (But so far the statement of author of Tarikhi Rashidi is concerned and the memoirs of Jahangir there was abundance of Mulberry trees and were planted for the nurture of the silk worm. T.Tashidi, Mirza, Haidar Duglat p. 215 (ii) The Valley of Kashmir p. 367. So the question of import does not arise at least in the period of Sultans.
 3. Valley of Kashmir, Sir Walter Lawrence p, 367 (ii) Ain Jarret p. 353
 4. (i) Early Travels in India, Foster, p, 169 (ii) Ain Vol II Jarret, p 353
 5. Travels in Hindustan Vol II Moorcraft, pp 145-6
 6. M.A. F 120b (iii) Baharistani-i-Shahi F 47b, 56a

Means of communication and transport:

The internal trade in the valley was carried on mainly through the river Jhelum in boats¹. There were so many kinds of boats utilized for the purpose of transport. Zainulabidin introduced a new kind of boat on the style of Gujrat, for carrying heavy loads.² The ponies were also used but there had not been a good breed of them, but the Iraqi horses, brought from the Middle east, the Sultans used to receive as gifts and so, there should have been already a mixed breed of horses. The statement by the emperor regarding the improvement seems to be exaggerating. The merchandise was carried on the back of men in the mountainous area.⁴ It is obvious that the wheeled traffic could not have been possible because of narrow and unlevelled roads.⁵

This was a sketch and economical condition of Medieval Kashmir (1339-1586). Due to the scanty information, it was not possible to produce detailed picture of the period. But as a whole, the over all

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1. Baharistani Shahi F 55, a, b. (ii) M.H.F. 122b. T.R. Duglat Tr ELIAS p. 426
 2. Baharistani Shahi F 55b (ii) M.H. F 117a, b.
 3. Tuzk p 301
 4. (i) Travels in Hindostan Vol 2 Moorcraft p 64
(ii) Early travels in India Foaster p 169
 5. Mohibbul Hassan, p. 243

condition seems to have been not that as mentioned by the foreign travellers¹.

Economy and society is so much inter connected that one could not be detached from the other. The society is the outcome of economy and a well established economic base changes the mode of society, not only in dress or diet but even thinking is effected.

Pre-Mughal Society:

Society is the result of a long process. It evolves through centuries and so it could not be split up into the parts. The society never remains unchanged. There are changes and counterchanges, actions reactions and interaction which result in the various developments in the social atmosphere. If any society is not dynamic it becomes rotten and dies down. There had been a number of civilizations which were annihilated by the cruel hands of the nature, because of their static nature. According to Arnold J. Toynbe, there are three stages in the civilization.

As soon as the civilization goes to sleep, it dies down after a brief spell in the same nature. Same could be the case with a society. The conception of some scholars regarding the Kashmir of the Sultans is that the society did not allow itself to mix up with the rest of the world outside the mountain bounded valley. This

1. Jahangirs, India, Pelseart p. 34

was an isolated valley and thus did not make any headway in the period of Sultans it did in the Mughal period, following the Mughal court writers. It will be discussed in detail in the chapter IV and at present only a brief sketch of the society would suffice our purpose.

As soon as the Sultanate was established, the influx of immigrants, fortune seekers, religious preachers and other people began to pour into the valley. It does not mean that the Hindu Rajas lived without any contact with the outside world. The three pillars of the Sultanate as defined in early pages of this chapter had established themselves in State,¹ and in the Dardistan area a Syrian Muslim had also established himself and laid there the foundation of a mosque.² It indicates there were already contacts between the central Asian countries and Kashmir. But after the advent of Islam the influx was of such a large scale that to define the magnitude of influx is not possible. There were 1000 Sayyids along with Sayyid Ali Hamdani and Sayyid Mohammad Hamdani, his son, who came to Kashmir and they spread in all the corners of the valley.³ Whether they were turned out from their native land by

1. Waqiat pp 28, 88 (ii) M.H.F. 103a,b

2. A Report published by the Waqaf board Srinagar, 1964

3. Waqiat; Mohd Azam p 36

Amir Alimur as left their houses only because of his attitude towards the Syyids, does not lie with in the scope of this work. But the point to note is their arrival into the valley, and the influence of their existence in the valley.

The society could be divided into two broad divisions (a) the rulers and (b) the ruled. The rulers comprised of the Sultans and his nobility and the ruled were the masses living from hand to mouth. The nobility and the Sultan were the people leading a luxurious life, exploiting the common masses and accumulated wealth, sucked the blood from the poor viens of the poor.

Sultan: He was the supreme body in the kindgom, and his words were law. He had always a band of nobles around him.

From the very start of the Sultanate in the valley the Sultans in order to stabilize their position picked up certain persons who pleaded the cause of their master and looked after the interest of the patron but very often for themselves only.¹ They were the king makers and whenever found themselves strong secured the throne for themselves. The part played by the nobility under the kings of Kashmir from 1320 to 1586 A.D. needs a detailed discussion.

1. M.H. F 133a, 139b, 194a (11) Baharistani Shahi F86b

There is a vast difference in Mughal mansabdari system which was inter-connected with the nobility and the Mansabdar system of the Sultans of Kashmir. The nobility comprised of the Muslims and the Hindus.¹ But as in case of the Mughals, they had not a fixed military obligation as far as the chronicles are concerned. They had military obligations but it seems that there was not definite number of contingents which they had to maintain. The nobility was the main factor for the integration of the Muslim rule and the same because the cause for the downfall of the Sultanate. The nobles in the first case did not find themselves strong enough to question the power of the Sultan and all of them remained loyal to the Sultan if the Sultan was not powerful the inherent mutual jealousy of this class sprang up and they tried to sow down each other either through intrigues or in open field². The Sultan became a puppet and very often the nobles divided the entire valley among themselves and reduced the position of the Sultan to a noble only.³

As already stated there were two broad divisions of society; The rulers and the ruled. The rulers class comprised of the Sultan, his sons and the princes of Royal

1. (1) M.H. F 113b. (11) Baharistani Shahi F 27a

2. Baharistani Shahi F. 44a (11) M.H. 125a, b. 126 b. 13a

3. M.H.F. 139a, 194 (11) Baharistani Shahi F 86b, 124b

blood and the nobles. The nobles were both the alien and natives, Muslims as well as non Muslims¹. They were immigrants from Persia and Turkistan also.² They ruled while the Sultans like Nazuk Shah and Fatah Shah and Mohd Shah reigned.³ The kingdom was divided and subdivided by these nobles.

They were on one hand main defenders of the State and did not want to see the state in the hands of others but when the chak rule ascended, a new movement started because of the fantastic religious zeal and their actions created uncertainty among the sunni nobles who were deprived of their jagirs and the ulama and religious leaders who were also termed as courtiers played their part for both integration and disintegration.

As in the case of Sultan Nazuk Shah who was put on the throne by Mirza Haidar duglat and on the other hand divided the valley in three divisions.⁴ Equally important part was played by Ibrahim Malik who was the Wazir and held the post of Sad-r-Sadoor also.⁵ The pages of the Baharistan and Tarikhi Kashmir are full of the incidents

1. (i) M.S. f 113f (ii) Baharistani Shahi f 27a

2. Baharistani Shahi 7a

3. Ibid f 124b

4. Baharistani Shah F 124b

5. Ibid, 82a

of the same type. Most of the nobles were the hereditary inhabitants of the valley who embraced Islam and only a few were outsiders who came from Turkistan, Persia or Central Asia. ¹ Maulana Kabir, hold the post of Sheikul Islam under the rule of Zainulabidin, who was the resident of Central Asia. ² Mirza Haidar Duglat was from Turkistan and the founder of the Sultanate himself was a persian by birth³ (Swalgir). The founder of Chak rule was also the son of an immigrant from Dardistan. ⁴

The another class of the Society was the religious leaders and this classes was respected by the nobility and the masses. They had tremendous influence over the Sultans and very often directed their policy too. It was Sayyid Mohd. Gilani who forbade Sultan Shihabuddin and Sultan Feroz of Delhi to indulge in war⁵ Zainulabidin not only respected Moana Kabir, but enlisted him in his courtiers⁶. Some of them restricted themselves to the religious and social duties only, while some of them took part in political development also. Sadat Bai-haki played an important role through out their existence and it was quite possible and actually Sayyid Mubarak dethroned Yousf Shah and himself secured the crown⁷ /987 A.H.

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1. Baharistan Shahi 34b, 98a (ii) M.H.F 190a, 115a, 120a
 2. Baharistani Shah F 34b
 3. Baharistani Shahi 7a
 4. Waqiat, Mohd Azam p 84
 5. Baharistani Shah F 27b
 6. Ibid F 120b
 7. M.H. 174b

These people had a different type of culture and the valley had different atmosphere. In the early Shah Mir dynasty there was least difference in the mode of living than that of the Hindu rule.¹ Sultan Qutubud Din had two sisters at a time in his marriage, when he was induced by Sayyid Ali Gilani to divorce one of them.²

By and by there took place a silent change and the dress and social customs underwent a change³. But the change was so low that even Akbar and Jahangir could not distinguish a Hindu from a Muslim⁴. In the latter period of the Sultanate a new sect of people sprang up. It was the Nurbakhshia which was propagated by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi and gained ground during the Chak rules, who were the followers of this saint.⁵

The local residents after the establishment of the Muslim rule embraced Islam and by the time of Sultan Shahabud Din a large number of people accepted Islam.⁶ Now a new society was springing up, when Mirza Haidar Duglat invaded Kashmir in 1540. He followed a fanatic way and for the first time introduced the communalism in the sense that he began to prosecute the Shias.

1. M.H.F. 110b 111a

2. M.H.F. 111a

3. Ibid 111a (The dress of Qutubdin was just like a Hindu)

4. Tuzk p, 300

5. Baharistani Shahi F 36a, b.

6. Baharistani Shah F 27a (11) M.H.F. 113a

This chapter will remain incomplete if a reference is not made to a new class of people which sprang up from the very soil of this land due to the action and interaction of the old beliefs and new beliefs. From the very advent of Islam, there occurred a class of people who had such a connection and reverence for their religious guide that they forgot even themselves. This Pir and the Murid system sprang and Nurshid in the place where from Islam was introduced in Kashmir. There were already five orders of this section of Sufism. Here we are not concerned with the birth and the sanctity of this class but we have to deal it only in the context which we require. That is how these Sufi orders spread inside and how a particular type of Mysticism developed in the valley. Before the advent of Islam there existed Hinduism and they were followers of Shiva philosophy.¹ The Hindu Sadhus followed a life of retirement and when Islam made a headway in the valley and on the other hand the Sufi orders like Quadiriya, Suhrawardiya, Kubrawiya Nakashbandiya, NurBakhshiya and their fields of influence. In this very age of strain and stress when there was a tussle between one order and the other, on one side and between all these orders and the local beliefs of the people. They had still the prejudices, customs,

1. Mohibbul Hassan p, 224

Rites, rituals and beliefs with them. In this struggle there came out a new sect of people who felt themselves tired of this artificial classification of human beings. Sheikh Nurud Din Rishi the founder of this order, opened his eyes in a family who had adopted Islam and had migrated from Kashtavar ¹ in 778/A.H. He was influenced by the atmosphere prevalent around him. There were Muslim saints, there were Hindu Sadhus. Legend says, that the saint was influenced by Lalla Arfa. Anyhow when the came of age he left his home and began to move from place to place. His teachings were simple and a number of disciples surrounded him. They only planted trees on the roadside, retired from the world. They did not marry and had not a house of their own. ² They did not loosen their tongue but only kept themselves busy in their own business. This movement spread over the whole of the state at a rapid speed. Their main work seems to be to weld the different classes of the people together. In. 1587 when Jahangir visited Kashmir with his father he found some 2000 Rishis in the State ³.

1. Bahud Din Matto "Rishi Nama" MS 74

2. (i) Valley of Kashmir W. Lawrence p, 287
(ii) Ain II Jarret p, 355 (The author has mistaken in ~~considering~~ them as Hindus. The Rishi Saints were Muslims)

3. Tuzk p, 301

This class of ulama were assigned Jagirs called as Madde Mash. Mir Mohi. Sayyid Hamadani monastery was assigned a few villages, for the maintenance of the free kitchen for its trustees¹. For another monastery Pargana Mattan was assigned². For the encouragement of artisans and Men of arts and letters Madadi Mash grants were sanctioned by Zainulabidin.³ Sheikh Bahuddin, Sheikh Zainud Din Rishi, Mir Uwais Majzooob, Mir Sayyid Mohd Mulla Mohd Roomi, Mulla Ahmad Roomi, Maulana Nadiri, Moulvi Kabirud Din⁴ Sheikh Shamsud Din Iraqi,⁵ Sayyid Mohd Baiqr, Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid Jafar, Sayyid Zainudin Zirak Bukhari, Khawaja Ishaq Qauri, Bab Dauood Khaki, and so many of them played their part in moulding the society.⁶

The Pir and Murid became too important figures of Medieval Kashmir. The Murid served his pir as long as he lived and then constructed a monastery on his grave with the cooperation of his "Pir brothers". There arose a number of such tombs in the valley, and there would be hardly any place without such a tomb⁷. It is not possible to ascertain the magnitude of the reverence which the

1. M.H.F 115a

2. M.H.F. 115a

3. M.H.F. 120a,b (11) Baharistani Shahi P 48a

4. M.H.F. 56b, 88a

5. Ibid 88

6. Waqiat, Mohd Azam p 86, 90

7. Valley of Kashmir, Sir W. Lawrence p, 289

people had with these tombs. On one hand, the pir ulama or Baba (locally the off shoots of the Rishis)¹ preached, the brotherhood of man and the unity of God, spread religious knowledge and opened schools and colleges² and on the other hand the people turned superstitious and fir parsat their beliefs about the dead saint became so rigid they thought the soul of the dead saint became so rigid they thought the soul of the dead pir would come to their rescue in the time of need if they called him.

Masses:

The people in the street, the agriculturists, the artisans the skilled and unskilled labour, both the Muslims and the Hindus can be placed in this category. The villager had a house of wooden structure, and granary for the store of his food. His dress was the hand woven patu and the latter Shah Mir period the cultivation of cotton on a small scale, indicates the use of the cotton cloth too³. Their food comprised of the products of the land, viz Rice, vegetables and meet and fish.⁴

The houses in the cities and towns were also of wooden logs, and of two, three and four stories⁵. The roofs were covered with mud and in the spring season represented as an orchard of tulips.⁶

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1. Ain II Jarret p, 353 (ii) Tuzk 302
 2. Baharistani Shahi F 26b
 3. Tuzk p 300 (ii) Gulzari Kashmir, Diwan Kriparam p 206 (iii) Baharistani 190
 4. (i) Tarikhi Rashidi, Mirza Haidar Duglat p, 425 (ii) Tuzk 302
 5. Ibid p,

Fastimes, and festivals

The people enjoyed so many fairs and festivals. The birth day of the village Saint was a day of festival and I'd, Dussehra and Diwali were celebrated with great pomp and show. A strange festival was held to celebrate the day of the Sihat or Weyth on 13th of Har called "Wetha Terwah"¹. People and even the kings were fond of Music and dance. Sultan Hassan Shah had a band of 1200 Musicians and dancers ² and Yousf Shah the last ruler was also fond of music³. Polo was one of the interested games and this was considered a Royal game.

The language of the people was "Kashmiri" and it had a dialect of her own. This language is a branch of Shina and belongs to the Dardic family of languages ⁵. This language seems to have gained importance even in the 12th century as there are some sentences in the works of Pt Kalpana Raja Tarangni which resembles the modern kashmiri language.

1. Tuzk I, 309

2. Baharistani Shahi 57b

3. M.T.F. 172b

4. M.T.F. 16ab

5. (ii) Ain II Jarret 50

B.

Annexation:

Kashmir was conquered in 1586/994 and on the 14th October, the victorious army of Akbar under Nawab Quasim Khan entered the Capital. ¹

Causes leading to the annexation were simply the weakness of the state. It had been the internal desire of the Mughals that they wanted to annex all the parts where simply Khutba was read in the name of their forefathers and not to talk of the actual annexation by their forefathers. Same was the case with Kashmir. When Sultan Qutubud Din was ruling over Kashmir, Amir Timur sent his men to pursue him and to present himself before the Amir. The Sultan stonce accepted the terms, read out Khutba in his name and promised his attendance. ² Babar the founder of the Mughal rule in India, bore this in mind and on this plea was launching an attack on Kashmir in 1529/930 ³. He had deputed an army under Kochak Beg and Sheikh Ali Beg. ⁴ They were waiting for an opportune moment and had stationed themselves on Kajdari pass⁵, when an skirmish took place between his troops and Gazi chak and Gazi Khan. Gazi chak came down

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1. For further details see the appendix of the R-Tarangnis translation by R.S. Pandit
 2. Baharsitani Shahi F 27a,b.
 3. Ibid F 91b (ii) Babur Nama Vol I has Beveridge p 692 According to this it was sent in or after 936 A.H.
 4. Ibid
 5. Ibid

from his horse and stabbed two Mughals ¹. A fierce battle took place and the Mughals were routed². Iskandar Khan who had gone to induce the Mughal king was put behind bars.³ But some of the dissatisfied nobles assembled near Noshehra and with the mutual consent deputed Abdal Magray to the court of Baber, who received him with honour and gave him a band of army along with Sheikh Ali Beg. ⁴ The Mughal army entered the valley in/536/935 A.H. but a fierce battle took place in the pargana Bangil near Mangil. ⁵ The Mughals were badly defeated and they took to flight. Meanwhile Baber died and no army was deputed from that corner. In 938 A.H. again on the invitation of the nobles like Malik Ali and others, Mirza Kamran deputed a well armed division of cavalry under Muharram Beg and Sheikh Ali Beg. The Kashmir nobles were not able to stop them near the passes and assembled near cheradar Fort. From here they proceeded to Athawajan and the battle took place there.⁷ The Mughal commander Muharram Beg became alarmed seeing the skill of the Kashmir army sued for peace, and terms were settled. The Mughals again left empty handed. ⁸

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1. Baharistani Shahi F 91b, 92a
 2. Ibid 92a
 3. Ibid 92a
 4. Ibid 92 b (ii) M.H. 137a
 5. Ibid 93a (ii) M.H.F. 137b
 6. Baharistani Shahi F 96a, b (ii) M.H.F 139a
 7. Baharistani Shah F 96b (ii) M.H. 139b
 8. Ibid (ii) Waqiat, Mohd Azam, p, 78 (iii)Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz Narain, Kaul MSf 70a

The process of attacks continued either from one side or the other. Neither the attackers remained silent nor the attacked collapsed. In the next year Sultan said Khan of Kashgar caste his net over the valley. The nobles, as it seems did not seem to have replased from the earliest attack and so later by surprise and were finally defeated in 939 A.H. ¹ But Kashmir did not lose her independence. The Kashmiris were defeated but they did not lose heart and in the next year compelled the Mirza to retire. ² From this period right for one decade no attack was launched against the valley. The Kashmiris had silenced them. But in 949 AH/1540 Mirza Haidar proposed Humayun to proceed to the valley when his star in India was dwindling due to the defeat in Kanwah in 1540 at the hands of Sher Shah³ . Mirza Haidar along with Khwaja Haji Proceeded to Kashmir.

The army of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan also threw his lot with the Mughal army which was coming via Hirapora.⁴ There was no resistence at all and Mirza Haidar established himself with in the valley. But virtually valley did not lose her independence because he put Nazuk Shah son of

1. M.H.F. 139-42b

2. Ibid

3. Baharistani Shahi F 97b, (11) M.H.F. 145b

4. Baharistani Shahi F 97b, (11) M.H.F. 145b.

Ibrahim Shah on the throne¹. He behaved politically and divided the valley into three parts for administrative purposes². Again the mutual dissension started and the nobles made a common cause, harassed the Mughal and in a right attack Mirza Haidar Duglat breathed his last in 959 A.H./¹⁵⁵²A.D., at the hands Kamal dooni³. Daulat Chak after another encounter with the nobles of Nazuk Shah, secured the throne with the help rendered by Sher Shah Suri⁴. In this way the chaks dynasty was founded.⁵ Meanwhile the throne of Delhi was again in the hands of Humayun, but he could not divert his attention towards the conquest of the valley because of his brief survival although the nobles like Malik Shams raina had approached him⁶. Akbar ascended the throne, and his guardian and guide Bairam Khan was not interested in the annexation of Kashmir due to the unstable condition at Delhi⁷. Shamas Raina who had approached while his stay at Delhi, Abul Mate.

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1. Waqiat, Mohd Azam p, 80, (ii) T.R. Duglat Tr. ELIAS 426
 2. Baharistani Shahi F 98b (ii) M.H.F. 147
 3. M.H.F. 149b (ii) Baharistani Shahi 117a (The date of his death is given by the author as 957/A.H. /A.D. (iii) Waqiat, Mohd Azm p, 81
 4. Baharistani Shah F 115b. (ii) M.H.F. 145a
 5. Waqiat, Mohd Azam p 88
 6. M.H.F. 154-5b (ii) Waqiat, Mohd. Azam p 89
 7. Baharistani Shahi F 124a

Both of them made a common cause and mustered an army of 7 to 8 thousand troops. Akbar Nama gives the number of troops only 800. The Naiks or the guards of passes were bribed as is evident from the fact that right upto pattan, the sultan was not aware of the attack. Gazi Shah atonce marched at the head of a large army and battle started near Haujiwara some two miles from pattan.¹ The Mughal army again defeated and some 3 to 4 thousand soldiers were killed from both sides². Mughals again failed to secure a footing in the valley. It will be not complete if a reference is not to the position of Abul Maali. He was a dissatisfied noble of Akbar and was his faster brother also, and had not good relationship with Bairam Khan or Akbar. He wanted to carve out a kingdom of his own but his schemes did not mature. He was imprisoned but anyhow not himself released. When Humayun did not get a chance to attend to the nobles of Kashmir Abul Maali, however succeeded in trying his tale with them and came along with them.

Ghazi Shah having defeated the Mughal army, paid least attention to the local nobles³. These made a common cause against Gazi Shah and deputed Malik Mohd.

1. M.H. f. 155b (ii) A.N. Vol (II) (Trans) (Breveridge p. 157)

2. M.H. f. 157a, b. (ii) Waqiat, Mohd. Azam p, 90

3. M.H. f. 123a (ii) Waqiat Mohd. Azam p, 89

Naji and Lohar Jangar to approach the Mughal emperor.¹ Akbar who was eager enough to annex Kashmir and had been watching the development in Kashmir, deputed Mirza Qara Bahadur at the head of a large army of 10,000 soldiers.² Mirza Qara Bahadur was in the service of Mirza Haidar also and as such he was accustomed to the valley³ but still the Mughals were routed and fled to the hills.⁴ Some 7 to 8 thousand Mughal soldiers were killed near Bahrangalla⁵. Tabqat gives only a number of 7 to 8 hundred men only⁶ and the modern scholars also are of the same opinion⁷. Whatever might have been, it could not be denied that Akbar did not dare to attack Kashmir for 25 years from this incident. When he failed to route the Kashmiris, he adopted other ways, meanwhile kept a vigilant eye on the development in the valley. He had made up his mind to fulfil his dream at any cost. In next 25 years, he deputed four missions of goodwill

1. M.H. f. 157a,b

2. M.H. f. 157b

3. M.H. f. 157b (ii) A.N. Vol. II (Trans Beveridge) p 197

4. M.H. f. 157b

5. M.H. f. 157 (ii) Waqiat and Baharistani Shah had no reference of this attack (iii) A.N. Vol. II (Tr. Beveridge) p, 198

6. Tabqat Akbari

7. Kashmir under Sultan, Mohibbul Hassan p, 151

but actually to study the situation in the kingdom.¹
The first of the series was Mirza Muqim and Salih².
In this brief silence of 25 years, Gazi Shah became
blind and retired the throne in favour of his brother
Hussain Shah and he too had completed his age and now
Yousf Shah had ascended the throne in 976 A.H. 1567 A.D.³
The first mission under Mirza Muqim reached here in the
reign of Hussain Shah and a blunder was committed by
them in taking active part in the execution of two
Sunni Qaziz who had issued a verdict of execution for
Yousf Aindar who had insulted Mulla Habib and stabbed
him.⁴ When the culprit was executed and the ulama
challenged this decision, and the Qaziz were put to
death⁵. This incident caused a great problem. However,
with help of Jalaluddin Mohd Akbar, who had meanwhile
understood the whole case banned the ulama and Mulla
Abdullah the leader of the gang (as put by Baharistani
Shahi) was deported to Gujrat and others were also chased

1. M.H. f. 183b

2. M.H. f. 183b

3. M.H. f. 169a

4. Baharistani Shahi F 127b

5. Baharistani Shahi F 126b. (11) Waqiat, Mohd Azam p, 91

(It has been alleged that Yousf was a Shia and in his execution, Mirza Muqim who was himself Shia; thought to have revenge of this execution from those who had passed the verdict against Yousf. But accordingly to Baharistani Shahi, the local Mullas and Ulama challenged the verdict; and Mirza Muqim only helped them. But

and some of them put to death. ¹ Sultan Hussain Shah's daughter was offered to Akbar and Mirza Muqim took her with him. ² This was the main diplomatic trick of Akbar to induce the local Sultans to enter upon matrimonial alliances. After Sultan Hussain Shah's death, his son Ali Shah ascended the throne and after a brief spell, Yousf Shah achieved the crown with the help of Sayyid Mubarak Khan, after an encounter with his brother Abdal in 978/ A.H. A.D. ³ The date of ascending the throne by B.S. is given 986/A.H. As soon as he ascended the throne he kept himself busy in marry making with a band of dancers and singers. ⁴ He did not attend even unavoidable administrative businesses. ⁵ The nobles who had played an important role in defending the country from the foreign attacks became alarmed and held a meeting in which the participants like Zaffar Khan, Ali Khan, Moroze chak, Ali Malik S/O Haidar Malik, Fatah chak and other decided to approach Sa yid Mubarak Khan for the dethronement of Yousf Shah. ⁶ He accepted the offer

so far Waqiat is concerned (p-91) his accusation of Mirza Muqim seems to be correct. Akbar executed both Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqoob, when a team of sunni ulama under the leadership of Abdullah (as put by Baharistani Shah F 130a) approached Akbar.

1. Baharistani Shahi F 131a
2. Waqiat, Mohd Azam p, 91
3. M.H.F. 169a (ii) Baharistani Shahi F 137 b 138a (iii) Waqiat Mohd Azam p, 93
4. M.H.F. 172b
5. M.H.F. 172b
6. M.H.F. 174a

reluctantly.¹ Yousf was defeated when he did not pay heed to their demands and Mubarak Khan ascended the throne in the same year 987/A.H. ^{1577 A.D.} The same nobles again after a brief period revolted against Sayyid Mubarak Khan and approached Yousf who was in the Hills. When he retired from the hills, the very nobles who had called him, deserted him and he left for Mughal Court and Sayyid Mubarak Khan presented the crown to Lohar Chak in 988/A.H. ³ 1578 A.D.

Yousf Shah was welcomed in the imperial court. He stayed there for about a year but came empty handed as the great Mughal did not grant him the required help⁴. But accordingly to the author of Baharastani Shahi Akbar deputed an army with him under Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yousf Khan⁵. Mohd Azam is silent on this controversial point, and attributes the success in the war with Lohar Shah to Yousf Shah and no troops of the Mughal Court were with him.⁶ Yousf Shah loaned some money from the merchants of Lahore and raised an army of 7 hundred and Mohd Bhat had an army of 2000, who was awaiting Yousf Shah near Harapora, proceeded to the valley, and defeated Lohar Chak⁷, and for the second time ascended the throne in 989/A. ⁸ 1589 A.D. Haidar Chak who was a noble of Lohar Chak and

1. M.H.F. 174b

2. Baharistani Shahi F 157a, b. (ii) Waqiat; Mohd Azam 94

3. M.H.F. 176a (ii) Waqiat; Mohd. Azam p, 93

4. M.H.F. 176b

5. Baharistani Shahi 157b

6. Waqiat, Mohd Azam, p, 94

7. Waqiat, Mohd Azam pp 93-94

8. M.H.F. 180a

had fought against Yousf Shah retired to the hills, wherefrom he reached the Punjab and attended the court of Raja Man Singh who assigned him a few villages near Naushehra as a Jarir.¹ Yousf Shah was now secure in his kingdom, he atonce neglected the State and took to dine, drink and dance. "Akbar" the giant was looking and keenly studying the developments in the valley. He deputed the 2nd mission of the series as already stated above, under Mirza Tahir and Mir Salib.² The envoy had a letter from the imperial court stating, "Had you been a subject of this court, you would not have so far delayed the report about your territory and had not so far failed to present yourself before his Majesty. You should atonce present yourself before H.M."³

Yousf Shah became nervous, he received the imperial envoys with great regard and retired them with precious gifts like Saffron, Shawls and precious stones.⁴ The nobles advised him not to send the delicate articles to the emperor, as these would induce him to annex the kingdom. The letter had alarmed all of them as it clearly indicated his designs. They told Yousf Shah to leave the life of ease and luxury but to attend the court and to

1. (i) Baharistani Shahi (22) 172b (111) M.H.F. 182b
Waqiat, Mohd. Azam 194

2. M.H.F. 183a (11) Tarikhi Aziz Narain Kaul MS f 8a

3. M.H.F. 183b

4. M.H.F. 183b 184a (11) Waqiat Mohd. Azam p, 96
(111) Tarikhi-Kashmir Aziz Narain Kaul 89a

make preparations for defence of the kingdom.¹ In spite of this he even sent his youngest son Mirza Haidar to the imperial court.² Akbar rejected the offer and returned the same along with his son after one year³. Another letter was sent to Yousf Shah to present himself otherwise to be ready for an attack.⁴ Yousf Shah called his nobles to discuss the situation. He informed them of his designs that he would present himself at the imperial court.⁵ The nobles and courtiers insisted on him to resist and to make preparation for the defence.⁶ He sent his eldest son and heir apparent with rich presents to the court who was retained for two years in Fatah Pore Sikri⁷. Akbar had made up his mind to get hold of Yousf Shah so he deputed a third envoy Hakim Ali to present Yousf Shah before H.M. in Lahore⁸ with a letter full of abuses, and if he would hesitate he should be murdered. On receiving the letter Yousf was so much demoralised that he tried his best to convene the nobles saying that they are not aware of the strength of Akbar. If his army would turn their face to

1. M.H.F. 183b

2. M.H.F. 184a

3. M.H.F. 185a (11) Waqiat Mohd. Azam p 96

4. M.H.F. 185b

5. M.H.F. 186a

6. M.H.F. 185b

7. M.H.F. 185b

8. M.H.F. 186a

Kashmir the water, grain and the forests would be no more in one day and the next day there would remain nothing above all the life of his son would be in danger¹. But he could not achieve his goal. The nobles threatened him and assured full cooperation.² Meanwhile Akbar was in Lahore and the envoy left for Lahore. He reported to H.M. all about the developments in Kashmir and the preparations made by the amirs and nobles to safeguard the Kingdom from any forthcoming event.³ Akbar mobilised his troops under Raja Bagwandas Kuchwaha, about 50,000 horses in addition to the footmen were in his camp at the time of departure⁴. The army reached near the streets of the valley through Baramulla pass and encamped near Bhutiyar⁵. The nobles collected their troops and marched towards the battle-field. The winter was approaching and the Raja was aware of his defeat due to shortage of food and fodder and the unbearable climate of Kashmir, sent two of his envoys to pursue Yousf Shah to accept the terms⁶.

1. M.H.F. 186a

2. M.H.F. 186b

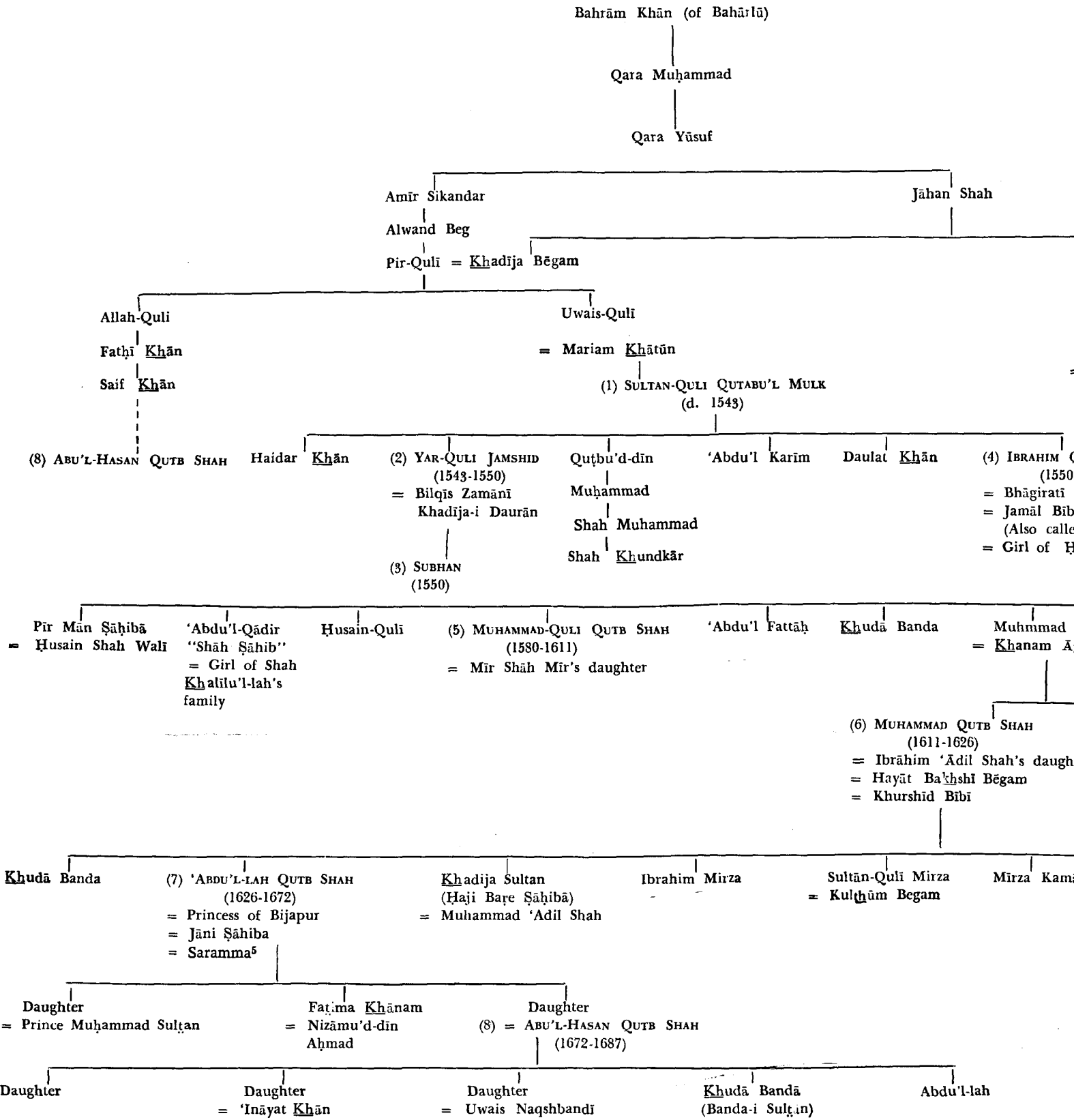
3. M. . . . 188a

4. (i) Baharistani Shahi F 175a (ii) M.H.F. 188a
(iii) Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz Narain Koul MS 90a

5. M.H.F. 190a, b

6. M.H.F. 190b

Genealogical Table of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty



*Names in Capital letters indicate reigning monarchs.
= indicates marriage.*

They were presented to Yousf who talked to them in privacy and returned them. Next day Yousf Shah dressed himself and pretending to examine his troops visited the former areas and leaving his kingdom along with army, presented himself before Bagwan Das in 994/A.H. 1585. The Mughal army retreated although Yousf Shah was with them. The treaty concluded by Raja on behalf of the emperor with Yousf Shah was not ratified.² Yousf Khan was imprisoned and handed over to Raja Man Singh. He got him released using his own influence after an internment of two years and six months.³ The tussle did not stop here. Yousf Shah defeated his country and as such he had no right to be called the Sultan and no one was obliged to accept the terms of treaty concluded between Raja Bagwan Das and Yousf Shah. Secondly, the treaty was dishonoured by the emperor himself, because he was aware of the weakness of Kashmir and having pride of his grand army. He was having an upperhand although the expedition failed.^e Yousf Shah had fulfilled all the promises even if he was not given an

1. Baharistani Shah 175a, b. (ii) M.H.F. 190a, b. (iii) Tuzk p, 303 (iv) Waqiat, Mohd. Azam p, 97

2. (i) Cambridge History of India Vol. ^{IV} III Wolsely Haig 293

3. Baharistani Shahi p, 178a (ii) Waqiat Mohd. Azam p. 95 (iii) Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz, Narain Koul MSf 9ab (gives only 2 years of imprisonment).

aid to secure his throne. Let us admit, the emperor gave him army also. But was this given to annex Kashmir or to secure the throne for Yousf? This is the lesson which every politician should learn. The weak nations had no right to survive and the stronger nations could on one pretext or the other annex any state or a part of it. The Mughals had cast their eyes on Kashmir and they achieved. The nobles raised Yaqoob on the throne 994/¹⁵⁸⁵A.H. and continued the struggle. ¹ However it was a losing game, although he met with some success also. He had an army of 12,000 horses and 20,000 foot and 6,000 match lock men, which defeated the Mughals. ²

His head swelled when defeated an army which upto his time had whole of India conquered. Being a fanatic shia, he ordered Quazi Musa to insert the name of Ali in the Azan³. He refused to do this, so he was assassinated⁴. Being a fanatic Shia, the sunni ulama who had fought against the Mughals, became alarmed of his actions. There was a general hatred of the sunnis in the hearts of Shias rulers. A deligation left for the imperial court headed by Sheikh Yaqoobi Sarfi⁵. A treaty was concluded between this ulama

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1. Baharistani Shahi F 178b (ii) M.H.F. 192b (iii) *Iqbal nama vol 392*
 2. M.H.F. 192a-3b
 3. M.H.F. 192-4a
 4. M.H.F. 193b
 5. M.H.F. 194a (ii) A.Nama Brev. 870

group and the emperor. The terms of the treaty were (a) There should not be any religious or racial discrimination (b) The rulers and people may not be taken as slaves (c) The people should not receive any kind of injury whether physical, economical or mental. (d) The local nobility to be irradicated from the imperial administration¹. Akbar had the same ideology and above all he wanted to annex Kashmir at any cost, so, the terms were accepted and a grand army under Mohd Quasim Khan Mir Bahar was deputed to Kashmir. Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi and Haidar Chak son of Yousf Chak who was given a jagir in Nowshehra acted as their guides and entered the skirts of valley in 994/A.H.~~585~~². The nobles again made a common cause and Naiks closed the doors. But when they were approached by Sheikh Yaqoobi Sarfi, who was a leading muslim Alim opened the gates and the people also made a common cause with them³. The Kashmiri army confronted with the Mughals in Hirapora in 995/A.H.⁴1586 A.D. Yaqoob Shah did not keep quiet. He also mobilized his troops under Yousf Khan S/O Hassan Shah, Iba Khan son of Abdal Khan and Ibrahim Khan son of Sayyid Nubarak Khan⁵. But all of them deserted at the eleventh hour and joined the imperial army at Kichabal⁶. The rest of the Kashmiri

1. A. Nama, Prev, 193 (2) 870-1

2. Baharistani Shahi f 185b (ii) M.H.F. 197b (iii) Waqiat Mohl. Azam p 100 (iv) Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz Narain Koul 93b

3. Baharistani Shahi f 185b (ii) M.H.f 188a

4. M.H. f 198a

5. Baharistani Shahi F 183a,b.

6. Baharistani Shahi f 183b

army was defeated and the nobles fled to different quarters.¹ The victorious Mughal army entered the capital in 995/A.H.² and Kashmir was annexed.

The work of conquest was completed but there remained the more important work of consolidation. Conquest is not valid unless and until there is not consolidation. Akbar was aware of this fact, and he atonce set himself to this work. No doubt the Sultan was defeated but he was not in the hands of the Mughals. Mohd. Quasim Khan had a tremendous and hard work before him. The Kashmiris had not yet given up their struggle, and they started the gurrila warfare on the same style through which Mirza Haidar Duglat was defeated and killed.³ As soon as the winter was over the nobles assembled in Kamraj near Karnah and proceeded to the capital⁴. Quasim Khan deputed Jallal Khan to check their advance and the armies met at Kawoosa where they were defeated⁵. Meanwhile Yaqoob Shah, Iba Khan, Ibrahim Shah and Abul Maali appeared on Kohi Sulaiman and made a might attack on the Mughals⁶. The Mughals became so much harassed that they even did not moved out for a single day.⁷ They

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1. Baharistani Shahi f. 185b (ii) M.H. f 199b
 2. Baharistani Shahi f 185b (The date of entering the capital given by the author is 994 AH) (ii) M.H.f 198b
 3. Baharistani Shahi f 189a (ii) M.H. pp, 202a-3b
 4. Baharistani Shahi f 189
 5. Baharistani Shahi f 189b
 6. Baharistani Shahi f 190a (ii) M.H. f 202a-3b
 7. M.H. F 203a

were demoralized upto the extent, that Nawab Mohd Quasim Khan submitted his resignation. ¹ When Akbar got reports he at once despatched another army under Yousf Khan Rizvi along with Mohd Bhat the Wazier of deposed Yousf Shah and Baba Khalil ². He atonce changed policy suppression and started the policy of pacification. The nobles were induced to present themselves before the emperor, who granted them jagirs in different quarters of his empire and thus the nobility which was responsible for all the uprisings and resistance was deported and some of them like Haidar Shak etc. were killed.³ Hussain Shah son of Yousf Khan was given the title of Khan Khanan and sent to the court along with Khanjar Khan⁴. Having got rid of the nobles by one way or the other, the emperor began to make drastic changes in the administrative set up. He wanted to bring in line it with the rest of empire.

Reforms:

The land revenue system of the valley was not satisfactory to the emperor, he deputed Quazi Ali to carry on the revenue reforms on the basis of Todarmal system introduced in Bengal ⁵. Prior to him Asaf Khan was sent for the same purpose, but due to the unhelpful attitude

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1. M.H.f 203 (ii) Muntakhibutanarikh, Khafi Khan p, 196
 2. M.H. f 204 (ii) Baharistani Shahi 191b (iii) Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz Narain Koul MSf 97b 98a
 3. Baharistani Shahi f 189a
 4. Baharistani Shahi f 189a
 5. Ain II (Jarret) p, 365

of the Governor and his men, Quazi Ali was despatched with greater power. Hassan Beg and Sheikh Umari were deputed to assist him in his work. In the revenue returns forwarded by Quazi Ali of 41 Bargasas (when actually the number showed by Asaf Khan was only 387 to the royal exchequer was 30,63050 Kharwar - II Traks (ass loads ¹ and taking the average of a few years the rate per Kharwar was fixed at 29 dams² and the revenue thus amounted to 7,46,70,411 dams equivalent to Rs.8,66,760³ out of which 9,16,063 Kharwars 8 traks was paid in cash. The revenue fixed by Asaf Khan was 30,47,910 Kharwars. This was excluding the levy and Tamgah amounting to 67824 Kharwar 8 traks. The system of collection was by app~~o~~ app~~o~~ app~~o~~ assessment and division of crops⁴. The rate of revenue was fixed at one third of the total produce in case of irrigated land and in case of rain dependant it was 2 traks for per patta of land. The entire land was attached to the Khalsa and landed nobility was deprived of it. ⁵ It had two-fold purposes firstly, the nobles who had, due to this land, control over the people made a common cause against the emperor and secondly,

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1. Ain Vol II (Tras Jarret) p. 366 (ii) Valley of Kashmir, Sir W. Lawrence pp 234-5 (gives the figures of 30,11,619 Kharwars).
 2. Ain Vol 2 (Tras Jarret) p. 366
 3. Ibid (ii) The Agrarian system of Mughal India, Habib Irfan, pp 404-5
 4. Ibid (ii) Gulzari Kashmir, Diwan Kripnam p 198 (iii) Maasirul Umara, Shah Nawaz Khan vol I trs Beveridge p. 179 (The recipients of these jagirs were foreign nobles and Ahmad Beg Khan who later on was appointed the Subedar was leading noble)

after some time, the nobles from the royal were given these Jagirs, so, that they would be able to look after the interests of the State¹. The illegal cesses like By and Tamgah were altogether remitted by His Majesty². Begar and tax on the boatmen, Jaziya and ceremonial tax on Hindus was also remitted.

Military reforms:

The local army was disbanded and a fixed number of troops were stationed in each Mahal and on essential posts and passes³. Major portion of the army was withdrawn by 1597 and the local Militia consisted of 4892⁴ cavalry and 92400 infantry. This army was given jagirs for thier maintenance but Quazi Ali resumed their Jagirs and were paid in cash.

There was a general resentment against the stay of the troops in the city which had turned into a cantonement. It was felt by the emperor himself and in order to eleviate their redress, ordered the construction of a fort around the Hariparbat Hillock⁵. The ain of the emperor was to

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1. History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, R.K. Parmap, 295
 2. Ain Vol 2 tr Jarret p 367 (According to Baharistani Shahi and M.H.F. these cesses were remitted by Yousf Shah after his 2nd accession to the throne and on the other hand the statement of Ain is supported by the inscription on the gate of Fort (Nagar Nagar) called Kathi Darwazi".
 3. Ain Vol II tras Jarret p 367
 4. Ibid p 36 Tuzk p 303 (ii) Valley of Kashmir, Sir Walter Lawrence p 195 (iii) Waqiat, Mohd Azam p, 118 (iv) Tarikhi Hamsan Vol I MS 34a
 5. Inscription on the gate

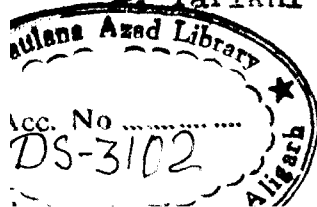
get hold of this strategical point first and then there were his secondary aims like to provide some work to the idle and famine stricken people and the construction of his palace. S.W. Lawrence in his book had forwarded a statement that the fort was constructed to induce the people of Kashmir, who had left during the early period to return to their homes, which seems to be a wrong statement as the construction was ordered after 11 years of annexation of the valley. Had this been the object of the emperor, he would have started it earlier. It has been questioned by Dr. R.K. Parme also and his contention is that the fort was constructed for providing some subsistence to the people. ¹ But basically it was to provide a cantonment area for the soldiers and in case of emergency to make it a safe place for the Royal persons. During his period 4 Governors were deputed to Kashmir. Last of his governors were ^{Mohd Azam} Ali Akbar Shahi who was appointed in 1013 A.H. ¹⁶⁶⁵ A.D. ². Quasim Khan Mir Bahar remained as governor for one year (995-96) A.H. and was succeeded by Mirza Yousf Khan Rizvi ³. His governorship lasted for five years from 1588 to 1593 A.D. ⁴ Yousf

1. A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Parme R.K. P. 298

2. Muntakhibat Tawasikh vol 2 Khafi Khan p, 256, Waqiat Mohd Azam p, 118

3. A.H. Vol 3(2) p, 522

4. Tarikhi Kashmir, Aziz, Narain, Koul MS f 102b



Khan Rizvi ruled for 6 years and was succeeded by Mohd Qulich Khan. He also remained in the chair for six years (1599-1605) and ~~in 1605~~ Ali Akbar was appointed meanwhile, the health of emperor went from bad to worst and died in October 17, 1605 A.D. ¹.

1. Waqiat Asad Begi (E&D) Vi 170-2 (11) ~~Tuzk~~ *iii, Juz 13.*

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1606

Kashmir was annexed and incorporated with Suba Kabul as a sarkar for administrative purposes, but the Kashmiri chronicles treat it separately and the subedar of Kabul had nothing to do with the sarker, it was just to facilitate the work of administration.¹ Under Jahangir Orissa, Kashmir and Sind were detached and made separate provinces.²

Each province was divided into a number of Sarkars and each Sarkar into Farganas.³ The total number of Farganas was 38. Pakhli was a separate Sarkar and was assigned to Sultan Hassain Khan when Jahangir visited Kashmir.⁴

The task of consolidation already started by Akbar was further extended by Jahangir. The nobles of Kashmir, who had been deprived of their property and most of them were sent to India where they were assigned petty jagirs,

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1. F.Saran, Provincial administration of the Mughals, p. 65
 2. Ibid p, 71 (ii) The latest document which mentions Kashmir as a Sarkar of Kabul is Majalisuslatin.
 3. Tuzk, p 290 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 131
(iii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasir Jahangiri p 125
(iv) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p, 142 gives the number of Farganas only 37
 4. Tuzk p, 290

were not satisfied because of the attitude of their master. The situation in India, itself was not peaceful and the revolt of Khusrau intensified the situation. Jahangir who was aware of the fact that the Malik of Kashmir had not wholeheartedly accepted our rule, wanted to take Yousf Shah and others into confidence. He sent him a letter but Yousuf could not attend the Court.¹ He was asked to attend the court of Qutubudin Khan who was transferred to Bengal. The Jagirs of Yousf Khan and Iba Khan were transferred to Burdawan. Another Kashmiri noble Isa Khan was given the rank of 1000-zat/300 Sawar in 1607/A.D. Mirza Ali Akbar who was appointed governor of Kashmir by ^{Jahangir} Akbar³ continued in office for three years even after the death of Akbar⁴. His main duty was confined to

1. M. Haidar Tarikhi Kashmir, f 210a-b

2. Ibid.

3. Ajiz, Narain Koul, Tarikhi Kashmir M/s f 103b,

but according to Maasirul Umara p 178 and Baharistani Shah p 210b Ali Akbar was appointed by Jahangir. But it is obvious as there is no evidence available in Tuzk and the author of Tarikhi Kashmir have Malik Haidar and Mohd Azam of Waqiat Kashmir not mentioned his name in the governors of Jahangir, must have been appointed by Akbar in his last days. F.N.K. Banzai, has followed Narain Koul Ajiz. Maasirul Umara authentic proof puts that he was appointed by Jahangir and not by Akbar. Tuzk p, 35 and Khafi Khan, Muntakhibul-lubab (1) p, 256 has also written the appointment was made by Jahangir in 1014 A.H. and not by Akbar as held by Banzai.

4. (i) Banzai, F.N.K. A History of Kashmir p, 264
(ii) Kamgar Hussain, Masir Jahangiri f 37

(not been out by facts)

carry on the construction of the Hariparbhat fort and look after the administration only. The emperor being over busy in Hindustan could not pay his whole-hearted attention and the whole of State was left to the charge of the governor. He did what the other failed to do. He played foul with the dissatisfied nobles who were preparing to overthrow the governor. Quazi Salih was deputed by him to pacify Zafar Khan and others promising them rewards and jagirs on behalf of the Emperor.¹ They were entrapped and presented themselves to Ali Akbar who with the help of Mulla Jamil put them behind bars.² As soon as they were interned, a general massacre of the Chaks was ordered. Heaps of corpses appeared and on the 10th day Zaffar Khan and 17 of his colleagues were put on gallows with the assistance of Hatim Khan³. He did not stop here only but got Habib Khan killed at the hands of Hussain Naik. Ali Khan, son of Yousf Khan, Ali Khan and Nauroze Chak were murdered at his instigation through the son of Hatim Khan⁴. Their corpses were not allowed to be disposed of for a few days and latter were burnt in Raina Wari.⁵ His mansab was raised to 4000⁶. When Jahangir came to know about the horror created by the actions of Ali

1. Baharistani Shahi, MS f 207b. (ii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p, 123

2. Ibid

3. Ibid 208a

4. Baharistani Shahi MSBM 208a, b.

5. Ibid 209a (ii) Baharistani Shahi f 210b.

6. Masirulumara, p 178

Akbar Khan got him removed and Nawab Qulich Khan was appointed the governor of Kashmir 1015 A.H./2nd R.y/1608 A.D. ¹ In the month of Shawal 1015 A.H. he left for Kashmir².

According to the author of Waqiat, Nawab Qulich Khan was the first Subedar appointed by Jahangir³. Hashim Khan remained in the chair for two years only⁴. During this period there were no developments of any kind. However, the Shia-Sunni conflict was gaining ground⁵. The chaks were no more and the nobles had been reduced to extinction and as such Nawab Qulich Khan administered the state smoothly and paid his attention towards the welfare of the people. His childhood and his early history is not traceable.

Hashim Khan was appointed as the governor of Kashmir in 6th R.y 1020 A.H./1612 A.D.⁶ But being engaged in Orissa

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1. Baharistani Shahi, F 211b, (11) Mohd. Azam Waqiat p 123
 2. Baharistani Shahi f 210B
 3. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat Kashmir, p, 123
P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir has not mentioned the name of Mohd. Qulich Khan. Narain Koul does not show him in the list of Governor of Jahangir. Tuzk is silent about his appointment , p 103
 4. Aziz, Koul Narayan, Tarikhi Kashmir MS f 103f
Mohd Azam (the tenure of His office was not more than two years).
 5. Mohd., Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 123
 6. Tuzk p 97 (Bamzai in A History of Kashmir p 364 gives the date of his appointment 1609 which is incorrect) Maasirul umara vol 3 p 942 gives the 1019/A.H. his appointment date.

Mohd. Hussain, his uncle was deputed to take over the charge of the state till his arrival.¹ Hashim Khan was son of Mohd. Quasim Khan who had been previously the governor of Kashmir under Akbar². His mansab was raised by 500/zat and 300/Sawar.³

Hashim Khan was deputed with Rustum Qandahari to pursue Raja Basu. Soon after his assignment he captured the fort of Darbanga.⁴ In the same year his mansab was raised to 1000/500. In the first R.y of Jahangir his mansab was raised to 2000/500 and was further promoted to 3000/2000 and he was appointed governor of Orissa. In 5th R.y 1019 AH /1611 A.D. raised to the governorship of Kashmir.⁵

It will not be out of place to mention here the removal of the old nobility and their influence on the Emperor.

As previously stated, the Moghuls were curious enough to extricate the nobles from the state. As a matter of fact they were tortured and were not given proper respect. Yousf Khan once the Sultan of Kashmir was given a nominal mansab of 500/ and a few villages for his maintenance. Malik Ali, Malik Haidar and Amba Khan did not deceive their master and

1. Tuzk p 97 (ii) Jahangir Nama BH MS f 159

2. Tuzk p 89 (ii) Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasirulumara vol.3

3. Ibid.

4. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasirul Umara Vol 3 p 941

5. Ibid 942

kept themselves with him. However, they remained loyal to the imperial authority also. It was due to this Amba Khan was given a Mansab of 1000/300 sawar in lieu of his services.¹ Malik^{Ali} and Malik Haidar were the sons of Malik Mohd Naji who was Chief minister of Yousf and played a prominent role in the Chak period.²

Meanwhile Jahangir transferred the Jagir of Yousf Khan and Iba Khan to Burdwan³. When they were proceeding towards Burdwan, Qutubud Din Khan overtook them near Mangal Kot and declared his intention to capture and murder Sher Afghan.⁴ Meanwhile Sher Afgan came to know of his intention, he proceeded with open sword to meet Qutubudin and gave him some shocks. At this time Amba Khan (Iba Khan) caught hold of him and stabbed him to death, but he himself was fatally wounded.⁵

Malik Ali and Malik Haidar were present on the spot and Malik Haidar himself participated in the encounter. ⁶

1. Tuzk p,35

2. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir, MS f 193b

3. Malik Haidar Chandorra, Tarikhi Kashmir f 210a

4. Ibid

5. Tuzk pp 54-55 (ii) M. Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmiri F 211a, b.
(iii) Mangar Hussain, Maasir Jahangir, p 41
(iv) Baharistani Shahi F 210a, b.

6. Baharistani Shahi f 210B.

Malik Haidar deputed his brother Malik Ali to guard Mihrun Nisa widow of the deceased Sher Afghan and to look after her, till she was taken to her father.¹ Malik Haidar along with his brother Malik Ali, on the recommendation of Itamadulla were appointed to serve Dilawar Khan in Junpore in lieu² of their services. Meanwhile Yousf Khan the dethroned Sultan met his tragic end, only six months after the death of Aiba Khan³.

Malik Ali and Malik Haidar served Dilawar Khan for three years, when Malik Haidar, on the recommendation of Nurjahan who entered to Royal Harm, was called in and given the lofty title of Raisul Mulk and Chagtai⁴. On one hand it seems the title awarded was in lieu of their services to the Emperor and on the other hand to create confidence in their minds and secondly the masses were not satisfied with the attitude of governors, so the new methods were applied to strengthen the fallen foes and to establish the law and order in a disturbed state. The persecution of the Shias was never the state policy but the governor took this opportunity to exterminate the chak nobles who were shias, so they massacred by the Subedars which was not appreciated and there was every apprehension of an outburst. Malik Haidar was deputed to Kashmir, with enormous power

1. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 212 a.

2. Ibid 212b.

3. Baharistani Shahi f 210 b-211a

4. (i) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 213a
(ii) Baharistani Shah f 212b (iii) Tuzk p
(iii) Mohd. Azam Waqiat Kashmir p 125

and authority to mould the minds of the disturbed masses.¹ Hashim Khan was removed and Safdar Khan was appointed Subedar in 8th R.y. 1023 A.H.² He was not a good tempered person and created misunderstanding among the different section of the society³. In the 10 R.y 1025 A.H./1616 A.D., he was removed on these complaints and Alamad Beg Khan was appointed in his place on the same day.⁴ He left for Kashmir the very day and started his work. He was a Chagtai and his relatives were all serving the Timursides. Ahmad Beg Khan was serving Mohd Hakim at Kabul. After his death he came to the court of Akbar and was given the rank of 700⁵. In 1594 he was assigned a jagir in Kashmir.⁶ In the time of Jahangir he became an important figure. His mansab was raised to 3000 and he was appointed governor of Kashmir in 10 R.y, 1616 A.D., he was removed from the office in the 13th R.y, 1619 A.D. Diametrically opposite views are held

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1. Baharistani Shahi f 211a, (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 213b. (iii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 125
 2. Jahangir Nama BMMS f 179 (See A History of Kashmir by I.N.K. Banzai p 364 giving the date of his appointment 1612 A.D. which is incorrect because at this time Safdar Khan was working in the valley
 3. Tuzk, p 149
 4. Jahangir Nama BMMS f 212 (ii) Tuzk p 149
 5. Tuzk, p 219 (Dr. Parmu R.K. in a History of Kashmir mentions the date of his removal 1617 A.D. p. 303
 6. Tuzk, p 219

by Malik Haidar and Mohd Azam about the carrier and character of Ahmad Beg Khan. The former could not pull on with the governor because of his unsympathetic attitude towards the shias. He always tried to cow down Raisul Mulk especially after the reconstruction of Khanqah of Mir Shamsud Din Iraqi. The sunni nobles did not seem happy on the growing power of Haidar Malik.

During the brief spell of his governorship an epidemic broke out in 12 H.r 1027 A.H./1618 A.D. and swept the state entirely for one and half year. There did not remain a single house which was not effected. The plaug^{ue} was so acute that even the attendants did not survive. The magnitude of disaster was so great that the entire city was devastated and most of the people left for woods to get rid of the acute natural calamity.

The plague was not subsided when a devastating fire broke out in the same quarter of the city and nearly 3000 houses burnt and deposited into debris in a couple of hours.¹ The governor tried his best to alleviate the misery of the subjects but the newly (picked up) nobility of Chandoori maliks who had greater confidence of the Emperor, were dissatisfied with the work of Ahmad Beg Khan. It was alleged

1. Tuzk p 219 (11) Jahangir Nama BM 212a-13b (111) Mohd. Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 124 gives the number of houses 12000 which is only an exaggeration.

that Malik Haidar plotted against the governor and Malik Ali wrote a letter to his brother who was in the imperial court, about the inactivity, negligence, incompetence and inefficiency of governor to reduce Tibet (Ladakh) and Kishtawar.¹ Meanwhile Dilawar Khan Kakar approached the Emperor and promised him the subjugation of both the territories within a period of 2 years if appointed governor of Kashmir. Meanwhile Ahmad Beg Khan while in the chair breathed his last in 1027², and the Emperor did not find any difficulty in the appointment of Dilawar Khan, as the deceased was a relative of Nurjahan³ in 1618 A.D.⁴ His name was Ibrahim and was in service of Yousf Khan Rizvi, the governor of Kashmir⁵. He had achieved a high rank of mansab and was appointed governor of Lahore in 1014 A.H./1606 A.D. Stars were favourable to him, Khusrau revolted against his father and was marching to Lahore for its capture. Dilawar Khan rushed to defend the fort and Khusrau's plans ended in fiasco. This act raised his prestige in the

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1. (i) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir MS F 214ab
(ii) B. Farsad, History of Jahangir pp 282-3
 2. Tuzk pp 225, 233 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir pp 214b. (iii) Matamid Khan, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri p 114
 3. Prof. Irfan Habib, Medieval India Miscellany 18, I 1969
 4. Tuzk p 225 (ii) Maasirul Umara tr Beveridge p 488
(iii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri BM f 114
(iv) Abul Hassan Jahangir Nama p 110 (date of appointment given is 12th R.y which is incorrect.
 5. Maasirul Umara vol I (Tr Beveridge) p, 487
 6. Matamad Khan, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri p 10

eyes of the employer and was rewarded by Jahangir¹ next year he accompanied Khusrau against the Mewar campaign. He distinguished himself as a good general and in the subsequent year was appointed as governor of Kashmir. In 15 R.y his rank was raised to 4000/3000 in lieu of his services, which he rendered in subduing Kashnawar². He was a staunch sunni and did not attach extra ordinary importance to the Valiks and as it seems, they turned against him. His man work to subdue Kashtawar and Tibet was not even attended to.³ After the appointment he turned crazy and indulged in merry-making. However, it would not be out of place to point to the mischief created by the shias who were often accusing the prophet and the first three caliphs⁴. Meanwhile^a fire broke out and 12000 houses were seen finishing in ~~the~~ smoke and fire⁵. The great Mosque, built by Sikandar also met the same fate which was highly resented by the Sunnis, and Malik Mohd Nagi was asked to rebuild the mosque out of his own expenses because it was alleged that the fire was set by Malik Haidar. The mutual discussions did not stop here. Malik Ali, brother

1. Ibid p 11 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasirulumara p 488
(iii) Tuzk p 311

2. Tuzk p 303

3. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir F 215, a-b.

4. Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 124

5. Malik Haidar Tarikhi Kashmir f 225b.

6. M.H., Tarikhi Kashmir f 226a (ii) Mohd Azam,
Waqiat Kashmir pp 124

of Malik Haidar was also accused of having destroyed a Royal palace in Budgam and rebuilt on that spot another for himself. Meanwhile, in the same year some miscreants revolted in Poonch and created a serious position. It became very difficult to cope with the situation without active help and cooperation of Malik Ali, who was familiar to these roads.¹ During civil war Malik Ali had led his troops so many times in this direction. A force was deputed against them under Malik Ali. The revolt was suppressed.² This very year Jahangir paid his first visit to the beautiful valley³. When he was in Baramulla, the Raja of Kashtawar was presented to him on 21 September, 1620 A.D.⁴ prior to this conquest, he was reprimanded to fulfill his obligations, or to be ready for removal⁵. Anyhow, this work of the conquest of Kashtawar was completed but he did not like the ~~over~~ interference of Malik Haidar and Malik Ali. Jahangir, who was in the State, left for the hilly track for hunting and reached Budgam. Malik Ali had constructed a lofty palace for himself with terraces gardens and fountains. The Emperor was fascinated to see such a beautiful place. Dilawar Khan found out a way to poison the imperial ears and took full benefit of the opportunity by informing the Emperor that His

1. M.H. Tarikhi Kashmir f 21ba,b

2. Ibid

3. Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 121

4. Tuzk pp 288, 297 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri
p 127

5. M.H. Tarikhi Kashmir, f 224b.

Majesty Akbar had got constructed a palace for himself here and this was ruined by Malik Ali, who by that material constructed this palace.¹ The Emperor got furious and Malik Ali was not barred to attend the court. This mutual hatred did not end until the removal of Dilawar Khan by the cruel hands of death in 1620 A.D.² His main work was the conquest of Kishtawar and the suppression of a revolt in Poonch. (The Kishtawar expedition will be discussed in subsequent pages).

He laid out a big garden and planted grapes of different varieties in it. The garden was latter on used for the Europeans visitors and at present, is serving as a school.

In 15th R.y 8th Mehar August 1621 A.D. Iradat Khan was appointed the Subedar of Kashmir³. His name was Azim Khan Mir Mohd Baqir belonged to Sayyids of Sava, which is one of the old towns of Iraq. At his arrival to the court of Asaf Khan Mirza Safar was appointed the Foujdar of Sailkot, Gujrat and the Punjab. Being an able and trustworthy person, he worked honestly and showed economy during his tensure of office. He became a favourite of emperor, who appointed him Steward (Khan Saman)⁴. Next year he got the opportunity of becoming the governor of Kashmir, and remained in the

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1. Tuzk, p364 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmiri, p 25b
(iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 151
 2. Tuzk p 311, (ii) Maasirul Umara vol I tras Beveridge p 488 (iii) Kamgar Hussain, Massir Jahangir p 135
 3. Tuzk p 314 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasir Jahangiri p 135
(iii)Maasirul Umara, Tr Beveridge p 314
 4. (i) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 135
(ii)Maasirulumara, Tr Breveridge p 315

chair for two years. He did many wonderful things, and reduced another rising of the Zamindars of Kishtawar. The rising which was caused due to the exploitation by Nasrullah Arab who was left in charge of the territory by Dilawar Khan¹, tried to extract as much as possible. (The details of rising are in the following pages).

Iradat Khan not only attended to the law and order but he took keen interest in the development of art, architecture and agriculture.² He constructed a beautiful palace for himself in Sonti Batan Har. The building was completely a wooden structure and laid out a garden in front of this.³ Although he served the people in an acceptable way, still he was hated and complaints were made against him and on the basis of the same complaints he was removed from the governorship in 16th R.y 1622 A.D. and Itaqad Khan was appointed in his place.⁴ The emperor paid a visit to the valley during his tenure of office and a number of public works, excavation of canals, repair and construction of roads, laying out gardens and attending so many functions which will be discussed in chapters concerned were carried on. Itaqad Khan was a close relative of

1. Tuzk pp 288-9

2. Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir, p 124

3. Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir pp 124-5

4. Tuzk p 335 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 153
(iii) Matmad Khan, Iqbal Nama p 194

Nur Jahan and he remained in the chair for a long time even after the death of Jahangir. It could not be denied that he undertook keen interest in the development of art architecture, agriculture and horticulture but his cruelties spread water over all his good work and he became most hated person since the annexation. During his period Shia sunni conflict again aroused. But he subdued the risings with a heavy hand. He not only smashed down the chaks who were raising their head in different quarters, but also deported so many of them to India.

The events in India from 1622 to 1627 could not be ignored. The influence of Nurjahan was to some extent growing and the health of the emperor was deteriorating.¹ Itaqad Khan being a relative of Begum could have not been challenged. To stamp him a cruel governor is to do injustice to him, if the details of his period are not discussed thoroughly. It is beyond doubt, the Mughal rule was a benevolent one and gave so many things to the state, where so many of his own things were snatched away from her hands. Although, it could not be accepted wholly, that it was an imperial policy, but it was more often the attitude and the temperament of some governors. The administration was completely in the hands

1. S.N. Hassan "Nur Jahan & Juntta" a political study

of the governors and for months together there was no communication between the imperial authorities. Still, the frequent visits of the emperor provided a chance to the people to raise their voice and obviously most of the governors were removed on the complaint basis. So if we stamp Itaqad Khan, the cruel and how the rest of the governors from Ali Akbar to Iradat Khan could be termed good and beneficial of the state. Ali Akbar picked out the nobles of Chaks and by trickery and chicanery caught them and galleded them. Ahmad Beg Khan, Iradat Khan and even Dalawar Khan did not forgive this section of people. Iradat Khan did not forgive one of the royal architects even and cut both his hands. ¹ It is not intended to defend the conduct of Itaqad Khan, because the attitude and conduct of other governors was also not unimproachable. But at the same time, how e we could ignore his works which were partly for the imperial comforts and partly for the common masses. Malik Haidar Chaudoors and Itaqad Khan were entrusted the construction of canals especially Lachama Koul, Tsoonti Koul, and Nahar Noor Afza, Construction of verinag and the repair of road leading from Baramulla to Srinagar². In order to increase the trade

1. Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 124

2. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir 230 31b (ii) Mohd Azam Waqiat Kashmir p 125-6

and commerce the Road Toll Tax (Rasoomi Rahdari) and soldier tax were remitted in 1622 A.D. ¹ The black spot on his face is the imposition of "Begar" in the vicinity of pom-pore². The neighbouring villages were compelled to pick the Safron flowers without any compensation, and in addition to this he imposed on other oppressive tax on gardens and with the result a number of gardens were cut down by the people.³ His main target was the peasant. Salamians or presentation ^{سالمیان} was another tax imposed by him and every zamindar was compelled to present one sheep every year to him⁴. Jahangir visited the valley three times during his governorship and on his each arrival, a new life would automatically have sprang up in the unhappy inhabitants of happy valley. Going through the chronicles we come across a number of humanitarian works carried on by the imperial orders during his governorship. It would not be out of place to throw some light on the biography of Itaqad Khan, before we proceed further.

1. Tuzk p 299

2. Glawdin, History of Jahangir p 100

3. Dr. Parmoo A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir p 408

4. Mohd. Azam, Qaqiat Kashmir p 126
(iii) Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid inscribed in the reign of Shah Jahan The following extract will give us the actual picture which would have been during the governorship of this man.

4. Inscription of the gate of Jamia Masjid (see appendix "C")

Abul Hassan, who was latter on styled Itaqad Khan belonged to Turbat, which is a district of Khurasan. He entered the services of Prince Daniyal during the reign of Akbar and during this period was made the Diwan of the Deccan¹. On the accession of Jahangir, he was recalled from the Deccan and on the insistence of Asaf Khan was made the wakil of Abul Hassan.² Itamadulla helped him to achieve the post of Bakhshi³. After the death of Itamaduduala, Jahangir appointed him the Chief Divan and during the 2nd visit of the emperor, he was appointed the governor of Kashmir, when he was at Hirapora, an out-post of the valley⁴. His mansab was raised to 4000/3000. He was one of the trusted mansabdars of the Begum and a relative too.⁵ Due to his unjust policy, new emperor removed him and Zaffar Khan appointed the governor of K Kashmir in 1630 A.D.⁶

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1. Maasirul Umara, (Tr Breveridge pp 128-30
 2. Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 212
 3. Maasirul Umara (Tr Breveridge p 129
 4. Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 153
(ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 17a
(iii) Tuzk p 348 (iv) Maasirul Umara (Tr. Breveridge) p. 130
 5. (i) Indian History Congress 1958 "The Theory of Nur Jahan and Junta" a political study pros S.N. Hassan
(ii) Medieval India a Miscellany vol I Prof. Irfan Habib
(iii) B. Prasad, A History of Jahangir pp 173-4
 6. (i) Maasirul Umara, Tr Breveridge p 130
(ii) Kumbhar, Shahi Jehan Nama Vol p 458

B. MUGHAL INSTITUTIONS (1606-27)

Soon after the annexation, it was deemed necessary to introduce a new spirit and blood into the veins of the newly conquered people and as such strong administrative measures were taken in hand. To minimise the importance of the Suba, the entire kingdom was attached with Kabul.¹ So, it became a sarkar of the big province.¹ But under Jahangir it became practically a separate suba and was directly administered by the centre through a governor or subedar. The functions of subedar were to look after the law and order and to carry on public works. He was also a commander of the provincial army². He was directed to move and to conquer new areas and territories.³ As a matter of fact the functions of the Sultan were carried on by the governor minus some duties and prerogatives. The entire suba was divided into 38 parganas and every pargana was under a Kotwal and Fowjdar.⁴ There were two sorts of

1. Ain Jarret Vol 2 p 349

2. Tuzk p 303

3. Tuzk p 113

4. Ain to Jarret Vol 2 p 367 (ii) F. Saran, Provincial administration of the Mughal p 75 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 131 (iv) Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama 142 (only 37)

administrations, so far the provinces were concerned (a) Pakka and Kacha. During Akbar Kashmir was ruled on kacha basis and was attached to the Khalisa and was directly ruled by the emperor through his governor.¹ Kashmir was never as a whole given in jagir to any noble, but only some villages were assigned either to the princes of Royal blood or to the grandies of highest rapture. Bijbehara a beautiful place was assigned to prince Fervez and similarly some villages to other nobles also.²

To maintain law and order was the duty of Foujdar in addition to certain other functions.³ The Kotwal, the amil and the quazi were other responsible and important post holders.⁴

However, these institutions were already introduced by the Sultans, did not undergo any substantial change under the Mughals. The Mughals did not want to interfere in the traditions of the newly conquered principalities. The institutions were not the innovation of the Mughals. The only thing which is noteworthy, is the evolution of the new

1. Bamzla, I.N.K. A History of Kashmir, p 436

2. (i) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p, 137

3. I.Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughal
pp 352-4

4. Ibid p, 353

institutions on the basis of the old ones, with some modifications and adjustments effected by the Mughals. Some of the institutions became more important and attained added vigour and force. So for the post of Quazi-ul-Qusat is concerned, it became again a powerful post which had lost its hold during the chak rule.¹

Each Fargana had court and was presided over by a Quazi as usual, who decided to civil and religious cases as well.² As already stated Kashmir was not assigned to any Jagirdar, but only a few villages were assigned to certain grandies. Prior to this the whole of the state was parcelled out in three or four portions and the nobles enjoyed complete control over them (see previous chapter). But under the Mughals the assignees had certain obligation also. Secondly, two questions could be raised as why the entire land was attached to Khalsa and the nobles of Kashmiri birth were deprived of their ancestral jagirs, secondly, why the grandies of Irani, Turani origin were assigned jagirs, No doubt on a limited scale. It is obvious the nobility in Kashmir, during

1. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat-i- Kashmir p, 86

2. I. Suran, Provincial administration under Mughals
P 355

Chaks and latter period of Shahmirs played such a part which resulted in the disintegration and collapse of the Sultanate. Even after the annexation the nobles, even if deprived of their jagirs had immense control over the masses and the Mughals, in order to curtail their importance deprived them of their homelands and to raise counter weight the foreign nobles were given jagirs.¹ (For further details see chapter III).

The Head of religious department, was the Chief Judge or Quaziul Quzat.² His duties were not confined to the aforesaid functions only, he was empowered to decide the cases of different nature.too³. He was assisted by Mir Adal and both of them worked and decided cases in collaboration with each other. Mulla Habib was appointed Mir Adal and he assisted Qazi Salih⁴ and the Mir Adal's duty, as a learned man was to impart education although it was not his official duty but his internal consciousness which compelled them to carry on the work of teaching and learning. In certain matters when any other person other than Kashmiri was involved

1. Maasiri Jahangiri Tr Breviridge p 157

2. F. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals p 79

3. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 134

4. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 134 (ii) Tuzk p 306

in any case, the complaints were referred to the emperor even¹. Every town had a qazi of his own and even small villages were also having Quazis². The Qazi of Sopore, which was the headquarter of Kamraj wielded great importance.³ Equally important post was the post of Mufti. The duties of Mufti were to interpret law of Sharia and it was the duty of the Quazi to implement through Kotwal,⁴ even village Quazies functioned as Muftis⁵. They led prayers and even ceremonized the marriages ceremonies.⁶

Kotwal:

The functions as a whole assigned to Kotwal were to maintain internal law and order and to look into the health, sanitation and all other municipal functions.⁷ Sometimes the functions of defence of the city were assigned to Mir

1. Tuzk p 306

2. I. Saran, Provincial Administration of Mughals p 170

3. Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 135

4. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p 296

5. Ibid, p 296

6. ^{ibid Am p 226} I. Saran, Provincial Administration of Mughals p 170

7. ^{ibid Am p 226} I. Saran, Provincial Administration of Mughals p 372

Bahar.¹ This post was most honourable post below the governor and the Diwan. His functions were not limited to the watch and ward of ports and the collection of taxes alone.² He had great influence over the Governor and very often functioned in his place when the Governor was away on some important campaign.³

(Regarding Revenue Administration Chapter No.III)

Frontier Policy of Jahangir in Kashmir.

Kashmir being a mountainous valley could be easily guarded. Some 36 routes (out of which some 12 were more important) were fully watched.⁴ The Northern posts did not threaten them at all because of the annexation of Ladakh. It was subjected earlier as is evident from the fact that the "Zamindar of Tibet on 15th Farwardin in 16th Julus presented some presents in addition to two yaks"⁵. But the Bahramgalla post was most important. It was kept under the Naiks. This was considered a vital post (pass) so far the defence of

1. Tuzk p, 335

2. F. Saran, Provincial Administration of Mughals p, 17a

3. Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama pp 135-6
(ii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 134

4. Ain (Jarret) Vol 2 p, 351 (ii) Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir
MS II 76-a-b.

5. Tuzk p, 302

Kashmir was concerned.¹ It was previously looked after by Naiks and the same family continued in the reign of Akbar and even Jahangir did not remove them.² On other important places like Rajouri, Shimbur and Hirapora arrangements were made by establishing police posts and small forts.³ Garrisons were stationed on all important post inside and outside the state.

CONQUESTS

One of the important expedition led by the governor of Kashmir during Jehangir's rule was that of Kashtawar.⁴ Kashtawar is in the south of valley about 60 kous from Srinagar. During the reign of Akbar the Chak nobles fled to Kishtawar and remained there. They renewed their attacks from those quarters⁶ and so it was the imperial policy to uproot the very foundations of their strong hold. But

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1. Tuzk p 316
 2. Tuzk p 316 (The names of guards were Hussain Naik and Mahdi Naik)
 3. Tuzk p 317 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 130 (iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama pp 222, 15a, 160 (ii) Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmiri Ms f 96a (A garrison was stationed at Banihal see Ain Tr Jarret Vol. 2 p 370)
 4. Tuzk pp 294-5 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri pp 127-8
 5. Baharistani Shahi ff 172
 6. Abul Hassan Jahangir Nama pp 135-6

Akbar could not launch any attack because he was overbusy in consolidating the annexation and his attention was diverted to the Deccan soon after the annexation. But after his death the imperial eyes fell on Kashtawar and an excuse was provided by the activities of Lohar Chak and Iba Chak.¹ They had made preparations and were reinforced by the Raja of Kashtawar² to overthrow the Mughals. Dilawar Khan was appointed the governor of Kashmir who promised to conquer Kishtawar within two years.³ Grand preparations were made in 14th R.y.

An army of 10,000 soldiers was equipped and left for Kashtawar by three routes. The mutual dissensions of the Maiks of Chandoor and the governor were abated. Dilawar Khan requested Malik Ali, brother of Malik Haidar to make a common cause⁵ against Kashtawar. Malik Ali readily accepted the offer and raised his own contingents and joined the governor in the Kishtawar expedition.⁶

1. Tuzk p 294

2. Beni Prasad, A History of Jahangir p 305

3. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 214a (ii) Tuzk^o 225

4. Tuzk p 295

5. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir ff 216a-b.

6. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir ff 218, 19

Delawar Khan left his son Hassan and Ali Mir, the Mir Bahar incharge of the city.¹ On 10th Shaharpore the army left for Kashtawar. The entire army was divided in three groups. He led the main army via Sanginpora (Singpora) and the two groups were led by Jalla son of Delawar Khan and Malik Ali and Nasrulla Arab.² Advance party was deputed under Jamal with the choisest persons.³ The horses were not included, because of impassable routes but a few and the army defeating the enemy moved on, on all sides and the different groups met together in Narkot, one of the important posts and headquarters of garrisons, with sufficent provisions and arma.⁴ The enemy was driven out and beaten beyond the River Muri⁵. A severe battle was fought and Iba Chak, the pretender was beheaded along with a grand number of his followers.⁶ From Naltaroor, the combined army proceeded to the Nagar Fort, after a hard and tough

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1. Tuzk, p 294 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri ff 127-8 (iii) Abul Hassan Jahangiri Nama pp 135-6 (ii) Mohl. Azam, Waqiat Kashmiri, p 124
 2. Tuzk p 295 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir p 217b (iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama pp 135-6 (states the deputation army under Malik Ali, Jallal and Nasrullah Arab via Fattan a garrison was kept for precautionary measure at Banihal pass.
 3. Tuzk p 295
 4. Ibid (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir p 217 'The name of the village is written as Nal Tarooa.
 5. Tuzk p 295 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama pp 136-7
 6. Tuzk 295 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangir p. 127-8

fighting, the fort was occupied.¹ Forts after forts were occupied and after the fall of Nagar fort, the Kiras fort was captured, which was on the bank of river Chanda (Chinab). The army encamped here and Dilawar Khan was informed accordingly and requested to occupy the fort.²

As soon as the Raja came to know the tragic end of Iba Shak, he fled leaving the bridge-head and encamped near Bahandarkot, which lies on the other side of the river. The imperial army fought bravely and tried to cross the bridge but the enemy resisted and latter on the bridge was put to fire.³ When Raja Kore Singh realized that his future is fastly approaching to an end, he deputed an envoy with an apologetic letter offering a huge war indemnity, famous safron and the promise of a regular tribute. The wording of the letter at the same time showed his pride to his defaulting nature.⁴ Dilawar Khan having the upper hand did not yield and did not accept even his personal presence. At the same time, the letter remained ^{ded} the attacks of Mirza Haidar Duglat

1. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir p 217b.

2. Ibid f 218a.

3. Tuzk p 295, (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jehangiri ff 127-8

4. (i) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir F 2187
(ii) Tuzk p, 295

with an army of 10,000 and the failure of Akbar and even during the 14th years of Julooos, the governors like Hashim Khan, Safdar Khan and Ahmad Beg Khan did not dare to raise their fingers towards this quarter. So if your intentions are the subjugation and occupation of the territory it would be a ~~share~~ waste of your time.¹ When the nobles and the Malik came to know this they became furious and Malik Ali called his soldiers and 500 strong and stout bodied persons became ready to cross the impassable roaring Maru and to desh to underkot (Bhandarkot of Tuzk). The undaunted soldiers entrusted themselves to roaring waves under the cover of darkness and took the enemy in surprise.² The army of Raja in dismay and confusion left the fort and burnt the bridge of the river Chamb but Bhandarkot (Under Kot of Malik Haidar) was occupied and the governor encamped in the fort.³ These aroused the problem of crossing the furious Chinab, because the retreating army had destroyed the bridge already. The river was crossed by rope ways which is known as Zam⁴ with the help of a local Zamindar

1. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir F 218a,b.

2. (i) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir ff 218, 19a
(ii) Tuzk p 295 (The Tuzk attributes this gallant action to Jamal to eldest son of Dalawar Khan)
(iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama, p 136

3. Tuzk p 296 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir p 219a

4. Ibid 220b. (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 136

who guided them upto a proper place where the river could be crossed¹ after the waste of four months. Then the Mughal forces reached Mandil which is 3 kos from Bhandar Kot and defeated the enemy slaughtering a number of soldiers.² When one of the imperial soldiers reached Raja, he **cried** out for fear of his life, that he was the Raja. At that very moment he was caught and presented to Dilawar Khan. On the same date viz 14th R.y 1029 A.H. Khutba was read and a coin was minted³ in the name of Jehangir. Dilawar Khan left for Kashmir to present himself and the captive to the emperor who was approaching the valley in the same year.⁴ He left the newly area in the charge of Nasrulla Arab with a small contingent.⁵ Dilawar Khan was highly honoured. When he presented Raja Kanwar Singh to the emperor at Baramulla and was given the rank of 6000/3000 sawar in addition to the robes of honour, on 1 Jamadi II 1031 A.H./1622 A.D.⁶ The entire revenue amounting to 10,0000 rupees was given as Inam

1. Tuzk p 296

2. (i) M.Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 219b.
(ii) Tuzk p 296 (iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 138

3. M.Haidar Tarikhi Kashmir f 220a, (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 138

4. Tuzk p 294 (ii) K.K. p 301 (It were not the Chaks who were arrested but Raja of ruling family)

5. Tuzk p 296 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 138

6. Tuzk p 303 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 230
(iii) Kamgar Hussain, Mansir Jahangiri p 130

to the governor.¹ Meanwhile, due to the harsh attitude of the authorities and the departure of the nobles, a rising started in 18th R.y 1623 A.D.² The Zamindars joined hands and attacked Nasrulla Arab routed, the army and he was killed³. When this news reached to the emperor he called Jallal, son of late Dilawar Khan raised his rank to 1000/600 ~~ms~~ and deputed him to sub-due the rebels.⁴ He had already gained some experience of Kashtawar when his father had defeated Raja Kunwar Singh. Jallal was already patronized and given a rank and rob of honour when Kashtawar was reduced. It was on the basis of these experiences, that the choice of Emperor fell on Jalal. He was not appointed the Governor of Kashmir⁵ but only given the command of the army. No doubt Jallal fought bravely in subduing the Chief and the Zamindars but could not achieve success as has been put by Dr. Abul Rahim in his

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1. Tuzk p 303 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 230
(iii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasir Jahangiri p 130
 2. Tuzk p 297
 3. Tuzk p 312 (ii) Kamgar Hussain Maasiri Jahangiri ff 140-48
(iii) Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir p 304
(i) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri ff 140-8
(ii) Tuzk p 312
 4. Tuzk p 312 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangir ff 140-8
 5. JHS Vol 7, 1959, Policy of Jahangir towards Afghans by Dr. A. Rahim Karachi. His statement is that Jallal was appointed subedar of Kashmir, is not born out by facts. Before the death of Dilawar Khan, Iradat Khan was appointed the subedar and there is no mention of his governorship in any of the contemporary records like Tuzk Maasir Jahangir Iqbal Nama or the Kashmir Chronicles.

article¹. When reports of his failure reached the emperor, he ordered Iradat Khan, who as governor of Kashmir to move to Kishtawar.² Iradat Khan moved at the head of a grand army and brought the rebels to the knees, established police and powerful garrisons were stationed in the important forts with sufficient provisions.³ Raja of Jammoo was also asked to proceed to Kishtawar in order to reinforce Iradat Khan.⁴ Having completed this work, he returned to the valley and the emperor raised his mansab by 500 bestowed robes of honour and gave a jewelled scimitar⁵ to him.

Raja Kunwar Singh was asked to present his sons as hostages, if he would be willing to live a peaceful life as a Zamindar, being reluctant he was deported to the fort of Gawalior.⁶ But after the suppression of the revolt by Iradat Khan, the Raja who remained in the jail for two years,

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1. (i) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri ff 146-7
(ii) Tuzk p 312
 2. Tuzk p. 312, 13 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 147
 3. (i) Tuzk 312, 13 (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri f 148
 4. Tuzk p 313
 5. Maasiri Jahangiri f 148 (ii) Tuzk p
 6. Tuzk p 347 (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri p 130 (It is stated the Raja was asked either to accept to send your sons as hostages and to be free or otherwise to be ready for imprisonment. The Raja accepted the former.

was released and given robes of honour and a jewelled sword and the lofty title of Raja and assigned the Zaminlari rights of Kishtawar.¹

Kishtawar is 120 miles from Srinagar, in the south at the height of 7450 feet above sea level.² It is called miniature of the valley. The fruits, flowers and grain and even the production of safron is found in Kishtawar.

The agricultural products of Kishtawar were wheat, barley, pulses but the paddy was not cultivated in abundance.³ The safron produced was superior to that of Kashmiri safron.⁴ The fruits like melons, water-melons, grapes. (*guava*), apricots were cultivated. The grapes were not sweet. The safron was charged at 4 rupees as the revenue and was sold to the merchants of Rajputana and exported to Arra.⁵

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1. Tuzk p 347 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 179
 2. (i) Hassan, Tarikhi Hassan MS f 96b
(ii) Felseart, Jahangir's India p 34
 3. Tuzk p 296 (ii) Abul Hasan, Jahangir Nama pp 13a-40
(iii) Felseart, The India of Jahangir p 34. (iv) Matmad Khan, Iqbalnama Jahangiri p 194
 4. Tuzk p 296 (ii) Felseart p 35
 5. Tuzk p 297 (ii) Felseart, Jahangir India pp 356

The army of the Raja comprised of 6 to 7 thousand soldiers and some 700 musketeers who were mostly Rajputs¹ were also appointed. Due to hilly nature of the area the horses were not utilized. There were only 50 horses in the Raja's army.² But there were well defended and fully garrisoned and equipped forts on all sides of the territory.³

The total revenue was 1,00,000 rupees. The revenue was not charged on the land but every house was charged with 6 shahis equivalent to 4 rupees.⁴ The people spoke both Kashmiri and the language spoken in India, but their dress resembled the dress of the Indians.⁵ The people were agriculturists mostly and Shawl weaving seems to have been introduced during the Sultanate period.⁶

(ii) Punch Expedition

Lohra or modern Punch lies in the west of the valley. It is at a distance of 80 miles from Srinagar via Baramulla and via Tosa Maidan it is only 40 miles. The town has been

1. Tuzk p 298

2. Ibid

3. Ibid 294-95 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir p 214

4. Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama p 139

5. Tuzk p 297 (ii) Ain Tr. Jarret Vol 2 p, 350

6. Hassan Msf 96b

founded by Lalita Detya.¹ It was directly ruled by the Sultans of Kashmir through a governor.²

It regained independence after the advent of Chak rule.³ The people spoke Gojri (a dialect spoken even now with some changes). But could speak and understand Kohur (Kashmiri) also⁴. During the summer it becomes very hot and does not suit men and beasts. The people mostly lived on cattle and moved from place to place because of climatic condition and perhaps due to the lack of fodder.

Dilawar Khan who was appointed subedar of Kashmir in 13 R.y 1618 A.D.⁵ indulged in wine, dine and women, did not attend the important matters of administration, which resulted in distress and revolts.⁶ A similar revolt took place in the hills of Poonch in 14th R.y. 1028 A.H.⁷ It was an eye opener to him as he knew that he could not subdue the rebels who were the same persons who had even

1. Raja Tarangni incorporated by Hassan MS 95a

2. Baharistani Shahi ff 50-51, (ii) Hassan, MS p 95b

3. Hassan MS 95b

4. Ain, Tr Jarret Vol 2 p 250-1

5. Tuzk p 225

6. H.H. Tarikhi Kashmir ff 215b-16a

7. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 216a.
(ii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 124
(iii) Hassan, MS Vol I 95b

tought lesson to the Mohd. Quasim and his successors, but because of inadequate means and had taken shelter in the hills found a chance and unfurled the banner of revolt. Malik Ali and Haidar Malik who was an expert and familiar of these roads was approached by Dilawar Khan and requested him to suppress the rebellion.¹ He readily accepted and led an army of stoutmen defeated the rebels and subjugated the entire Poonch again in 1029 A.H. the 14th R.y.² 1620 A.D.

The valley and table lands situated on the high altitudes in North and North east is known as Ladakh. Since the very beginning of the Mongole ascendancy, it was subjugated first by Changiz Khan (1162-1227) in 1203 A.D. Then again Kublai Khan included it in his territory and appointed Lha-chen-Jo Dpal a native as the governor of the valley.³ After the death of Kublia Khan the native chiefs raised their head again and regained independence. This dwindling situation was going on right upto the time of Sultan Shihabuddin who subdued it and it remained a

1. Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir f 216a Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 215

2. (1) Hassan, MS. p 95b (ii) The year of this incident is given 12th R.Y 1026 A.H. by Malik Haidar which is not born out by facts.

3. Farmer, R.Y. A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir p 75

tributary state.¹ Again the chiefs revolted and remained independent for a brief spell when *Jainul Abidin* subjugated it but finally became an independent part and a stronghold of the Chaks rulers.

(iii) Expedition to Tibet.

It is a common error in the chronicles that Ladakh has been called Tibet. It is not only in the Histories written by Kashmiries but even the court writers have followed them. Actually Tibet was never subjugated either by the Sultans of Kashmir or the Moshal rulers. Ladakh was subjugated by the Sultans of Kashmir and remained constantly under their control without a few breaks reduced and remained as a tributary state. A Jamia Mosque was constructed there by Malik Haidar in 1029 A.H.² In 1533 A.D. it was conquered by Mirza Haidar when he was in the service of the ruler of Kashgar,³ But after 1559 A.D. when Mirza Haidar was defeated and killed, the chaks ascended the throne, Ladakh terminated her relations with Kashmir.

Akbar had no time to pay attention towards Ladakh as he was awfully busy in consolidation work. But at the same time it was essential to keep an eye on the Ladakh affairs where the refractory nobles had taken refuge. Akbar

1. Baharistani Shahi f 21b

2. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat Kashmir p 125

3. Mirza Haidar, Tarikhi Rashidi Tran N Elias pp 422-3

deputed two missions, to follow a conciliatory policy so far the Ladakh's were concerned. Haji Mirza Beg Kabuli who had been included in the first mission was given the land of the daughter of Ali Rai for Prince Salim.¹ The second mission comprised of Babu Talib Irfahani and Mirza Beg.

Having entered into matrimonial alliance, the relations were not strained but in 15 & 16 the R.years, the chaks who had taken refuge there, created again some disturbances. Itaqad Khan again chased them and suppressed the revolt, most of the Chaks, in the valley and outside the valley were killed, but the leaders were not rounded up.³ However, the cordial relations were again maintained right up to the time of Zaffar Khan's assumption of governorship.⁴

1. Badauni, Muntakhibu Tawarikh Vol 2 p 376

2. Badauni, Muntakhibu Tawarikh Vol p 376

3. Parmu, E.F., A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir
pp 316-17, Tuzk p 225

4. Parmu, E.F. p 317

CHAPTER III
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(a) Agrarian system

Akbar annexed Kashmir in 1586 and Sarkar was incorporated in the suba of Kabul for administrative convenience and political reasons.¹ Its position as part of the Suba of Kabul was only in a form as practically it was treated as completely independent unit and was under the direct control of the emperor.² The suba attained full recognition as a provincial unit during the reign of Jahangir.³ The entire suba under the revenue system of Quazi Ali was divided into 38 parganas⁴ and the total number of Mahals was 34,⁵ consisting 5352 villages⁶ and the same division continued during Jahangir's reign.⁷ However, after the annexation

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1. (i) Ain, Tr Jarret Vol 2 pp 354, 367
(ii) Majalisuslatin BMMS f 115a is the latest source which includes Kashmir with Kabul and the sources after this mention the name of Suba of Kashmir as a suba and not as a Sarkar.
 2. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 8
 3. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, p 71
 4. Ain, trs Jarret Vol 2 p 354
 5. Ibid 270
 6. Irfan Habib: The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 4
 7. Tuzk p 290 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri F 131
(iii) In Jahangir Nama of Abul Hassan p 142, the number of parganas is shown only 37.

of Kishtawar the number of Parganas would have increased as is obvious from the reign of Shah Jahan where the number of Parganas increased by 6.¹ Each pargana comprised a number of villages which varied from 8 to 208, for instance pargana Islamabad (under Aurangzeb) was having 106 villages whereas Andarkot 8 and Advin 208.² The boundaries as in rest of India were not well-defined either in Ain or in any other latter source of this period and could laid out only tantatively. The number of villages as shown in the list (see Appendix A) corresponds with the census of 1891 for the corresponding districts, with a little variation.³ Each village had a certain quantity of land of different types and the village formed a basic unit for revenue assessment.⁴ The revenue was charged on the basis of crop sharing called Nasq.⁵ The standing crop for a single year was estimated and 1/2 of total produce was fixed as the state share.⁶ This system of crop sharing was called Nasq and the province

1. (i) Ajiz, Narain Koul, Tarikhi Kashmir MS
(ii) Hassan MS Vol I p 97 (Opposite site)

2. (i) Ajiz, Narain Koul, Tarikhi Kashmir MS
(ii) Hassan MS Vol I p 97 (opposite site)

3. Walter Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir pp 203-4

4. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 218

5. Ibid, p 219, Tuzk, p 315

6. Ibid, (ii) Ain Vol 2 Tr Jarret pp 367

Nasqigalla Baksh.¹ The share was fixed and applied upon the area of each village at the rate of Kharwars (ass load) of paddy.² The share fixed once was not changed but the same realized without obtaining any fresh information the quantity of produce remained constant from year to year.³ The total revenue realised during Akbar was 3011618 Kharwars (ass loads) and 12 traks and out of which 9335006 Kharwars 14 Traks was paid in cash at the rate of 29 dams per Kharwar. In 15th R.y/1620 A.D. the revenue of valley was 3063050 Kharwar and 11 traks equivalent to 74670000 dams⁴ (24.35 dams per Kharwar). The land was divided into two categories Abi and Khushki.⁵ The Nasq was the arrangement for irrigated land (Abi) while 2 traks were realized per patta of Khushki land⁶ (rain dependant land) if Motah, Mung, Mash

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1. Ain Vol. 2 Tr Jarret p, 366 (11) Prof. Irfan Habib: Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 218 (11) Bamzila, F.N.K. A History of Kashmir, pp 436-37
 2. Ain Vol. 2 Tras Jarret, p 367 (11) Abul Hassan, Jahanvir Nama p, 142
 3. (1) Ain (V2 Tr Jarret) p 367 (11) A. Nama Breweridge 3(2) p 830-1
 4. Tuzk p 299 (This included other cesses etc. etc.) (11) Matamad Khan, Iqbal Nama p 148
 5. The Abi or irrigated land was also divided into the following categories, irrigated (abi) (2) needed artificial irrigation katmi (3) gardens (Maliari) and level ground (Tarikhi Rashidi Trs W.Elias p 425
 6. A. Nama Breweridge 3(11) p 831

was cultivated and in case of gal (shol) and millet (pinga) it was realized at the rate of 4 traks per patta.¹ The revenue was realized at the time of harvest² and for qabi the time of realization was when the crops were harvested.³ So far the production of saffron was concerned, it ranged between 400 to 500 mds if the harvest was good.⁴ The imperial share was 1/2 and was realized in kind.⁵ The total land under saffron cultivation was 10,000 to 12,000 acres and mainly produced in Pampor and in Kashtawar.⁶ The saffron of Kashtawar was superior to that of Kashmir and was exported to Agra.⁷ The cultivators of the valley disposed it to the merchant, who in return provided them salt⁸ which was not produced in Kashmir⁹. The cost of

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1. Patta was a piece of land and according to the Illahi settlement each Bigha consisted of 2½ patta and a little more: A Nama, 369 Vol.3
 2. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 241
 3. Ibid
 4. Tuzk p 315 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama p 139
(iii) Elliot & Dawson: A History of India
Vol 6 p 304
 5. Tuzk p 315
 6. (i) Ain ur Jarret, V 2 p 358 (ii) Pelsaret, Jahangiri
India, p. 34-5
 7. Ibid, p 35
 8. Iqbal Nama, 149
 9. Matamad Khan, Iqbal Nama, p 149

Safron of Kashtawar was 28-32 rupees per Illahi ser.¹ After the release of Raja Kunwar Singh of Kashtawar, the safron was attached to the imperial exchequer solely². The revenue realized on safron by the Raja prior to annexation was rupees 4 per Mand (1½ ser), but this was paid by the customer and not the producer³ during the governorship of Itaqad Khan the safron was attached to Khalsa.⁴ The means of production were the same as we can see today with some minor improvements. The oxen tilled the land and the horses were not used. The age long plough with the mallet was the only tools utilized by the peasant in addition to the spade and creel.⁵ At the close of the month of March the land was ploughed and then after ploughing and breaking the tods the safron bulbs were planted.⁶ In the month of September the plants grow up and the average height is 2 to 3 inches and in the month of November, the plants bore flowers.⁷ The flowers were

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1. (i) Pelsaert, Jahangirs India, p. 34-5
(ii) Tuzkp 297 (The cost of Kashmiri safron was Rs.10/-)
 2. Kamgar Hussain, Maasiri Jahangiri p 153
 3. Tuzk p, 297
 4. Mohi. Azam, Waqiat p, 125
 5. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir p 325
(Creel is a wicker wacked basket in which manure is carried)
 6. Ain Vol-2 Tr Jarret p 358 (ii) Tuzk p 315
 7. Ibid, p 315

plucked after a few days of blossom and then dried up and sold to the merchants of Lahore and Agra. ¹

The main production of the valley was paddy and so the chief article of food.² The paddy in Kishtawar was cultivated in a limited area³ while the rice produced at Rajori was superior to that of the valley.⁴ In the areas like Rajouri, Ladakh Kashtawar, and the hilly areas, wheat Barley, grams and rice was produced and then sold to the merchants, who controlled the entire market and some out of that kept for themselves.⁵ The pulses of different varieties were produced throughout the state.⁶

There were no cash crops produced in Kashmir except Safron. The production of vegetables of different kinds especially in the floating gardens of the Dal supplimented the food of the valley.⁷ The water nuts produced in the water had been a common food whenever any natural calamity visited the valley damaging the crops.⁸ It has many kinds

1. Tuzk, p 315 (ii) Naqvi, Hamida Khatun, Urban Centres of Upper India, p 46 (iii) Felseart, Jahangirs India, p 35

2. Tuzk, p 300

3. Kamgar Hussain Maasiri Jahangiri 129

4. Tuzk, p 317 (i) Ain, Jarret, p 353

5. Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama, p 139

6. Tuzk, p, 301-2

7. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 91

8. Ibid, 353 (ii) Ain Tr Jarret, p 359 (iii) Breviridge, pp 83

and was mainly exacted by the boatmen. Botanical name given to water chestnut is *Trapa Bispinosa*. This aquatic plant had been grown in India since ancient times. It was not an exclusive crop of Kashmir. But in the rest of India, it was wild and in Kashmir it was cultivated too.¹ The extensive cultivation of this gave 384000 maunds of nuts a year exclusively from the Dal.²

The oilseeds like Rape, and Tinseed were cultivated³ and the cultivators of cotton was in a limited area.⁴ In Rajouri, Jammoo and Kishtawar millets and buck wheet was cultivated. These were cultivated in the valley too.⁵

The cultivation of tobacco was perhaps introduced in the latter period of Mughals as there is no mention of it in the chronicles written by Kashmiri historians, but late in 19th century works the details of its cultivation have been recorded.⁶ Popy and pulses were common in the valley, pakhli, Kishtawar and Rajouri.⁷

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1. Sir George Watt, Commercial products of India, p 1080
 2. Moorcraft Vol 1 (Travels) p 145
 3. Akbar Nama (iii) (2) Brevirdge pp 830-2
 4. Baharistani Shahi F 26b. (The presumption of Prof. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 96 is that the cotton was not altogether cultivated as the people did not use cotton cloth is not correct by facts.
 5. A Nama Brevidge 3(2) pp 830-1
 6. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p 330 (ii) Tarikhi Hassan Vol. I pp 164
 7. Tuzk p 296

The gram () was not cultivated because the yield was not upto the mark and its grain became stiff, dark and small after two years continuous cultivation. ¹

Sugarcane was not cultivated in the valley and there is no mention of its cultivation either in Jammu or Rajouri. The tea was not cultivated but was imported from China, and the legend says it was for the first time introduced by Mirza Haidar Duglat in 1555 A.D. ²

Kashmir was always famous for her variety of fruits which were grown in abundance. ³ The apples were found of special qualities and guava were also grown. ⁴ The grapes were common and of many qualities but most of the qualities were sour. ⁵ Pears and apricots of high qualities were cultivated, ⁶ but the flavour of these before introduction of grafting was inferior to the varieties of Persia and Kabul ⁷. There were no fenced gardens and no symmetrical arrangements of planting the trees ⁸. The system of fencing have been introduced by

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1. Tuzk, p 310 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p 145 (iii) Khafi Khan Muntakhibulbab 302
 2. Tarikhi Hassan, Vol, I MS p, No. 164 (opposite page)
 3. Maasiri Jahangiri p, 129, Tuzk, p 300
 4. Tuzk, 300 (ii) Jahangiri Nama BMMS F 230, (iii) Tari-
khi Rashidi, p 425
 5. Tuzk, p 300, Pelseart, Jahangirs India, p, 36
 6. Tuzk, p 300
 7. Pelsearet Jahangirs India, p 36
 8. Tarikhi Rashidi, p 425

the Mughals¹ (for the details of Mughal gardens see subsequent pages of this chapter).

The mountainous nature of the valley furnished the same with everlasting water and so there did not arise any need of artificial irrigation. However, Sultan knew the importance of irrigation and they not only looked after the old excavated canals but dug out so many of them² and during the reign of Jahangir under the supervision of Raisul mulk some old canals were repaired and the Harvan canal for watering the Noor Afza Bag was built at the cost of 30000 rupees.³ The tanks were not constructed as there was as at present no need of such tanks. Hemp grew freely every where in the valley and on the slopes of the mountains. In the Kakpora area (Mafaz tract) it was found in abundance on all sides of the fields, and on both sides of the rivers and streams.⁴ The hemp found in this track was famous for its flavour and the excess of Gum⁵. It affords a strong fine, and long fibre and was worked by the natives into a coarse canvass, and into thread

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1. Sturat Villier CM, Gardens of the great Mughals, p 166
 2. (i) Baharistani Shahi, F 52b, 54a, 56b
(ii) Maasiri Jahangiri F 133
 3. (i) Malik Haidar Tarikhi Kashmir f 224a, b
(ii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir, p 125
(iii) Tuzk, p 347
 4. Tuzk p 312 (ii) Moorcraft, travels in Hindustan, pp 57-8
 5. Tuzk p 312

and rope. The gum collected from its flowers during the warm part of the day was called "Kashir Ras".¹

Horticulture and siriculture:

As a matter of fact the gardens received more than required attention under Akbar and Jahangir no doubt the valley itself is a big garden but the systematic arrangement of the plants and the fencing of the gardens was for the first time introduced by Jahangir.² Two types of trees were planted in and outside the gardens. The private gardens on one hand were beautified by the flower bearing trees and shaddy umbrella like trees and on the other hand fruit trees of various types were not neglected.³ There were some seven hundred gardens planted during the Mughal period around the Dal lake and new experiments were carried on in the field of techniques of grafting and planting alien natured trees.⁴ The system of grafting wasnot known in the valley and was introduced by Mohd. Quli Afshar during the reign of Akbar.⁵ Jahangir was keen enough to see the fruits of valley improving and had given directions to the

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1. Moorcraft, travels in Hindustan, p 58
Actually it should have been called "charras" as is called these days.
 2. Stuart Villier CM, Gardens of great Mughals, pp 162-63
 3. Stuart Villier CM, Gardens of the great Mughals, p166
 4. Tuzk, p 300
 5. Tuzk, p 308 (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri f 131

nobles and Revenue officials to look out that the work of improvement and plantation of new fruits and application of the new techniques of grafting for the same improvement was carried out.¹ His eagerness could be seen when he personally went to examine the fruits of Royal Appricots and found 15 such trees had born fruit². He desired that every one should have his own garden. It is he who ordered further cultivation of Shah Alu. The pears, mulberries cherries, sour cherries were found in abundance³. The mangoes were not cultivated the master of gardens Mohd. Quli Afshar repeatedly had tried to get the same grafted. But he failed in his attempts.⁴ Experiments were carried on in the grafting of sweet flavoured fruits. The results were encouraging.⁵ The governors on their own part took keen interest in this field. Dilawar Khan laid out a lofty garden on the left bank of the Dal and planted the best fruit trees in addition to the grapes of various varieties.⁶ There were 18 to 20 varieties of grapes in this garden and four of them were of foreign origin.⁷ These were known

1. Tuzk, p 308 (ii) Kumlum Mohd Salih, Vol 2 p 27

2. Tuzk, p 300

3. Tarikhi Rashidi (NElias) p, 425 (ii) Tuzk 300,
(iii) Khafi Khan, Muntakhibulhibab Vol I p, 303

4. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabulubab Vol I p, 203

5. Ibid

6. Moorcroft, travels in Hindustan Vol 2 pp 150-1

7. Ibid, p 151

as maska, Hos ani, Sahibi and Kishmish.¹ But there were no regular markets for the disposal of the fruits and all those who had and who had not were all alike. Under the oppressive reign of Itaqad Khan some inhumane measures were taken and some gardens bearing the best fruit were confiscated which ultimately resulted in the destruction of the gardens.³ But the dry fruits like nuts and almonds were exported to Agra, Delhi and Lahore.⁴ There were many varieties of nuts and the famous and costly were kagzi (having soft cover over Kernel)⁵. It was a general custom to plant fruit trees in private as well as public gardens.⁶ Although there were number of gardens laid out during the Sultanate period but none was existent and the credit of establishing the modern gardens must go to the Jahangir and his beloved queen Nurjehan. It would be difficult to note down the complete list of the gardens which were laid out during this period, not because of the paucity of records but due to their large number.

1. Ibid

2. Tarikhi Rashidi tr NElias p 425

3. Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid Srinagar

4. Pelseart Jahangirs India, p 36
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(iii) Naqvi Hamida Khatoon, Urban centres and Industries in upper India, p 46

5. Moorcraft, travels in Hindustan, Vol., 2 pp 145-6

6. Ibid

7. Furguson, J.P., Kashmir, p 117

General Characteristics of Mughal Gardens.

"Indian gardening, like every Indian art is closely interwoven with the history of past", says C.M. Villier Stuart.¹ The gardens on the pattern of Central Asia and Persia with the local traditions included, presented a new dimension in the shape of Mughal gardens, and the best example of such gardens can be found in Kashmir.

The plan of garden follows a regular and easily recognizable pattern.² The shape is invariable rectangular and in the centre a gate for entrance with small gates at different places. The gardens were enclosed with high walls and separate compartments were established for the herb as could be traced out from the existing gardens in the valley. The slopy nature of the site and the presence of water seems to have been the main features while making a selection for the establishment of any garden. The custom of planting fruit trees in the luxury gardens and the symmetrical arrangement of flower beds and tall and beautiful cypress trees discriminates them from other

1. Gardens of the Great Mughals, p 2

2. Furguson J.P. Kashmir, pp 117-19

gardens¹. Due to the geographical position of the sites and abundance of water, the Mughals deemed it necessary to have a canal flowing through the centre of the garden and we detect every garden laid out by them possess a canal. In the early gardens the average width of a canal was 18 to 20 feet and later in the Jahangir's period the width was more than those of the early Akbar Shahi gardens as could be seen in the "Shalimar Bagh" of Kashmir. The fall of the canal from one terrace to the other was made of stones and arranged in such a way as if a natural waterfall² and the paved stone work "chadar" was one of the common features of these Mughal gardens.

The famous and beautiful gardens laid out by the emperor Jahangir, his beloved beautiful queen Nur Jehan and the governors were countless and some of them are still existing with the same grandeur and beauty. Shalimar, Nisrin, Verinar, Achbal still divert the attention of visitors.

SHALIMAR BAGH

In the reign of Raja Parversan a saint lived near Harvan who was highly revered by Raja and in acknowledging his piety, Raja Parversan laid out a garden there.³ But

1. Sturat Villier, CW, Gardens of the Great Mughals, pp 2, 197

2. Ibid, 101

3. Hassan Vol 1 p, 111 MS incorporating Raja Taranghi of Kalhan Pandit (ii) Furguson, J.F. "Kashmir" p 121

But with the passage of time, it was in ruins and foundation of this beautiful garden and name it "Bagi Farah Bakhsh". During the summer of 1029 A.H./1619 A.D. Jahangir left out for in a boat and his attention was diverted to Shalimar and Bhak, two parganas of the Dal. At the same time he ordered the construction of the garden and asked his son Khurram to construct a waterfall for the amusement of the Royal family² and the beautification of the garden.

It is situated on the right bank of the Dal 2 miles below Nishat and 9 miles from Srinagar. A canal about a mile in length and 12 yards in breadth connected it with the lake. On each side there are broad green paths over shadowed by large chenars³. It is at present 5 hundred and ninety yards long by two hundred and sixty seven yards broad, divided into three separate parts. The public gardens starting with the ground canal leading from the Dal lake and terminated at the first large pavilion, the Diwani Am and used to be opened on certain

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1. Tuzk, p 303 (ii) Kumbu, Mohd Salih, A mali Salih Vol I p, 100
 2. (i) Tuzk p 303 (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri f 133
(iii) Mohd Azam, Waqiat Kashmir, p 123
(iv) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama, p 149
 3. Stuart C.N.V. The gardens of the great Mughals, pp 162-3

days and dresses and robes of honour were awarded, and feasts were arranged.¹ The second portion of the garden was slightly broader consisting of two shallow terraces with the Diwani Khas. No building exists at present but there are some remains which indicate the existence of some buildings. This garden was developed by Shahjahan.² Bernier who visited Kashmir in 1665 A.D. found the garden in the best position and crowned this garden above all other gardens and health resorts of the valley.³

BAGI AISH ABAD

It was constructed in the bank of Sodra Khun (the small Dal). A canal was constructed from sindh Biari and fountains were installed in the centre.⁴ It is not traceable now. Various varieties of flowers and fruit trees were planted.⁵

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1. (i) Accounts of Sir Thomas Moor
(ii) Ferguson J.P. Kashmir, p 120
(iii) Stuart Villier CM The gardens of the great Mughals, p 162
 2. Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir, MS Vol. 3, p 111
 3. Bernier, Travels in Mogul empire, p 430
 4. Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir, Vol. I MS p, 123
 5. Tuzk p, 303

BAGI NOOR AFZA

A fort and a city was founded by Akbar round the Kohi Marran in 1597 A.D. Latter on Jahangir, on seeing the garden in a desperate condition, ordered Matmad Khan who was one of the nobles and the official writer, to construct lofty buildings and a beautiful garden.¹ The plinth of the building, which was in the midst of the three terraced orchards was a square building of 32 years.² A beautiful museum and an art gallery was constructed and efficient and well qualified artisans were employed in preparing the beautiful pieces of art for its decoration.³ This garden was named Noor Afza by him,⁴ after the name of the queen.

BAGI BAHAR

This garden was laid out on the instigation of Queen Nurjahan Begum on the bank of the Dal on the opposite side of Aishabad garden.⁵ The emperor on the 14th night of

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1. Tuzk, p 302 (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri, F 133
 2. Tuzk, p 302, (ii) Maasiri Jahangiri, p 133
(iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama, pp 148-9
 3. Tuzk I, 302, (ii) JRAS (BB) 1918 Vol 25 pp 23-75
 4. Tuzk p 302 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama pp 148-9
 5. Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir, Vol. I MS f 113 (opposite side).

liner month visited this garden along with his wife in beautiful boats, rowed by beautiful virgins of Kashmir with the small belled cars.¹

The governors and nobles of significance and reputation also constructed lofty palaces and beautiful gardens. Dilawar Khan, one of the governors of Kashmir laid out the garden after his own name Bagh Dilawar Khan in 1027 A.H.² It is on western side of Barari nambale (marshy land) an artificial canal connected the lake with the garden. The garden was famous for the cultivation of grapes³. There were some 18 to 20 varieties of grapes and four of them were of foreign origin.⁴ While Vigni visited the valley he found that this garden was reserved for the European visitors.⁵ The remains of the garden are still existent. In addition to these gardens which were laid down around the Dal lake, there were so many other gardens through out the length and breadth of the valley. The emperor had so much affection with the valley that he did not leave a single beautiful place which he did not visit during his four visits. He went to see

1. Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir Vol I MS f 113

2. Ibid, p 117-118

3. Stuart Vitier C.M. The gardens of Great Mughals, p 166

4. Moorcraft, Travels in Hindustan Vol 2 pp 150-1

5. Vigni, Travels Vol 2 p 302

every place of beauty and established gardens. As soon as he came to know of any beautiful place, he ordered the move towards that place¹. Gulmarg (Goorimarg) YousiMarg, Sukhanag, Chandoora, Varinag, Achbal, Loka Bhavan, BijiBehora, Safapora, Shihabud Din Pora and a number of places were seen by him along with his Queen Nur Jahan, and gardens were laid out at every stop.

Verinag:

Of all these places mentioned above, Verinag was the favourite place of Jahangir.² Verinag is a spring and source of the river Bihet.³ It is at a distance of 32 miles from Srinagar in the South⁴. It is the most unusual of all the Mughal gardens. Verinag is a deep pool of icy water. It abounds in hords of fish.⁵ This spring had a historical background and was held by the Hindus as a sacred place of worship. Emperor Jahangir twice visited this place while his father was in the valley⁶ and twice during his own reign. The first visit was paid in 1029 A.H./1622 A.D. and second was paid in 1036/1627 A.D. This spring was considered fathomless, but Jehangir got it measured and was not more than 4 yards.⁷

1. Tuzk p 314, 309, 313, 305

2. Tuzk p 313 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, pp 141-2 (iii) Maasiri Jahangiri P 137 (iv) Furguson J.i., Kashmir, pp 128-31

3. Modern Jehlum. In Sanskrit and Persian chronicles it is mentioned as Behat.

4. Tuzk 298, wrongly puts the distance 20 kos

5. Tuzk 298

6. Tuzk p 44-5

7. Ibid Author of Jahangir Nama, p 156 states the depth 14 yards and the circumference 42 yards (iii) Elliot, H.M. Memoirs of Jahangir, p 56

During the time of Akbar, prince Salim ordered the construction of a palace on the banks of this spring. After his accession the spring was studded with hewn stones in octangular shape with a canal passing through the garden¹. A beautiful canal and a garden were constructed on the spring under the supervision of Malik Haidar Chandoora.² The breadth of the canal was 4 yards and length equal to that of the garden which was 186 yards and with a depth of two yards³. Various varieties

There are two inscriptions on the walls. One is on the wall opposite to the entrance and the other is on a side wall which give us the date of completion of the embarkment of the spring and the other provides us information about the completion of the canal and the dates are obtainable from the choonograms inscribed on the stone slabs. The contention of J.J. Modi (TRAS) Bombay, 1918, about the construction of the embarkment of the spring and the account about the canal seems to be confused. As a matter of fact Jahangir, while he was with his father visited the spring ordered the embarkment and the fixing of the same and in his 15 R.y he entered the garden and then ordered the architect Historian Malik Haidar Chondoora for the beautification of the spring who got the canal constructed and a waterfall too, which was completed in 1036 A.H.

The inscriptions are

بادشاہ بہفت کتو شہنشاہ مہالت کتہ الوالمطغر نورالدین جہانگیر بادشاہ ابن اکبر شاہ مخازی تبارہم
کائنہ جلوس میں چشم فیض آئین احمد لفر خود بند۔ این عمارت حکم آنوقت صورت انجام یافت ازین
بنامہ شہید برافندک بابی محفل یافت نماز بخش قسما آباد چشم دیر تان (۱۰۲۹ ہجری)

بہ حکم شہید بادشاہ دیر شکر کرا کران فتح جلوس آب شاری و جوی
زین جوی طود لست ز جوی بہشت باد۔ زین آب تار یافت کتہ تبارہم
نماز بخش جوی آب بلفا سر وں غیب لہ چشم بہشت بیرون آمد اسد جوی

1. Tuzk pp 45-
2. Tuzk p 45 (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikhi Kashmir, jii, kumabu vol 2 p 43
BMMS f 214a
3. Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama p, 156

of flowers and beautiful chinar trees¹ were planted in the middle of the garden.² The foundation stone of the building was laid down in 1029 A.H. as inscribed on a stone slab which is fixed in the front wall of the spring. In the left side of the garden there exists another spring which was reserved for the queen, Baths were installed there.

ACHBAL BAG

Achbal is at the distance of 6 miles from Anantnag. This place is itself one of the great antiquity. Abul Fazal states that the water of this spring possess health giving properties.³ It was founded by Jahangir and called after the name of Begumabad.⁴ It lies at the foot of a mountain covered with tall Deodars. A Beautiful flowers were planted which were in blossom when Jahangir visited the place.⁵ Beautiful and tall chinar trees and populars were planted in the garden.⁶

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1. Traditionally, it is said the Chinar trees were introduced by Mughals but actually there existed big chinar trees even before annexation of Malik Haidar, (Tarikhi Kashmir BMMS f 158a)
 2. Ain Tr Jarret Vol. 2 p, 367
 3. Ain II (Jarret) p 367 (ii) Ferguson J.P., Kashmir, pp 125-6 (iii) Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir, Vol. 1 MS p, 114
 4. Tuzk p 313
 5. Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama p 156
 6. Hassan, Tarikhi Kashmir, Vol. 1 MS 117B

BAGI IRADAT KHAN

Iradat Khan, one of the Governors, shifted the capital to Sotin Botinhar near Nowapora. A beautiful and magnificent garden was laid out with grand and splendid building on the eastern side with delicate lattice work.

BAG BEHJBEHARA

Behjbehara had also a historical background and there are still remains of the old destructed temples. In the reign of Jahangir, village Bijbehara was assigned to Pervez.¹ A grand and magnificent garden was laid out by prince Pervez on the bank of the river. In 15th R.y Emperor Jahangir paid a visit and found the garden in a developed condition with decent buildings and beautiful Chinar trees with complete fencing.²

BAGI WAFI

Safapora is at a distance of 16 miles from Srinagar and was attached with the Kamraj District in the previous administration.³ While approaching Baramulla the emperor was received by the merchants of Baramulla in boats and was taken to Srinagar by the river. In this way he saw the Mansbal lake.⁴ He was so much fascinated by the lake that

1. Tuzk, p 312 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 155
wrongly written as Panjhazara

2. Tuzk, p 312 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 155

3. Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 158

4. Tuzk, p 292 (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 158

he ordered a beautiful garden may be laid out on hill side of the lake and was called after the name of Bagi Wafa.

INDUSTRIES TRADE AND COMMERCE

It is very difficult to have a detailed account of the trade, commerce and industries because the material bearing on an elaborate picture of the matter during the Mughal period is meagre. However, with the help of the scratches of references, it could be assumed that the kingdom of Kashmir was not only a beautiful valley because of the natural beauty but was a flourishing centre of trade and commerce too. ¹

EXTERNAL TRADE

One of the most flourishing industries during Mughal rule was the shawl industry².

Shawl Industry. It is one of the oldest industries of Kashmir. It is believed to have been introduced by the Persian immigrants during the reign of Sultan Qutubudin.³ The contention of Lowrence is that the industry was actually introduced by Babur, who virtually did not even conquered

1. Mehta, J. Rustom, The Handicrafts and Industrial arts of India, p 106-7

2. Ain, Tr Jarret Vol. 2 p 353 (ii) Tuzk, p 301

3. Hassan, Tarikh Kashmir, Vol. I p 131

Kashmir¹. However, it has been accepted without any controversy that at the time of Akbar's conquest it was in a flourishing condition and the fame of Kashmiri shawl had already inspired the nobles of various countries to put on the shawls on their shoulders. Akbar himself found the use of Kashmiri shawl among the nobles.² He suggested some new fashions for its use.³ Akbar installed a number of "karkhans" in the vicinity of Lahore and at the same time improved the quality of the shawls.

The shawls, as a matter of fact, were the primary article of export. However, the industry seems to have been either under imperial control or the cloth was woven on the order according to the choice of the customer.

To go into the details does not lie within the scope of this period, so it is better to assess the measures taken by Akbar and Jehangir to expand this industry.

Prior to the annexation the shawls were prepared in natural colours. Akbar introduced the system of dying the wool, which led to various qualities of shawls.

1. Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, p 375

2. Ain, II (Jarret) p, 353

3. Ibid, p 353

So far the introduction of embroidery is concerned, it too was introduced before the annexation.¹ Akbar directed the weavers to mix wool with cotton and gold thread and thus stuffs like Zardozi, Kalabatun, Kashida, Qalghi, Alcha and purzadar were prepared.²

The cost of various qualities ranged between Rs.1 to 2200 rupees. A simple cas was sold for a rupee and a half white a full size shawl of superior quality of wool cost 1500 to 2200 rupees.³ Due to the extra ordinary efforts of Akbar the industry developed at a tremendous speed and Europeans travellers, who visited Kashmir during the reign of Jehangir found it in flourishing state.⁴ During 1608 to 1611 A.D. William Hawkins found the Kashmiri shawl in common use throughout India.⁵

The shawl wool was not a local product but was purchased by the merchants from little and greater Tibet, Kashgar, Central China, Bokhara, Samarqand, and Khurasan. They pack loads were carried by the porters on their sacks and the merchant then sold it to the local merchant, who then to so many agencies connected with the industry.⁶

1. T.R. (Trans N Elias & Dani Ross, p 489

2. Ain (2) Blochmann, p 97

3. Ain, p 74-78

4. Foaster Williams, Early travels in India, p 169

5. Ibid

6. Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, p 404

Having got the coarse wool spared and the fine wool then was given to the weaver. The weaver was the proprietor and it was he who rendered loans to all the sections connected with this.¹ He employed the labourers to weave the cloth and paid their wages. In this way a sort of capitalist tendency evolved. The labour having secured some loan from his employer could not vacate or even demand the wages at an enhanced rates. It was under the grip of the employer who made huge profits on the hard labour of the employee.²

Briefly speaking the Industry filled the coffers of the state and a good number of the people were directly and indirectly attached to this.³

Silk Industry:

Silk industry like shawl industry dates back to the Sultanate period. While Mirza conquered Kashmir, he noticed countless mulberry trees. The mulberries were not

1. Chicherov, A.I. India - Economic Development in 16th-18th century, p 106

2. (i) Ibid (ii) Moorcraft, Travels (2) pp. 164-5

3. Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, p 403

taken but only silk was obtained from their leaves.¹

Akbar who was innovator of so many arts and crafts got the silk utilized in the shawls on the boarders.² Under Jehangir, it seems the industry flourished further and the silk cloth was supplied to the different quarters of the country. A brisk trade was carried on between the valley and Kashgar.³ The porters carrying on merchandise on their shoulders due to the rough and hilly nature of the roads and passes were seen traversing from Cascar, Bokhara and Ladakh.⁴ Kashmiri merchants as well as the merchants from Farrukhabad Banaras, and Bahriach had trade links with Kashmir.⁵ The seeds of the silk worm were imported from Tibet and Gilgit⁶ and then reared in the valley and silk was obtained from the cacones which was later on exported to different quarters and Lahore was one of the import centres of such trade⁷. The silk cloth was not consumed in the valley by the masses.⁸

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1. M. Haidar, Tarikhi Rashidi, Tr N.Elias, p 425
(11) II JRAS (BB) Vol. 25 1918
 2. Abul Fazal, Ain 2, pp 74, 78
 3. Foaster, Early Travels in India, p 169
 4. Ibid, p 169 (11) Moorcraft, Travels in Hindustan, p 252
 5. Naqvi Hamida Khatoon, Urban Centres & Industries in Upper India, p 215 (11) Moorcraft, Travels in Hindustan, p 252
 6. Tuzk, 301 (11) Ain II Jarret, p 353 (11) Matamad Khan, Iqbal nama, p 152
 7. Naqvi, Hamida Khatoon, Urban Centres & Industries in Upper India, p 46
 8. Tuzk, p 301

Historically, the industry flourished in Buddhist Barma in ancient times, and the Burmans for centuries past have been putting on silk garments. The silkworms were found on the hills of Burma and were domesticated by Burmans. The art of rearing and reeling of cocoons seems to have been concealed by them. Turning to China it is customary to read the silkworm having been reared in China. Through matrimonial alliances a princess disclosed the secrets and arranged secretly at the cost of her life some seeds of the silkworm and mulberry tree to Yarkand and a century and a half later, the knowledge of the seed was defused to Central Asia.¹ It presumably can be said would have reached Kashmir in 8th century A.D. when Lalita Daiya subjugated some parts of China. The seeds, as mentioned earlier were imported from Tibet and domesticated by the Kashmiri people. The mulberry tree were found in abundance and the wearing of silk and brocades started in the Mughal period when Akbar took keen interests to develop the shawl industry.² Several writers have pointed out to a small wild insect seen on the mulberry trees, and cocoons of which were collected and then sold.³

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1. Sir, George Watson, The Commercial products of India, p 993
 2. Mirza, Haidar, Tarikhi Rashidi, Tr. N. Elias, p 425
 3. Ibid, p 425

The silk weaving factories would have been of the same pattern as those of shawl weaving factories. Although, the organization of the works as in case of latter, could not have been so much developed.

In addition to these Industries, we notice all those arts and crafts which were common in the rest of the provinces of the valley. These arts and crafts can be divided into two groups. Those arts developed and organized and those in underdeveloped condition and not so much organized. The above mentioned two Industries viz shawl and silk weaving can be placed in the first category and the stone cutting, stone polishing, bottle making, window cutting, gold beating, can be placed in the second category. The existence of these arts and crafts dates back to the Sultanate period and the credit goes to those people who left their mother land in search of their safety and security in the valley from Samarkund and Bokhara while going through the history of Persia we came across the same arts and crafts as are found in the valley even now. The intelligent and keen sighted Kashmiri artists made the same more artistic and the valley was celebrated for these arts and crafts throughout the world. During the Mughal period we do not come across any new development in any of the crafts or introduction of

any new one. The book binding, book keeping and paper making were also introduced by Zainul Abidin.¹ The art of paper making was in a developed condition and paper was exported to India. The superior kind of paper was used by imperial writers and nobility. Sheikh Yaqoobi Sarfi one of the renowned scholars and nobles of Kashmir mentions the importance and properties of the paper in a letter addressed to Bad^uoni,² and sent him gifts which included this quality of paper. The art of this type of paper making as already mentioned above was introduced by Zainulabidin and he not only encouraged the artists economically but granted them jagirs and made arrangements for undergoing training in Samarkand.³ During the Mughal rule this craft also was left to rust and no attention seems to have been paid to develop this on modern lines, but still we do get clues of its existence in the valley. However, still the artists if not encouraged were not discouraged too.

The art of stone cutting and stone polishing were also the blessings of Badshah. However, we detect

1. Baharistani Shahi, BMMS f 56a

2. Baduni, Mutakhibutawarikh, p 375

3. Baharistani Shahi, BMMS f 56a (11) M.H. MS f 120a-21b

the existence of this art in the Hindu period and was in obscurity, in the early Shah Mir rule because of their religious attitude, but latter on under the influence of Zamirulabidin, it survived again and under the Mogul rule, this was again given least importance.¹

Kashmir being famous for arts and crafts and it was this aspect of Kashmir which made Kashmir as much famous. The trade of these valuable articles would have been but natural. Although we do not come across of detailed accounts of the trade and the statistical data is not available to show the actual magnitude of the trade of these handicrafts.

The raw material for shawls, silkworm, cotton, superior quality of wool, was imported from different quarters of the surrounding countries, especially from Persia, Bokhara, Samarqand, Yasin, Chitral, and India.² In addition to the above mentioned articles utilized in the Industries and the finished goods to all climates of the world, the following consumable articles were also

1. Waqiat, p 34

2. Chicherov A.I., India - Economic Development, p 106
(ii) Foaster, Early Travels in India, 169
(iii) Abul Hassan, Jahangir Nama, p 146
(iv) Pelsaert, pp 356-6

imported from Agra, Kabul and Lahore coarse and unbleached cloth, yarn for local consumption, pepper and opium, nutmeg, cloves, and mace. No doubt these articles were costly¹ and the common masses did not use them, but as may be presumed would have been imported for the nobles who either had settled in the valley or who accompanied the emperor during his imperial constant visits. Salt one of the important articles of food was imported from India and salt was one of the important articles of the trade.² The importance can be determined with this fact that salt was the unit of exchange and still the people, on the occasion of certain marriage occasions, send dishes of salt to the bride's house, as a token of love and affection.

The daily wages of the labourers were paid in terms of salt and the salt dealers made huge profits.³

Tea was imported, filled up in sacks from China via Ladakh. In the autumn months carvans laden with these bags from Lahassa and Yarkand used to leave for the valley.⁴

1. Felsaert, pp 35-6

2. Tuzk, p 300 (11) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p 159

3. Eliot, H.M. A History of India, Vol. 6, p 375
(11) Tuzk, p 315

4. Moorcraft, Vol. I, Travels, p 252

Exports:

As defined in the previous pages Kashmir was always renowned for her beautiful and artistic arts and crafts and the important one was the shawls which filled the coffers of the kingdom with wealth. ¹ These shawls were exported to all climates of the world and during this period shawls, safron and other Kashmiri goods were exported to the European countries through Ahmadabad. ² The Safron which was the special product of Kashmir would have also been an important article of trade. Some 500 maunds (Akbarshahi) were produced in pampur an adjacent village of the city and Kishtawar was another centre of the production. ³ The cost per seer was fixed at rupees 28 to 32. ⁴ The Safron of Kashtawar was considered superior to that of Pampur and fetch more price thus. ⁵

Kashmir was the land of fruits, so the fruit trade must have been an important one. So far the green fruits

1. Bernier, Travels in Mogul Empire, pp 402-4

2. Maasirulumara, p 75

3. Pelseart, p 35-6 (11) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, pp 158-9

4. Pelseart, p 36 Jahangir says the cost of 1 ser was fixed at rupees 10. Tuzk, p 325

5. T.J. 296

are concerned the trade was mostly internal and imports were not on a large scale. Those who possessed orchards and those who did not were all alike.¹ The nuts which were cultivated in good quantity were utilized both inside and outside the state and exported to Agra.² The people of Kashmir did not use any kind of fat but the oil of the kernels of the nut, and as such the major portion would have been consumed by the people.³ Silks, boats, woolen stuffs, dried raisins, saffron, walnuts, shawls, paper fresh fruits, timber and horses were exported to Lahore and thence to different quarters of Hindustan.⁴ Some of the articles were purchased from Ladakh, Gilgit, Cashgar, Yasin, China and then were exported to other quarters via Lahore and thus the articles of this type like opium, and silks were of great benefit to the traders and as well as to the common masses. Kashmir, thus had turned a centre of trade and during the period under review, was touching the climax, because of the liberal and helpful attitude and policy of Jahangir. He abolished the most oppressive tax on trade known as Rasoomi Foujdari, in 1621 A.D.⁵ This

1. T.R. p 425

2. Pelsaert, p 25

3. Tuzk, p 300

4. Naqvi, Hamida Khatoon, Urban Centres & Industries in Upper India, p 46

5. Glawdin, History of Jahangir, p 100

tax was realized from the merchants on various post and it should have been affecting the free trade. By abolishing this tax on one hand and the political stability of the empire on the other would have been of great benefit and helpful for the internal and external trade of the kingdom. The avenues for the merchants in the neighbouring provinces were open for them and due to these facts Bernier notices the flourishing trade conditions in the state. ¹

Although we do not come across markets organized properly but at the same time observe highest labour organization prevalent in the shawl making trade, and in the 19th century the same in the shawl weaving industry in Kashmir there emerged enterprises which possessed a number of important features typical of capitalist manufacturers. ²

During this period Srinagar was equally important and could easily compete with Lahore, so far the brisk nature of trade is concerned. ³ To facilitate the traders rest houses were constructed on the roads leading to Kashmir ⁴ and the roads were levelled and police stations and inns were constructed on various spots. ⁵ It may not

1. Bernier, pp 402-4

2. Gaukovsky & Semyouova N.I., Soviet Hestoriography, pp 65-67

3. Chicher-ova, I. India Economic Development, 16-18th century, pp 134-5

4. M.I. BMMSS ff 230a-b, 221, 22 (11) Tuzk, p 396

5. (1) Ibi1, f 230b (11) Tuzk pp 316, 317

be out of place to mention that the rest houses and improvement in the roads was mainly for the Royal train which passed annually on these roads, but at the same time were not restricted for the masses. The roads which were not able for porters were now fit for half loaded asses and horses. ¹

The fruits, as mentioned above, were mostly consumed locally but export was not totally neglected. The grapes of Kashmir which were famous and only had Kabul grapes in their parallel, because of the efforts of Akbar and Jahangir, were exported and wine was also distilled from them, which was exported to India. ²

The interest in upper India centres very large in the wine yards of Kashmir; in the time of Akbars' reign, as already mentioned while discussing agrarian products, wine distillation was a common industry and held then much more important place than at present day when the horticulture is in a developed state.

The production of honey and the information about the export of the same has not been so far dealt with; we do not get any clue if the same was included in the external trade.

1. M.H., BMMSS, ff 221, 2.

2. Sir George Watt, Commercial Products of India, pp 1112-1114

The famous and beautiful birds dwelling in the beautiful valley were also equally loved for their delicious taste and beautiful plumes. The coloured feathers of okar were exported and the mention of such feathers is found in Trade reports of Madras¹ too. Every year some three thousand such fowls were killed and the feathers exported for the utilization of the umara and the Europeans.² Reports about the export of timber and boats to Lahore are also available, as the art of boatmaking was found in ancient times and Zainulabidin introduced Gujrat type of boats. The boatmen of Kashgar were found traversing in the River Jhelum and it can be presumed the boats of Kashmir would have been exported to the Punjab also.³

The Kashmiri bred horses which prior to the annexation were of little value, but of immense use in the hills were improved by importing Iraqi horses and then exported which brought 1000 to 15000 rupees per horse.⁴ The cost of the local horse known as barkowt did not exceed to Rs. 300/-.

1. Sir, George Watt; The Commercial Products of India, p, 1140

2. Tuzk, p 315

3. Naqvi, Hamid Khatoon, Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, p 46

4. (i) Tuzk 301 (ii) Naqvi, Hamida Khatoon, p 46
(iii) Foaster, Travels, p 104

Carpets which were of immense value were also exported and the carpet spreadover the floor of the palace of ruler of Golconda was of Kashmir, and some samples of carpets can be found in state Historical Museum of U.S.S.R. dating back to 17th century. ¹ It is obvious that trade links were with such far flung areas and the trade of woollen articles was with Russia existing during the Mughal period.

Trade Routes:

Some 36 trade routes were leading to the happy and beautiful valley and connecting the same with central Asia, Persia, Hindustan and China. ² Six of them were most important and were almost open throughout the year. Being surrounded on all sides by tall and unsurmountable mountains made it difficult to have easy access to the valley. So, the importance of passes and tracks leading outside the valley, was noticed since the earliest times. The passes were well garrisoned to ensure safety of the merchants. ³

1. Mehta, J. Rustom, The Handicrafts & Industrial arts of India, p 146

2. Ain 2 tr Jarret, p 351

3. Ain 2 Jarret, p 370, (ii) Tuzk, p 317

But most of the people of the valley were not familiar with all those roads except a few important ones. The following were some of the important routes followed during the Mughal rule.

(1) Muzzafarabad route.

This road goes upto Muzzafarabad along the left side of the River Jhelum and thence to Pakhli Rawalpindi and Peshawar. This was the comfortable and the shortest of all the routes and was generally followed by the Chagtai Kings. The important stops on this route were Srinagar, Pattan, Baramulla, Shahdari, Kutai, Khanda, Hatina, Muzzafarabad, Guddi, Abbotabad, Margalsee, Kohmarce, Rawalpindi. The length of the road was approximately 238 miles.²

(2) Mughal Road or Shupian Road.

This road was shortest and the imperial architect, engineer and Historian Malik Haidar Chadoora was provided a sum of rupees 8000 to level the shortest and the most comfortable road, so that the emperor could easily witness beauty of the spring of Kashmir, as the rest of the roads were mostly under snow during the early months of spring

1. Hassan, Vol. I MS pp 76a-b. (11) Ain 2 Jarret, p 351

2. Hassan, MSS I p, 76

season¹. He was fully acquainted with the geography of Kashmir pointed out this road and the emperor Jahangir raised the Mansab of Nooruddin Quli Isfahani to 1500 and under the guidance of two brothers of the Malik left for the construction of this road. It took the road engineers two months to level and construction of bridges etc. The road was ready when the imperial carriage passed the same in the 15th Regnel year 1619 A.D. ¹ The important stops of the road were Srinagar, Khampora, Shopian, Hirapora, Aliabad, Poshna, Bahramgalla, Thatha, Rajouri, Chingas, Nowshehra, Sayyidabad, Bhimber Kotli and Gujrat.

(3) The Third route was the Fir Banchal road and was the shortest but most difficult road. It was not so much followed because of the slopy nature. The important stop were Srinagar, Quazigund, Banihal and thence turned towards Kashtawar. An important garrison was always stationed at Banihal.³ Kashtawar being the land of distressed princes and nobles was a constant threat to the kingdom so the strategical importance of this route would have been always kept in view.

1. MH BMMS ff 221, 2 (2) Abul Hassan, p 143

2. M.H. BMMS, p 222

3. Ain Tr Jarret, p 370

(4) The Northern areas of the state were interlinked with small routes and the provinces of little Tibet, Gilgit and Kashgar, central Asia and China were connected with the Zojila pass route. Being mostly a hilly road utilized by labourers only, and the possibility of employing mules was dangerous. The merchandise was carried on the shoulders by the men who were employed by the merchants.¹ The road leads through the defile of Lar and the important stops were Srinagar, Lar, Sonnamarg, Zojila, V.Kargil and Leh thence it lead to the Central Asia. Being the centre of trade and commerce, made the route most commercial one and the traffic never subsidized.

The internal roads were also widened and bridges were constructed on the ~~important place~~. The important posts and halting places developed into the towns and the people of such towns were mostly dependant on trade and commerce. Baramulla Sopore, Shopian, Bahrangalla, Hirapora, Rajouri, Bhimber and Kargil like towns flourished.³

1. (i) Moorcraft, Trabels in Hindustan, pp 164-6
(ii) Foaster, Early travels in India, p 169

2. M. H. BMMS f 230

3. Tuzk, p 294 , ii, Pelsaert, Travels p 33

Internal Trade:

Having discussed the extent of the external trade, it can be presumed that the internal trade would have been more flourishing. The internal trade could be divided into two groups. The trade of foodgrain articles and the trade of other articles.

Kashmir, a kingdom of villages with a few urbanized centres, it so seems desirable to take the villages into the consideration first. The villages received little from those urbanized areas but itself provided more for these centres. The villagers being producers of grain engaged themselves in agricultural land and thus making efforts to increase the productivity of the land in order to enhance the output which increased their own purchasing power. So far the production of cash crops is concerned, Kashmiri peasant was least interested. Grain, wood, and grass were the important articles which the land owner carried on with the city. We notice thousands of boats laid up with the grass, wood and grain meant for the city of Srinagar.¹ Some 5,700 boats meant for this purpose.²

1. Tuzk, p 259

2. Tuzk, p 299 Ain gives the number of boats 30,000 while Jahangir says that there were only 7500 boats in all the villages and the city of Srinagar (ii) Abul Hassan, p 142

The merchants of the cities had overwhelming influence on the administration and in the reign of Aurangzeb the land was parcelled out to the highest bidders who were mainly the merchants of Srinagar. Such a system was called Ijara and the recipients were called Ijaradars.¹ They derived out the maximum and did not care for the common man. The village being a self supporting unit seems to have been dominated by the one class or cast of people as in the rest of Northern India.² We even at present, when the village had seized to be dominated by one group or cast, detect certain subcasts having overwhelming majority in the villages and it can be presumed that the people of one group or cast did not permit the other groups to settle in their villages. Every village was under the influence of a Muqadam who presumably would have been a Zamindar who was the dominating features, of the Mughal period in the village controlling the entire economic and social environment.³ The other products other than agrarian, like cloth, made

1. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p 286, FN

2. Prof. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p 118

3. S.N. Hassan, A Political Study, Zamindars under the Mughals.

from the wool of local sheep was always supplied by the villagers and in return they received the salt, and other such commodities from the merchants of urban markets. ¹ The blankets of Zainagore area were most durable and were liked throughout the valley. ² Different areas specialized in various arts and the trade of those articles was brisk in those areas.

Urban Trade

The trade external or internal, rural or urban are all interdependent. If the external trade is flourishing the internal would be in the same condition, and the local trade links between the rural and urban areas equally flourish. So, it is obvious, while the foreign trade and the rural trade was in good state of affairs, the urban trade would have been much more flourishing. Basically the urban centres are wholly and solely dependent on the foreign and rural trade and on the purchasing and consuming power of the local people. The records are available which provide us with a picture of the markets and the condition of the urban people. The people were mostly engaged in production of shawls,

1. S.W. Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, p 402

2. Hassan, Vol. 1 MS p 164-6

silks, paper, carpets, bottles, stones of precious nature and in other arts and crafts. Highly organized, bearing the capitalist imprints, labour organizations were developed. ¹ The Kharkhandars advanced loans to the workers and they in return sold their labour, but according to the wishes of the lonee. ² Besides, the city of Srinagar, there were numerous beautiful towns existing in the country, and all of them were in flourishing condition. ³ The newly founded city was hygienically constructed but the old city was congested and the market places were not either decorated. ⁴ The bazar system was little in use but brisk traffic was carried on at their own places. ⁵ The boatmen and the carpenters were deriving a thriving trade. ⁶ The streets were made of hewn stones and civic duties were entrusted to Kotwal. ⁷ The ancient conception of trade based on barter system was still prevalent in the valley. ⁸ The revenue too was collected partially in

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1. Chicherov A.I., India: Economic Development 17-18th Century, p 159
 2. Chicherov A.I., India: Economic Development, p 159
 3. Pelsaert, p 33
 4. Ibid
 5. Ain 2 tr (Jarret) pp 353-4
 6. Ibid
 7. Ain, 2 p 226
 8. Tuzk, p 301

kind and partially in cash. ¹ The grain was measured as an ass load and every ass load (Kharwar) was equivalent to 3 maunds and 8 seers of the Akbarshahi measurement. ² The weight of 4 Kham rupee was considered to 1 pal, 30 pals equal to 108 tollas or equal to 1 manawat; 4 Manawat = 1 trak 16 traks were equal to 1 Kharwar. ³ The prices were low and 29 dams were the estimated cost of 1 kharwar of rice. ⁴

There were many types of currencies in vogue in the valley. ⁵ The currency of the Sultans which was purely of Copper and some of them were copper and silver was known as Kham rupee. The Akbarshahi currency or Mughal currency was also in circulation. In Kashtawar a typical currency was in circulation which was called Shahea; 1½ equal to 1 rupee or 5 shahees equal to 1 Imperial Mohar. ⁶

The urban Trade and Commerce would have been affected by the influx of the Tourists also. The constant visits of the emperors provided the merchants new avenues because the imperial train was accompanied by hundreds and thousands of nobles and their attendants. The nobles themselves

1. Tuzk, *ibid* p 301

2. *Itid*

3. S.W. Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p 243 (ii) Tuzk, 301 (iii) *Ain 2 Tr Jarret*, 366

4. *Ain*, 2 tr *Ja rret* 366

5. Abul Hassan, *Jahangirnama*, 139 (ii) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p 243

6. Abul Hassan, *Jahangirnama*, p 139, (ii) Tuzk pp 296-7

were having hundreds of servants and personal assistants. Bernier a French Doctor, who accompanied Aurangzeb while visiting Kashmir found some 30,000 labourers were employed to carry the luggage from Bhimber. ¹ The predecessors of Aurangzeb were much more luxurious and enjoying the beauty of the valley would have much more luggage and personal staff along with them. Akbar who visited Kashmir three times and Jahangir who paid 6 visits of 5 months average duration, can be presumed, would have almost turned the city the summer capital, especially from 1622 to 1627. The extent of the staff, which would have been with the imperial train, can be imagined from the single fact, quoted by the architect historian Malik Haidar Chaudora, that he was deputed by the emperor to collect and store fodder and grain for the imperial stable and staff in advance before 4 months². Some 10,000 maunds of grain were stored in Pakhli alone.³ It has rightly been noted down by Pelsaert that certain articles like cloves, opium, pepper and nutmeg were imported for the imperial staff and nobles only.⁴ The Irani and Turani nobles would have preferred the valley because of the favourable climatic condition

1. Bernier, Travels in Hindustan, p 425

2. M. H. BMMS f 230

3. M.H. BMMS f 230a

4. Pelsaert, p. 34-6

and settled in the valley. The natives of Persia and Turkistan also were constantly puring in the valley and we come across so many families who ^{settled in the valley} were alien by birth.¹ The abolition of the extra cesses, the uniform nature of administration, the easy access to the plains, development of roads, security measures on the passes, construction of rest houses on the important and crucial places, and political stability which was lacking since the very beginning of Chak rule, may naturally have enhanced the trade facilities.

It was a basic contention of the people of Kashmir that entire land was the property of the king and as such it must have been his discretion to whom he delegated his powers so that the authorities, thus may as the agents of the Zilli-Illahi,² collect revenue and carry administration on his behalf.

Soon after the annexation during the first visit the emperor passed orders for the reassessment of land revenue and bring it on the line with the revenue system of the rest of India.³ S. Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli Khujgi Mohd Hussain were sent to scrutinize the upper division of the valley and Shamsuddin and Kunwar Man Singh

1. Ain II Jarret p 385 (11) Waqiat Mohd Azam, pp 123-37

2. Moorcraft, Travels 2 pp 124-5

3. A. Nama 2(2) Brev. p 830

to examine the lower part, Kamraj. ¹ Certain flaws and fluctuations were detected and the new system was immediately effected. ² As previously in the beginning of this chapter, it has been pointed out that the unit of assessment was village and by an agreement of the Diwan 1/3 was paid as revenue. ³ The entire land was attached to the Khalisa and the nobles thus deprived of their fiscal rights. ⁴ It can be presumed would have served double purpose for the emperor. Being the holders of land, the nobles did not think it necessary to co-operate with the emperor and there was every apprehension of their unity and revolt against the Moguls. The nobles, thus deprived them of their strongholds and were turned landless and resulted their bankruptcy, which ultimately brought them to the knees. Secondly, the Iranis and Turanis were given Jagirs in the valley to develop a favourable atmosphere and a counterweight against the local nobility. The Rajputs were also provided Jagirs and the same process was even continued by Jahangir. ⁵ The system of attaching the whole of the suba to the Khalisa was exclusively for

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

3. A. Nama, (iii) (Brev, pp 830-1

4. Ibid (ii) Bāzai, History of Kashmir, p 359

5. Tuzk, pp 312, 297, 301, 313

this province and this enabled the emperor Jahangir like his father to deal with the peasants without any intermediary Zamindars or Jagirdars, who very often instigated the masses to raise against the rulers. To minimise its importance the entire suba was attached to Kabul as a Sarkar.¹ It also can be presumed on the basis of activities of Akbar, after the death of Abdullah Khan Uzbek to make Kabul strong enough, so that in near future may be utilized as a forward line and at the same time the 2nd view that the kingdom of Kashmir being in the hands of weak rulers there was every apprehension of an uzbek attack through little and greater Tibet, which ultimately would endanger the Mughal empire. It gains ground when Akbar deputed two missions under Baba Talib Isfahani and Mulla Qadīr in his 32nd R.y when he was in Kashmir for the first time² to the Raja of Tibet in order to get the acknowledgement of his suzerainty. Paucity of matter and the time and the limited scope of the dissertation does not allow to go in deeper details, so it can be only an open question for further research.

ASSIGNMENT OF JAGIRS

The Jagirdari system which was the backbone of Mansabdari system. But it was not encouraged in the valley under Akbar. Jahangir did not reverse the imperial

1. Ain 2 Jarret, p 367

2. A.Nama 3(2) Brev p, 805

policy so far the 4 sarkars of the valley and the valley were concerned was directly controlled from the centre through a governor or Sahib-i-suba. The Jagirs assigned to the chief nobles and the princes of Royal blood were in token of their service and not for the purpose of revenue derivations for the maintenance of the troops. The soldiers were all employed by the central government and all of them were given cash payment.¹ As it has been a noteworthy characteristics of the Mughals that the social religious and economic institutions of the people were not changed altogether. The Mughals believed in traditions so that the peoples' wills is not being injured. The only field which underwent drastic changes after annexation was the revenue system. The rest of the institution were allowed to function throughout our period as those have been earlier. Jahangir practically detached Kashmir from Kabul and thus it emerged as a separate province under the direct control of the emperor.² The suba under, Jahangir and onwards was comprised of 5 sarkars namely Kashmir, Pakhli, Tibet, Rajour, Kashtawar.³

1. Kriparam, Gulzari Kashmir, p 198

2. P. Saran, Provincial AdthGovt. of the Mughals, p 65

3. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal India, p 457

However, the sarkar Pakhli, little Tibet, and Rajour and Kashtawar were assigned to the local Jagirdars as wattan Jagir, and they used to pay tribute on the eve of imperial visits in shape of Peshkash. ¹ Kashtawar was assigned to Dilawar Khan as Inam Jagir for one year, ² and later on handed over to Raja who was released from the Gawalior fort, ³ the Paragana of Jamoo was assigned to Raja Sangram ⁴. Rajouri was assigned to a local chieftain ⁵. Malik Haidar Chavdoora, the Historian architect, was also given a mansab and Zamindari rights ⁶. These examples show, in order to counterweight and to creat a new nobility which could be attached to the emperor and favour him, was created in due course of time. The assigners were the ruling Rajas as they were termed and some nobles like Maliks of Chavdoora. The Chaks were executed and a ruthless policy was followed by Iradat Khan and even his predecessors did not leave the Chaks, who were a constant threat to the kingdom. ⁷ Those who

1. Tuzk, pp 347, 302, 290

2. Tuzk, p 297

3. Tuzk, p 347

4. Tuzk, p 304

5. Tuzk, p 317

6. Tuzk, p 230 (ii) Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, p 125, (iii) Baharistani f 212a

7. Mohd Azam Waqiat, pp 123-4

were reconciliated were given petty mansabs outside the suba and Akbar, politically draged all of them out of the valley and Haidar Chak son of Yaqoob who was in Kashtawar was also given a jagir out side the valley and thus cleared the field for the smooth rule.¹ Pervez was given Bijbehara as a jagir², the village Ich was assigned to Ramdas Kuchwaha by Akbar and Jahangir assigned the same to the sons of Khani Jehan³. The spring of Machi Bhawan with some villages (modern Mattan) was assigned to the same person⁴. It is evident from the records that the assignees were administering their jagirs according to their own choice and the Khalsa lands were under the imperial control. The administration of the Khalisa lands was in line with the rest of India. The total revenue of the kingdom was estimated at 74670000 dams.⁵ Half of the revenue was realized in cash and the other half in kind.⁶ However, the other cesses were realized in cash.⁷ The

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1. A.Nama, Brev 3(2) pp 801-2 (11) M.H. BMMS f 182a
 2. Tuzk, p 312, (wrongly written as Panjihazari in the text
 3. Tuzk, p 313 (11) Dr. Rahim's article says was assigned to Khan-i-Jehan himself PHS p, 213, which is incorrect
 4. Ibid
 5. Tuzk, 299
 6. Ain Tr. Jarret, p 366
 7. Ain 2, Jarret, p 366

whole of the valley was divided into two halves, the upper division Maraz was estimated at 1792819 Kharwars of paddy, and 11670551 kharwars 12 trak out of total was paid in kind and the revenue of city was 342694 kharwar - 12 traks in cash 1698 kharwars to traks were paid in kind and kamraz at 2541135 kharwars. The revenue of Kashtawar was approximately one lack of rupees which was given to governor as Inam and then assigned to the Zamindar of Kashtawar as watanjagir. The chief revenue officer in the sarkar was amalguzar or amil. He was assisted by a number of officials of which Betikchi was most important.² The governor of the suba was called Sahibisuba.³ It cannot be categorically said if the revenue officials were the natives from the Mughal nobility. However, the higher officials were from India during the reign of Akbar.⁴ The suba was divided into parganas and parganas into Mahals and veried number of villages were attached to the Mahals. The village was the basic unit of

1. Tuzk, 299 (11) Ain 2 Jarret, p 368

2. Ain 2 pp 228, 230

3. P. Saran, Provincial Govt. of the Mughals, p 170
(ii) Tuzk p 149, 311 and sometimes Jahangir denotes them as Hakim, p 149

4. Firishta, 375

assessment and the collection of revenues would have been through Muqadamas and then transported to the imperial godowns.

Endowments:

As a matter of fact, Mughals were great patrons of men of spiritual nature and learning. They assigned Madadimash Jagirs to such persons and the auspices of great saints were also endowed with lands for the maintenance of such Khanqahas and for their maintenance *of the way*. The organization of such shrines was to some extent like that of a monastery. ¹ The abbot of the shrine was all powerful and it was his sole duty to maintain the Lungar (free kitchen). The land grants assigned to such shrines during the Sultanate were kept in tact and very often additional land was assigned to such establishments. ² Such land grants were termed madadi-Maash (*مرداشت*) grants for the maintenance of mosques and providing food and clothing to the poor. Preachers also received land grants lavishly. ³ Keeping in view the climatic conditions and the economic

1. Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, 289

2. M.H. BMMS, 115

3. Tuzk 345 (ii) Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, pp 135-6

position of the masses, hammams were constructed along with the mosques to provide the people with hot water. ¹ Baba Talib Isfahani was made in-charge of such establishments and a land grant of a village of 3,000 to 5,000 annual revenue was assigned to him for this purpose. ² The administration of such Jagirs seems to have been entirely under the control of the concerned persons.

Conclusively, the kingdom of Kashmir received a uniform system of administration and consistency in peace led to the increase of the trade and commerce. The land revenue settlement, greatly pacified the peasants and drew them out of confusion and the agriculture flourished and prosperity ensured.

1. Tuzk, 345

2. Ibid, 345

CHAPTER - IV ASOCIAL CONDITIONS:

In the first Chapter some light has been thrown on the the Medieval society of Kashmir. As a matter of fact, we cannot divide the society in water-tight compartments. It is something like a complex whole which evolves through the generations and some changes can be detected after a pretty long time at a particular stage. Kashmir a land of beauty and at the sometime an isolated part of the world was ruled over by Hindu Rajas and ~~accidentally~~ ^{gradually} the Hindu rule which was under eclipse died down and Sultanate or Muslim Rule was established in 1339 A.D. By round about a century, the majority of the masses accepted Islam. The missionaries who came in hordes were from central Asian countries and as such the masses came under the direct influence of the Persians, Turkish, Afgans and later by the Iranians, Turanis and the Mughals. They not only accepted the idiology but even adopted the other ways of life.

We can divide the society of the period under discussion into two parts; the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class included the royalty, nobility, the Jagirdar and the Zamindar who exploited the common man - the peasant and the worker and divided among themselves the benefits derived out of the land. Broadly accepting the presumption of Professor S. Nurul Hasan, the parties in the process of economic exploitation, were the rulers and the exploited the ruled.¹ So, we can

1. S.N. Hassan , Zamindars under the Mughals; a political study.

put the Emperor, his princes, nobles, local Chieftains and the officials of higher level on one side and the rest the producers, the artisans the labourers on the other side. A marginal change which we notice which took place after the annexation was that of the change of actors on the stage but no change in the stage or in audience. The Emperor and his agents took the place of the Sultan and the officials, according to the terms of treaty concluded by the discontented intelligentsia with Akbar, were changed and may I say imported from India.¹ This change, in future affected the social set up to some extent and with the introduction of new arts and styles there occurred some social changes too. But the changes were negligible.

The Emperor who was the Zilli Ilahi and was then on the top of the upper strata of society, and he was represented by the Governor called Nasim.² He was the highest official of the suba and life and property of the masses were in his hands. He behaved like an autocrat, but he was not the last person. He was entitled to imprison any person, but could not take his life. During the period of 22 years 6 Governors were appointed. The imperial authority, which was keenly interested in the affairs of the state gave the Zamindari rights to one of the nobles who was serving his old master Yusuf Shah Chak in exile.³

1. A. Nama, (Brev) Vol. 3 (2) p. 857.

2. Sometimes he was called Hâkim or Sahibi Suba too.

3. Baharistani Shahi BMS f 211a-2b.

The two-fold purpose of this seems to be the introduction of local element in the state administration which was banned under the terms of treaty concluded with the leading nobles of sunni faith.¹ The forward policy or the aggressive policy was already changing and yielding place to new, so that the local element may creep in, in order to strengthen the hands of the Emperor; secondly, to reward the Malik for his human service while the husband of Nurjehan, Sher Afgan, was killed in Bihar.² This inclusion of local nobility was on one hand to cooperate with the Mughal Governors and on the other to neutralize the old Chak nobility which was still trying to raise the hand and their stronghold was the Southern Part of the Kingdom. It cannot be also rejected that the anti-Shia elements in the state were active and the Governors like Ahmad Beg Khan too were siding the Sunni sect and to harmonize and at the same time to protect the second oppressed section of the subjects.³

The results of this policy were to some extent in accordance with the above mentioned presumptions. But it had some adverse effects too. The overwhelming power which was delegated to Malik Haider Chandoora, made him the policy-maker of the state of Kashmir. It was his discretion to allow the Governor to follow a certain policy. The importance and his influence can be felt in his own statement regarding the failure of the promises of Dilawar Khan of the Kashtwar subjugation compelled the Governo

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1. A.N. 3(2) Brew. pp. 807-9.
 2. M.H. EMMS f 210a.
 3. Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 133-4.

to seek the help of the Malik, who was considered to be an enemy so far.¹

Prior to this incident the then Governor, Ahmad Beg Khan, also suspected the Malik poisoning the ears of the Emperor, although the historian refuses the charges, was removed from the chair.² Malik Haider was not the only person who was patronised by the Emperor, but Ali Malik and another brother of the historian architect were picked up and given mansabs, although of a lower rank and was raised upto 1622 when Itaqad Khan assumed the charge of Governor.³ This divided the entire nobility into three groups. The foreign nobility and the local groups; Sunni and Shia. This resulted in Shia-Sunni conflict which will be discussed in subsequent pages.

The Governor was the main authority to see if the laws and regulations were properly implemented. The expedition to different parts of the newly annexed Kingdom who were reluctant to come to the terms were launched from the capital of Kashmir under the command of the Governors and the appointments of Governors were made subject to the conquest of these refractory chiefs.⁴ Although the Sahibani Suba were having a free hand in the affairs of the Suba still the Emperor always kept

1. M.H. BMS p. 217-8a

2. M.H. BMS f 215a.

3. Baharistani Shahi, (ii) Malik Haider f 230 a.

4. Tusk p. 225 (ii) M.H. BMS f 215a.

an eye on their activities and if there was any complaint against him was removed without any warning as in the case of Iradat Khan, and Ahmad Beg Khan.¹ The position of the Governors was not exactly, as put forward by certain modern historians.² No doubt they wielded enough power, but they were reprimanded too. The aristocratic attitude of the bureaucracy of Medieval India and the complete isolation of the Kingdom during winter gave the Governors a free hand and their behaviour sometimes was not intune with the imperial policy. It cannot be denied that Itaqad Khan like Governors compelled the peasants to cut their fruit gardens because of oppressive taxes and over interference with the private affairs of the common man.³ But can we attribute this to the imperial policy? were the Mughals discriminating Kashmir? However, the Moghal nobility was deadly against the people of Valley and they always used words like ~~...~~ for the people.⁴ The most celebrated and open hearted historian Abul Fazi could not but score the people of the Valley, and compared them with the Kumboo and the Afgans.

The Nobility:

Soon after the annexation Emperor Akbar paid a visit and immediate steps were taken to consolidate the territory. He, on the spot passed orders for the attachment of the land to Khalisa, the local nobility.

1. Tuzk p. 347.
2. Dr. R.K. Parmar, p. 403-4.
3. Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 125.
4. A. Nama. (ii) Khafi Khan I, p. 303.
Ain II Jarret.

Thus deprived of their property. The direct influence of this action was their economical depression which ultimately led them to come to the terms with the Emperor Akbar, who assigned them Jagirs but outside the Kingdom of Kashmir.¹ The Emperor Jahangir, who appointed three Governors only on the terms to subdue the territory of Kashtawar. The rationale behind this conquest was not the extension of the territory only, but actually to deprive the Chaks of their strong-hold and place of shelter who launched their attacks on the Valley from those quarters. Thus after the annexation of this territory, Haider S/O Yaqoob even deemed it suitable to surrender and this was the last attempt of the Emperor to reduce the Chaks to obscurity and final blow was given by Itaqad Khan.² He ordered to kill at sight the Chaks and thus the main threat to the Kingdom was once for all settled. The other nobles who had mainly instigated the Emperor Akbar to annex Kashmir were favourites. But after the accession of Jahangir, his eye fell on the Malik of Chandora. Queen Nurjehan sent for these Malik who at that time were in Bihar and rewarded them and got sanctioned the Zamindari rights in their favour.³ The other notable nobles had also direct access to the Emperor and some of them were of foreign birth like Baba Talib Asfahani, Nuruddin Quli, local Chieftains like Sultan Hussain, Raja Kunwar Singh, the Raja of Jamoo and the Raja of Rajouri, the ruler of Tibet were assigned their own territories as Water Jagirs.

1. Baharistani Shahi BMS f 195a.b.

2. Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 125.

3. M.H. BMS f 212a, 214.

As a matter of fact the nobles during the rule of 35 years had become economically well off and the Malik of Chandora was able to bear the whole cost of the construction of Jamia Mosque.¹ Earlier it was his father who constructed the monastery of Shamsuddin Iraqi at Zadibal, which was demolished in a Shia-Sunni conflict.² The nobles as a whole led a splendid life and had lofty buildings but never refrained themselves from conspiracy against each other.³ They even approached the Emperor and try to poison his ears too.⁴ The Governors sometimes made a common cause with the nobles in order to strengthen their position. The inter-marriages of the nobles and friendly relations among the various groups were also prevalent. These nobles played a vital role in annexing the territories of the refractory chiefs who had not acknowledged the sovereignty of the Moghuls.⁵ This class was actually the privileged class and shared the fruits of the soil and sucked the blood of the masses.

Next to the nobles was the class of religious preachers, theologians and mujawirs of important monasteries. They had a stronghold on the masses and commended the faithful. Keeping in view their importance the Emperor Akbar and Jahangir patronised them and the posts of Quasi, Mir Adal, and Mufti were held by this class of people.⁶ Sometimes both

1. M.H. f 213.

2. M.H. f 213b. (ii) Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, 124.

3. M.H. BMMS ff 224a, b, 226.

4. M.H. f 224b, (ii) Waqiat, p. 124.

5. M.H. f 217 (ii) Baharistani Shahi 212 (iii) Waqiat, pp. 124-5.

6. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, p. 134.

the posts of Mir Adal and Quasi were held by the same person.¹ They were highly respected people in the Valley and very often were consulted by the Governor and due help was sought in case of any necessity. Some important posts like Mir Bahri were assigned to this class of people as in case of Mulla Mashari.² Some of these accompanied the Emperor even and were famous calligraphists and even confirmed court poets like Mulla Mir Hassan, Mulla Mohd. Zarin Kalam.³ All of them were men of letters and had extensively toured central Asian countries, Mecca and even some visited Indian centres of culture and civilisation.⁴

This class of people was, in a broader sense a liaison between the bureaucracy and the masses.

The Bureaucracy:

Below this section was the bureaucrats. Some of the higher officials were appointed amongst the above mentioned groups. The officials of lower rank were from the other section of people.

The Masses:

The people other than mentioned above can be placed in this section of society. The peasants, the artisans, the labourers of industries and agriculture and others.

1. Ibid. (ii) Tuzk, p. 306.
2. Ibid. 136.
3. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, 137.
4. Ibid, pp. 134-139, (ii) Tuzk, p. 44.

As a matter of fact, the nobility merely changed so far the names are concerned but primary changes did not take place in that class. No doubt there occurred some changes so far the dresses, the customs, rites and other things are concerned, but their thinking and attitude towards the common man mostly depended upon the temperament and attitude of the Emperor. But marginal changes could and had taken place in the economic condition of the masses which transform them and new social set-up gives birth.

During this brief period under review, it can be presumed, on the ground of economic development as described in the previous Chapter, the lot of the common man underwent some considerable change, which some chroniclers of the Mughal period ^{particularly} positively of the periods of Shahjehan and Aurangzeb felt.¹ Fortunately, there were no natural calamities during the reign of Jehangir. There were no famines and frequent outbreak of epidemics and conditions for prosperity were favourable. The one-time incidence of epidemic was mostly felt in the city and the villages to a great extent remained immune.² This epidemic claimed a good number of people and it was followed by a fire in the same quarter of the city where the epidemic was more severe and some three thousand houses were devastated by the fire.³ But during the rest part of the reign peace prevailed and it was free from natural calamities. To redress the miseries of the people, the Emperor asked his agents to come forward and help the people.

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1. Shahjehan Nama, Salih, p. 27.
 2. Tuzk, p. 220.
 3. Ibid. 220.

The agriculture of India is a bargain against the monsoons and the same is the case with Kashmir. The early snowfalls or the untimely rains in the sowing season very often put the peasants to trouble and so the prospects of the man in the land were never bright. The village was the unit of assessment and the villages were the main consuming centres but the same was as nowadays neglected. But the keen interest of the Emperor in the agriculture and horticulture would have good results.¹ The lavish amount spent on the construction of forts, roads and canals would have certainly affected the economy of the common man. A sum of rupees 30,000 was alone spent on the construction of a canal from Lar to Shalimar.² Huge sums were spent on the construction of roads and local nobles were entrusted with such works of public interest.³ The lavish sum spent on the fort of Hariparbat is questionable, the money would have but naturally gone to the common man. No doubt some of the artisans were brought from Agra and a similar action was taken while levelling the Punch road under the guidance of Nuruddin Quli, some Indian labourers were engaged in that work, but it was not in a maximum number.⁴ Even the European writers like Pelsart, who has given us a dark picture, accepts the existence of some beautiful villages and handsome towns existing in all parts of the country, which are too numerous to be recorded, reveal the prosperity and the general condition of the region at that time.⁵ The

1. Tusk, p. 347, 308.

2. Tusk, p. 347.

3. Tusk, 276, (ii) M.H. EMS ff 221-22, 230.

4. Tusk, p. 227, (ii) Inscription on Kathi Darwasa, 1586 A.D.

5. Pelsaert, p. 33.

development and increase in the number of towns also reveals that the Kingdom was not lagging behind but moving along the rest of the country. The number of gardens around the Dal Lake only, increased to 700. This number cannot be under-estimated. The influx of the tourists (The nobles and the imperial attendants) spent their money lavishly through the length and breadth of the Valley would have also been a boon to the common man.

Every village had a mosque and a pir or a local Quasi who performed the duty of spiritual guide and a teacher too.¹

One of the important sections of the people was of boatmen. This section of people lived on the banks of the rivers and the lakes of wular and the Dal and in the boats floating on the waters of these lakes and rivers. He has been always a victim of the rulers and additional taxation was imposed on them not only in the Hindu rule but even under the Sultanate.² Even a benevolent King like Zainulabidin did not exempt them, but reduced the tax only. However, under the new rule, that of the Mughals this oppressive type of tax was altogether exempted.³ Their houses were their boats and they were mainly

1. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 291-2.

2. M.H. f 183b.

3. Ibid.

But it seems to be not borne out by facts. The inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, reveals that the tax on boatmen was increased by Itaqad Khan and was realized at the rate of 75 dams while the tradition was 60 dams on youth, 12 on old and 36 dams on lads which was even realized under Shahjehan and the additional tax increased by Itaqad Khan was cancelled.

the transporters. It is obvious from this fact that they made huge profits and so were taxed. The means of communication were the rivers and the entire merchandise was carried on by these boatmen, who were always seen traversing the river Jehlum with loaded boats of grain and grass.¹ During the reign of Jehangir there were some 7500 boats in and around the city.² The number of boats given by Abul Fazi is 30,000 and he claims that some 1000 new boats were prepared when the Emperor Akbar wanted to visit Verinag in a boat.³ The boatmen were catching the fishes and used to supply to the markets for local consumption.⁴

There were so many types of boats and a new type of Gujrati style was also introduced in the earlier period of the Sultanate by Zainulabidin in order to carry heavy loads,⁵ which was locally called dunga.

The labourers and the village officials and those labourers who were attached to the agriculture were also a part of the society. Every villager produced food for 36 class of people says legend.⁶ The Ghumara, Dhauks, Shepherds, Mirabs, the Watchman, the Black Smith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Mason and such landless members of the society were mainly fed by the peasant.⁷ They rendered

1. Tusk, 299.

2. Ibid. 299

3. A.N. 3(2) Brew. p. 835.

4. Tusk, p. 314.

5. Baharistani Shah, BMS, 54a, b.

6. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 324-8.

7. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 120-7.

This system still exists in the villages of Kashmir.

the services to the peasant which he required and was compensated by the master of the land. The carpenters were well-off and the detailed description of the other section is not available.¹

The climatic conditions and the production of the fibre of some particular type gives vent to a particular type of dress. Kashmiri dress being shaped to cater to the requirements of the people, during winter was a long gown made of pattu and a pattu drawer, a cap and a sandal like footwear made of paddy grass.² The long gown was not the dress of the man or was not used by the Muslims only, but a common dress of all sections of people.³ The people outside the Valley have their own traditional dresses.⁴ It was a common idea among the people that if they did not put on the woollen garment, the food would not be digested.⁵ It covered the entire body from neck to the calf of the legs. In ordinary course they put on a skull cap but on the occasions of festivities put on a pagri or a Dastar.⁶ The women put on their heads a long, black cloth which fall from the head over the shoulders to the legs.⁷ The drawers were not common and it was not considered a good thing.⁸ They

1. Hassan I MS. p.
2. Tusk, 301, (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangiri Nama, p. 146.
3. Tusk, 301, (ii) pp. 302-3, (iii) Kengar Hussain, Ma' asir-i Jahangiri, p. 133, (iv) Pelsaert, p. 34-5.
4. Tusk, pp. 297, 317.
5. Tusk, 301.
6. Tusk, 301, (ii) Pelsaert, p. 34-5.
7. Pelsaert, p. 34-5.
8. Tusk, 301.

generally tied up their wastes with a belt¹ and the men shaved their heads clean.² The people of Bahramgalla do not put on the woolen cloth but were accustomed to the same dress as in the hot regions of India.³ The tradition says that the long gown was introduced by Akbar in order to make the people lazy and to curb their martial spirit, but this is not born out by facts because, Akbar himself saw this type of long cloth in use when he paid his first visit to the Valley.⁴ The grass made sandal (Tápal) was also in use and mainly used by the people during the winter season especially when there would have been snow on the roads.⁵ The boatmen were poorly dressed and very often had only one underwear to cover the necessary portion especially while working hours.⁶ Usually the man remained dirty and unclean. They did not wash their clothes until they tattered.⁷ The Hindus' dress was a bit with tight sleeves and those of Muslims wide.⁸

Diet:

The diet of a Kashmiri was simple and comprised the following articles:

Rice, Maize, Wheat and grain, meat, fish, some kinds of vegetables, oil extracted from the walnut Kernel and milk. The rice was a staple diet and of course nature.⁹ The rice was boiled and the

1. Tusk, 301.
2. Tusk, 301.
3. Tusk, p. 317, (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Ma'asar-i Jahangiri, p.137.
4. A.N. 3(2) Brev. p. 550.
5. Ibid grass on a Sahdal is known as Pulhore.
6. Tusk, p. 314.
7. Tusk, 301, (ii) Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p. 146.
8. Lawrence, Valley, p. 251.
9. Tusk, 300.

boiled water extracted and then kept for night, next day the same was taken at lunch and dinner.¹ The hot rice was not taken. This boiled rice was known as Bhata and neither salt nor sugar was added while cooking the rice.² The food of Rajouri and Pakhli also included rice, Maize and buck wheat. The rice of Rajouri was superior to that of the Valley.³ The flour of water chestnut was also an article of food and was the diet of the poor and the boatman.⁴ The vegetables produced locally were cooked in water and some oil of the nut was added and taken with Bhata.⁵ It was generally to be 1/3 of the rice.⁶ The Ghee was also in use but on special occasions and was considered to be a luxury.⁷ Meat was also taken and the fish was a common article of food and was taken whenever available.⁸ There were many varieties of fish prevailing in the Kingdom.⁹ The fowls of different kinds were available and taken as an article of food but rarely.¹⁰ The meat of wild animals was also taken and liked by the local people specially of the white spotted deer, and on an occasion it was presented to Jehangir who did not like the meat. The spices were utilized by the people of higher standards only.¹¹

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1. Tusk, 300.
 2. Tusk, 300, (ii) K.K. (I) 302.
 3. Tusk, 317.
 4. Hassan (I) MS 164a,b.
 5. Tusk, 300, Hassan (I) MS 164b. (iii) Irfan Habib, 'Agrarian System of Mughal India', pp. 91-2.
 6. Tusk, p. 300.
 7. Tusk, p. 300, (ii) Irfan Habib, 'Agrarian System of Mughal India', p. 91.
 8. Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p. 146, (ii) Irfan Habib, p. 91.
 9. Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p. 146.
 10. Abul Hassan, Jahangirnama, p. 146.
 11. Pelsaert, Travels, p. 36.

Chilly or capricious was not produced in the early 17th century and it was introduced late in 18th century in the Northern India and seems to have been introduced in the early part of 19th or in latter quarter of 18th century.¹ In the 19th century chillies were produced in regular gardening cultivation and very large crops were raised in the neighbourhood of the city.

The food of the hilly areas like little Tibet, Rajouri, and Jammu seems to have been bread from the local products like Buck wheat (Tramba) millet or maize as was noticed by the travellers of early 19th century.²

The pickle of local vegetables was also taken and the pickle of Sag was superior to other kinds of vegetables by adding the spint exacted from rice.³

Being a land of fruits special attention paid for the development of the grapes. As already discussed, it provided sufficient material for distillation. The inhabitants, as it seems would not have been edicted to such kinds of intoxicates but the influx of the nobles from all over the Mughal dominion would have tempted the people to distill the liquors. Being an important industry in times of Akbar, as already

1. Irfan Habib, 'Agrarian System of Mughal India', p. 47.

2. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 347. (B. Lahori, *Madani*)

3. Moorcraft, 2 Travels, p. 97

4. Tusk, 300.

indicated, wine production was a general industry, says, Sir George Watt, "held then a much more important place than at the present day."¹ During the time of Jehangir the grapes of Kashmir were improved with the combined efforts of Akbar and Jehangir with the cooperation of the sub-ordinate nobles. Early 14th century had already told upon the wine distillation² but was again gaining ground during this period, shortly after the decline set in which has been already attended to. But in 19th century the industry again developed and although beyond the scope of this review, cannot but say won the gold medal in 1884's competition at Calcutta.³ One of the most intoxicating liquor was distilled from rice, and was known as booza (). This type of wine was common Pakhli. The procedure was to put the rice in a big earthen pitcher and then preserved the same for a couple of years covering the mouth with mud and then re-opened and utilized.⁵ The older the liquor the more intoxicating it would become. However, then it tasted a bit sour than the ordinary wines.⁶ In the Valley the spirit was called the mas () intoxicating.⁷ The grapes were also put in big jars in the month of October till the spring and then turned into wine.⁸

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1. Sir George Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 1114.
 2. Baharistani Shahi, f 26b.
 3. Sir George Watt, Commercial Products of India, 1114.
 4. Tuzk, p. 290.
 5. Tuzk, 290, (ii) Sajjan Rai, Bhandari, Khulastutawarikh, p. 83.
 6. Tuzk, 290.
 7. Tuzk, 300, (ii) Sajjan, Rai Bhandari, Khulastutawarish, p. 83.
 8. Moorcraft, Travels 2, pp. 150-1.

The tea was also introduced as says legend by Mirza Haider Banglat, and had become a common drink of the masses¹ by the time of Jehangir.

Housing:

Kashmir had been always praised for the lofty three four and five storeyed buildings made of wood, stones and bricks.² The ground floor was meant for cattle and other articles about land were put in the ground floor, while the first floor was mainly used for kitchen and sitting rooms and the third for sleeping and the fourth for common social gatherings and the fifth as a store of the fuel and such other things.³ Being safe during the earthquakes which were as common as nowadays in that region, but were easily consumed by a slightest spark and the towns together turned into ashes because of the abundant use of wood, which was easily arranged,⁴ the people used to lay on ground and no kind of cot was used.⁵ On the roofs they planted tulips and other flowers and in the spring they were rivaling the flower gardens.⁶ The roofs were covered with the brick leaves and over that the mud which was saving the house from snow and extra ordinary rains.

1. Hassan, MS I p. 164b.

2. A.N. 3(2) Brev 840 (ii) Tuzk 298-9 (iii) T. Rashidi, p. 425 (iv) Pelsaert, Travels, p. 34.

3. A.N. 3(2) Brev 870 (ii) Hassan, Vol. I MS 140a (iii) Ain (ii) Tr. Jarret, 352.

4. Hassan I MS p. 140a.

5. Lawrence, Valley, 256.

6. A.N. 3(2) Brev 840 (ii) Tuzk, 299 (iii) Pelsaert Travels, p. 34.

The houses possessed lawn meeting halls, corridors, apartments, galleries and towers.¹ The houses were ventilated with handsome and artistic work instead of glasses and windows.² The stone seems to be little in use but under the new impression of the artists, who worked in new buildings like Hariparbat fort and Nagar Sity the Stone Mosque () and other such lofty buildings would have tempted the masses to adopt this kind of material. A marginal change can be detected if we examine the buildings of the Sultanate period like the tomb of Zainulabidin and the mosque of Madin Sahib and the existing portion of the fort wall and the main gate Kathi Darwaza and the reservoirs in the Mughal gardens and the Pather Masjid. We depict the use of stone and lime in the latter while the brick and lattice work is more visible in the former. The buildings and the monasteries of the Rishis are wholly made of wooden logs with carved work, bearing the Indo-Budhist impression while the latter bear the Indo-Muslim impact. The houses in the suburbs were having two to three storeys with the thatched roofs.³ The bricks were not coloured with fire, which were in use in the country side.⁴ The houses constructed in Punch, Pakhli and Dantour were of the same style as in the Valley.⁵ The city of Srinagar specially the newly constructed Nagar Nagar city inside the fort was beautifully designed and makes one

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1. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Tr. N. Elias, 425, (ii) Hassan I MS 140a. (iii) Pelseert, Travels, p. 33.
 2. Pelseert, Travels, p. 34.
 3. Pelseert, Travels, p. 33. (ii) Hassan, Vol. I MS, p. 140a.
 4. Hassan, Vol. I MS, p. 140a (ii) Ain Jarret, (2) p. 352.
 5. Tuzk, p. 291.

think the aptitude of the Mughal planners. The layout of the new city was spread over an area of 15 to 10 kos in circular shape. The city was full of fruit plants and the rivers were flowing throughout the city, Jehlim the biggest of them.¹

The temples which were existing in the Valley were made of outstone and put on one another without any lime or any kind of mixing material.²

Social gatherings:

It has been the general tendency of the human nature to relax and rejoice after the toilsome work. Being a social animal the man wants to enjoy not individually but collectively. But such social gathering bear some historical landmarks, and as such represent the character of that particular nationality. Under the pressure of social change through the economic and political forces, such activities do under go a change and in this way develop or even had developed the hetrogenous and homogeneous cultures.

The Kashmiri people as a whole were the Hindus and the conversion of the masses under the influence of the missionaries who entered the Valley during 14th and 15th century, transformed the Hindi or Brahmanic culture or society to that of a Muslim one. But the

1. Pelsaert, Travels, 33-4.

2. Ruzk, p. 302.

Muslims of the Kingdom were at heart Hindus, because the traditions of the Hindu faith were strictly followed by them in one way or the other and their social festivities were of two types. One based on the Hindu traditions and the other type influenced by the Islamic one. The pastimes and such social ceremonies which can be included in the former category were performed by both the groups of society viz. the Muslims and the Hindus. This included the Dussehra, Weth Turwah and the fairs held on the shrines of the Saints were equally attended to.¹ Dussehra was as at present wholly Hindu festival, but the secular nature of the Mughals had turned it into a common National fair. Dresses of honour and horses of different breeds were distributed by the Emperor Jehangir.³ All the sections of people participated in the celebrations.

Wetha Turwah was another peculiar social fair. It was based on the Hindu religious background. It was the legendary date of birth of the source of the river Bihat. The people illuminated the banks of the river Bihat on the 13th of the Kashmiri month and one such ceremony was attended by the Emperor Jehangir. In a boat he enjoyed the festivity.⁴ Those who dwell on the banks illuminated their houses with lamps.⁵ Since the population of the Muslims included some Shias of

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1. Tuzk, 311.
 2. Tuzk, 314.
 3. Tuzk, 314.
 4. Tuzk, 311.
 5. Tuzk, 311.

Imania faith and some Nurakh Shias too, it is obvious would have been ceremonizing the Nourouz. The Emperor Jehangir offered robes of honour on one such occasion, and it seems this fair also was rejoiced as a national fair due to the interest of the Emperor.

In addition to these there were some other festivals celebrated by the people of all sections.¹ A fair of this type was always celebrated on the bank of the Wular lake by the people especially the boatmen, who invited their friends and relatives and rejoiced throughout the day.² Idul Fitr, Idul Zuha and Shab-i Barat were some other festivals exclusively observed by the Muslims. On the occasion of Shab-i Barat the lamps were illuminated and torches of burning wood were displayed by the people.³

Games and Pastimes:

One of the important such engagements was the hunting of wild fowls. The people took pleasure in skifs upon lakes, having their highly tamed hawks with them who stroke down the wild fowls in mid-air and stood on them in water.⁴ The hunters ^{used to come} do-dome out on the boats and set-off their hawks. Sometimes the hunted bird was brought and cooked in the boat and served to all.⁵

1. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, pp. 269-74. (ii) Ain 2 Jarret, 352-4.
2. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, 270.
3. Husk, p. 311.
4. Ain 2 Jarret, p. 354.
5. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, p. 271.

Polo or Chougen had been a common game followed by all sections of people without any social, economical or political consideration.¹ Idgah was the common playground used for this purpose. In little Tibet polo was a common game and was widely enjoyed.²

Customs:

Some typical beliefs were always in the minds of the people and in order to get salvation of worldly requirements they performed such actions which were against the very principles of Islam. They believed in legends and performed animal sacrifices on certain sacred places, in order to get their worldly requirements. The author of Ain has given a long list of wonderful places where the people performed such ceremonies. In the spring season the agriculturists went on different places and killed a goat, distributed it among the children, so that the new year be full of grain and safety of the same from the natural calamities.³ In Rajouri there prevailed some fantastic customs like burrying alive their daughters, marriage of Hindi boys with Muslim girls and vice versa.⁴ Even the Muslims practised such customs. They burried alive their women with the dead husbands.⁵ The question of

1. M.H. BMMS f 169a (ii) AN 3(2) Brev pp. 840-2.

2. Moorcraft, Travels, I. p. 167.

3. Ain Jarret 2, p.

(ii) Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 271-4. (iii) Aziz Narain Kaul, MS Aligarh without page marking.

4. Tuzk, p. 160, 317 (ii) Kamgar Hussain, Ma' asir-i-Jahangiri, p.138.

5. Tuzk, 317.

resistance did not arise at all. Jahangir issued strict orders to curb such customs and declared the same a crime punishable with torture and even capital punishment if the practice continued.¹ ^{However} The Sati was not prevalent in the Valley, and not even the inter-marriage or the burrying of their victimised women.

1. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV BReligious Movements:

In the introductory chapter, background of the spread of Islam in the Valley has been given. During the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, majority of the population was Muslim and in the very course of time some new movements gave birth and some of the existing schools in the Central Asian countries, Persia and India entered into the Valley. The Shivaism which was the basic faith of the people of the Valley was to some extent near to the basic fundamentals of Islam and at the same time it greatly influenced the Islamic teachings and the pure form of Sufism which was prevalent in the Islamic world did not make any headway but a new type of such mystic thought developed which was less or more in tone with the Shiva philosophy.¹ Shiva was a philosopher god and Ain-i-Shiva was based on the philosophy of the Shasters,² and the teachings of the sect were something near the teachings of Islam³ and it greatly motivated the Muslims to move along with the ideology of the old faith along with the new.

1. Sabir Afaqi, Hunar Mirdum " " Iran publication Isfandiyar 1350, 113th Issue.

2. Ibid. (11) Sufi, G.M.D. Kashmir, 81-82.

3. Sufi, Kashmir I, p. 82.

This newly born sect of Mysticism was called Rishism.

The founder was Nanda Rishi R.A. who was born in 789 A.H. and started his preachings at the age of 20 and widely toured the country.¹ He influenced a large section of people and the speed of conversion was accelerated too.² During the period of Sultans the movement gained ground and was spread all over the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The first four disciples were the Rishis of first order and they settled in the 4 corners of the Valley and carried on their propagation extensively and Jahangir found some 2000 Rishis of high reputation.³ Akbar in his first visit attended the famous Rishi Wahid and was greatly moved by his simplicity and of his attitude towards the Emperor.⁴

The teachings of such mystics were simple. They do not polute their tongue with uncultured and uncivilized words. They do not feel interested in amassing wealth, do not take meat, do not marry, plant fruit and shady trees wherever they paid a visit. These plantations were not for their own use but for the use of common man.⁵ However, they were not well versed in the arts of religious education. The famous mystics who flourished during the time of Jehangir were the following:

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1. Bahauddin Mattoo Rishi Nama MS (Transcription). There are 7 MS of the same not pagemarked.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Tuzk, p. 301-2 (11) Ain (2) Jarret, p. 355.
 4. A.N. Brev 3 (2) pp. 827-8.
 5. (1) Bahauddin Mattoo Rishi Nama MS (11) Tuzk, pp. 301-2, Ain 2 Jarret 354. But the conception of Abul Fazl about the religion of these Rishis is wrong. He includes them with the Brahmans, but virtually they were Muslims and not Hindus.

Masood Pampur (d1011 A.H.)

He was the son of a merchant of Pampur and dealer and producer of Safron left his home in his childhood and entered the shrines of Baba Daud Khaki. He guided him in the mystic faith and Baba Harid Rishi also influenced him and after sometime took to the peasantry and spent the whole of his produce on the poor people. He died in 1020 A.H.¹

Khawaja Daud Majzoub (d1026 AH)

Nothing is known about his early life. He remained always aloof and busy in his mystic form. He died in the epidemic of 1026 A.H.

Hasrat Jussa Shah Haqani

His fore-fathers were from Hamadan and had come along with Sayyid Ali Hamadani R.A. Under the influence of a Saint, he adopted the mystic faith. He always spent his cold nights in the freezing water and blood would come out of his body because of the sneezing. He had a number of disciples. He died in 1033 A.H.²

Feroz Shah Majzoub

A man of high reputation. He was famous for his mystic deeds forecasts, and prophecies. He was taken by the Emperor Jehangir in his boat for a visit. He gave him a lot of ashrafia and rupees, but he dropped them in the water rebuking the Emperor. The

1. Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 127-8.

2. Ibid. p. 131.

Emperor, is believed, told him about the ailing health of his beloved queen.¹ His body is lying in Bijbehra.

In addition to these we have a long list of the Rishis, but detailed information about them is not available. Nanda Rishi disciple of Hardi Rishi Netaji Rishi, Rama Rishi, Baba Hardy, Awat Rishi, disciple of Lachan Rishi, Patti Rishi, disciple of Baba Hanifuddin, Regi Rishi disciple of Baba Shuruddin, Junaid Rishi, Bahram Rishi disciple of Noori Rishi. All these were strict followers of the founder of this order and belonged to the 3rd order of the Rishis.² In addition to these we have the numerous disciples of Sheikh Yaqobi Sarfi and Baba dood Khaki who can be also termed as the followers of the same ideology.

There were the Hindus of Brahmie faith also.³ The rest of the castes had already accepted Islam but the Brahmins cling to their old faith. They were men of letters. Although they were not so much but still they had their reputation. They could not be distinguished between their countrymen but their sacred books are in Sanskrit.⁴ They had their own religious worship places and one was astonished at having a glance over these temples.⁵ There are numberless sacred places spread

1. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, p. 133.

2. Ibid. 135.

3. Luzk, p. 301.

4. Luzk, p. 302.

5. Ain (2) Jarret, p. 352. (11) Luzk, p. 302.

over the Kingdom and some of them were maintained by the Hindu nobles of the Mughals.¹ Every Muslim shrine had a Hindu site some where nearabout.²

A section of Nurbakhshiya faith also existed in the Valley, and their stronghold was in little Tibet and Gilgit.³

As a matter of fact the loss of independence of Kashmir, broadly speaking can be attributed to the Shia-Sunni conflict. The seeds of dissention were sowed by Mirza Haider Duglat on the political grounds. The Chaks who were so powerful in that age, were virtually controlling the Kingdom and the latter shairis were nominal heads. They were playing in the hands of this section of nobility. The confusion and chaos adued to the cause of the Chaks and Mirza Haider who had recently attacked Kashmir in 1540 A.D. did not like this. So, on the basis of religion he divided the people into two groups Shia and Sunni. Among Sunnis he patronized the followers of Hanafiat faith. The rationale behind this division seems to have been to won a section of people and to engage the rest in mutual hatred, which ultimately resulted in the down fall of the Sultanate and the establishment of the Mughal Empire, which was the basic motive of gorgan and was this achieved in 1586 A.D. He not only prosecuted the Shias but even demolished the

1. Tuzk, p. 313.

2. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 256.

3. Tuzk, 302.

4. P.R. Tr M.Elias, pp. 432-4 (2) Baharistani Shahi MS f 120b.

monastery of Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi at Zadibal and degraded and abused the followers of Shia faith, which created an atmosphere of mutual disintegration. However, the Chaks were now so powerful that all these barriers proved an olive branch to them and in 1556 A.D., they established themselves on the throne for which they were planning since the beginning of the century. The base of their policy, was quite contrary to that of the Mirza and they were thus entrapped in the net spread by the Wise Mughal. They tried to insert the name of Ali in the Azan and the Shia staunch soldiers behaved in an objectionable way with the leading authorities of Sunni faith.¹ The Quazi of Sopore a renowned person was also prosecuted on this pretext.² This worsened the situation and the atmosphere dampened already became much more alarming and the Sunni Ulama thinking that the very existence of those people is in danger, left for Agra to achieve their help who was already in search of such an opportunity.³ Sheikh Yaqoobi Sarfi and Baba Daood Kaki approached Akbar and entered into a treaty with the following provisions.⁴

- (a) The Emperor should not interfere with religious matters of the people.
- (b) The Kashmiri beaucrats may not be enslaved.
- (c) The people should not receive any kind of injury.
- (d) The Kashmiri noble to be debarred from the local administration

1. M.H. ff 192-4.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Baharistani Shahi MS f 130.
 4. AN 3(2) Brev 738-42.

After the treaty an imperial force proceeded to Valley and the influence of the Ulama played much more part than the Mughal arms. But this mutual hatred did not end here, but continued throughout the Mughal rule and it became acute during the reign of Shahjehan when Zaffer Khan, a Subedar was compelled to deport some of the nobles to India.¹ However, the period under discussion was to a great extent calm because of the secular attitude of the Emperor. But the Rajasuluk's award and the titles awarded to his relatives again helped the age-long hatred to come to the fore-front.² During the Governorship of Dilawar Khan, as it was alleged that the Shias who were still feeling the destruction of shrine at Zadibal, set the great mosque to fire.³ The Emperor was at this time in the capital and he too was approached by the people who bore the same idea.⁴ The Emperor asked the Malik to reconstruct the mosque on his own expenses and the Malik had no alternative but to yield.⁵ The mosque was constructed by the Malik alone.

But such conflicts were confined to the nobles only and did not make any impact in the masses during the reign of Jehangir.

In the end it may be remarked that the gulf between the rich and the poor was not as vast in Kashmir as in the rest of the Empire and the masses fared better in this region than in other parts of the country. The masses though poor were contented and complacent.

1. Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, pp. 138-9.
2. M.H. EPMIS 224.
3. M.H. f 224, (11) Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 124.
4. Ibid. f 224 (11) Mohd. Asam, Waqiat, p. 124.
5. Ibid. f 224 (11) Tusk, 304.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The geographical position of Kashmir has always influenced the social, economical, political and cultural developments since the times immemorial. Bounded on all sides with high mountain peaks and impassable routes, however, did not influence the main phases of cultural stream. The early cultures like Buddhist or Achiamian Cultures, or the latter Eastern Cultures found their way and a new local style developed, which has been rightly called by Brown the indigenous style of Kashmir.¹ In his Survey of India architecture (Buddhist period) he gives us detailed account of the developments and changes in the architectural field, and links up the development of Far Eastern Architecture with that of Kashmir. The temples of various places still remind us of the Pre-Muslim architectural development and the students of this art can base their studies on the very background.

The architecture largely reflects the aesthetic taste of the people, which basically depends on the action and interaction of various forces of society like economical condition, political stability or instability, religious backgrounds and geographical environment. Broadly speaking the cultural stream is enriched by various types of streams. But, the various streams stop enriching any social set up. But that

1. Brown, Architecture of India, p. 80

has not been possible. So, the action and interaction of old and new forces is always there and by and by the stones seems to have been totally avoided. It is astonishing to see the ruined temples of huge structure and design, wholly stoned and at the same-time to see the emperor Akbar importing stone cutters from India for the construction of the fort of Hariparbhat.

The stone was replaced and its place was taken by the wood, and for a pretty longtime it remained the dominant building material.

Judging from later buildings the wood work was constructed with logs laid cross-wise so that on a corner a log appeared as a header on one wall and as a stretcher on the other. In bridges, the piers which rested on rocks or masonry work were widened gradually in upper courses on the principle of borbelling. Necessary wooden pieces were joined with wooden pin or dovetailed into each other. Courses of brick or stone were usually secured between transverse or horizontal wooden member.¹ The wooden construction on the whole, however, remained simple without mechanical devices or expedients,² but going through the Mosque of Shahi Hamdan or the Mosque of Madin Sahib or the wooden structures of the various shrines this view can be accepted only with caution. The existing archaeological evidence make us thin

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1. The existing bridges of Zania Kadal and Habba Kadal are representing the same style.
 2. Archaeological remains, Museums and Monuments Part II, 1964, p. 295. (Survey Report).

that the Kashmiri artists were not less advanced in the art of building.

In order to have a definite conclusion, it is proper to discuss a few evidences in detail.

The early temples, do not require our discussion, being out of scope of this attempt, however, the primary information can help us working and new styles crop up. The same was the case with the Kashmir architecture. The Chinese influence or it may be more accurate to name it Buddhist influence.¹ As a matter of fact the Buddhist architectural style was itself basically influenced by the Indian architecture and the monks and the missionaries who went aboard added some new elements to this culture and the Chinese influence which by this time had become a strong hold of Buddhism could not have remained aloof and because of the religious contacts and commercial as well the Kashmiri architecture seems to have been more actively influenced by the indigenous architecture.

The remains of the temples of 6th to 10th century A.D. bear all these impressions and the stone was the only material utilized in the Hindu as well as Buddhist shrines, and most certainly had been the chief matter used in their civic and private buildings.

1. Archaeological Survey of India 1964 (11) p. 295.

But after the Cou'pdetat of Reinchin some new developments began to start. The Muslim rule was on firm foundation in India and the some of the Muslim Saints had crept in the state and had already started their work. Aihama Serian Muslim had already constructed a mosque in Dardestaus.¹ However, the Shah Mir dynasty which was founded in the 14th Century, did not touch the traditions in the initial stage but in the 15th century the influence of Muslim art and culture seems visible in all fields and the architecture could not have remained immune. But most of the early Muslim buildings were raised on the very Hindu temple foundations but the brick was used in the rest of the constructions.²

In the first instance there was the classical, aristocratic and heirarchic development represented the stone monuments of the Budhist - Hindu Period, which flourished during the first millienium.

The huge stones artistically carved and interconnected give us the magnitude of their art. The temple at

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1. A report of the Awqaf Committee published from Srinagar (1962-63) p. 3. But in the later histories we don't get any information about this mosque and even of any such person).
 2. Archaeological Survey of India Part II 1964. p. 295. The tomb of the mother of Zainulabidin represents this type of architectural design.

Martand and Buniyar and the remains of the Pattan and Avantipore temples are still reflecting the gradure of the time. The stone being the only material used in all these temples. The dowltailed stones and the pillars can still be regarded the highest of the most interesting walls of the early Hindu and Buddhist period.

The style of these temples can be said wholly the Kashmiri style, and could be found with some modification in the salt range of the Punjab.¹ The temples as mentioned above do vary between 750 to 1200 A.D.

The temple of Martand erected in 724. The building the largest of its kind, is of modest dimensions, being a rectangular measuring 60 feet by 38 feet. The width of the facad is increased to 60 feet by the addition of wings and the walled enclosure measuring internally 220 by 142 feet. The colonnade living the wall is composed of 84 pillars.²

My intention is not to provide the readers a graphic description of the ancient architecture by providing them the basic information about these temple structures. But, in order to base our foundation on the strong footing than on a

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1. Vincent Smith, Architecture and Sculpture of the Medieval Period, p. 106.
 2. Furgusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture 2 VI.p.272.
Martand is a village in the Maraz division at the distance of some 13 miles from Srinagar and was the capital of Lallitaditya (1720-764 A.D.)

glass wall it seemed to me proper to throw some light on this pure Kashmiri style.

To sum up the most peculiarities of the architecture consisted of Pyramidal roofs, gables, trefoil arches, quadric columns and dentel ornaments.

Now, let us turn our attention to the Muslim architecture of the Sultanate period of Kashmir (1339-1585 A.D.)

In the 14th century, the Muslims entered into the position of the high land Valley of the Himalaya and fortunately there existed already so many temples and civic buildings of the Hindu and the Budhist period. The Muslims after the mass scale conversion, constructed mosques and moslums on the very foundations of the temples and we come across the new structures of these shrines as that of Mosque of Madin Sahib and the tomb of the mother of Sultan Zainulabidin. The stone foundation of a temple was not removed but the moslume shaped tomb of fired bricks was constructed and which still stands there. As previsously stated the new style seems to have been partly influenced by the persian influence and partly by the local element. But one of the important factors which require the attention of a student of archaeology is the absence of wood material in the buildings of Hindu period and early period of Muslim rulers. The contention of Percy Brown about the annihi-

liation of the wooden structures, due to the perishable material seems to be born out by facts. As a matter of fact wood could not have been rejected or ignored which was so cheap and easily accessible. The later Sultans also developed a style of their own which again could be named as an indigenous style or a Kashmiri style. The Mosque of Shahi Hamadan or the Pagoda like shrines of other religious Saints scattered all over the Kingdom bear the impression of this new Kashmiri style.

The aesthetic taste is not the only factor responsible for the development of architecture. Broadly speaking geographical factors are much more responsible for a particular architectural style. The mountainous nature of the state the availability of the material required, the climatic conditions and the fauna, and Flora are the main factors which not only influence but basically are responsible for particular kind of architecture. While having a glance over the architecture of such like regions, we derive out the same conclusions. We can notice a great similarity in the architecture of Scandinavia, or the regions of Alps. We cannot overlook such evidences. "In the wooden churches of Norway of the 11th to 14th century, as put by Brown, "there are the sloping roofs rising in tiers so as to form a kind of pyramid, with gables and overhanging eaves, each surface water-proofed with the brick bark."¹ The same style can be depicted from the early

1. Brown, Percy, Indian Architecture, p. 90-1.

Muslim shrines or Ziarats of Kashmir. But the analogues of this style in such widely separated countries are obviously not to any mutual contact, but because of the aforesaid geographical conditions.

The typical wooden architecture of Kashmir takes a form either a mosque or a shrine. The later is known as a Ziarat, and is a characteristics feature of the Valleys often enshrining the remains of some local celebrity or person of holy repute.

The Mosque of Shahi Hamadan on the right bank of the Jehlum is a typical example of the wooden architecture of the country. The foundation of the building is on an irregular rectangular plinth and composed of old temple matter. The Mosque exclusive of its Varandah extension is in plain a square of 70 feet side, and is two stories in height, which upto its eave is 50 feet. Above is low pyramidal roof, surmounted by the open pavilion for the muazzin over which rises the steeple with its final, 125 feet from the ground. The roof is similar to that which once covered the temple at Martand and the crowning ornament is evidently a reminiscence of a Budhist.

1. Fergusson, James, History of Indian and Eastern architecture.

, very much altered it must be confessed, but still not so unlike as found Nepal. The doors and the windows and the delicate ornamented roof is extremely interesting and bears the impression of the artistic delicacy of the Kashmiri artists. Much of the walling of the lower portion of this structure is formed of logs, trimmed square and laid in alternate courses. Under the eave is a heavy cornice, also of logs, corbelled out from the wall face on tribels laid cross wise. This is the main structure of the building but on it is laid super-imposed lighter structures in the form of arcades, verandhas and porticos, their opennings fitted with lattice work and enriched with carved wooden insertions. The pyramid roof projecting over whole composition is in three tiers and composed of rafters having planks above covered with turf. Above the open pillared Pavilion which crowns the roof, rise gable like projections at the foot of the steeple.

The Hall of the ground floor is rectangular measuring 63 feet by 43. The interior of the construction is simple and without any architectural importance, but has some artistic value. The roof is supported by 4 substantial wooden pillars 20 feet in height and forming a square bay occupy the central area of the compartments, the walls of which are panelled wood with ornamented dodo. The artistic and structural importance cannot be more beautifully expressed than

the author of the Indian architecture, Percy Brown. With its tapering light sided pillars having foliated bases and capitals, the arched and recessed Mihrab, its panelled walls stained to a rich brown, and the painted ceiling retains at the same time an atmosphere of suitable solemnity."¹ The mosque represents one period of Kashmir History (1339-1586) and the now let us proceed further in order to assess the new style which emerged after the annexation and the stone mosque of Srinagar can represent the second phase of the study.

Before, we turn to the Mughal architecture in the Valley, it is better to have some information about the Mughal architecture of Hindustan or precisely the Delhi style of architecture.

By the 12th century, when the Muslims established their power in India on firm basis, there was still Hindu rule in the Valley. However, the Muslim rulers of India, who were mainly from central Asia, Turkistan and the Afghans did not require any kind of guidance in the art of buildings. They were already possessing a highly developed architectural taste of their own, as varied as magnificent as the contemporary

1. Brown, Architecture of India (Muslim Period) p. 81.

2. CHI Vol. 3. p. 569.

architecture of Christian Europe, and especially the conquerors, as mentioned above had tremendous and remarkable taste and a natural talent for building.¹ The artisans were the prized persons as War captives and they were spared and were reserved for the imperial camps. But did they possess a style of their own? This question can strike the mind of every reader. As a matter of fact, not a single style can be claimed to be a Muslim style or Islamic style. This is, the Arabs who contacted, after the conquest, different nations, including the Christians, and Jews had their own styles of architecture and due to the new contacts the mutual arts and crafts also underwent a change, and in this way the Saracanic style changed into an Islamic style, which broadly speaking was mixed style of all the surrounding cultures. The tremendous capacity of accepting the foreign elements was upto the maximum in the Arabs. They, as can be seen, were not hating or disliking the art and culture of other nations, but virtually they did pick up the good points and deleted the bad ones. This filtration, resulted in the development of a new style, which was to a great extent purified and developed. Now, capturing India some new elements, were bound to enter into and influence the Islamic style. As a matter of fact, such a broad based archi-

1. CHI Vol. 3. p. 569.

itecture could not have rejected, or ignored the local styles. But at the sametime we cannot overlook the diversity of India. It was a glaxy of various races, religious and cultures as we can see even today. Such diversified and multi-regional country had developed different styles keeping in view their social and geographical conditions, so various provincial styles were existing and the new Islamic style influenced the various provincial styles and at the sametime was influenced by these styles itself too. Under these conditions it was not possible to have a universal type of buildings. The buildings in the South differ with those of the North of the same period, and even the wooden structures of Eastern countries differ with that of Kashmiri style,¹ and such difference can be noticed even in adjacent districts of the same area. However, certain elements and peculiarities were in common in all the buildings of Islamic period. The tombs, minars and the minarrets were the peculiarities of this new style. The grandeur and the marginal influence of Persian art can be felt in the buildings of this early Islamic period. By the end of the end of 16th century the Delhi Sultanate was on the path of decline and the Persian power was on climax and had direct contacts with the European countries and so had a developed architectural style, influenced the Delhi style. As

1. Haigue, T.W., Cambridge History of India, Vol. 3, pp. 566-72.

regards the former, it has been remarked that the genius of the Persian Craftsman is of a special order and lies in his ability for sustained effort in handling tractile media. In the art of building he obtains his effects by the facile manipulation of plastic materials such as brick and glazed tiles. Such a technical procedure found its way easily in the minds of Indian people, who were possessing a similar applicability.

But it was not long before these elements characteristics of Islamic Culture, the Vault and the dome as put into practice by Persian artists, were accepted by the Indian architects.¹ As the control of the country passed in the hands of the Mughals, the "Persianization" of all cultured pursuits became more pronounced.

Now, let us turn to the Valley of Kashmir again. I have already referred to the early Hindu architecture and the wooden style of architecture of the Sultanate period.

Soon after the annexation of the Kingdom, Emperor Akbar during his first visit ordered the construction

1. A detailed discussion on the topic is not within the scope of this attempt. It is just to provide the readers a sketch of the existing styles and the response of the Mughals towards those styles and later-on its introduction of this new style in Kashmir by the Mughals.

of the Hariparbat Fort. What was the rationale behind the construction of this Fort does not matter much here. Fortunately, we do possess some remains of this Fort walls and especially the two gates bearing the important inscription which throws some light on the socio-economic set-up of the Kingdom. The Mosque of Shah Hamadan while represents one epoch of history, the Fort, though not epoch-making in itself, introduces us to a new epoch which was strengthening its position.

The most interesting and astonishing thing which is noticed while examining the gate of the Hariparbat Fort wall, the stone which had remained the chief building material was not altogether seen in the buildings of the latter Sultanate period and the art of handling the stone not only surprised the Emperor Jahangir, but half a century later the French Doctor, Bernier was also astonished, but the artists did not perish but seems to have lost their interest completely in the stone work and, so the Mughals again started to revive the art of stone building. During the Sultanate period the stone was irradicated and the wood took the place of the stone. Akbar, as can be derived from the inscription of Kathi Darwaza imported 200 stone artists from India.

The two gates Kathi Darwaza and the Sangriqin Darwaza, the existing twin gates of the Fort show style in

its simplest and most dignified aspect. The arched Sangri Darwaza is more expensive and ornamented and seems to be the main gate because of its elegance and artistic nature, but the Kathi Darwaza has been widely accepted the main gate which bears the following inscription.

Then the new epoch of the Mughal style was ushered in. The cementing of the stones and the arches of various types was introduced.

The octangular construction of the Verinag belongs to the same period, and that project was carried on under the supervision of the Historian-architect Raisul Mulk Malik Haidar Chowdoora and there is no mention of any foreign artisan who was employed in this project. The centre pointed gate bears the simple and gentle impressions.

1. Brown supposes that the Sangri Darwaza should have been the main gate but the others like Parmu do not accept his view point. For details, see History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, R.K. Parmoo, p. 301.

Binai Qilai Nagar Nagar bud
 Ba Ahaday Pad Shahay Dadu guster
 Shahi Shahani Alam Shahi Akbar
 Talla Shana Allah' Akbar,
 Shahn Shahay Ki dar Alam Misalash
 Na-bud-Asto Na Khahad bud degar
 Karoro dah lakh as Makhzan fisstad
 Du Sad Ustadi Hindi Jumla Chakar
 Na Karda haich kas begar anja
 Tamamay yaftaud as makhzanashzar
 Chihilo-Chahar as Julusi Padshahi
 Hazaro Shash ze Tarikhay Paigambar

The cription in the centre of main wall and there are 24 small arches and the circumference of the construction is 120 feet.¹ The canal from the spring to the farthest end of the garden was made of hewn stone.

The building in the centre of the Nishat Bagh is the another Mughal building which still exists there although some of the portions are not traceable. The Nishat Garden, main pivot of romantic couple while in Kashmir, received most of the attention of the Emperor and the palace of a small scale was the best piece of the architecture. The statement of Sir Thomas Moor, about the feast of roses and the reconciliation of the couple after a quarrel enhanced the importance of the garden.² The Summer House was built on a rectangular basement and the garden was connected with the lake by a canal of 500 paces,³ but later-on the garden was disconnected. A canal passes through the garden and the stones covered the banks.

The Summer House is in the midst of the canal. The house is encircled by a gallery with four doors open, two looking up and two down the canal and the two leading to this bridges that connect the building with

1. The inscription bears the following writing:

ارشاہ بہت کثور عدالت گستر ابوالمظفر نورالین جانگیر ابن کرنہ غازی تبارخ
زیت لوطوس در سر پشم فیض آئین نزل اجداد فر خودند۔

2. Fergusson, J.P., Kashmir, pp. 128-30.

3. Bernier, Travels, p. 399-400.

both ends of the canal. In all there are 12 doors and it is known because of these doors as Barahdari (12 doored building). In the centre of the house, there is a big hall and four smaller apartments one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilded and beautiful Persian sentences are inscribed on the walls resembling Persian character, which as already stated seems to have been the dominating feature of Mughal architecture and was incorporated in the Kashmir style too. Bernier refers to the four stone made door pannels supported by two large pillars. The pillars according to the viewpoint of the same author the pillars were not only huge but had great artistic inscription and ornamentation. The stone of these pillars have been much more superior to that of any kind of marble.¹ A marginal change can be noticed in the style while comparing the construction of Verinag with this. It bears the grandeur elegance and at the sametime the delicate artistic work. The wood seems to have been again going to the background and the buildings constructed after this one are all made of stone and there is no clue of wood used in them. However, the interior of the Jamia Mosque again is wholly of pine wood.

1. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 400.

Jamia Masjid was originally constructed by Sultan Sikandar Butshikan but was devastated by the fire thrice¹ and the final shape which is existing at present dates back to Aurangzeb's reign. Although the mosque does not lie with the scope of this discussion yet one thing which makes me to do so, is that the original structure did not undergo any marginal change, and the basic structure remained the same with some mild alterations.²

The interior of the building is having a large amount of timber and the outer wall is of fired bricks. It consists of a square courtyard of some 240ft. in diameter surrounded on all sides with wide colonnades, the entire interior area being contained with a lofty exterior wall making a rectangle of 285 feet side.

Around the courtyard a continuous arcade is carried, but in the centre of each side the sequence of arches is interrupted by the imposition of a large structure of almost independent appearance, having a square frontage containing an arch way, while above rises a pyramidal roof in

1. M.H. BMMS f 210a.

2. Fergusson History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 333-4.

(ii) Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 81.
(Muslim Period)

the centre. However, the building represents the typical structure of the provincial style.

PATHER MASJID

This mosque is a completely intact and the passage of the time had not affected it at all. It is the only surviving large building of the period. It was constructed during the reign of Jehangir by his beloved queen under the supervision of Malik Haidar Chaudora in 1620 A.D.¹

Unfortunately, this has been totally neglected by the scholars of archaeology altogether. It seems due to the indecent remarks of the queen about the mosque, it lost its importance and as such remained in obscurity for a pretty long time.² So, it being not considered so important, lost the importance in the eyes of scholars. However, minor references can be traced out from different books but a detailed account could not be developed at present unless the mosque is not seen.

1. Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 82.
(ii) Bamzla PNK, A History of Kashmir.

2. It is said that some one asked Noorjehan about the actual amount spent on the mosque, she pointed to her studded shoe and it was decreed that the mosque should not become a place of worship and upto the recent times it was not used at all whether it is a myth or fact cannot be declared without further research.

The Pathar Masjid indicates from the very name, was made purely of stone. It is situated on the left side of the River Jehlum, almost on the opposite of the Shah Hamadan Mosque. The whole interior and exterior of the mosque is made of lime stone of bluish colour. There we could not trace the big stone pillars or huge stone pannels but delicacy predominates every where, but the least importance had been paid to the decoration or ornamentation. The provincial style had also least influence on this mosque and represents a style which can be traced in other such Mughal buildings, but some of the scars of the local style still can be noticed. The fired bricks and lime has been used and the main structure of the building is of the same material, but has been covered with stone and it seems to be a stone structure only.

The mosque is spread over an area of 9720 sq. feet. The entire compound is studded with heavy stone. The interior part is divided into three passages by two massive stone arches which extend from one end to the other. The roof of the compartments between them being beautifully ribbed and vaulted. The facade consists of 9 arches and a large compound style arch in the centre.

The various capitals which gained some importance during the Mughal period possess a number of mosques and, although having a typical style of their own, yet bear the common feature; the domes and the minars and the minarets. This was a common feature of all the Indo-Islamic buildings, whether private or civic ones. But we feel some diversion from this tradition and the Pather Masjid or Now Masjid (New Mosque) of Hassan does not bear any dome, Minar or a minaret.

The Pather Masjid was the last of the buildings of Jahangir.

Having thrown some light on the various buildings or Ziarats of the Hindu, Sultanate and the Mughal (1565-1627) period we derive out certain conclusions. First the Mughals attempted to revive the stone masonry and in this attempt they seem to have been a success as the mosques or the civic buildings of latter period are either partly or wholly made of stone. The traditional matter for the construction of the civic and private buildings was only wood and prior to the Muslim period the Chief matter was stone but the art of cementing the stone was unknown, as can be seen from the ruins of the old temples.

The Mughals on one hand revived the stone and at the sametime introduced the use of lime which helped

the artists to construct the arches and slanting walls. The Indo-Islamic architecture with the definite and dominating Persian style evolved a new Indo-Kashmiri style.

The Buddhist or so to say the Chinese influence along with the doric one became subordinate to that of Persian. However, the geographical conditions made the new style subject to the requirements of the people. The rectangular halls as in the early Islamic period (1339-1444) buildings were found, could be seen in the Mughal buildings (1586-1627) also.

PAINTING

The loss of independence was not a political set back to the nation only, but a majority of the people was degraded and the most ridiculous words were used by the Mughal writers whenever there came the reference of a Kashmiri. As previously stated, even Abul Fazl like enlightened persons termed the Kashmiri as (*مردان*) debased.

However, the Kashmiris did not lose heart and they continued their struggle in all fields. Being the intelligent nation which was even admitted by the worst enemies of the Kashmiris, could not have left this art un-

noticed. The question of the Hindu or Muslim painting does not matter much. The most important thing which diverts the attention of the present time scholar is the very subject of painting.

While going through the past history of the Kingdom, we do get some clue of the painters but not of paintings. The court musician of Zainulabidin, Mulla Jamil was prominent as a painter as well.¹

While examining the sculpture and the idols of early Hindu period, it can be presumed the painting of any kind should have been there. However, with the advent of Islam the painting of such forms receded to the background and its place was gradually taken by Calligraphy. All the artists took shelter in the fort of Calligraphy. The formal prohibition of Islamic law of the representation of animate nature in art resulted in the suppression of the art for sometime. But, after 13th century when the virtual control of the Calips was no more, the ban on the painting practically seems to have been ineffective. Under such circumstances, this fine art started the development again.

1. Mohd. Azam, Naqiat, p. 34-5.

The Mughals who were enlightened despots moved forward in all directions and the decree of Akbar, practically encouraged the painters and this art made tremendous development especially in the reign of Jahangir.¹

Devoting our attention to the development of this fine art in Kashmir, we come across diametrically opposite views.

The questions which strike us are if there existed any kind of school of painting? Secondly, when did it start declining? and why it did not flourish under the Mughals and the like.

In order to discuss the problem threadbare, it seems to be proper to have some discussion over the Painting and Calligraphy.

As already stated, the teachings of Islam did not encourage any kind of animate painting and at the same time the intimate love of Quranic verses and the

1. The decree of Akbar about painting
 "a painter has quite peculiar means of recognizing God" Ain I Blochman, p. 108.

sayings of the Great Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) started to become the decoration of the buildings. So many styles of Calligraphy developed and the Persian styles of Calligraphy dominated the entire Muslim world.¹ On one hand the Calligraphy made its headway and at the same time the margin (Hashiya) of the books, was illuminated and gradually, when the central control of the Caliphs decreased; developed into miniature painting. Thus the art of Calligraphy and paintings have a close connection and it is impossible to detach the two. To illustrate further this statement a complete volume is to be required and keeping in view the space and time the few illuminated books mentioned will be sufficient to accept this view. Dastan Amir Hamza (1550-75), Akbarnama by Bihzad and Abdusamad, Illustrated Akbar Nama by Baswan and Chatah, The Razam Nama, etc, etc.

In other words, it can be assumed the Calligraphists were not only well versed in writing the verses calligraphically but were equally best painters.

The art of Calligraphy was not the indigenous of Persia but it flourished in India and China too. This

1. Abul Fazi refers to 8 ^{Schools} ~~kinds~~ of Calligraphy which were existing in the Court of Akbar. Ain
2 Blochman, pp. 109-10.

art was there also treated as a fine art,¹ and worthy of study. The masters of Calligraphy enjoyed fame throughout Asia, not less than the best painters.²

The beautiful Valley did not lag behind. It also produced eminent artists who shown on the sky of the artists and were leading men of the Akbar's time and dominated even the Court of Jehangir.³ Mohd. Hussain Kashmiri who served Emperor Akbar was the most eminent Calligraphist of his Court.⁴ He retained the same position until his death in 1022 A.D.⁵

Mulla Mir Hassan, Mir Ali and so many others were the famous Calligraphists of the Jehangir's period.⁶

1. Vincent Smith, Fine Art in India and Ceylone, p. 184.
2. Ibid.
3. Vincent Smith, Fine Art in India and Ceylone, p. 184.
4. Tuzk, p. 44. (ii) Ain, Blochmann, p. 109.
5. Ibid, 109, FN. (ii) one of his works have been preserved in London by Wantage Bequest in her private collections (C. Staneley, Clarke, Indian Drawings, London, 1922. Plate No. 60, pp. 4. (ii) Elliot History of Jehangir (Posthumous Papers) Vol. 6., p. 359.
6. Mohd. Azam, Maciat, pp. 136-7.

But so far the wall painting or paintings on Cotton Cloth or paper are concerned, the scholars have different views. So far the contention of Percy Brown is concerned, he believes that the Kashmiri painters maintained a high artistic tradition for centuries, and a group of 5 painters of Kashmir were found at the Court of Akbar.¹ According to the same author there existed a Kashmiri qalam (Kashmiri School of Painting). However, not in a developed condition and was slightly spiritless imitation of Delhi work showing good drawing and colouring but a lack of vigour and character when compared with the best Mughal painting.² Karl Khandalavala refers to a collection of fifty love lyrics under the title of Chaurapanchasika, ascribed to a poet Vilhana who flourished in the 11th century.³

A romantic legend is associated with the composition of these poems. Although it is not within the scope of this topic, but refers to the existence of the art of

1. Brown, Percy. Indian Painting, p. 196., gives the following list of the Kashmiri Painters. Haidar Kashmiri, Ibrahim Kashmiri, Kamal Kashmiri, Mohd. Kashmiri and Yacoob Kashmiri.
2. Brown, Indian Painting, p. 194.
3. K. Khandalavala, New Documents of Indian Painting, p. 79.

earlier periods. The actual date of this illustrated work is not accurate, still there is hardly any doubt that they show the climax of a style whose beginning is seen in 1516 A.D.¹

Another scholar Taranath provides some information about the existence of the Kashmiri School of Painting of this period. According to his presumption, some Hasurja founded a new School of Painting and Sculpture which can claim to be an indigenous Kashmiri School, bearing the impression of Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic art.² But this presumption, as put by Pramod Chandar, of Taranath, seems to be uncompromising about the Kashmiri School of Paintings. However, suggests further investigation in this direction.³ According to the same scholar, the Kashmiri School was a School of Wall Painting, as put forward by Khandalavalla, though the other kinds of paintings may also have been attended to. Concluding, he is reluctant to accept if there existed any Kashmiri School

1. K. Kandalavala, New Documents of Indian Painting, pp. 79-80.
2. Havel, E.B. Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 34.
3. Havel, E.B. The Art Heritage of India, p. 35. The remarks mentioned above are from Pramode Chandar who has revised the work.

of miniature painting, and obviously, no Kashmiri tradition of miniature paintings could have filtered into the Hills. The another interesting fact is a set of 24 paintings in cotton preserved in the Indian Section of Victoria and Albert Museum, London, produced in Kashmir about the middle of the 16th century. The illustration comprises many scenes of bloodshed and battles. The most pleasing and the best composition represents a central garden plot with Chinar trees and highly decorated palace in the Iranian style.¹

During the reign of Jehangir this School attained its zenith and we have excellent pieces of Kashmiri Qalam (Kalam) in the Sri Partab Singh Museum, Srinagar, and in some private collections. Jehangir himself being a lover of fine arts, stimulated the artists of Kashmir.

A fine collection of mythological scenes beautifully designed and illuminated was exhibited in the Indian Art Exhibition held in New Delhi, 1903. The excellent pieces of illuminated and illustrated manuscripts in Sanskrit and Persian had been discovered during the last two centuries of 16th and 17th centuries.

1. Bamzla, PNK, A History of Kashmir, pp. 528-30, refers to Havel's work, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 9-10, is not born out by facts. However Sufi, G.M.D. Kashir Vol. 2, p. 556, supports the author and refers to the actual source that is the Albert Museum.

In addition to the other pigments used by these painters, the Kashmiri obtained a delicate shade by allowing water to stand until it had completely evaporated, thus depositing a slight sediment. The process known as abinana gave a charming tone to the pictures. "water", says Sufi, "was of course, the principal medium through which all the pigments were applied, but with this certain fixtures were mixed such as gum, glue, raw sugar, and linseed water.¹ Concluding this we obtain certain facts about the existence of art of painting and Calligraphy.

Firstly, there existed a Kashmiri Kalam (کالم) and top level painters were produced during the reign of Akbar and Jehangir. Now the question arises why it did not flourish? As a matter of fact, the artists of all sorts, finding their avenues closed in the Valley because of the annexation and above all, due to the disappearance of the indigenous nobility, moved to the imperial court. So, on one hand they lost the individuality and on the other, were influenced by the other schools, which gave birth to a mixed art and this very art later claimed to be the Mughal art, which under Jehangir attained its maturity as by this time

1. Sufi, G.M.D. Kashmir, Vol. 2, p. 556.

the Mughal Painters had ceased to copy the Persian style.¹ We can trace out the various works of the different groups, present in the court of Emperor Akbar but will not help us to trace out their individuality. The very statement of Brown helps us to attain this conclusion that all the provincial artists formed groups in order to carry-on their work, but due to the collective efforts, their individuality was not traceable.²

Secondly, if there was any kind of influence over the Bahari School of Painting of the Kashmiri School of Painting? As a matter of fact, it can be presumed, that due to the unsympathetic attitude of Aurangzeb towards these Court Painters, made them dependent on the chieftains, who were interested in fine arts. Naturally, the Kashmiri Painters would have preferred to flee to these hilly areas in order to get the recognition of their art. The presumption of Karl Khandalavala about the influence of the Kashmiri School on the Bahari School of Painting, seems to be a fact.

The focus of the painters or all sorts of artists was shifted to the Mughal Court rather to the provincial headquarters. It cannot be accepted that the Kashmiri School of Painting died down or faded away but virtually the action and inter-action of various provincial styles resulted in the evolution of the Mughal School of Painting.

1. Brown, Indian Painting, p. 125.

2. Brown, Indian Painting Under Mughals, p. 123.

LITERATURE:

Kashmir of Jehangir was not only the Valley but it included 5 Sarkars and the Valley being the main centre of gravity and interest, because of her geographical position. The rest of the Sarkars, namely Pakhli, Kashtawar, Rajouri, Little Tibet and Hill States of Jammu division remained in background.

Although the province of Kashmir was a single entity, but the ties of mutual contacts were very often let a loose by the reactionary forces, however, the imperial authorities did not allow any movement to gain momentum. There were different languages spoken in different areas. The Kashmiri or Koshur was the language of the Valley, Kashtawar, Bohra, and some Hill States, which we will discuss in subsequent pages in detail.¹ The Batli or Dardi was in the Northern areas while Shina was spoken in Gilgit and Dras areas. Dogri was the language of the Jammu and some of the hilly areas of Southern part of the Kingdom.

It is a wonderful phenomena of the Kashmir History that the language which was existing since times immemorial did not achieve the official status even during the Independent Sultana, and not even a script was evolved.

1. Koushur is the name of the language spoken in Kashmir.

To investigate the actual position of various branches of literature, it will be the essential thing to discuss the various branches separately.

Three types of languages achieved great importance since the early Hindu period to that of the Mughal (1627), namely Koushur, Sanskrit, and Persian.

The Koushur or Kashmiri remained the language of the masses since 10th century and Sanskrit that of literature and of literary persons, while it remained the official language upto the first quarter of 14th century.¹ Then, it started declination, but not so fastly. Then the Persian started its influence and by the middle of 15th century became the official language and it became a craze of the intelligentsia to achieve the knowledge of Persian. But Kashmiri language, although did not receive any royal patronization, kept on enriching herself and the control on the masses became more and more effective.

Thus all the three languages remained in the picture in one way or the other even upto the Mughal ascendancy

1. It can be presumed because of the activities and the role of the missionaries that Persian became the official language of the Sultans. Some of the important posts were held by these immigrants and their language was the Persian. However, the Sanskrit language was playing its role even upto the 16th century, as can be detected while going through some Bi lingual documents preserved in Sri Partab Singh Museum. The document is the Wasiyat Nama of Sheikh Hamza Makdumi which was written in 1576 A.D.

Koushur or Kashmiri

It belongs to the Dardic group of languages which includes Shina and Kohistani branches too. The earliest specimen's of the languages can be traced out even during the early 12th century A.D. The reference of the Kashmiri sayings which are still existing are noticed even in Raja Tarangni.¹ The sayings of the Saints like Lalla Ded are preserved in the minds of the people and Grierson with confidence claims the authenticity of such Vakayas.² However, the language was spoken language and not written. We read so many Kashmiri words and even sentences in Raja Tarangni which definitely speak of the existence of the Koushur but in Sanskrit script,³ and so many Kashmiri pro-verbs can be traced out from the very source.⁴ The pro-verbs and sayings still to be considered the best and literary rich indicate the richness of the language.

1. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.VIII, Part 2, p. 237.
(ii) Parmu RK, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 453.
2. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.VIII, Part 2, p. 237.
3. Bamzla PNK, A History of Kashmir, p. 518.
see Kalahans Raja Tarangni Rangas Hellove dinna
(Hilu is to be granted to Ranga) Ve No. 397
(Steris translation)
4. Raja Tarangni (Steris translation), V. 401 and 565.

In the 14th century A.D. Lalla, as already stated above was not only a mystic lady but a poetess too. We have a good number of her verses still remembered and sung by the people. Her lyrics reveal the mystic impressions. But her poetry is full of Sanskrit words and only a few words of Persian were used by her.¹

Soon after this great philosopher poetess, we have another great Saint who was a revolutionary and the same spirit can be marked in his verses. However, he follows the foot-steps of Lalla Ded but the Sanskrit words were replaced by Persian, but still the Sanskrit was the predominating factor.² The Sultans also patronized the language and Zainulabidin was the leading one. Under the Chak Rule this language flourished and made tremendous development. The queen of Yousf Shah Chak was not only a well versed poetess and she added new themes, and metres. Her romantic lyrics bear all characteristics of the modern romantic poetry. The predominance of Persian words can be noticed in her poetry, but certain Sanskrit words were retained which were still spoken by the people.

1. Mohibbul Hassan, Kashmir Under Sultans, p. 259.

2. His lyrics have been edited by the Cultural Academy, Srinagar, and have been published too.

The mystical and didactic lyrics were replaced by the emotional lyrics revealing her disappointment, hopes and complaints.¹ This period seems to have been the outstanding of the Kashmiri language but was still in a spoken form and had not attained the written form when it again started to move towards back-ground, because of the decline of the Chak rule.

After the Mughal annexation the language lost the imperial patronage and the poets again tilted towards the Persian poetry, which was the official language of Mughals. Being not only the Court language but the mother tongue of the Mughals too. Their immense love for their land and language increased its prestige.

As already stated, the masses always try to mould themselves in the ways of their masters especially during the medieval. So, the intelligent people always take a lead in this direction in order to obtain the favours of the ruling class. Obviously, the Kashmiris tried to achieve a passport to the Mughal Court and the only way was to excell themselves in the language and modes of life of the masters. Under these circumstances, the Persian language once more sprang up and the literate people diverted their attention to the Persian language.

1. Mohibbul Hassan, p. 260.

The patronization of the Kashmiri language was out of question, because, the Mughals did not understand the language on the one hand and at the same time, they were the masters of India and not of Kashmir only. They required a uniform medium of language and so, the local dialects went into the background. Kashmiri could not have been an exception. If the Kashmiri received a set back, it was not because of the unsympathetic attitude of the Mughal or they had some enmity towards this, but as a matter of fact, it was the people themselves who tried to learn the Persian and did not pay due attention to their own dialect.

However, the Court language could not change the mother tongue of the people. However it indirectly enriched the Kashmiri. New Persian words, themes and meters began to enter into the language and fortunately, having the capacity of absorption, the Koushur or Kashmiri began to develop. The intellectuals who were eager to seek permission in the Mughal Court attained the knowledge of Persian, but the man in the street remained loyal to his own dialect. But how long they would have been able to cast-off their mother tongue. They if not all, tried to Court Verses in their own language, so as mentioned above, this accepted some new diamentions.

While assessing the impact of the alien rule, we could not deny that the language or the poets who were shining stars in their fields of their times remained in obscurity. And the Kashmiri culture, which after a long time was now moving to some new and civilized direction started the path of impoverishment. I may mention it again that it was not intentionally, but only the indirect outcome of the alien rule. The language however retained its hold not only on the Valley but even some of the hilly division of Jammu and even beyond Riasi.

Kashmiri was spoken in the following regions. It is bounded up on the North by Shina language of Dardic group. On the West it is bounded by Chihali and Punci a branch of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, in the East by Badrawahi a dialect of Western Pahari. During the Mughal period it was not only spoken in the Valley as it is generally believed, but was spoken in Kashtawar, and to the South it has flowed over the Pir Patsal Range into the lower hills lying North of the river Chinab.¹ But the dialect spoken here was more affected by the Indian languages and a number of Indian originated words were picked up.² The dialect spoken in upper division of the Valley bears the same impact while in

1. Ain (Jarret) Vol. 2, p. 350.

2. Grierson, G.A. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 8 (II), p. 233.

the lower division Dardic and Shina language seems to have affected the dialect. This difference can be marked out even at present. There are some words which are not in vogue in the lower division and vice-versa.¹ According to Vigne the Kashmiri language can be classified as under:

Every 100 words of Kashmiri are classified as 25 Sanskrit, 40 Persian, 15 Hindustani 10 Arabic and 10 Tibetan words. This gives us the rough picture of the impact of various languages on Koushur.² But the language was only spoken and no clue has been so far re-traced to show if there was any written one.

Persian Language:

The impact of Persian language was felt since the accession of the Shah Mir dynasty, and it became the official language in the reign of Sultan Zainulabidin. Broadly speaking, the Persian language spread at the cost of Sanskrit language.

Why it did become the official language when primarily it was not the mother tongue of the Sultans, as they had since long cut off their links with their mother

1. Vigne had discussed this aspect in detail Travels, p. 368.

2. Ibid.

land. While going through the pages of history we notice the close trade relations with the Persian speaking countries, secondly, after the foundation of the Sultanate the Muslim Saints, missionaries and religious leaders poured into the Valley. The Sultans fell in their influence and naturally the Sanskrit which represented Hindu culture began to decline and Persian attained the upper hand. Besides, it had an economic background too, as mentioned above. The traders and merchants who were traversing Persian, Turkistan, Khatlan and other areas were taking more and more interest in educating their children through the Persian medium. A long list of such people who belonged to this class can be presented.¹ These facilities were provided by the Sultans.

Thirdly, the educated Muslims, in order to study further and seek guidance in the field of religion, Hadith, Quran, Logic etc., etc., left for Persia. Whether it was Mulla-Mazhari or Daood, or Sheikh Yacoobi Sarfi. All sought the shelter under the pivot of Islamic culture, provided by the Persia and Turkistan.

The Sultans got so many Sanskrit works translated in Persian. The well known History Raza - Tarangni was translated by Zainulabidin under the title

1. Mohd. Azam Maciat, pp. 34-38, 57, 85, 88, 122, 134.

of Bahrul Asmar.¹ The very fact of achieving the statehood indicates the influence of the language. However, under Mughals, it flourished again and many splendored works were produced under the reign of Jahangir. The period of Akbar (1586-1605) was a period of transition and new ideas and ideal were to be examined. So the intellectuals did not remain immune. During the reign of Akbar Sheikh Yacoobi Sarfi, Baba Dawood Khaki and Sheikularifin like personalities produced various works on theology, tradition, and philosophy.

While assessing the position of Persian under Jahangir our eyes catch the glimpse of too well known works on History bearing unique peculiarities. These are the Tawarikh-i Kashmir, by Raisulmulk Malik Haider Chaudhore and another famous history of some anonymous writer Baharistani Shahi by name. It was not only a history of political events but throws light on the socio-economic condition of the people too. These two historians retained the position of being the torch bearers as was done by their predecessor Kalhan. Both of the writers were patronized by the Emperor Jahangir, and Malik Haider was awarded the title of Raisul Mulk too. He completed his work in 1622 A.D. and Baharistani Shahi was finished in 1608 A.D.² Both the works had a two fold importance, the historical and literal. Both of them have some best pieces of poetry.

1. Ain, Jarret Vol. 2, pp. 353-4.

2. M.H. BMMS f 223-4. (11) Baharistan, BMMS f 213a-b.

The Kashmiris who were famous for their wit, achieved the imperial patronization. The Court of Jehangir was flocked by the Kashmiri poets of Persian language. Mohd. Yousf Kashmiri a well known was a famous poet of Jehangir reign.¹ Mulla Mohd. Sadiq was another Kashmiri poet who excelled in Persian language, he is the author of Tabqali Shahi Jahani. Mulla Mohd. Hussain a famous Kashmiri Painter, Calligraphist and poet was on the top of the Court writers of Akbar and served Jehangir for 6 years. He always accompanied him and even in the Kashmir visit, he was with the Emperor.²

In addition to these persons, there were so many poets who had produced a lot of Persian literature. It will be incomplete if a reference is not made to Habibullah Hubi (d 1623 A.D.). He was a son of a merchant and was the deciple of Sheikh Yaqoobi Sarfi. His lyrics are full of spiritual and mystical emotions. He was the author of Tanbibulqalab and Rahatulqulab. Both are a treatise on mysticism.³

Shaikh Mahdi Ali Sopori was another gifted poet and his importance was acknowledged even by Sheikh Ahmad Sir Hindi.⁴

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1. Bamzla P.N.K. A History of Kashmir, p. 312.
 2. Tuzk, p. 44. (ii) Elliot, A History of Jehangir, Vol. 6, p. 359.
 3. Both the works are preserved in Research Library, Srinagar.
 4. Mohd. Azam, Maciat, p. 129.

Muharami Raz, the author of Hidayatul Ama was equally famous and renowned person.¹ Khawja Masood had correspondence with Shaikh Yaqoobi Sarhindi and was a famous poet. Above all was Mulla Mazhari. He had composed a Diwan comprising of 6000 verses. He had contacts with Mutashim Kashi and with so many Persian poets of importance. Mulla Auji Kashmiri (d 1032 A.N.) was the first to introduce the wine in the poetry. Being a composer of Masnawi namely Saqinama is full of praises of the wine. The Masnavi is not traceable.³

The progress of Persian caused the decline of Sanskrit language. However, the importance of the Sanskrit was still felt even during the Mughals as well as the Sultans of 15th and 16th century. A few bilingual documents reveal the existence of the language, as the Wasiyat Nama of Kakhdoom Shah Sahib dated 1576 A.D. written on brich bark and preserved in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.

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1. Ibid. p. 132.
 2. Mohd. Azam, Waqiat, p. 136.
 3. Ibid. 137.

A few verses have been recorded by the author of Waqiat.

Music

Music although a pastime did not remain behind. It made tremendous development during the later Sultans and the Mughals. It has its roots deep in the past history of the Kingdom.

The Kashmiri music is to a large extent indigenous. The Mughals who were fond of music did not like the Kashmiri music or the musicians because of the unintelligible language. However, their indifferences toward this art did not curtail the progress of this art. It flourished and the people who enjoyed the music took more and more interest in developing this art.

Revealing the historical background of music, we notice that the art of music was one of the major pastime of the Sultans and bands of musicians were always around them. Sultan Zainulabidin revived the art which had received a temporary set-back during Sultan Sikandar's reign. The Sultans not only patronized the music but arranged musical concerts even.¹ Yousf Shah Chak was not only a lover of such gatherings but was himself a poet and his

1. Mohibbul Hassan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 270-2.

queen was a singer of highest repute.¹ Yousf had always a large band of musicians around him.² Hass an Shah was not less interested than Yousf. He had patronized the art to such an extent that musicians from all over the neighbouring countries tried to achieve his patronship.³ The Kashmiri musicians demonstrated their art in imperial camps of the Mughals too. The bands of the musicians, Kawal were honoured and awarded by the courtiers.⁴

The music, as the other fields were influenced by the Persian traditions. The Persian rythems and tunes even were also introduced. Habba Khatoon also tried the Persian meter in her poems and tried to follow the above mentioned traditions. The Sufiana Kalam which resembles the Persian classical music is even at present the most interest ed classical music. The other traditional music or folk dance cum music was the Roush. These folk songs were enjoyed and sung in bands and the virgin and young ladies organized such dances.⁵ The romantic or the love lyrics

1. M.H. BMMS f 172-74b (ii) Baharistan f 576.

2. M.H. BMMS f 74b.

3. Ibid.

4. Mohd. Azam, Waciat, pp. 137-8.

5. Parmu R.K., A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 451.

of Habba Khatoon were the ideal songs sung by these singers. The other folk dance which was followed by music and songs was Bach Nagma which will be dealt while discussing the dance. The classical music was sung in Chorus as at present.¹ In the rest of India the classical music was not sung in Chorus, this peculiarity was prevalent in Kashmiri classical music only.

Jehangir attributes this development to Mirza Haider Dughal who according to him introduced so many musical instruments.² The traditional musical instruments were Tumbakhnari (Daf) and the Sarang, but Santur, Saz, Sitar, Rabab and Ud were also in use.³ Jehangir himself listened the Kashmiri music, but due to the language he did not like the songs and the tone of the singers, but did not discard the music (instrumental).⁴ Although the metaphor and tone was to a large extent resembling the Indian, but still the indigenous touch was dominant

1. Ibid, 452, (ii) Muhibbul Hassan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 272.
2. Tuzk, p. 301.
3. Ibid, p. 301. (ii) Muhibbul Hassan, p. 272.
4. Tuzk, p. 301.

The mystic faith achieved momentum during the Sultans and there were some 2000 Rishis in the Valley while Jahangir paid a visit in 1587 alongwith his father. They believed that the music is essential. The Hindu culture which was rich in all respects could not have been ignored, and the Muslims did not adopt a bigoted attitude towards this heritage.

The dance, was considered a religious performance and the Shiva philosophy had greatly influenced this. Since the majority of the people were believers of Shiva faith and had spiritual inclination towards this.

After the establishment of the Sultanate, the Muslim rulers took keen interest in music and dance. We are fortunate enough that Jonaraj and Srive Pandith had provided us with some information in bringing about the state of ecstasy which enabled man to see God face to face. Under these circumstances music was equally liked and patronized by the people and there was not a single house where a young boy or a girl was not gifted with this fine art.¹ It had become the pastime on one hand and on the other evolved us an art.

1. Parmu, RK, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 452.

The development of music was followed by the dance. The Sultans who although belonged to the other lands adopted the indigenous way of life and they became the sons of the land. On the other hand, the Islam which was introduced in Kashmir did not create any kind of mutual hatred but the later was an accomplished musician himself and was the head of the music department during the reign of Hassan Shah. Zainulabidin was himself as already mentioned fond of dance and drama.¹

The dancers not only danced for the sack of pleasure, but the rhythmic motions explained the different emotions in 49 ways on the descending and ascending notes of music.

With the advent of Mughal rule Kashmiri Culture was dominated by the influence of Delhi where the classical Indian dancing had already absorbed the technique of the dance forms of the Turkistan and Persia. The Hafiza dance gained momentum during the Mughals. Both the upper and lower sections of the people took keen interest in the Hafiza dance. The Hafiza dance which was more popular in the Afghan rule is still existing and enjoyed by the masses.

1. Banzia, A History of Kashmir, p. 522.

The Hafiza belonged to a class of professional dancers who had to undergo a long and exacting training under expert masters. The orchestra accompanying them was invariably of the Sufiana Kalam type. The dress of a Hafiz resembled the dress of a Kathak dancers of Northern India - a tight fitting short blouse and a skirt of enormous width which was worn about the waist. Usually two hafizas took place in the performance. The dance would begin with music note from the supporting Orchestra, and the hafizas started their motions accordingly. They moved in a semi-circle with short steps gliding effortlessly across the floor.

1. Bamzla PNK, A History of Kashmir, pp. 522-3.

CHAPTER - VICONCLUSION

The new epoch of the Kashmir History started in 1586 when the age long isolation was broken and it was annexed by Emperor Akbar. The most crucial stage in the history of Muslim rule started from this very date, and this was a new factor in the body politic of the state. The Sultans were replaced by the Mughals and the new phase of history started after the conclusion of a bloody war in and around the city of Srinagar under the command of Mohd. Qasim Khan Mir Bahar in 1586 A.D.

The factors which determined the Mughal advance and annexation of Kashmir have already been discussed. Then a treaty was concluded between a group of progressive religious leaders and Mughal Emperor. Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi a scholar, and a statesman who headed the delegation, re-enchanted the torch which was ignited by Laladed and then passed on to the veteran Saint Sheikh Nurudin Rishi. The Chaks because of their unsound policy towards the Sunnis had made the very base of the administration unstable and hollow. The religious bigotry and the mass scale persecution of the Sunni Ulama and Quazis sounded a note of caution in the ears of the Sunni religious leaders. The orthodox elements were not tolerated. The Hindus and Muslims lived in a peaceful way. There was no mutual hatred and indifference. But soon after the death of Zainulabidin (1470 A.D.), his weak successors did not pay due attention to the administration and the results are obvious. The foreign elements became active in the state and in 1540 A.D. Mirza Haidar Duglat, attacked Kashmir

and captured the Valley. He tried to follow a policy of divide and rule, diverting the attention of people to the Shia and Sunni conflict. But the minds of the people were not prepared for the acceptance of his theory and his unwarranted and unsound policy made him a cripple and after a rule of ten years he was killed in cold blood. But his anti-Shia policy created mutual hatred and the seeds of communalism sown by him, were turned into full blown trees because of the unsound policy of Chak rulers. They waged a war against the Sunni Theologians, Jurists, Quazis and Preachers, broadly speaking against its own people. There was no law and order in the country and the torch of light which so far was guarding the character of the Kashmiris was in danger. There was every apprehension that the rule of jungle would not only blow-off the torch but even the very existence of peace loving nation was in danger. There was no safety of life and property of the masses and the army was so much out of control that they freely rebuked the religious leaders of the Sunnis. But such a state of affairs was no longer tolerable to the leaders. They did not want to see their land in such state of affairs. The Kashmiri character was on the anvil and it again made its headway when two of sons of the sacred soil slipped away to Hindustan and approached Akbar about whom so much was heard. They did not ask the Emperor any compensation for the help they were ready to provide him. They did not require any post in the imperial bureaucracy. What did they ask the Emperor? Only four things. They represented the very character of a Kashmiri. They asked him the irradiation of the local nobility, the uniform treatment to all sections of people, the safeguard against the cruelties and equal provision for development, above all a promise that the local nobles and the people may not be made captives.

This unique treaty in its nature aroused the inner feelings of the Emperor and he at-once started to utilize the opportunity. The demand of the growing influence of Uzbek Power was also compelling the Emperor to keep the Valley in his own hands otherwise, there was every apprehension of passing the Valley in the hands of the mighty Uzbeks, and at the same time he wanted to secure the Northern frontiers, so as to divert his attention towards the Southern India, which had been always a position of the rulers of North since times immemorial.

The inherent desire of Shaikh was only to safeguard the interests of the masses and to see Kashmir prosperous and a Kashmir of the dreams of Zainulabidin. A beautiful Kashmir, where all were free and without any external and internal threat. Hindus, Muslims and others may live like brothers. These were his sentiments and he would have thought Akbar only after his heart who can make his dreams come true.

Had not been the Mughal army guided by Sarfi, they would have again been defeated as in their previous attempts. It was because of his speeches people accepted the new invading army. Chaks, who were always busy in merry-making and enjoying the company of women and dancers, were defeated. But to oust them was not so easy. Minor skirmishes continued for more than a year and the chaks made desperate attempts to defeat the Mughals, but the tide was not favourable. They had been reaping the fruit of their follies and Mughals were consolidating their position.

The golden age of Zainulabidin seemed to be returning and once more the reactionary forces were defeated. Hindus and Muslims inhaled a sigh of relief and there was complete amity, and peace under the benign rule of Akbar. Getting relief from the internal Chaos and confusion and from external threats the people also tried to stabilize their position, which was made to dwindle during the past one century.

The nobles and the local militia was disbanded and the central forces were stationed on various posts to maintain the law and order. The minor skirmishes were now dying down and Akbar who paid a visit to scrutinize and to assess the situation ordered a fresh revenue settlement on the lines carried on in the rest of India. The entire land was attached to the Khalisa and the army was paid in cash. The local nobility which was mainly responsible for the breakdown of the administration and for the disintegration of the Sultanate were deprived of their lands and jagirs. The intermediaries were annihilated and direct settlement was executed with the peasant. The revenue was charged on $\frac{1}{2}$ of the produce, which was an enhanced rate but virtually much more and even $\frac{3}{4}$ of the produce was snatched away from the peasants during the previous rule. The rising created on the basis of enhanced rates did not make a headway as it was created by the local officials, who wanted to make some profits for themselves.

One of the notable things which was resented by the masses was the existence of the army in the private houses and their

highhandedness also aroused hatred against the alien forces.

The capital was changed into a cantonment and the peaceful atmosphere could not have been maintained. Akbar who was a man ahead of his time readout the feelings of the masses and immediate orders were passed to vacate the private houses. The rationale behind these orders was obvious. He wanted to make the people feel elevated and secondly a new city was ordered to be founded where one portion was meant for the army.

Kashmir, which had enjoyed complete freedom since the dawn of history was now exposed to the outer world. The Muslim rule which was established in 14th century had not changed the basic character of the Kashmiris but a peculiar socio-economic set-up was evolved, but the annexation on one hand finalized the isolated state of the Kingdom and on the other hand the Indo-Islamic Culture began to predominate the Kashmiri culture. A struggle of the traditional and reactionary forces started. The reactionary forces were supported by the rulers and the traditional by the ruled. This mutual tussle resulted in the hatred against the Mughals and on the other hand the Mughals writers and even the responsible post holders did not like the Kashmiris. They painted dark pictures of the Kashmiris and even Abul Fazl like persons did not hesitate to call the Kashmiris base-natured. The Mughals unlike the indigenous rulers enjoyed the beauties of the Valley, loved the Kingdom more than any part of their empire but they faced the masses as the rulers of Alien Nature. They did not like the language, dress, diet, and even the people. The nobles, who came and

ruled but did not pay due attention to the basic needs of the people. What did the people want, was the parental love, which they had found in Zainulabidin, The souls of the Valley were in search of such a man and Shaikh Yaqoob Sarfi, rightly selected Akbar.

The very struggle as mentioned above was a battle of ideologies rather than politics. Shaikh was the man to side with the reactionary forces, because he preferred an alien rule which advocated religious tolerance, equality of man and provision of help and patronization on the basis of equality. The traditional forces wanted to keep the masses under sub-ordination, keep them ignorant of the new developments, communalism and what not. There were two courses lying before Sheikh and it was for him to decide one. In either cases he would have gained wealth and power, prestige and property. The former was difficult and the later was easy to follow. He kicked of the false notions of independence, an independence of a few and dependence of masses. The people were not even able to pray according to their own ways and the peasant was the most distressed class. This kind of independence was of no use, where the basic character of the nation was on the path of annihilation. The veteran scholar selected the right path and saved the state from the clutches of the wild rulers.

Certain facts and circumstances reveal the nature of the change resulting from Mughal annexation of Kashmir and the benevolent rule of Akbar. In a period when the very conception of benevolence was out of question, what more we should have been expected. While

dealing the period (1586-1622) we have to put off the coloured glasses and to see the difficulties which the new dynasty was facing. We lay emphasis on the words of Abul Fazl, but keep our eyes close when we see the Kashmiris, in the shape of artists, painters, calligraphists, shining on the sky of Mughal Darbar. Now the point which pricks the modern scholar is the aloofness and hatred of the Mughals with the traditions of the Kashmiris. It is a general complaint that the Mughals did not adopt the local traditions. The Mughals, as in case of the Sultans, were not the rulers of Kashmir only. They had a vast and multi-coloured, multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural nation to rule. To represent or adopt a particular way of life would have logically been against the interests of the entire nation. We have to come out of the prejudice and to accept the broad base of the realities. At the sametime, as it has been widely accepted that Akbar and Jehangir left no stone unturned to develop the state culturally, politically and economically soon after the annexation Akbar diverted his attention to the administrative aspects of the Kingdom. The uniform administrative and revenue system was one of the legacies of the Mughals. Since the death of Zainulabidin, the land revenue administration was especially in a confused condition. The Kingdom was ruled by the mighty Waziers and a few nobles. The state was divided and distributed among the powerful exploiters. The tributary states had caste of the central authority and the Kingdom of Kashmir was squeezed to the Valley only. Had the native rule been allowed to continue, the remaining portion would have been divided into two part. The anti-Shia movement was gaining momentum and

Sopore was becoming the Centre of the Sunni polity. Had not the Sheikh moved towards the right direction a fierce and destructive civil war would have reduced the Kingdom to obscurity. It was the Mughal rule which welded together not only entire Valley but even the tributary states. The far-off hill states like Rajouri, Jammu Pakhli, little Tibet and greater Tibet were made to bow to a central authority, stationed at Srinagar. Due to these efforts the map of a state was completed in the reign of Sikh rule. Otherwise, the very conception of the state would have been a dream. The very existence of the state would have been compromised if the alien rule would have been allowed to continue.

Initially, Akbar followed a policy of suppression and later-on when the anti-Mughal movements died down a policy of pacification was followed. The nobles who had been taking shelter in the hills were persuaded to come to the terms and were given Jagirs, no doubt nominal, but outside the Valley. The rationale behind their eradication, was on the one hand to free the Kingdom from these miscreants and on the other hand to move in the direction of terms of the treaty. However, Jehangir, soon after the accession tried to mould the native nobles and became eager to create a local nobility in order to counterweight the growing influence of anti-Mughal nobility? He not only persuaded the chak nobles but even their allies to come to terms and Jagirs which were given to them in India were transferred to the Valley. The displeased claimants of the throne, who were busy in Kashtawar, were

also pacified and deported to India and those who had been already there allowed to return to the native land. However, the danger from Chaks was not yet out of way and so all the governors kept an eye on their movements in order to neutralize their activities.

This was the policial development which was not because of the deliberate intentions of the Mughals or against the people but against their foes. Any government even in the modern democratic age would have followed the same path. But was the same a attitude towards the people is a question which requires a detailed discussion.

As already stated the Mughals, who were eager to bring the state alongwith the line of the rest of Indian people, started the plough of reforms. Their first and foremost attention was diverted to the land and a revenue settlement on the basis of India was carried on. The external security and internal peace was an olive branch to the masses and they started to achieve the fruits of this condition. The increase in the revenue, automatically approves the fiscal development.

Had the Mughals been working against the interest of the people, then we could not have been able to see Mohd. Hassan the Calligraphist in the Court of Akbar, not as a simple artist but as a leader of the artists.

The false notion of the impoverishment of the Kashmir Culture, under the Mughals can be shattered to the ground, when we

study the problem on the broad base. The very existence of a group of 5 painters in the Court of Akbar, who on one side were representing the Kashmiri Kalam, and on the other were representing the Mughal. It may not be out of place if we accept the view point of the eminent scholar, who believe that the Mughal Culture was not a culture of Mughals, but a mixture of the diverse cultures existing in the empire. It does not mean the peculiarities of various regions were eradicated, but basically the good points were adopted and the bad or unsuitable were dropped. But the peculiarities were there. It can be traced out from the existing architecture or from the pieces of art. In this new culture Kashmiris, as well, played their part, and enriched their own styles side by side with the central or Mughal culture.

While discussing art and architecture, I have pointed out the indigenous style of architecture developed on one hand and on the other the Mughal rather Indo-Persian characteristics were introduced too. The revival of stone-craft and the development in the Shawl Industry could not be under-estimated. The opening of Shawl Karkhanas in Lahore does not necessarily mean that the Mughal were going to shatter the economy of the Valley, but I may say, were going to propagate and enhance the same.

The isolated nature of the state was no more and the European travellers poured into the Valley. The trade relations which so far were with the central Asian Countries, seems to have been

now moving in the Southern direction, that is with India and thence to Western countries, through Western ports of Mughal Empire .

Under the rule of Jehangir, Kashmir was the most favourable land. He paid constant visits and very often stayed in the Valley for entire summer. The people had free access to him in order to get cheap justice. He took extra ordinary steps to increase the productivity of the land and improved horticulture. New experiments were carried on in order to improve the fruits of the Valley. The revenue offices were asked to persuade the garden-holders to adopt the new grafting system and to plant the new fruits introduced from Persia and Central Asia. Wine culture was paid extra ordinary attention. A network of pleasure gardens alongwith the fruit gardens spread over the entire Valley. The Emperor during his extensive tours selected the beautiful spots for such orchards. The entire Valley was scanned and developmental programmes were carried on. Whenever, there was the slightest complaint against any official of whatsoever nature he was, was removed and replaced by a just as in case of Ahamad Beg Khan, or Delawar Khan. They were strongly directed to maintain peace and prosperity and do not work against the interests of the people. Jehangir once attributed the rising of Kashlawar to Delawar Khan and his agents, who tried to play with the sentiments of the people and according to him demanded more than that which they could afford. He not only dismissed him, but even rebuked him. To facilitate the merchants, rahadari taxes, (a tax on merchandise) was remitted and the

merchants enjoyed complete freedom. Various roads were repaired and some new roads were constructed. On important stops, inns were constructed to facilitate the passerby and garrisons were posted on different quarters. Dak Chowkis were installed and every facility was provided to the merchants and tourists. In short all the aspects of the development were attended to and steps were taken to make the people more independent socially and economically.

Now let us turn our attention to the social aspect of the State. It is generally accepted that the Mughals behaved as rulers and treated the Kashmiris as ruled. They disliked and misrepresented the character of a Kashmiri. A gulf was thus created which in the long run became so wide that even after the passage of centuries was not abridged.

So far the reign of Jehangir is concerned it can be safely accepted, that he not only took keen interest in the economic development of the kingdom, he did not enjoy the Valley as a pleasure garden only, but participated in the social functions of the people too. It was his deep love of the Valley and his people which made him study the deeper and minute details of society. He not only deals with the dress and diet of the masses but even takes pleasure in describing the social functions of the country.

He is seen moving in the busy streets and the masses eagerly awaiting their Emperor. Akbar himself enjoyed this while his subjects thronged out of their homes to have a glance of their Emperor,

and now Jehangir follows the same path. No doubt the excessive importance attached to Kashmir by Jehangir was not whole heartedly accepted by the courtiers. It is why they reproached the Emperor while in a summer day, he was passing through a busy street. Jehangir participated in all those social functions which were ceremonized during his stay. He participated in the peculiar social fair (wethruwah) and enjoyed the Dussehra scenes. He not only participated, but continued the tradition of the Sultans who were conferring the robes of honour and awarded titles and Jagirs to the non-Muslim subjects. On one hand, he participated their social functions and on the other hand kept a vigilant eye on the society. He condemned the Sati and appointed officers to investigate and bring to the book the offenders. He participated in Hindu festivals and on the other hand took active part in Muslim ceremonies. He granted lands to the temples and mosques all alike. He could be seen with the Rishi Saints and Brahmin Priests. He could be found moving in the lovely Dal Lake alongwith the queen and Kashmiri mystics.¹ Then there arises no question of sowing the seed of mutual hatred.

The land grants or cash grants were not meant for the Monasteries or the Mosques only. He granted a cash grant to Baba Falib Isfahani for the maintenance of mosque Hammams, keeping in view the bitter cold of the place and the economic condition on the other side.

So far, the cultural development is concerned, there is evidence of tremendous development in that field. We have two well

1. For details see Waqiat Mohd. Azam, pp. 124-8.

known Historians of his period. We have some Masnawis and a long list of poets can be prepared. We have a number of treatises on mysticism, philosophy, Hadith, History and in all branches of literature. However, the Sanskrit language which was already in a declined situation did not make a headway. Its decline was further accelerated and we do not come across any substantial work of the period under review. But does this mean, the decline of Sanskrit language meant the impoverishment of the Kashmiri culture, when the influence of Persian language was predominant since the reign of Zainulabidin. Kashmiri language was not lagging behind. Although it was not a written language and the development of Persian did not undervalue the local language. It was further enriched and new dimensions were obtained. The Persian poets (of Kashmir) did not ignore their own language. Habibulla Habi and so many poets tried in both the languages so far the arts and crafts are concerned, there was neither development nor the deterioration. At the same place we have different types of Governors, some of them were exactly following the imperial policy and some of them behaved like autocrats and tried to infuse the sentiments of the masses. But the imperial authority was not silent and did not close the eyes whenever complaints were lodged against such governors. The only exception was that of I'taqad Khan who was the last governor appointed by Jehangir. Being a relative of the queen and due to the deteriorating health of the Emperor, the slackness and weakness was creeping into the administration, and Kashmir could not have been an exception. Some oppressive taxes were realized and the choicest gardens

were to be reserved for the governor, but it does not mean, was the imperial policy. He too was dismissed when Shahjehan took over the administration. The imperial policy was not altogether against the interests of the people. The harm done to the people on the hands of this governor cannot neutralize the rest of the humanitarian, social and administrative reforms carried on during the benevolent rule of Jehangir.

One of the aspects, without which this attempt would be incomplete. Most of scholars blame the Mughals especially Akbar, of killing the martial spirit of the Kashmiris while disbanding the local militia. As a matter of fact, how unwise would have been to allow the enemy forces to carry on the work and how it would have been possible to maintain such a big army of the local people. But still, it is not a justification to prove his action beneficial. No doubt, it was beneficial for the Emperor and not for the people of Kashmir. But so far the reign of Jehangir is concerned we again come across the military activities. During the Kashtawar expedition most of the soldiers belonged to Kashmir and were under Kashmiri Commanders, like Ali Malik and others. Not only this the Raja of Jamoo and Rajoori were also asked to mobilize their forces towards Kashtawar. Secondly, during the Tibet expeditions, again the Kashmiri soldiers were sent under the Mughal and local Commanders, so, if the martial spirit of the Kashmiri people was curbed, it was not the outcome of suspending the local militia alone. We cannot be able to see and study this problem while taking it out of the context. The Mughal system of Government was inter-connected with the nobility and Jagirdari, every Jagirdar was a noble and every noble was obliged to

maintain a contingent so as to assist the Emperor on the occasion of conquest of various lands so long the expansion was possible, the administration remained intact, but after a particular time, when the weakness crept in the Mughal Mansabdari System the efficiency of the army was also compromised and we notice the weakness in the army since the very beginning of the Jehangir's reign.

Secondly, the external threat was once for all finalized, when Kashmir became a part of Mughal army, Internal peace and prosperity was maintained by the Mughal contingents, and the people of Kashmir did not want to serve outside the state. The Uzbek threat was no more. These substantial causes were responsible for the diminishing the martial spirit of the people and there was no deliberate attempt on the part of Mughals to change the martial spirit or to make the nation timid. If Baron Von Hugel found this gifted race turned into a timid one, it cannot be a blame put on the Mughal rule of this period. The references in the Ain make us believe, that the doors for recruitment were not closed for the Kashmiri.¹

While studying the various aspects of Indian History, the people of India as a whole have not been labelled as timid, while the people of Kashmir has been very often termed so. Since the very dawn of History, various invaders came to India and pushed out the local inhabitants or reduced them to mere specks of dust for example the Aryans and the Dravidians, the Huns and the Arayans, the Mongoles and the Huns

1. Ain I p. 108; (11) K.K., incorporated by Noman Siddiqi, Revenue Administration Under Mughals, pp. 119-20. Under Jehangir Amba Khan was given the rank of 1000/700.

and Aryans, or the Muslims and the Hindus, however, the latter invaders did not turn them out, but only ousted them from the thrones and the reigns of the government passed from the hands of one set of rulers to the other. But so far the Kashmiris are concerned, they resisted the alien pressures and maintained their individuality and have been successful to maintain the same even now. If loot, plunder, beggary and other social evils are not with the people, as has been quoted by the greatest of the scholar of Akbar. Does this mean the race is a timid one. It is a fact that the people had been always ahead of their times and it is why they had cast of the yoke of the narrowmindedness and brutality when the rest of the people of this part did not know that even. It was this race which produced eminent scholars like Kalhan of Hindu rule, Jonaraj, Srive, Mulla Mazhari, Mulla Dawoodi, Laladed, Sheikh Nuruddin Rishi of Sultanate period, Malik Haider, Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi, Baba Dawoodi Khaki of Mughal (1586-1620).¹ They, in the interest of their state rose against the native rule and invited the Mughals, and when latter Mughals failed to maintain law and order they invited the Pathan and similarly Sikhs to replace the Muslim rule. It is this nation which lead the secular forces and stood against the cruelties and will always be a hard stone to swallow for those who will try to extirpate or destroy their individuality.

If the passiveness, or the peaceful attitude of the masses is termed as timidity and the murder, loot and plunder is the mark or standard of bravery, then, I myself admit the Kashmiris are timid and cowardice, but fortunately, the position is converse.

1. Ain 2, Jarret, p. 353.

APPENDIX A

Name of Parganas and Revenue of these Parganas according to Ain:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name of Mahal</u>	<u>Revenue in Kind</u>			<u>Revenue in Cash</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
		<u>Khawars</u>	<u>Traks</u>	<u>Sers</u>		
1.	Advin ¹	101432	4	0	14815.12.0	
2.	Bangil	115233	12	0	20280. 0.0	
3.	Baninal	6435	0	0	
4.	Batu	3515	0	0	4235. 8.0	
5.	Beeru	57098	12	0	13383. 0.0	
6.	Brang	78834	4	0	8769. 8.0	
7.	Bachinpara	75153	0	0	6902.12.0	
8.	Bachin Khawara	36222	4	0	20653. 0.0	
9.	Devasar	85644	8	0	822. 3.0	
10.	Dhusu (Dantsu)	53219	8	0	17038. 8.0	
11.	Khawar Para	45226	8	0	3575. 8.0	
12.	Khattar	37479	4	0	3221.12.0	
13.	Khuyihama	83670	12	0	15552. 0.0	
14.	Khol	12945	0	0	370. 0.0	
15.	Kanraz	342844	0	0	103725. 4.0	
16.	Krohain	115474	0	0	29779.12.0	
17.	Katan	19043	8	0	1862. 8.0	
18.	Karu	-	-	5041. 0.0	
19.	Nagam	189770	12	0	22576. 4.0	
20.	Inch [*]	98369	0	0	14377. 4.0	
21.	Inderkol	9553	4	0	7238. 0.0	
22.	Paraspora	18830	12	0	3352. 8.0	
23.	Shak	71111	12	0	17402. 8.0	
24.	Kattan	4799	4	0	523. 0.0	
25.	Sairul Jawazia	192641	4	0	118553.12.0	
26.	Shukura	45224	0	0	12757. 8.0	
27.	Shadrah	39167	0	0	8550.12.0	
28.	Soporsaman ^x	6133	0	0	2003. 4.0	
29.	Telegam	15415	12	0	4435. 4.0	
30.	Ver	12270	8	0	838. 0.0	
31.	Vini	209632	8	0	161969. 8.0	
32.	Sular	128656	4	0	12605. 8.0	
33.	Yech	144102	0	0	62034. 4.0	
34.	Zaniagar	13253	0	0	3255. 8.0	
35.	Zaniapora	15575	4	0	1799. 1.0	

Some of the Paraganas of Lohra and Pakhli are not included and the Paraganas which were later on added under the reign of Jehangir were Kashtawar and Tibet. However, in the latter period of his reign both the territories became Sarkars under the Subedar of Kashmir.

The revenue was realized @ ~~Rs~~ 29 dams per Kharwar.

- (1) Maqivad-Van, Valley situated along the range that forms eastern frontier of Kashmir.
- (*) Wanza of Ajiz. Mod Islamabad
- (x) Sava Saman present Shah Abad.

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