ABSTRACT

SUBAH OF KASHMIR
UNDER THE MUGHALS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOCIETY AND ADMINISTRATION

BY

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The Mughal Subah of Kashmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistance offered by the Chakar Sultanate to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kashmiri people as it involved the loss of independence and the forcing upon them a new political and social order. But in the long-run the change proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes and above all the extension of the enlightened and more purposeful Mughal administration. Development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the sufi orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The promotion of Industry and trade through the security on roads and opening up of better routes connecting far-flung areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded
unique opportunities for economic development of the region, bring about a new social attitudes by brisk contact with the people of other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir.

Yet the Mughal adventure in this direction was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extend the blessing of peace to the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in India in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to Mughal Empire, was prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the defence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire of placed in hostile hands, and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the Empire.

The opportunity to fish in troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by weaklings who sat on
the Kashmir throne in the days of the decline of the Chaks.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, uniformity of administrative set up, extension of agriculture, and horticulture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance of trade routes, exports of shawls and textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries, the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremendous best to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy.

But the Mughals, being an imperialistic power, chiefly interested in the exploitation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very little to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividends to the workers and the tellers of the soil.

Very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir not with standing the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject; as regards the history of the Mughal Subah of Kashmir, which are quite sketchy and sweeping. Some work
is being done in Jammu University and Srinagar University on ancient and Modern Kashmir, but the period under review was completely neglected.

Since the systematic work on all the aspects of the Mughal Kashmir would have been too extensive for the scope of the thesis, I was advised to make a study of the history of the subah of Kashmir with particular emphasis to various facts of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature, political developments, economic affairs and the like.

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters besides the introduction. In the first chapter I have discussed at length the causes, events and consequences of the Mughal annexation, and the expansion of their rule in various directions in the subah in order to bring the far feeling area like little and great Tibet, Kashtawar, Punch etc. under the Mughal Subordination. In the second and third chapter I have reviewed the land Revenue system, agrarian conditions assignments and grants the fourth chapter deals with the Institution of Subahdār and his functions, as an executive, and administrative head. Administration of justice and police has been studied in chapter five the functioning of
the Institutions of Foujdar, Kotwal, Qazi, Sadr, Mufti, Thanedar, Bayat, etc. have also been discussed in the chapter.

The institution of foujdar, though of considerable importance could not be given a separate treatment because of the lack of adequate information. The sixth chapter deals with the social life of the people, the condition of the masses, dress, diet, and housing the status of women in society has been also given a detailed treatment.

The Religious life and Sufi movement have been examined in the chapter seven. New Sufi orders were introduced but some of the existing and indigenous orders particularly the Auli order disintegrated during this period. In the eight chapter the economic development which took shape in this periods, has been fully discussed. In this chapter light has been thrown on the development of trade, commerce and industries also. Details of various trade routes connecting Kashmir with the rest of the Empire of Central Asia has been also discussed in this chapter.

The Mughal annexation opened the avenues to various Sufis, Saints and Scholars. This influx resulted in th
development of learning and literature, which has been discussed in the chapter nine while a fuller treatment is given to the art, architecture and the gardens will in the tenth chapter. There occurred a considerable beautification of various scenic spots during this period. Therefore, through treatment has been given to the Mughal gardens which sprang up around these places. Coming to the conclusion the Mughal acquisition of Subah was, as a matter of fact a vived blessing in disguise. The shattered economy of Kashmir entered a new phase and Kashmir novelties entered into the world market. There was substantial improvement in the field of gardening and horticulture. The development in the fields of learning and literature was not less remarkable. Moreover to the Mughal rule ushered in a new social order with broader outlook, and tolerance. However, despite all these achievements, the annexation of the kingdom by the Mughals affected the martial spirit adversely and retarded the erstwhile growth of the Kashmiris in which regional or some sort of national instincts had a predominant role to play and which, given adequate opportunity at self enfression, would have led ultimately to the fuller development of a viable and national state.
DEDICATED
RESPECTFULLY
TO
SHER-I-KASHMIR
SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH
THE SHEET-ANCHOR OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE
OF
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
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I must affectionately thank my father, Khwaaja Abdul Gani Mattoo, and mother for encouraging me through the stresses and strains of my research work during the entire period of my absence from them.

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I owe my thanks to the members of the staff of the Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, particularly Mr Aijaz Mohd. Khan, Mr Jalal Abbas Abbasi, and Mr S. Abdul Hasib, the Librarian and the staff of the Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, and Research Library, Srinagar.

I am also thankful to Professor Fida Mohammad Hasnain, Director, Research Libraries and Archives, Srinagar. He made photostat copies of various farmans and other documents available to me.

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Lastly I must affectionately acknowledge the contribution of my wife, Mrs Sajida Majeed who played no less important role in the completion of my work through encouraging me and shouldering the household responsibilities during my long absence of my home.

(ABDUL MAJID MATTOO)
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INTRODUCTION

The Mughal Subah of Kashmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistance offered by the Chak Sultanate to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kashmiri people as it involved the loss of independence and the forcing upon them a new political and social order. But the change gradually proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes, extension of the Mughal system of administration, development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the Sufi orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The continuity of a stable rule in Kashmir and the establishment of peace and order and the security provided by the might of the Mughal arms reassured the people who had become sick of the intrigues and rebellions under the weak Sultans of the declining Chak dynasty and felt relieved at being placed under the powerful rule of the Mughals. The promotion of industry and trade through the security on roads and opening of better routes connecting far-flung areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded
unique opportunities for the economic development of the region, bringing about new social attitudes by brisk contacts with the people of the other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries and breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir to which both nature and man had contributed and which the Mughal domination had smashed up.

Yet the Mughal adventure in Kashmir was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extend the blessings of peace to the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in India in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to the Mughal Empire, was prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the defence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. If the outlying northern and north-western regions were to be firmly secured in the Mughal hands, both Kabul and Kashmir should be acquired, strengthened, pacified and garrisoned so as to counterpoise the threat from the Uzbeks or any other Central Asian powers which might assume alarming proportions in future. The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire if placed in hostile hands and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the Empire. And Akbar was not a man to fail or falter once he had set his heart on an adventure if he had dispassionately come to realise its indispensability as to further his interests. The occupation of Kashmir and the subsequent
Mughal acquisitions of Little Tibet, Great Tibet, Sarshāl, Daimyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch pushed forward the Mughal boundaries to the natural frontiers which considerably facilitated the task of the defence of the Empire by man no less than by nature. Herein lies the true significance of the Mughal advance into Kashmir.

Another factor which might have impelled the Mughals to try their hands in Kashmir seems to have been the pleasures and respite which the enchanting valley of Kashmir with its famed scenic spots, superb natural beauty, bracing and healthful climate, its colourful flowers, variety of fruits, game, birds and animals offered to the visitors and the Mughals were attracted to these enjoyments to pass the summer days in the valley to avoid the scorching heat of the Indian plains.

The opportunity to fish in the troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by the weaklings who sat on the Kashmiri throne in the days of the decline of the Chak Kingdom, the faction fight among the self-seeking nobility, slackness in administration, diminution in revenues and the Shia-Sunni conflicts which destroyed the peace and order in the society. The feeble attempts of Yusuf Shah Chak and the inexperience of Yaqūb Shah Chak to mobilise the energetic elements in the Chak nobility to serve the ends of the Sultanate led to the Kashmiri's disaster and its passing into the Mughal hands. The attempts of the recalcitrant national elements to reassert independence subsequent to 1586 were faredoomed to failure as they lacked the
resources to fight against the mighty Mughal Empire.

The loss of independence to the Kashmiris in 1586, despite the many good and beneficial aspects of the Mughal rule was a disaster of great magnitude. It undermined the spirit of independence, self-realisation and the flowering of the martial characteristics of the Kashmiri people who constituted merely an insignificant element in the Mughal army. The prolonged Mughal rule, 1586-1752 was followed by the Afghan and Sikh occupations and the spirits of the Kashmiri people were ultimately dampened by the loss of opportunities for the self-growth.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, uniformity of administrative set-up, extension of agriculture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance and opening up of trade routes, export of shawls and woollen textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and the beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremendous boost to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy and the social elite so much so that the link line of the Empire with Kashmir was well-frequented and briskly busy. The annual royal visits together with the court paraphernalia had contributed to the well-being and importance of Kashmir. Poets say praises of the beauty—natural and human—of Kashmir. The famous verse from Urfi portrays this feeling palpably:

\[
+\text{روشندی چیzar کی یک دوست} + \\
\text{کر گرم مرح کلاب است کبایلا تیرا با}
\]
But the Mughals, being an imperialist power, chiefly interested in the exploitation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very little to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividends to the workers and the tillers of the soil.

Unfortunately very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir notwithstanding the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject, particularly the scholarly work of Prof. Mohibbul Hasan entitled, Kashmir Under the Sultans, 'A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819' by Dr R.K. Parmu, 'Kashir GGPID. Sufi and the like. The last two works are sketchy and sweeping as regards the history of the Mughal Subah of Kashmir some work is being done in Jammu and Kashmir on the ancient, modern and the Sultanate periods but the history of Mughal Kashmir is sadly neglected. Hence the present work is an humble attempt to fill this great lacuna.

Since a systematic work on all the aspects of Mughal Kashmir would have been too extensive for the scope of a thesis, I was advised to make a study of the history of the Subah of Kashmir with particular emphasis to the various facets of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature, political developments, economic affairs and the like.
I wish and hope, if the circumstances favour me, I would devote my efforts to undertake fuller treatment of Mughal Kashmir and the subsequent history of Jammu and Kashmir.

There is one heartening factor on the history of Mughal Kashmir. The source material bearing on the history of the period is abundant and varied. It is spread over in a number of libraries, archives, archaeological remains, museums, personal collections and religious literature in numerous shrines and religious places. I have interwoven the widely scattered segments of this mass of historical sources to construct a picture of the most conspicuous aspect of the history of the Mughal ʿubāb of Kashmir.
SOURCES

The period under review is so rich in source material that it is not possible to fully describe and evaluate each source separately.

Historians have already discussed the importance of many of the general source books but their utility in regard to the History of the Subāh of Kashmir requires further explanation.

The material at our disposal can be classified as under:

A. History works of a general character
B. Provincial sources
C. Administrative manuals
D. Tazkiras and Epistolary Collections
E. Travellers' Accounts
F. Archaeological evidence.

A. History Works of a General Character

Official, and semi-official chronicles and other historical works written during our period can be included in this category.

Akbarnama by Abul Faz'1, Akbarnama Faizi,
Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh by Badāuni Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, Ma'āsir-i-Jahangiri, Shahjahan Nama Qazvini,
Badshah Nama Lahori and Badshah Nama of Waris, Amal-i-Salih by Kumbu, 'Alamgir Nama Mohammad Kazim, Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri by Sāqi
Musta'id Khan, Waqiat-i-'Alamgiri by 'Aqil Khan Razi and Muntakhab-u-Lubāb by Khāfi Khan are well-known sources of our period.

Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl

The historical and literary qualities of the Akbar Nama have already been dealt with in details and, therefore, does not require any further explanation.

Having accompanied Akbar on his visits to the Subāh, Abul Fazl throws light on its various aspects.

The information regarding the Mughal-Chak rivalry is quite exhaustive. He, however, tries to justify the Mughal cause.

The references and the revenue assessment reports, topographical details and the description of routes followed by Akbar has further increased its importance.

Faizi's Akbar Nama does not provide us any new information. It just supplements Abul Fazl.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri

Leaving administrative evidence aside, the importance of Tuzuk lies in the graphic, exhaustive and unbiased account of socio-economic conditions in Kashmir. The Tuzuk contains information about birds, flowers, fruits, agricultural and forest products, houses, dress, diet and manners of the people. Social life of Pahkli, Punch, Rajouri
and Kashtauar have been fully discussed.

The information about the routes leading to Kashmir is detailed and descriptive.

The Malasir-i-Jahanqir, Iqbal Nama Jahanqiri and Jahanqir Nama by Abul Hasan do not give us any new information.

Shahjahan Nama Qazvini, Badshah Nama Lahori, Badshah Nama Wari and Amal-i-Salih by Kumbu provide us information about administrative, social and economic conditions. A detailed description of the gardens and monuments of the period is very interesting. Qazvini has covered the first decade while Lahori the first and second. Wari and Kumbu narrate the description of the whole reign of Shahjahān.

Lahori and Kumbu have given us a comprehensive account of the routes and inns.

The description of the Tibet expedition and topographical information of the region is also quite interesting feature of Lahori's work.

The chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign do not contain any new information about our Šubān. However, the administrative changes which took place from time to time have been well recorded.

The sources of other nature like administrative manuals, epistolary works, Tazkiras of poets and šūfis help us in analysing the institutions and the history of this period.
8. **Provincial Sources**

*Rajatangni* by Shrivara is the only contemporary Sanskrit source of Kashmir. It was written in 1597. The narrative is very brief and there is no sequence of events. There are only a few dates which makes it further confusing. I have consulted the English translation of J.C. Dutt.

*Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*

It is a Persian work by some anonymous writer. It was completed in 1614. The events leading to the downfall of Chaks and ascendance of the Mughals are exhaustive. But the subsequent events after the transfer of Yousf Khan Rizvi are very brief.

There are two manuscripts of this in the Research Library, Srinagar and one in British Museum. The BM manuscript is more detailed and complete. It has defective chronology.

*Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadura, is a comprehensive history from very earliest times to 1620-21. The author accompanied Yousf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of Chugtā'i and Rāisul-Mulk. The zamindāri of his native place was also assigned to him by Jahāngir.

It throws light on social and political institutions of the period. A detailed account of Kashtawār and Punch expeditions have been well narrated. But the author always eulogizes the wisdom and courage of his family, the Maliks.
Mukhtasar Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Narain Koul Ājīz was compiled in 1710. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's work. It is sketchy and brief.

There is a list of parganahs along with the number of villages in each pargana.

I have consulted three manuscripts of this work available in Research Library, Srinagar, and one in the Department Library of the History Department, AMU, Aligarh. The last one is complete in Naskhi style.

Nawādirul-Akbar by Aba Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad. It was compiled in 1723. The ancestors of the author had come from Balkh, but he himself was Kashmiri by birth. The author discussed the social and Sufi movement at length, but he has overestimated the influence of religion factor in the civil wars. The work, though defective in chronology, gives some new information about the social life.

The Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, by Mohammad 'Azam was compiled in 1748. It consists of three divisions. The first one is based on the information of Kalhana, Raja Tarangni, the second deals with the Sultanate period, and the third with the Mughal rule. It is a biography of Sufis, Saints and scholars, but side by side throws light on the administration of the period. The events of the Aurangzeb's reign are more comprehensive. There are occasional references to the economic condition of the people also.
Lubū Tawārīkh is a political history by the same author compiled in 1164/1750. It does not contain any new information.

Gouhar-i-'Alām by Mohammad Aslam Mun'ami is a history from earliest times to the close of 12th century Hijra. It is an abridgement of Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir. The author had the same sources at his disposal which were used by Mohammad Azam (father of the author). It does not provide us with much new information.

C. Administrative Manuals

A'in-i-Akbari is a work unique in its nature. It is a mine of information for the administrative and economic history of the period. The Chapter on revenue system is exhaustive. The social aspect of the period has not been neglected. It contains information about fruits, vegetables, and other novelties of Kashmir. The Chapter on shawls is also detailed.

The topographical information is defective. But its translators particularly Jarret help us in identifying various places.

It is strange that the various manuscripts of the work vary from one another. Blochmann's edition is comprehensive and more reliable, but the India Office Copy is earliest, and more authentic. Nowl Kishore edition of 1889 is a verbatim copy of Blochmann's edition. There are two administrative manuals dated 1724 and c.1752 in Jammu Archives and Research Library, Srinagar. The Jammu Archives manual provides us statistical information about revenue etc, besides administrative details.
Gulshan Dastūr by Nath Pandith bears the date 1120 H/1710-11, but there are events of later dates which have also been recorded. The last event is related with the Ṣubāhdārī of Sukh Jiwan.

It is a voluminous work in verse and prose consisted of 73 chapters (Gulshan) each chapter has a few sections (Betas).

It is a mine of information so far socio-economic history of the period is concerned. The ijāradārī system and rais of various crops have copiously described.

The manuscript is complete but the loss of one chapter on revenue statistics is irreparable.

Tarikh-i-Hasan (in four volumes)

The style of this volume is like that of A'in-i-Akbari. Though the work belongs to the late 19th century, but the author claims to have access to some contemporary sources which are not extent now. It throws light on social, and economic life of the people besides giving detailed description of routes, trade and commerce, and earthquakes and famines.

D. Tazkiras and Epistolary Collections

Asrārul-Abrār by Da'ud Mishkwāti was compiled in 1653. It is a biography of various Ṣūfis and Saints, occasionally throws light on socio-economic and political history also.

Khwārigus-Sālikīn written in 1697-98 is another Tazkira of our period. It is also a biography of Saints. The
author has shed light on socio-economic life of the people also, and the role played by these Sufis in social transformation.

_Tuhfatul-Fugara_ of Muhammad Murad Tang was written in 1710-11 AD. It is also biography of Sufis and Saints. The author has great reverence for Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his successors. He provides us with information about their disciples in Kashmir.

*Rouzatul-Arifin* by Ziya-ud-Din Kashtauari is a biography of Qadiri Saints of Kashtawar who introduced Islam in Kashtawar. It was written some times in 18th century. The author was a disciple of Shah Asrarud-Din. The manuscript in the Research Library, Srinagar, is incomplete and defective.

Epistolary Collections in Research Library, Srinagar, edited by various persons are mainly of Aurangzeb's period. A Collection edited by Abdus Samad of 40 folios, another Collections by anonymous (Acc Nos. 3102, 2776, 2193, 2675; and letter collecti in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar,) provide us with information on social, economic and administrative conditions of our period.

8. **European Travellers' Accounts**

St J. Xavier, and Bendict-de-goes were the first known European travellers who set foot on the soil of Kashmir in 1597. The account of the Fathers is very brief. The Šūbāh of Kashmir at the time of their arrival was in the grip of a terrible famine.
Their account, though short, throws light on economic conditions of the people and the effects of the Mughal conquest have also been highlighted.

*Pelsaert's Account* about Kashmir is also sketchy. It also gives us information about the trade and commerce of the Subah.

*Bernejir's Account*

Of all the travellers’ accounts, Bernejir’s account is most exhaustive, and lucid. He starts his narrative about Kashmir as soon as the imperial camp enters Bhimbar territory. His topographical information is reliable. It is rich in information about social life, economic conditions, arts and crafts is concerned.

The account about Ladakh is inconclusive and defective. Desideri and Father Fryre came to Kashmir in 1714 on their way to Tibet. The Fathers remained in the valley for a number of months, which enabled them to give us an accurate account of social, and economic life of the people. It is very important source so far as the trade and commerce of Kashmir with the Little and Greater Tibet, Chānathān, Nepal, and Bhutān is concerned.

It contains information about the political Geography and the borders of Ladakh and Tibet.

De Filipi has rendered its Italian version into English. George Forster came to Kashmir in 1783. He has published the account of his travels in two volumes. It throws
light on the social and economic life of the people. His topographical information is reliable.

The accounts of latter travellers like Moorcorft, George Trebeck, G.T. Vigne, Frances Younghusband, Fredric Drew and A.H. Francke give detailed information about social and economic life and the topography of the whole of Subāh.

F. Archaeological Sources

The period under review is rich in archaeological evidences. There are numerous living examples of monuments, gardens, Inns, bridges, and shrines, which help us in formulating our views on the various aspects of Mughal Kashmir.

Inscriptions:

Some of the inscriptions on archaeological works are very important e.g., the inscription on the Jamiā Masjid at Srinagar gives us information about the abolition of certain Abwaābs during the reign of Jahangir. The inscription on Akbar's fort at Srinagar is also valuable. This is a concise account and brief evaluation of some of the more important source material. A select bibliography of the sources utilized in the preparation of the thesis given at the end.
CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR - ANNEXATION, EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Kashmir was formally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1586 but the process of occupation had started much earlier. With the decline of the Shahmir dynasty, the refractory nobles and claimants to the throne solicited the help of the Mughals to strengthen their own claims. But the final blow was struck by the conquest of Mirzā Haidar Duglat in 1540, as the subversive activities of the nobles and the chieftains had already set in motion the process of the decay of the Shah Mir power. The internal disturbances exposed the kingdom to foreign aggression. The chaos and confusion resulted in the breakdown of the administration. The tributary states withheld payment of tribute and in due course of time broke away from the kingdom. The successors of Sultan Zainulabidin were not able to administer the kingdom efficiently. This situation sopped the vitality and strength of opposition to foreign aggression.

The conquest of Kashmir by Mirzā Haidar Duglat was an event of great significance. He invaded Kashmir twice. In

1. Humayun, Shārshah, Kāmran, and Akbar were approached from time to time by these chieftains. It ultimately led to the downfall of the Shāh Mīr Sultanate, Raj Taranqni, Sūka, Eng. tr. R.C. Dutt, p. 364.

Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, Chapter VI.
1533, he was acting as a commander of Sultan Salīd of Kāshgār. Pursuing an expansionist policy Sultan Salīd directed a campaign against Ladakh. After the conquest of Ladakh the Mīrza marched against Kashmir. The guards of Zojillā pass were taken surprisingly by him. They were defeated but Mīrza left Kashmir in the same year, leaving behind a demoralized army and a Sultan whose pride was badly hurt.

During the next decade the Mughal Empire suffered a terrible reverse. Humayun was defeated by Shershah. The former decided to proceed to Kashmir. Meanwhile Mīrza Haidar was approached by Abūl Māgre and Regī Chak for help against Kāji Chak. The Mīrza also suggested to Humayun to march to Kashmir. But he declined to accept their proposal on various grounds. Mīrza Haidar then proceeded to Kashmir in 1540, and defeated the disarrayed forces of Kashmir. The Khutba was recited and coins struck in the name of Humayun. But the Mīrza allowed Nazuk Shāh to continue as Sultan. Mīrza Haidar divided the entire of Kashmir among himself, Malīk Abūl Māgre, and Malīk Regī Chak. The Khāliṣa land shrank and the nobles were...

2. Roḥibbul Ḥasan, Kashmir Under the Sultan, p. 129.
   Malīk Haidar, Ṭārikh-i-Kashmīr, f. 145.
   Sāḥīristān-i-Shāhī, ff. 137-8.
   Malīk Haidar, Ṭārikh-i-Kashmīr, ff. 137, 142, 145.
6. Ibid.
7. Sāḥīristān-i-Shāhī, f. 137b.
also deprived of their property. In order to strengthen his position, the Mirzā Haider Dughlat put down the Shi'ites with a heavy hand. He sent a copy of Ḥīqan Ahuqāt to the Ulama of India who repudiated it and wrote a decree of remonstrance against its author and his followers who were mainly the Chaks, as the Chak nobility had a strong position in the kingdom. The contumacious nobles joined hands with the opponents and thus got rid of Mirzā Haider Dughlat by killing him in an encounter in 1556. Verily his death caused a vacuum in the administrative set up of the Subah which was not filled until the administration of the Subah was reorganised on a sound footing.

Kāzuk Shāh was succeeded by Ismā'il Shāh in 1565 for the second time. He was just a titular head and it was Gāzi Shāh who virtually ruled the kingdom. He did nothing to heal up the wounds of the nobles caused by the Mirzā's tough rule but laid hands on to crush them further. He assassinated Malik Daulāt Chak and himself became the Vāzir. Malik Shamsī Raina escaped to India to seek the help of Emperor Humayun. During

8. Ẓarīkh-i-Kashīdī, p. 435.
11. Malik Haider, Ẓarīkh-i-Kashīnī, f. 147b.
12. Ẓanāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 122b.
13. Ismā'il Shāh was son-in-law of Malik Kāzi Chak.
14. Suk, Ẓanāristān-i-Sūnī, p. 377. Ẓanāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 11
15. Ẓanāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 123b.
17. His father was killed by Gāzi Shāh.
his stay at the court, Hunayun died. Shamsi Rana leaving

disgusted, met Shah Abul Ma'Di. He did not cultivate good

relations with Akbar, so he was imprisoned in 1556, at Lahore.

He escaped and collected a contingent of three to four hundred men

at Delhi and Lahore. But Gazi Shah forestalled the invading

forces by inflicting a defeat at Hanjindra in 1558; Shah Abul

Ma'Di had a narrow escape. This success puffed him up with

inflated pride and he adopted a ruthless policy towards the

suspected nobles. Meanwhile Ismail Shah died in 1557, Gazi

Shah proclaimed his nephew, Habib Shah, as King. In 1561 on

account of Habib Shah's incompetence he himself ascended the

throne and laid the foundation of the Chak dynasty. During

his regency Akbar was approached by the refractory nobles. There-

upon Akbar despatched Qara Bahadur with a force of 7000 soldiers

against Gazi Shah in 1551. Kashmiri nobles did not back Qara

Bahadur and he marched towards Rajouri. Gazi Shah also

marched against him and Mughal forces were routed with a large


15. A.I., I, p. 16.
Bahrastan-i-Shahi, f. 124.
Malik Haidar, Tarih-i-Kashmir, f. 156a.
16a. Suka, Baja-Taranani, p. 389.
Bahrastan-i-Shahi, f. 125.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 150.
Suka, Baja-Taranani, p. 383.
Malik Haidar, Tarih-i-Kashmir, f. 157.
Malik Haidar, Tarih-i-Kashmir, f. 157.
number wounded and killed. 21 Gāzi  Bahādur was made to retreat. The result of this defeat was that Akbar did not launch any attack for about twenty-six years. Gāzi Shah was a strong ruler. He had oppressed the refractory elements and garrisoned the passes.

In the forthcoming years Akbar kept a vigilant eye on the developments in Kashmir. He accredited four missions to Kashmir in order to get up-to-date information about the internal conditions. 22 Meanwhile Gāzi Shah died of leprosy and he was succeeded by Husain Shah in 1567. 23

As already mentioned Mīrzā HaidarDouglat had adopted a policy of repression towards the non-Mahomites. His nobles were suppressed with an iron hand. The Shāh Sultāns attempted to avenge the wrongs committed by the Mīrzā. As such the communal frenzy/the upper hand during this period. 24 In 1568-69, Yousf  Hindār, an ordinary soldier abused Gāzi Habīb who was hastening on horseback to load the prayer. The Gāzi punished him with whipping and Yousf Hindař injured him with his sword. 25 The incident aroused the feelings of the Sunnis.

Kohisbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 150-1.
Gāzi Bahādur was assisted by Muhammad Ḥusain Shah also.
Suka, Raja Tarunani, p. 384.
22. Mulik Haider, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 133b.
23. Mulik Haider, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 139a.
25. 25. Fīrirreece, p. 354.
Bahlisikan-i-Shahi, f. 127b.
The Ulama convened a meeting under Qāzi Mūsā, Mulla Šāliḥ Ganālī and Mullah Yousf. A decree for the execution of Yousf Āindār was issued. Husain Shah had no alternative but to yield under their pressure. Since Qāzi Ḥabīb was injured, the Shi'ets considered the execution of the culprit unjustified. In the same year Akbar had sent Mirzā Muqīm and Mīr Yaqoob to the court of Sultan Husain Shah. Sultan Husain Shah entrusted the case to Mirzā Muqīm. The envoys had a soft corner for the Shias for their belonging to the same sect. Mirzā Muqīm suggested the prosecution of the defaulting Qāzīs. Husain Shah acted upon his advice, executed Qāzi Mūsā and Mullah Yousf. Their bodies were dragged around the city which caused a terror to the Sunnis. This act alienated the Sunnis thoroughly and a section of them under the leadership of Mulla Abdullah, Ali Koka and Doni Koka, proceeded to the Court of Akbar to appeal to him to intervene with a view to redressing their grievances. Akbar was eagerly awaiting such an opportunity. He got Mirzā Muqīm and Yaqoob Mīr executed. Mulla Abdullah, Doni Koka and Ali Koka were also imprisoned. But he sent back

27. Firishta, II, p. 363.
29. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 128.
32. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 130.
33. Firishta, II, f. 364.
a daughter of Husain Shah together with the presents. A majority of the people thereafter looked Akbar for vindication of the wrongs. Soon Akbar deputed another delegation to Kashmir comprising Mulla Ashqi and Qazi Sadruddin in 1573 to ask Ali Shah to accept the Mughal suzerainty. The envoys succeeded in their mission and on their return submitted a detailed report to Akbar on the assessment of the internal condition which was the real motive of this mission.

Ali Shah was succeeded by Yousf Shah in A.D. 1580 but he was ousted by Mubarak Khan Baihaqi. The latter was on his turn deposed after a brief occupation of three months and Yousf Shah was again proclaimed the Sultan. However, on account of the mutual dissensions he was again dethroned and Lohar Chak was declared the Sultan. Disgusted and disappointed at the turn of affairs Yousf Shah Chak left for Lahore via Jammu to invoke the help of Akbar through the instrumentality of Sayyid Yousf Khan. From Lahore, Yousf Shah Chak was accompanied by Yousf Khan and Raj Mân Singh, governor of Lahore to Fatehpur.

37. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 335.
back to Kashmir to keep an eye on the developments in the
kingdom, but Yousf Shāh remained at the court for about one year.
A contingent was sent along with Yousf Shah Chak under the command
of Raja Mān Singh, Yousf Khan Masāhadi and Yousf Khan Rizvi. 41
At advance of the Mughal army and its pressing hard, the Kashmiri
nobles were alarmed. They approached Yousf Shah Chak through
Abdāl Bhat who convinced Yousf Shah about the futility of such
conquest. 42 Leaving the Mughal forces at Sialkot Yousf Shah
proceeded towards Lahore. 43 Mohammad Bhat was awaiting Yousf
Shah at Bahlolpur with an army of one thousand soldiers. 44 He
marched to Lahore post-haste and with their efforts a contingent
of 4000 men was raised to march on Kashmir via Rajouri - without
any Mughal assistance. 45 On account of favourable conditions
Yousf Shah was able to regain his throne in 1580. 46 This act of
Yousf Shah roused the jealousy and anger of the Mughal nobles who
were to restore him to the monarchy of Kashmir. Akbar too was to
learn of this sudden development. The Mughal Emperor was now too

Yousf did not receive any help from Akbar, he returned
empty handed to Lahore does not seem correct. See
(i) Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 157.
(ii) Hasan-Bin-Alkhaki, f. 466.
Arguments advanced by Dr Parumu, A History of
Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 266, are not convincing.
42. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 157.
43. Malik Haidar, Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, f. 176a.
44. Malik Haidar, Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, f. 176a.
enthusiastic and precipitate to bring Kashmir under his suzerainty. But his hands were tied elsewhere to allow him to prosecute his design in right earnest.

In 1581, Akbar sent Mirza Tahir and Mirza Salih Aqil with a farman demanding personal homage on the part of Yousf Shah, who was reluctant to attend the court in person because he had been overwhelmed by the grandure of Akbar's Court. He sent his son, Haidar, along with the envoys and some rich presents. Mirza Salih had reported to Akbar about the demoralised state of Yousf Shah. Akbar sent back Shaikh Yaqoobi Sharfi and Haidar who was in the Court as a hostage with a conciliatory letter, directing him to persuade Yousf Shah to attend the Court in person. Yousf Shah was alarmed and he sent another of his sons and successor Yaqoob with a enormous presents. Yaqoob remained at the Court for one year. During this period

50. Malik Haidar, f. 184a.
52. Ibid. (ii) Ahasanu-Tawarihk, f. 446b. (iii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b. (iv) Gouhar-i-Alam, p. 221. According to Kashmir sources, Akbar returned the presents and Haidar pressed Yousf Shah to come in person. But it has not been mentioned in Akbar Nama.
52a. A.N., III, p. 450.
he kept Yousf Shah informed about the intentions of Akbar. Despite these ominous developments, Yousf Shah neglected administration and failed to make vigorous efforts to meet the Mughal menace. Akbar on his part was alert, vigilant and fully determined to undertake an offensive in the north. He mobilised his army with intent to gain control across the Northern frontier to achieve the annexation of Kashmir. But on the other hand Yousf Shah was slack, vacillating and unprepared and led a life of ease and comfort ignoring the portaits of the events to come and the imploring his nobles. Since Yousf Shah did not heed the imperial demand of personal homage to Akbar. The latter decided to move in person if Yousf Shah failed to come to the Court at Lahore. Yaqoob Chak learnt of all this and stole his escape from the Mughal camp advancing to Lahore and reached Kashmir to apprise Yousf Shah of the new developments. Meanwhile Akbar had deputed two envoys, Hakim Ali and Bahaud Din to persuade the Sultan to attend the Court in person. Yousf Shah

53. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b.
55. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b.
55a. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f, 172b.
went to receive the envoys as far as Thanā, because he was alarmed at the truancy of Yāqoob Shah. 59 The Sultan then escorted the envoys to Srinagar. He received them with great respect, but was still hesitant to agree to attend the Court in person. Some Kashmiri nobles, Baba Khalil, Baba Mahdi, and Shamas Donī threatened Yousf Shah with dire consequences should he leave for the Mughal Court. They also decided to depose him and install his son on the throne. 60 The envoys left for the Court and reported to the Emperor about the state of affairs prevailing in the Šubā. 61

Akbar wanted to expand his Empire in the South, which was not possible without a secure Northern frontier. 62 The growing power of Uzbek Empire, situation of Kabul, Roushnai menace and refractory attitude in the North could have easily entrapped Akbar in the South.

59. Malik Ḥaidar, f. 187b. In Firishta, II, p. 367, it is mentioned as Thatta which is a clerical mistake. Maʿasiri-Rahimi, II, p. 261, has given the name as Bhandar which is not traceable.

60. Firishta, III, p. 367.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, f. 187.

Malik Ḥaidar, Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, f. 188.

Above all the enthusiasm which was roused among the nobility in Kashmir because of constant interference from Akbar, might have also cautioned Akbar. The Chak nobles decided to defend the kingdom at the cost of their lives. Akbar did not allow them to consolidate their position. In spite of the onset of winter Akbar deputed a considerable force under the command of Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi and Haidar Khan in December 1585. Yousf Shah Chak moved towards Baramulla under the pressure of the nobles to meet the invading forces. The Mughal forces encamped at the narrow defile of Paragana Dachan-Khāwāra. After arraying the army, Yousf Shah marched towards the peak of Kuarmast. Skirmishes had already started near Beleasa. The rigorous climate and the enthusiasm shown by the Kashmiri forces proved a hazard to the Mughal advance. They

63. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188a.
65. Haidar Khan was given a jagir by Raja Man Singh in Bhimber. He fled to Punjab on account of animosity with Yousf Shah, Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188b.
68. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188.
According to A.N., III, p. 480, the army was stationed at Kuarmast and Yousf Shah encamped on the otherside of river, Nain Sukh, (A.N., III, p. 480), which is at present called Konhar. See the Map in the end. It is a tributary of River Jhelum.
70. A.N., III, p. 480.
71. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190b.
sued for peace. Bhagwant Das sent a message to Yousf Shāh to his camp. In the morning Yousf Shāh came down pretending to inspect his advance guard and slipped to the Imperial Camp along with Mirzā Qāsim, son of Khāwaja Mahdī Kokā and Latīf Najār. Meanwhile Shaikh Yāqoob Ṣarfi persuaded the zamindars of Karna to cooperate with the Mughal forces. On the other hand the Chak nobles approached Ḥasan Ṭeg to accept the command in the absence of Yāqoob. Meanwhile Yāqūb escaped from the Mughal Court and was proclaimed Sultan. He did not approve of the role of his father. Fighting continued fiercely around Beleasa. Owing to the adverse climatic conditions, and the shortage of food and fodder, the Mughal forces were disheartened. Meanwhile alarming news came from Kabul as to Shamsuddin's reverse. Under these circumstances, Rājā Bhagwan Dās sued for peace. A treaty was concluded partly setting out terms with Yousf Shāh and partly with the new Sultan, Yāqoob Shāh. Yousf Shāh was promised safety of life and restoration of the kingdom of Kashmir.

72. Malik Ḥaidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190. Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 61.
73. A.N., III, p. 480.
75. A.N., III, p. 480.
76. Ibid.
77. Malik Ḥaidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 191.
78. A.N., III, p. 480.
80. A.N., III, p. 481.
Akbar did not ratify the treaty and Yousf Shah was handed over to Todar Mal as an ordinary prisoner. But on the departure of Mughal forces, Yaqoob Shah asserted his position as independent Sultan under the title of Shah Isma'il. Since Akbar could not tolerate such a state of affairs, he was so much annoyed with Raja Bhagwan Das that he was not granted audience for a long time. In 1586, Akbar asked Shah Rukh Mirza to attack Kashmir, but he was reluctant to comply with on account of his past experiences. On the other hand Shah Ismail overestimated his success. He did not try to bring closer together with the two Muslim sects. Being a Shia of extreme views, he asked Qazi Musa to include the name of Ali in the prayer call. On his refusal Qazi Musa was assassinated. His religious fanaticism and extremism alienated the Sunnis from Ismail Shah. The Shahmiri nobility was also active from the very beginning to over throw the Chak rule.

81. A.N., III, p. 481.
   Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 191b.
83. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192.
84. A.N., III, p. 488.
87. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192.
   Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 400.
   Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 181.
88. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 400.
89. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, ff. 181-89.
As already mentioned above Shaikh Yaqoobi Sarfi had led the first expedition and pursued the Kashmiris for submission played a vital role against Yaqoob Shah. He had considerable influence over the Kashmiris, therefore, he was deputed along with Mohammad Qasim Khan Mir Bahar to the expedition while he was in the Court Baba Davood Khaki also met him and informed him about the developments. Meanwhile the victorious Mughal army crossed into Kashmir and after a few skirmishes Mohammad Qasim Khan entered the capital on 16th October, 1586. Kashmiri forces were demoralized and disintegrated, but they resorted to guerilla warfare. Mohammad Qasim Khan was so much demoralized by the continued pressure and harassment from the Kashmiris that he sent in his resignation to Akbar. But he was not spared. On both sides there was

90. A.N.,III, p. 480.

91. Gouhar-i-Alam, f. 233. Baba Davood Khaki was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoomi.

Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 184, A group of Kashmiri Ulama proceeded to the Court of Akbar from Multan. They were led by Shaikh Yaqoobi Sarfi and Baba Davood Khaki. They concluded a treaty with Akbar and promised their help unconditionally. But neither the contemporary Mughal sources like, A.N., Badäuni, Firishta, nor Kashmiri sources support this. However, it is beyond doubt that the Sunnis helped the Mughals during this period, as they could not face the tyranny of the Chaks.


considerable loss of life and property. Each of them tried to overpower the other and regain the control over their strategic points. But the arrival of fresh contingent under the command of Yousf Khan Rizvi infused new blood in the Mughal army.\(^{93a}\) Kashmiri forces gave way under the pressure of the Mughals.\(^{94}\) Yāqoob Chak fled to Kashtawār.\(^{95}\) In order to weed out refractory nobles both human and deceitful means were to consolidate their newly acquired territory. The demoralized nobles were persuaded to trust the Mughals, while on the other hand the hostile nobles were crushed.\(^{96}\) The policy of pacification began to bear fruit and on the instigation of Moḥammad Bhat, Lauhar Chak, son of Ibrahim Chak, and Ismāil Naik surrendered before Yousf Khan Rizvi.\(^{97}\) However, Yaqoob Shah, Mahmood Bhat,\(^{97b}\) Shamas Duni, Shamasi Chak and Maʿali, son of Mubārāk Khān Baihaqī, continued the confrontation which as a matter of fact, did not serve any useful purpose.\(^{98}\)

93a. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 413-14.
97. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī, f. 191. Mohammad Bhat was an influential noble of Kashmir. He was wazir of Yousf Shah Chak also. On account of luxurious attitude of Yousf Shah their relations deteriorated.
Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 202-3.
When Yāqoob Khān failed to overcome the Mughals, his associates surrendered to the Mughals along with Abul Ma‘āli, Shamsi Chak, and Shamas Doni. They sued for peace through Sayyid Bahauddin. They were sent to Akbar and he granted them favourable mansab, but they were not allowed to return to Kashmir.

Having broken the backbone of Kashmiri forces, Yousf Khān Rizvi now turned towards Bahram Naik, Saif Khān Baihaqi, Áli Khān and Iba Khān brother of Haidar Chak. Bahram Naik was poisoned along with his family members, Saif Khān Baihaqi, Áli Khān, and Ibrāhīm Chak were blinded. But Yaqoob Chak escaped to Kashtawar again in 1587. Meanwhile Yousf Khān Rizvi was directed to leave for Kabul. He left Kashmir under the charge of Shah Baqir and on the persuasion of Latif Najār imprisoned Sayyid Shah Abul Ma‘āli, Alam Sher Khan

99. MAHI, Tariq-i-kashmir, f. 191.
102. Ibid.
103. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 194.
104. Ibid., f. 195a.
106. Ibid., f. 196b.
107. A.N., III, p. 595. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, ff. 197, 204ab, calls him Lullo Najār but according to Hasan Beg Alkhaki, f. 35, his name was Latif Najār. He was given the title of Nadirul Aghri by Akbar.
On account of the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, Yousf Khan Rizvi was sent back. Sayyid Abul Ma'ali was released from the prison and sent to serve Raja Man Singh. In 1589, Akbar decided to visit Kashmir. On his arrival common people thronged to see the Emperor but the belligerent chieftains were alarmed. But Akbar had come to heal their wounds and patch up with the opponents and disarm them through persuasion. The opponents were handsomely rewarded and the Emperor tried his best to elevate them. Yaqoob Shah also paid homage to Akbar at Shahabad-Din Pur. He was warmly welcomed and sent to Lahore to serve under Raja Man Singh. Subsequently letters were sent to Abdullah Uzbek making out a case.

109. Ibid.
Badauni, Muntakhabut-Tawarih, II, p. 371.
Akbar entered Srinagar on June 5, 1589/25th Khurdad, 34th R.Y. According to Nawadirul Akhbar, f. 119, it was in 996H/1587 is incorrect. The chronogram of the visit given by him Khair Muqadam is also incorrect as it is equivalent to 994/1585. According to Mohibbul Hasan, Akbar visited Kashmir in June 1588., Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 192.
111. A.N., III, p. 540.
112. Ibid.
113. A.N., III, p. 541.
The confluences of River Jhelam and Nalla Sindh.
Suka, Raja Taranqni, p. 417.
Suka, Raja Taranqni, p. 417.
in favour of the Mughals and the circumstances lead up to the whole incident of the annexation of Kashmir. Then Kabul campaign was launched and envoys were sent to the rulers of both the Tibet to accept the overlordship of Akbar. In pursuance of his expansionist policy Akbar wanted to overawe the Uzbek Emperor to keep his hands off from Kabul. The rulers of Tibet had been providing shelter to the Chaks, so they too were reprimanded and cautioned lest they should create any trouble when the Kabul campaign was in progress.

Owing to prolonged warfare and constant mobilization of armies the economy of the kingdom was badly affected. The atrocities of the occupation army had created chaos and confusion throughout the Subah. Both agriculture and trade were in a deteriorating condition. Administrative set up was in a mess and the downfall of the local ruling clan had badly affected the morale of the people. Akbar immediately diverted his attention towards streamlining the administration and redress the grievances of the people. He introduced a number of reforms in order to bring the administrative and economic set up in tune with that of the Empire.

In spite of all checks and restraints, rewards and appeasement a heroic but unsuccessful struggle continued against

117. Suka, Raja Taranoni, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 416.
the Mughals up to 1622 and even later whenever the Kashmiris had a chance to rebel against the imperial rule. During such an opportunity was afforded to them in the winter of 1590 when the Subahdār, Yousf Khan Rizvi, was absent from Kashmir. Akbar had sent Qāzi Nūrullāh and Qāzi Āli to reassess the revenue of Kashmir on a complaint lodged by Pandith Tota Ram and Latif Najār, charging the governor with misappropriation of funds. The complaint proved to be correct and based on facts. The revenue was enhanced. But Yousf Khan Rizvi objected to this enhancement as the Subāh constituted his jagir. So the land was attached to Khalisa and the soldiers were paid in cash. Meanwhile Yousf Khan Rizvi had gone to attend the Court leaving behind Mirzā Yādgār in-charge of the Subāh. Meanwhile a servant of Husain Beg molested the wife of a servant of Rizvi. The disaffected group raided the house of Husain Beg but on account of the interference of Bābā Wali and Qāzi Āli the dispute was resolved, but Husain Beg invited some of his opponents and put them to death. This incident ignited the fire and a mass

119. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 204a-b.
120. A.N., III, p. 595. Bāhārīstān-i-Shāhī, ff. 204a-b.
121. A.N., III, p. 595.
121a. Akbarnama, III, p. 627.
122. A.N., p. 616.
123. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 429.
124. Husain Beg Khan was appointed as Diwan in 1589. See Chapter II, Section III, for details.
125. Ibid.
rising took place to overthrow the Mughal rule. Darvēsh Āli, Ādīl Bēg, Yāqoob Bēg and Imām Quli with other servants attacked Husain Bēg and Qāzi Āli. They took shelter in the Nāgar Nāgar fort meanwhile the rebels approached Mirza Yadgar; he readily accepted the offer and declared himself King in 1000/July 1592. Qāzi Āli was killed and Husain Bēg escaped to Rajouri. On hearing this, Akbar directed Sheikh Farid Bakhari, Mīr Murād, Khāwājā Fathulla and others to proceed on Kashmir. Sādiq Khān was despatched via punch. The zamindārs of Punch and Punjab, peasants of surrounding areas and a contingent of Ahadis under Āli Akbar were directed to march against Yadgār Mirzā. He had left the passes unguarded and the Mughal forces entered the territory without any resistance. When Yadgar Mirza learnt of the approach of the army he marched towards Herapura. Sheikh Farid Bakhari posted himself at Herapura Shahbaz Afghan and Sard Beg Turkaman attacked Mirza Yadgār in his

126. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 204.
128. A.N., III, p. 618. Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 415. According to Inshāi-Abul-Fazl, p. 29, this incident took place in 31 R.Y. corresponding to 1586. It appears to be a clerical mistake.
129. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 204b.
130. A.N., III, p. 618.
132. Ibid., p. 623.
133. Ibid. (ii) Gulshan-i-Balāgāt, ff. 50-1.
compound and beheaded him immediately. When the incident was related to Adi Beg, who was holding charge of the city, he escaped silently to the Deccan. Mohammed Quli Beg showed the severed head of Yadgar Mirza to Akbar at Bhimber. The hand of the local zamindars in the Yadgar rising was discernible, therefore, Akbar thought of some stratagem to befriend them. So with a view to attacking them to the imperial Court through matrimonial relations the daughter of Shamsi Chak a powerful zamindar was married to Akbar and the daughters of Mubarak Khan and Husain Chak were wedded to Prince Salim. Some of the nobles also followed suit in marrying girls of Kashmiri nobility which did a lot in cementing bonds of affinity. In spite of these efforts minor rebellions still continued. In 1596-97, an old person appeared in Shahabad pargana pretending to be Umar Shaikh Mirza, son of Mirza Sulaiman. A large number of Kashmiris and about a thousand Badakhshis followed him, but Mohd Quli Khan, the then governor of the Subah arrested him and sent him to the Court. Another attempt was made by Shamas Chak in 1600 which was foiled immediately.

139. A.N.,III, p. 626.
140. A.N., III, p. 626.
142. A.N.,III, p. 784.
On the other hand the Mughals followed a ruthless policy in putting down the rebels. In 1594, Hāji Mohammed and Yousf Dār were exiled to India. During the same period Mohīb Ālī, the Foujdar of Dechan Khawara, killed a large number of Kashmiris near Mattan. 143

Akbar's death did not put an end to the recalcitrant Kashmiri elements and the oppressive measures continued to weed out the anti-Mughal elements. 144 Mirzā Ali Akbar, the Governor, entrapped Zaffar Khān and his followers through Qāzi Šāliḥ by promising them handsome rewards and mansabs. 145 They attended the Court of Ali Akbar Shāhi who got them imprisoned and ordered a general massacre of Chaks near Rainawāri. This hunt continued for a few days. Zaffar Khān, Ḥabīb Khan, Āli Khān, son of Yousf Khān and Naurose Chak, were also murdered. 146 Their bodies were displayed for a couple of days and were at last disposed of by the residents when their rotten condition produced offensive smell. 147 The final blow to the insurgents was struck by I'taqad Khān in 1622, 148 who combed down the Chaks and freed himself for the remaining period from the rebels.

144. Ibid., ff. 205-6b.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., ff. 209a-210b.
Perennial civil wars under the Sultans subsequent to the death of Zainul-Abidin and foreign intervention had adversely affected the relations subsisting between Kashmir and the tributary states. The disintegration started earlier reached its climax during the Chak rule. After the Mughal annexation in 1586 the adjacent territories particularly Kashtwar and Tibet had become the refuge of defeated Kashmiris. These refractory nobles were a constant source of trouble to the Mughals. There was a constant threat to the Mughal rule in Kashmir. After the fall of the kingdom of Kashmir, the Mughals felt free to divert their attention make a bid to bring about the subjugation of the vasal states viz., Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawar and Punch.

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar sent two envoys Mirza Beg and Mulla Taib Asfahani and Mehter Yari to Little and Greater Tibet respectively, in order to persuade Ali Rai of Askardu not to extend help and assistance to the Chak rebels,

1. A.N., III, pp. 552, 569.
2. He was only a chieftain of the principality of Ladakh known as Askardu. He was called Ali Sher Khan and was successor of Gazi Mir. (i) Cunningham, Ladak, etc. pp. 30-34. Zanskar, Nubra and Rukchu. The territory is bounded mountain range of Karakoram, tributaries of Indus and on the south-east by Lahul and Sipite now territory of Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham, Ladak, etc. pp. 18-22. ((ii)) Hashmatullah Khair pp. 503-4. He was accepted as an overlord by the petty chieftains of Shigar, Purik, Suru, and Dras, collectively called Little Tibet. Greater Tibet known Zanskar, Nubra and Rukchu. The territory is bounded mountain range of Karakura tributaries of Indus and on the south-east by Lahul and Sipiti now territory of Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham, Ladak, etc. pp. 18-22.
2a Shakardu of Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 282.
and probably to safeguard the northern frontier against any possible attack from Uzbeks. The Chieftains were asked to accept the Suzerainty of Akbar. In 1592, 'Ali Rai entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals. His daughter was married to Prince Salim. Yet he did not desist from coming to the succour of the Chaks. In 1603, he came in person to help Iba Khan, son of Husein Khan and Zafar Khan, but returned to his own territory without any encounter with the Mughals.

'Ali Sher himself was following a policy of expansion in the region. In 1592, he attacked even the territory of Greater Tibet. The ruler of Ladakh gave his daughter to 'Ali Sher in marriage, besides surrendering some

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5. Ibid. According to Akbarnama and Iqbal Nama, Ali Rai was frightened on hearing the news of the arrival of Mughal contingents under Saifullah but according to Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī, f. 206, he was disgusted when he came to know about the mutual hatred of Kashmiri nobles.

A.N., III, p. 731, mentions that it was Ali Zād who attacked Leh. It appears to be a mistake for 'Ali Rai.
adjoining territory which was annexed with Askardū and Jamyan-Namgyal, the ruler of Ladakh, was allowed to retain his territory. 8 Ali Sher Khān had three sons, Ādam Khān, Abdāl and Aḥmad Khān. 9 During his life he assigned Parkota and Kartakhsha 10 to Abdal Khan. Adam Khan was appointed heir apparent and Rounda was assigned to Ahmad Khan. After the death of Āli Shēr Khān in 1622, 11 his sons fought for succession. Abdāl was triumphant and Ādām Khān escaped to India. 12

It has been mentioned above that Āli Shēr Khān had a desire to bring the entire region under his sway. He annexed Rounda, Shigar, and the adjacent principalities. A fortress was also built by him on the confluence of the Gilgit rivers and Shyok. 13 The growing power of Abdāl Khān and his

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8. According to A.N., III, p. 731, and Iqbal Nama, II, p.454, Kaliyum Kokaltash was the ruler of Ladakh who was defeated by Alizad and a relative of the deposed ruler was given the territory which is not supported by the Tibetan sources. (i) Franck, History of Western Tibet, p. 106. On the other hand Hashmatullah Khān, in his book, Tarikh Jamu wa Kashmir wa Riyasatha Mafthuha, pp. 503-4, mentions on the basis of Shigar Nama, a contemporary History of Shigar that it was Gāzi Mīr who was ruling Askardū and Ali Sher Khān Inchan (Āli Rai) was only heir apparent, but Cunningham, in Ladakh, etc., pp. 30, states that Ali Sher Khān succeeded Gāzi Mīr in 1590, IV Vigue, Travels, etc. p. 252.


11. Ibid., p. 34.


13. Ibid., p. 505.
policy towards the Mughals was a sufficient cause for the Mughal intervention in this region. As a matter of fact the territory was never reduced to virtual submission. But any further delay would be futile to the Mughal interests in Kashmir, particularly when Mughal relations with Safvids and Uzbeks were strained.

With a view to avenging his defeat at the hand of Abdal Khan, Adam Khan sought the help of Shahjahan who directed Zafar Khan to march against Abdal Khan. In September 1638, Zafar Khan marched against Abdal Khan at the head of 8000 soldiers. Meanwhile Abdal Khan had garrisoned his newly built fortresses of Kechna and Kharpooche. He left the fortress of Khechna under the charge of Mohammad Murad.

15. Since the fall of Qandahar, relations between Persia and India were strained. The Transoxiana developments were also alarming and as such, any further delay on the part of Shahjahan would have gone against the interests of the Mughals. For the details, see Athar Ali, 'Objectives Behind the Blakh and Badakhshan Expedition in 1643-4', Medieval India. A Miscellany, Vol. II, and B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Delhi, pp. 182-209, 210-236, 315.
On arrival at Askardu, Zafar Khan divided his army in three sections — under Kunwar Singh Kashtawari and Mohammad Zamân a relative of Fârhâd Beg Blooch, Husain Naik along with the zamindârs of Kashmir and the third group under his own command. Abdâl had left his family in fortress of Shigar under the care of his minor son.\(^{20}\) Zafar Khan deputed a contingent under Mir Fakhruddin to attack the fortress of Shigar, which compelled Abdâl Khan to come out of impregnable fort of Kharpoche.\(^{21}\) But he failed in his attempt and the Mughals carried on the operation according to their plan\(^{22}\) under the able guidance of Ādam Khan.\(^{23}\) But he made good his escape and left for Kashgar leaving the rest of the family behind in the fort.\(^{24}\) When Abdâl Khan came to know about the fall of the

20. The ruler of Shigar was Hasan Khan, son of Mohammad Khan. Mohammad Khan had twelve sons and Hasan Khan was the eldest son. He was defeated by Abdâl during an encounter and his younger brothers were killed. Hasan Khan sought shelter in Kashmir. Hashmatullah Khan, Târikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 507-8. Cunningham is silent about this incident. According to his chronology, it was Ama Chand De, who ruled Shigar from 1605 to 1680, Ladakh — Political Physica, etc. Badshah Nama, Laheri, II, pp. 282-3. Qazvini, III, f. 416.


22. Ibid., (ii) Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 415

23. Ibid.

24. Badshah-Nama, Laheri, II, p. 283. Ainal-i-Sâlih, II, p. 359. Qazvini, III, f. 414. All the three sources have not mentioned the name of his minor son.
fortress, he sued for peace through Shādmān Pakhlīwal. He surrendered the fort on September, 1637, and the Khutba was recited in the name of the Emperor.

The expedition culminated in success on account of the superiority of Mughal arms and superior strategy rather than treachery. Zafar Khan brought Abdal Khan along with his family to Kashmir. A Thanedar was also appointed in Shigar while the Mughals were advancing in Tibet, Abdal had deputed sons of Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak to create disturbances in Kashmir, so as to compel the Mughal to return, but they were not successful in this attempt. Since the winter season was approaching and there was no way to return, so Zafar Khan had no alternative but to leave.

25. Badshah Nama, II, p. 284. Shādmān Pakhlīwal was son of Sultan Husain Pakhlīwal. After his death Pakhlīwal was assigned to Shādmān Pakhlīwal in 1624, Tuzuk, p. 367.

26. Badshah Nama, II, p. 285. Qazvini, III, f. 415. The keys of the fort were handed over on 7th Rabi II, 1047, corresponding to September, 1637, and not 1634 as put by Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-va-Kashmir, etc. p. 508.

27. Saksena, B.P., History of Shahjahan etc. pp. 113-4.


29. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-va-Kashmir, etc. p. 613.

for Kashmir as soon as possible. He entrusted the territory to
the vakil of Abdal Khan. Shahjahan did not ratify the treaty
and Zafar Khan, on his arrival to Srinagar, was asked to attend the
Court. Adam Khan was appointed as Tarānāti in Kashmir with a
mansab of 500/200 which was enhanced to 1000/400 in 1638
and Askardu was assigned to him in jāgir. In 1640 he was appointed
Qiladar of the fortresses of Kharpūche and Khechnā. Adam Khan
died in 1656, and Askardu was assigned to Murād Khān, nephew of
Adam Khan. His mansk was increased to 1000/1000 in 1074 A.H.
It may not be out of place to mention that Adam Khan was administering
his jāgir of Askardo as an absentee landlord from Srinagar
through Mirzā Khān, Mirzā, in the absence of his master,
proclaimed independence. Adam Khān marched against him with
Mohammad Shafi and Ālim Beg who were sent to him in 1666-67.
Imām Quli Khān had already accepted the overlordship of the Mughals.
Shigar was assigned to him in jāgir. Thus the whole of Baltistan
an Askardo were brought under the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire.

31. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, II, p. 286. While Zafar Khan was
coming back, he arrested all of them and brought them to Kashmir, Qazvini, III, p. 416.
warring chieftain appears to have been the prerogative of the Emperor only, and under these limitations the
Subahdar was not entitled to enter into any such agreement.
34. Ibid., II, p. 98.
35. Badshah Nama, II, p. 98.
39. When Adam Khan regained control over his watan, a mosque
was built in Askardo, and Khutba was recited in the name of Aurangzeb.
(i) Tarikh-i-Shahi Jahani-wa-Alamqir, f. 133b. (ii) Bernier, Travels, etc. p. 402. (iii) Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 514-17.
40. Ibid., pp. 532-3.
41. Desideri, Travels, p. 117.
Relations with Great Tibet (Ladakh):

Ladakh was not a united territory under one rule right up to 1000 A.D. It was divided among various chieftains and towards the end of 10th Century it was consolidated into a single country.\(^1\) Having a close relationship with central Tibet, Buddhism made its headway and a number of monasteries sprang up. In the sixteenth century Lachen dynasty was succeeded by Namgyal dynasty.\(^2\) Namgyal reduced a number of principalities and a large area, previously under the control of Central Tibet.\(^3\) He was succeeded by Jamyong - Namgyal in 1560.\(^4\) During his reign (1560-90) a quarrel took place between Khir-Sultan of Dkartse and Purig Sultan of Chikla.\(^5\) He came to the help of one of the chieftains while the other appealed to Alisher Khan for help which he readily accepted on account of his expansionist policy.\(^6\)

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1. Fillipo-de-Fillipi, Himalaya - Karakorum, etc. pp. 176-7.

2. Ibid. Based on the translation of Tibetan Sources translated by a German Scholar Karal Marx and published and denoted by Fillipo in the above book.


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., (ii) Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc. p.24. There is a variation so far as the spellings of various proper nouns are concerned. Cunningham has not followed the same principle of transliteration as has been adopted by Franck, Fillipo and Pełeph.

Jamyang Namgyal was defeated and Ladakh was overrun by the Baltis. In order to control Ladakh, Ali Sher Khan offered his daughter, Tara, to the son of Jamyangnamgyal. After the death of Ali Sher Khan, again the difference came to surface. Dal-dyn Namgyal wanted to avenge the previous defeat by his bid to vanquish the Sultan of Purig. He waged a war against Purig and other principalities. Sen-ge-Nam-rgyal had a resolute mind directed to annex these territories. His powerful commander, Shkya-gyo-cho

7. Ibid. According to Cunningham, on the basis of Tibetan chronicles states the incident on account of the appointment of Shkya-gyo-cho as commander. His appointment was resented by Raspa or Raschen a Lama of Lahasa who had come to Ladakh to propagate the Red Sect Ladakh - etc., p. 177.

8. Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc. pp. 77 251. Tara in Buddhist tradition is considered to be incarnation of the wives of the Tibetan King who introduced Buddhism in Tibet, Fillipo-de-Filipi, p. 177. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 454. She was known as Thi La Khatun or Zizi in Tibetan Sources. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, etc. p. 697. She was accompanied by Akhun Mohammad Sharif, who started the propagation of Islam in Suru and Kar'tse. But Tibetan Sources are silent about this.

9. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 697. During this period the said principalities were ruled by Hatim Khan, Baber and Yaqoob, who were the sons of the daughter of Shah Murad of Lahori Askardu.

10. Badshah Nama, II(I), pp. 159-60. Petech, China & Tibet in early 18th Century, p. 176.

wanted to raise the prestige of Ladakh which was previously, infused by Sher Ali Khan. It appears the Mughal dependency of Little Tibet sought the help of the Mughals and Muhammad Shafi and Mas'hood Beg led a contingent in 1666-67. Ladakhis were defeated and a treaty was concluded. The ruler promised to construct a mosque for the convenience of the Muslims. But according to the Tibetan Sources the Mughals were repulsed, leaving behind dead bodies and arms. But we cannot brush aside the inscription of "Kache-Masjid" bearing the year 1077H/1666-7 for its foundation. But Schlagintweit mentions that the mosque was built in water-Tiger-Year (1602+12=1614) and completed in water-Horse-year (1602+52 = 1654). In support of his assertion he mentions an inscription found by him in Hemis Gompa. The Mughal and Kashmir chronicles do not support his conjecture. The difference in the chronology appears to have been caused by lacunary Buddhist manuscripts. It appears that the Mughal expedition though


14. In spite of the construction of the mosque, Islam does not seem to have made any headway in Ladakh. Secondly, the Mughals were not able to control Ladakh even temporarily.
it was unsuccessful yet it did not bring any kind of territorial gain to the Mughals. However, an opportunity was provided to them in 1683-4, which paved the way for the Mughal conquest of Ladakh later on.

Dalai Lamas had supremacy over Lamaism since a pretty long time, but this power was religious but political power vested in the hands of the Mongols, who had a strong man in Guzri Khan. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban-bho-bzon, through sheer diplomatic skill and the clever use of his political ocumen used Guzri Khan to raise his prestige. The Namgyal dynasty had accepted the spiritual as well as political hedegony of the Lahasa Lamasary.

In 17th Century, during the reign of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, a Lama of the red-sect called Stag-tsang-raschen (Raspa) came to Ladakh. His presence was resented to by the Dalai Lama and Daläs Khän as well. It appears the ruler of Ladakh had also been influenced by his teachings, and the Mughal interference was also increasing in this region. So an army was sent under dGa-lDan-Ts'e-dBan-dPal-bznpo. On his way to Ladakh he involved Kheri

16. Ibid.
17. Fillipo-de-Filipà, Himalaya—Karakorum, etc. p. 177.
18. Daläs Khän was son and successor of Guzri Khan the temporal chief of Ladakh. Petech, IHQ, V. 23, 1947, III, p. 175.
19. dGa-Ldan-Ts'e-dBan was the Lama of Tashilunpo Lamasary and first cousin of Guzri Khän. He was an able general and an administrator. After the death of Tashi Lama in 1662, he was able to maintain law and order in the market of Tashi Lunpo. Peteck, IHQ, Vol. 23, III,p.182.
Singh, the chieftains of Bashāhār territory in this adventure. He was granted uninterrupted caravan facilities in the district of mNaris. On account of the winter season he remained in the fortress of Bazgo. After defeating Sakya-rgya-rgya-mtso near Tashigong. However the further advance was checked. Ladakhis also took shelter in fortress of Tsaprang. Meanwhile a fresh reinforcement of a contingent arrived from Lhasa to the help of the Tibetans which compelled Nam-rgyal to seek the help of the Mughals. He appealed Ibrahim Khan, Subehdār, of Kashmir, for his help against the Tibetans, who had almost overrun the whole of Ladakh. Although the Mughals had no intentions of expansion in this region but the presence of a powerful enemy was not to be tolerated on the cost of the defeat of Vasal Chieftains. So, an expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops called from Kabul and local forces. The command was given to Fidāi Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan in 1682-83. The Mughals were joined by the

20. Ibid., p. 175.
22. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 130.
29. Fillipo-de-Filippo, Himalaya - Karakoram, etc. p. 176-7.
forces of Sakardo and the Ladakhi forces after crossing Zoji-la. The Tibetan and Qalmaqs were defeated and chased beyond Pitak and without any rest they left for Tashigong.\(^{27}\)

On the culmination of the war a treaty was concluded among Tibetans, Ladakhis and the Mughals.\(^{28}\)

This war has a great importance in shaping the destiny of Western Himalayas. The boarders defined and demarcated by the Ladakhis and the Tibetans on the Northern side still continues to be the boundary of Jammu and Kashmir. Before this war the Mongols had supremacy over the Ladakhis but this war once for all decided the future of Ladakh. The ruler accepted Islam under the name of Aqabat Mahmood Khan with a rank of 3000/2000. Ladakh was assigned to him in lieu of his submission.\(^{29}\)

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28. It has not been mentioned in the Tibetan Sources.
29. Akhbarat, 43rd R.Y.
   Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
   Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, (Sarkar), p. 144
   Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 311-12.

Tibetan sources translated by Petech, Francke, Fillipo-de-Filipi and Karl Marx don't agree with the Mughal sources, so far as the conversion of the ruler is concerned. After this incident the Aqabat Mahmood Khan continued construction of Mani walls and Lama saris. It appears the Tibetan sources have deliberately committed this mistake. See Akhbarat 43rd year. The Mughal Governors did not allow the ruler of Ladakh, to revert to Buddhism which is the conjecture of Petech, IHQ, Vol. 23, III, p. 193. In 43rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb Naib-Namgyal who succeeded his father requested Aurangzeb to confer on him the title of Masood Khan with the same mansab of his father 3000/2000. Akhbarat Rabi I, 43rd R.Y. His brother was given the mansab of 500/500. Ibid. It is also not borne out by facts that the Mughals had not any territorial claim on Ladakh. A.N., III, p. 731. The revenue records of subsequent period include Greater Tibet as a Sarkar of Suba Kashmir, Desideri also supports our inference. Desideri, Travels, p. 72.
Relation with Khashtawar

Khashtawar state is situated in the interior of the Himalayas bounded by Ladakh in the North, Pādar and Chamb in the east, Bhadrawah on the south and Kashmir on the west, extending from Nāgsun to Rāmban. It consisted of Kashtawar, Nāgsun, Sartali Surur, Bhoujuah Dachin and Marū-wardwan, Udil, Kontawara, and Dodasaraj. Since early times Khashtawar was a tributary of Kashmir and allied with the Kashmiri Sultans by matrimonial alliances.

During 1584-1622, the rulers of Khashtawar provided shelter to the defeated Chak nobles. Support and active help of Khashtawaris encouraged the opponents to create trouble in Kashmir. During the first Mughal expedition on 1586, Yaqoob Chaks played havoc in the lines of Mughal force with the help of Khashtawar.

Raja Gunwar Sen extended his full assistance to Lohar Chak and Iba Chak.

1. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 638, has included Banihal paraganah with Khashtawar, which is not correct. Banihal was also always ruled from Kashmir even before the Mughal annexation, (ii) Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 18, 209, and continued to be a paraganah of the Mughal Subāh of Kashmir, A.N. (Bloch), p. 835. (iii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 204. (iv) Forster, Travels, I, p. 349. (v) Vigue, Travels, I, p. 204.


3. Tuzuk, p. 294.
Akbar could not divert his attention towards the territory, because his hands were full elsewhere. But the continuous interference on the part of the Chaks, compelled the Mughals to adopt an expansionist policy in this direction.

In 1617-18, Aḥmad Bāgh Khān was appointed Subehdar of Kashmir on the condition that he would carry on the Kashtawar expedition, but on account of his failure he was transferred in 1619. He was succeeded by Dīlawar Khān. He promised to annex Kashtawār within two years. In order to carry on his project, he sought the help of Malik Haidar and Malik Āli.


3. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 561. Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahanqiri, pp. 127-8. Malik Haidar the author of Tarikh-i-Kashmir, was a noble of Youṣf Shah Chak. He was given the Zamindari of his residential pargana Chadoorā by Jahangir and the title of Raisul Mulk, and Chugtāi' was also conferred on him. Malik Āli was his brother an architect enginee. Malik Haidar, Tabir: Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214-15.
was fully acquainted with the routes leading to Kashtawar. Dilāwar Khan led the expedition personally. The attack was launched via Sanginpura and after a tough fighting the raja was defeated and captured by the men of Dilāwar Khan in 1622.⁸ Dilāwar Khan left for Kashmir leaving behind Nasrullah Arab in charge of the newly acquired territory.⁹ Raja Gunwar Sen was brought to the presence of Jahangir at Baramulla.¹⁰ In reward of his services Dilāwar Khan was given the revenue of Kashtawar in Ina'm.¹¹ Since Gunwar Sen declined to surrender his sons as hostage, he was deposed to Gwalior prison where he remained for two years.¹²

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12. Tuzuk, p. 303.

Tuzuk, p. 347.
Keval Ram, Tazkiratul-Umara, f. 228.
Consequent upon the departure of the Mughal forces the Kashtawāris revolted in 1623 on account of the harsh and oppressive attitude of Naṣrullāh Arab and his men. Jahangir appointed Jallāl to put down the insurrection, but he did not succeed in his attempt and Irādat Khan was directed to subdue the uprising. Raja Sangram Singh was also ordered to help Irādat Khan.

The revolt was put down and Thānās were established with large garrisons adequately provisioned. Meanwhile Gunwar Sen was released from the Gwalior fort in 1624 and Kashtawār was assigned to him as Watan Ḫājī.

14. Jallāl was elder son of Dilāwar Ḫān. He led a contingent along with his father in 1621 to Kashtawār. He was granted a mansab 1000/600. He was not appointed as Subehdar of Kashmir as put by Abdul Rahim, JPHS, Vol. 7, 1959, Tuzuk, p. 312, Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i Jahanīri, ff. 140-8.
15. Tuzuk, pp. 312-13, on the death of Dilawar Khan, Irādat Khan was appointed as Subehdar in 1622.
17. Tuzuk, p. 347. Iqbal Nama, III, p. 580. Gunwar Sen was son of Partab Sen. He succeeded his father in 1618-19. (Hashmatullah Khan, p. 156). He was granted a mansab of 1000/400 Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 311. His daughter was married to Prince Shuja Badshah Nama, II, p. 434-5, Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul Umar, f. 228. After his death in 1649, he was succeeded by his Maha Singh and tika was conferred by Shahjahan. A rank of 800/400 was also granted to him Waris, Badshah Nama, I, f. 67. (ii) Kewal Ram, Tazkira-tul-Umar, f. 228.
According to Hutichson, History of Punjab Hill States, II, p. 651, Gunwar Sen was succeeded by Jagat Singh which is not correct. See Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i Jammu, etc. pp. 161-62, also. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, p. 173.
In 1662-63, Saif Khān, the Subehdār of Kashmir, sent an official to collect the annual peshkash from Rājā Mahā Singh, he was reluctant to pay the tribute. When Aurangzeb came to know the intention of the Raja, he directed Mohammad Amin Khān, Subehdār of Lāhor, to caution the Rājā of the dire consequences of his rebellious attitude. It appears that the Raja had submitted to the imperial behest and his son had joined the imperial service & served in the Deccan in 1682-83.

Mahā Singh was succeeded by Jaya Singh. He bore a hostile attitude towards the Muslim, on account of the activities of Shah Farid-ud-Dīn Qādiri. Meanwhile, Raja Jaya Singh came under the influence of the saint and accepted Islam under the name of Bakhtiyār Khān. On account of his earlier attitude towards Muslims and his enmosity with his brother,

18. Akhbārāt, 13th R.Y.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. 24th R.Y.
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 166.
22. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 10b. See Chapter for the life of the Saint and his activities in Kashtawār.
23. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 10b.
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167.
Sardār Singh, the Emperor Aurangzeb was not happy with him. In order to neutralise the efforts of Sardār Singh, he sent his son, Kirat Singh as his Vakil to the Court. He succeeded Bakhtiyār Khān in 1681. Rām Singh, uncle of Kirat Singh, had no cordial relations with him. He complained against his atrocities done to the Muslims. On this complaint, Qāzi Abul Qasim was appointed as Qāzi of Kashtawār by Aurangzeb. He was directed to pursue Rājā Kirat Singh to attend the Court or face the imperial wrath.

Kirat Singh bowed before the imperial will and entered into an agreement promising the safety of Muslims and help to develop a congenial atmosphere for the propagation of Islam. But soon after the departure of Qāzi, there was a revolt against the imperial rule, a large number of Muslims were killed and many more expelled from Kashtawār. Innayi-tullāh Khān took shelter in the khanqāh of Shah Farīd. When these reports reached Kashmir, an army was despatched to put down the rebellion. Rājā Kirat Singh promised to concede the Mughal demands. Subsequently entered the Islam under the influence of Shah Farīd, and assumed the name of

26. The conversion of Jayā Singh was staunchly opposed by the high cast Brahman. Later on he was killed by Krishin Padyar a high cast Hindu, Hutichson, p. 654. Raja Kirat Singh on account of this situation banned Muslims in Kashtawār.
28. The copy of the agreement has been preserved by Hashmatullah Khān in his book, Tarikh-i-Jammu wa-Kashmir, etc. Pp. 170-71.
Henceforth, Kashtaaur remained under the Mughal control as part of the Subah of Kashmir.

Rajouri

Rajouri comprised valley Munawar Tawi and its tributaries. It is situated to the south of Pir Panjal range dividing it from the valley of Kashmir. On the west, it is bounded by Punch and Kotli, on the south by Bhimber and in the east by the river e Chinab. It remained throughout our period within the Subah of Kashmir.

A fort was built by Akbar during his first visit to Noushahra, a principality of Paraganah Rajouri.

The principality was assigned to Raja Hayat Khan in watan jagir, and under Shahjahan the family entered in matrimonial relations with the Mughals.

29. Rouzatul-Arifin, f. 15a. According to Hashmatullah Khan, p. 164, Kirat Singh accepted Islam in 1662, during Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir, which is not correct. He succeeded his father in 1681.

30. Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y.


32. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 17.
See Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 142-149, also.

Pakhli

The whole territory lying between Kashmir in the east and the Indus in the west, including the lower valley of Kishanganga and those of its tributaries. On the south it is surrounded by the Gakhar territory.

During the Sultanate period, it was a tributary of Kashmir but after the fall of Kashmir in 1586, it became a separate Sarkar of Subah of Kabul. Later on it was included in the Subah of Kashmir. In 1589, Akbar assigned Pakhli as watan jagir to Sultan Husain. He promised to pay a regular peshkash but on account of enhancement of revenue, he rebelled, but Akbar assigned Pakhli to Husain Beg Sheikh Umari in jagir. While taking over the charge of the new jagir, Hindal, son of Sultan Husain, proclaimed himself Sultan Naseer. Due to meagre resources he could not resist the imperial pressure.

A.N., III, p. 577.
Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 412.
41. A.N., III, p. 577.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 412.
following year Pakhli was restored to Sultan Husain. Jahangir increased his mansab to 600/300 in 1620. He died in 1624 and the zamindari of Pakhli was given to Shādmān Pakhliwal.

Punch:

The territory comprised the valleys of river Tōhi and its tributaries. It was known as Lohrā. It had always been a dependancy of Kashmir. During the Chak rule Lohrā, became independent.

It appears that during the first Mughal expedition in 1584, Punch accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. In 1618-19, there was a revolt in Punch which was suppressed by Malik Āli and Malik Ḥaidar along with the Subehdār of Kashmir in 1620. There were some other minor principalities near the mountainous regions which were reduced to submission and annexed to the Subān of Kashmir. During the Mughal rule the boundaries of the Subah of Kashmir extended in all directions. (During this

42. A.N., III, p. 578.
43. Tuzuk, p. 291.
44. Tuzuk, p. 367.
46. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, ff. 50-51.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, III, f. 95b.
47. Ibid.
Waqfāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, III, f. 95b.
period the border with Central Tibet was demarcated. In this period and the following principalities were added to form part of Subah of Kashmir: Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damūr, Pakhlī, Noushahra, Rajouri, and Punch. 49

Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 272-4.
Dastūrul Amal-i-Shahjahani, f. 132b.
CHAPTER II

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

I Extent of Agriculture

In the absence of statistical information, it is difficult to work out the actual area under cultivation during the period, particularly in the mountainous regions like Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Kashtawār etc. But with the aid of modern methodology of statistics, we can roughly estimate the extent of the land brought under plough in the valley.

Land Revenue was the main source of income and as such administration was keen enough in expanding the agricultural operation. The officials were repeatedly directed to keep a close watch over the tenants and look after their interests by advancing taqāvī loans, seeds, and provide such other facilities lest they should abandon land and turn it into uftāda.

The downfall of Shah Mir dynasty was followed by chaos and confusion, which led the kingdom to complete disintegration. Mughal intervention and sectarian fights further deteriorated the agrarian situation. Uninterrupted

1. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 31; (ii) Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, etc. pp. 90-91.
3. Ibid.
warfare after the annexation turned the fields into battle grounds, which compelled the tenants to abandon the land, and there was drastic decrease in the produce of the land.4

The economic exploitation at the hands of the newly introduced jagirdars and the oppressive role of the occupation army paved the way to ruin of peasants and thus the agrarian achievements of Zainulabidin were nullified.5 Nevertheless, this situation did not last long. Land Revenue and administrative reforms of Akbar began to bring forth the result in the subsequent years.6 The peasants returned to recultivate their abandoned land. The policy of pacification introduced by Akbar7 was strengthened by Jahangir8 and strictly followed by Shāhjāhān and Aurangzeb.9 The outcome of such policy was the increase in the population.10 Thus the constant

5. Ibid.
increase in the population might have effected the agricultural land, as the increase or the decrease in the population is a factor for the determination of the extent of agriculture. But here again, we do not possess any census record of our time, as the very concept of census was not in the minds of our authorities. Therefore, we have the difficulty in determining the population. The population given by Hasan appears to be exaggerated, no doubt there was mass scale oppression under the Sikh rule, but such decrease in population to such an extent does not appear to be logical. But in the light of other contemporary evidences we can infer the population during the Mughal period was much more than it was during the modern period. We cannot easily brush aside the statements made by the contemporary authorities about the density of population.

Another factor which will be helpful to us in determining the extent of population. Since the annexation in 1586, new expedition in all directions continued, and as such there was a constant variation in the number of villages.

11. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System etc, pp. 1&2.

12. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 10. According to Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 107a, the population of Kashmir in the reign of Jahangir was 19,43,033, including the standing army, which is much more than that of 1901 census record. According to Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 226, the total population was 8,14,241 in 1890-91.


According to Narain Koul Ajiz, there were 5896 villages in the suba.16 Mohammad Azam has supported this statement with a slight variation.17 But according to an accountancy manual of 17th century, there were only 5352 villages all unmeasured,18 which is in accord with the census figures conducted in 1901.19 But some earlier sources have recorded highly exaggerated number of villages, existing in early medieval period.20 Such an inflated number of villages could not have existed despite the fertility of the land. Abul Faiz Faizi has mentioned that there was not a single piece of land which was not brought under plough. Three-fourth of the entire land of the suba was mountainous, and the rest one-fourth was brought under plough and orchards.21

16. Narain Koul Ajiz, Mukhtasar Tawarih-i-Kashmir, f. 107e
   There is a variation in various editions of the same manuscripts. The total number of villages of Marwardwan, Banihal, Punch, Rajouri and Noushahra was 3270. The number of villages in 12 mahals of Tibet and 5 mahals of Kamlak and Kahal was not known to the author.
18. Fraser, 86, f. 3.
20. According to Zafar Nama, there were 1,00,000 villages in the kingdom of Kashmir, (Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 429) puts the number at 70,000.
   Dr Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 251-52, has inferred on the basis of above evidences that there would have been in between 70,000 and 60,000 villages during the Mughal period, which cannot be accepted.
On the basis of revenue returns in the Alin, we can safely infer that the area lying in between Kuknagir to Ferozpora and Hirapura to Saramulla was mostly brought under plough.\(^{22}\) Abdul Hamid Lahori and Waris give us a detailed account of the pastoral areas and health resorts, in the valley. On the basis of this information, we can infer that more than \(\frac{2}{3}\)th of the cultivable land in the Sarkar Kashmir was brought under plough and more and more \(\mathfrak{Uftada}\) and \(\mathfrak{Banjar}\) land appears to have been brought under cultivation of cereals, fruit and vegetables. However, we cannot brush aside the information provided in an administrative manual of 1755c. The tenants very often abandoned their ancestral land\(^{23}\) because of the exploitation of jagirdars and the revenue officials,\(^{24}\) and brought \(\mathfrak{Uftada}\) land under cultivation, lying in jurisdiction of other jagirdars. Therefore, we can accept Faizi's statement with certain reservations.

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22. We have paraganah-wise statistical information about the land revenue which was realized in kind at the rate of \(\frac{1}{2}\) Alin, II, 175-77 (N.K.). These returns support our inference. See Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 18-25 also. See Appendix A.’’

23. Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 524, 528\(\circ\)830, and 534.

Means of Irrigation

Due to geographical formation of various regions, the canal irrigation was the main source of irrigation. In spite of natural barriers hampering the expansion of trade and commerce, the mountains were store houses of water. As a matter of fact the valley of Kashmir is a gift of the Himalayas. The Jhelum, and its tributories in the valley, Kishna ganga in Pakhlī, the Shayōk and the Indus and their tributories in Ladākh and Baltistān, Chīnāb, Jōhi, Chandarbāgh and a network of streams and rivulets provided water to the fields of the Suba. But the table lands or Karewas were mainly dependent on rains. The construction of canals had received a great impetus during the reign of Sultan Zainulābidīn but the Mughals did not pay much attention towards the canal-building. However, some old canals were repaired and only a few new canals were built to irrigate the pleasure gardens rather than agricultural land. But care was taken not to spare the surrounding lands from the benefit of such irrigation works.

During the reign of Akbar, Yousf Khan Rizvi built a canal connecting stream known as Nullah Sindh with Baghi-Ilahi. Under Jahangir, some old canals like Lachama Kul, were repaired under the supervision of Malik Haidar, and Harvan canal was laid out for watering Nur Afza Bagh at the

3. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 28.
cost of 30,000 rupees. Under Shahjahān, a branch of the Shah Nahar was taken to Nishat Bagh by Asaf Khan. The Altamga grant fArman to Asaf Khan laid down the condition that watering to the garden 'cause hardship to the tenants by reducing their irrigation facilities.

Another source of irrigation in the valley consisted of the springs. Most of the interior land beneath the Karewas or in the foot hills was irrigated by the spring water. Great distress was caused in cases of scarcity and low supply of water in the springs. But the spring water was not considered suitable for irrigation on account of the properties. Vegetable gardens were watered from deep wells, dug out in the vicinities of these orchards. Tanks were probably not built for the purpose of irrigation. The use of Persian wheel was not in vogue.

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5. Copy of fArman has been preserved in the Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 115.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.
The table lands depended mainly on rains, and in due course of time these karewas were brought under orchards.


12. Ibid.
Methods of Production and Crops

Hardly any substantial change has taken place in the methods of cultivation since the Mughal rule. The peasants' implements were the plough, with an iron plough share, a wooden mallet for clod breaking, wooden spade with an iron tip, kree for carrying manure and hoe.

The crops were divided into two broad groups, the rabi and kharif.

Barley, wheat, rape, mustard, cotton, grams, beans, linseed, lentils were rabi crops; rice, pulses, waterchestnuts, maize and saffron were kharif crops.

Rice was the principal crop cultivated extensively throughout the valley, and its production was carried in Kashtawar, Rajouri, Pakhlī and some areas of Punch. There were so many varieties of rice existing during our period. More than sixty lakh kharuars of rice were produced approximately.

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 24-25. (ii) Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 324.
2. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 324-25.
6. Ibid.
7. RPD No. 33, a revenue document Srinagar date 1190.
8. A'īn, II, 175-76. State Share appropriated at the rate of one half was about 30 lakh kharuars.
Rice of Rajouri was superior to that of Kashmir.\(^9\) Wheat production was extensive in Kashtawār, Punch and other hilly regions.\(^10\) Shahabad *paragana* of Kashmir Sarkar was famous for its superior quality of wheat.\(^11\) But the grain of the wheat in the valley was smaller and inferior to the wheat cultivated in the plains.\(^12\) A little production of wheat was carried in Little Tibet but barley and grim were the main agricultural produce.\(^13\) Barley was produced in Kashtawār and Pākhli\(^14\) and introduced into the valley perhaps during our period.\(^15\) Grams were not produced in the valley because of unfavourable soil and climate.\(^16\)

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15. *Gulshan Dastur*, f. 345a. There is a contradiction in *Ā'in*, II, p. 170, and *Ain*, III, pp. 548-49, about the barley cultivation. It appears that a little barley was raised in the valley. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 78, also that there was no barley cultivation during our period, but Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 341, holds a contrary viewpoint. According to him, it was extensively cultivated in the valley during 19th century, but not as an important crop.

Millet, buckwheat, and various kinds of pulses were produced in Little and Greater Tibet.  

Pulses of various varieties, amaranth, sesame, rape, linseed and flax were also cultivated in the Karawas of Kashmir. Tobacco cultivation appears to have been introduced in the 18th century. Wild hemp grew on the river banks and ravines. Cotton cultivation was not so extensive. Motah, and beans, maize and kangni or shole (selaria italica) were mainly cultivated around the banks. China (panicum miliaceum) was raised in the La Defile and around the Wular lake. Water Chestnut was extensively found in the lakes. It constituted the main food of thousands of people living around the lakes. The hanjis collected singhara in specially designed boats and the contractors purchased the nuts and transported them to Srinagar for disposal.

20. Tuzuk, p. 312.
Of all the important cash crops, saffron, famous for its bouquet and medicinal properties, was extensively cultivated in Pampur and Andarkot. Its cultivation extended for about 12000 bighas in Pampur and over a tract of land approximately one cos in Andarkot.

Outside the valley of Kashmir, it was cultivated in Kashtawar also. The saffron of Kashtawar was considered superior to the variety of Pampur. Under favourable climatic conditions the production exceeded 500 maunds.

27. A'in, II (N.K.), p. 172, (ii) A.N., III, pp. 648, 727. In various manuscripts the name of the village Pampur has been written as Panpur, Panure etc. It is modern Pampur and ancient Padampur. A'in, II (Jarret), p. 390.

28. Andar Kot a village Parapana Paraspore, A'in, II (N.K.), p. 172; Jarrett, II, p. 395, has spelt it as Indarkot. The ancient name of the village was Indarkol, which remained capital of Kashmir also. A'in, II, Jarrett, p. 395.

29. A.N., III, pp. 648, 727. (ii) A'in, II (N.K.); p. 172, on page 63 of the same edition, it is 12 kos only. In another manuscript it is stated that cultivation spread over an area of 12000 kos, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Shiefta-Collection, i, ff. 35-37. A latter source of 18th century, Khulasatu Tawarikh, Sajan Rai Chandari, pp. 80-81 also has committed the same mistake. See Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 343.


31. Tuzuk, p. 296.

Under the Mughals a large area was brought under the cultivation of saffron.  

The method of saffron cultivation was more complicated and quite different from that of crops dependent on rains. The bulbs were protected from the constant rains during the winter and slopy ground was selected for such purpose. The bulbs (seeds) were planted in the pulverised soil. But the use of any kind of manure was strictly avoided. The land was left uncultivated for a period of five to six years to regain the fertility. The fields were divided into beds and the seeds were sown in the month of July and August within a month the seeds germinated and in the month of October and November bringforth flowers. Each bulb flowered for a period of six years continuously. The flowers were collected by the tenants and latter the petals were separated from the stigmata. The orange red tip of the stigmata was

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33. A'.I, III, p. 648. The production in the year 1002H/1593 increased to 90,000 traks which appears to be a highly exaggerated quantity. According to Tuzuk, p. 315, and Inbal Nama Jahangiri, p. 567, the production was about 500 maunds. During the Dogra period about 132 acres of saffron land was brought under cultivation, Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 342.

34. A'.I, I, pp. 62-63 (N.K.)

35. Ibid.


37. A'.I, I, p. 64 (N.K.)

38. Ibid.
called Shahi Za'fran. Out of eleven trakhs of mixed flowers, two seers of pure dried saffron was obtained.

Sugar-cane cultivation though introduced by Sultan Zainulabidin probably languished in the Mughal period.

Vegetables:

Vegetable growth was extensive and varied all over the Subah but it was more profuse in the valley. The famous vegetable gardens were located around the city of Srinagar on the banks of the Dal lake. The famous floating gardens of the Dal were always full of various kinds of vegetables. Almost every tenant had a plot reserved for vegetable cultivation.

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39. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 432a

   (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 571.

41. Shrivara, Jawa Raja Tarangni, (Tr. by R.C. Dutt), p. 335.

42. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 233.
   (ii) Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, p. 315a.
   (iii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 64.

   (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 97.


45. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315a.
Qualitatively and quantitatively rich vegetables like beans, knol kohl, turnips, radish, spinach, carrots, pumpkins, white beans, cucumbers and onions were mainly produced. Sag and boiled rice was the staple food of the Kashmiris. Potatoes were introduced in the 19th century. Chillies were introduced in 18th century and large quantities were raised around Srinagar. Large quantities of vegetables were exported for the Imperial kitchen from Kashmir.

(ii) Hadigatul-Analim, p. 415.
(iii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 343a, 345a.

47. Travels etc., I, p. 173.


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Horticulture:

Even before annexation, Kashmir was famous for her delicious fruits of various kinds, but during the Mughal rule large tracts of land were brought under orchards. New varieties were introduced besides the improvement of the existing fruits through grafting. 1 Mohamad Quli Afshar, an expert in horticulture introduced cherry in the Suba. 2 In the initial stage the cultivation was restricted to Imperial gardens only, but later Jahangir directed the jagirdars and revenue officials to popularise the new varieties. 3 Experiments were carried on in cultivating mangoes and other kinds of Indian fruits, but with little success. 4 Amrood, 5 a variety of pear was cultivated in the valley as well as in Pakhli and Kashtawar. 6

1. Tuzuk, p. 300.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Khafi Khan, Muntakhibu-Lubab, I, p. 203
5. According to Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 500, and Guava was not cultivated during the Mughal period in any part of the Empire, but was introduced in 19th century. So far the word Amrood is concerned, it was a specie of pear. In the contemporary chronicles we have both the words Nashpati and Amrood: Tuzuk, pp. 291, 300.

(ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565. Since there are various kinds of pears found in Kashmir like Nakh, Gosh Sugi and Har Nakh but the guava is not raised even now. See Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 351-52.

6. Tuzuk, 291
Grapes were cultivated all over Kashmir, and vineyards were found every nook and corner of the valley. Since the local grapes were not of superior quality, Akbar introduced new varieties like Şahibi, Kishmishî, etc. The quality of indigenous grapes was also improved side by side. The vines were allowed to grow on the poplars and mulberry trees. The Baghi Dilawar Khan was a famous site for vineiculture and there were more than 18 varieties raised in this orchard. Superior varieties were cultivated in Lār and Raipur.

   (ii) Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 351.
Apricots, peaches, quince, almonds, walnuts and various kinds of apple were cultivated all over the Suba. Quince seed was exported to India. Almonds and walnuts were grown in abundance, but pistachios were grown in the valley but not extensively. The walnut of Kashmir was superior to the nuts from the Kabul valley.

Apricots of delicious flavour was the cherished fruit of Little and Greater Tibet. On account of extensive cultivation of the apricots, Baltistan was known as Ts'era Botun. Apples and strawberries, melons, watermelons and pears were also grown in this region. Pomegranates were grown everywhere in the suba.

   (ii) A.N., III, p. 733.
   (iii) Tuzuk, pp. 296-99, 300-301.
   (iv) Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 30-31.
   (v) Desideri, Travels etc., p. 72.

15. Tuzuk, p. 300.
   (ii) Insha-i-Har Karan (Folios not page marked).

16. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 31.
   (ii) Desideri, Travels etc., p. 72.


   (ii) Desideri, Travels etc., pp. 75, 78.

Punch and Kashtawar were famous for extensive cultivation of pomegranate but of inferior quality.\(^2\) The melons, watermelons excelled in flavour and sweetness to those found in Kabul and Samarqand.\(^2\) Mulberry trees were found in abundance, but the fruit was not cherished by the people with delight,\(^2\) but wine was distilled from the mulberries.\(^2\)

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22. Iuzuk, p. 396.
   (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahanqiri, III, p. 567.
   (iii) Lahori, Badshah Namà, II, pp. 30-31

23. Ibid.

   (ii) Iuzuk, p. 300.

25. George Forster, Journey from Bengal to England etc., II, pp. 21-2.
   (ii) Watt, et al., Commercial products of India, p. 705.
Trade in Agricultural Produce

The natural barriers might have presented hurdles and drawbacks to the extension of trade and commerce with the outerworld, especially in the mobilization of the grain, but there was no such restraint within the valley. As a matter of fact the river communication was an advantage for such an expansion within. On account of smooth administration, there was a substantial growth in the urban centres, which remained dependent on the rural areas for the raw materials and food grains. As such the possibilities of markets increased, therefore, we should not be surprised to learn that more than 7500 boats were sailing between the production centres (the rural areas) and the main consuming centres, (urban centres) loaded with grains and fodder.

Before the Mughal conquest the land revenue was entirely realized in kind but the Mughals reversed the system, but it caused great oppression to the tenants, so in 1637 jagirdars were directed to realize the revenue in kind and a portion of it was realized in cash. The grain which was collected in the villages by the state officials, and the jagirdars was either sent to Srinagar and sold there to the

2. Iqbal Name Jahangiri, III, p. 564.
4. Ibid.
grain merchants or from the threshing ground. The jagirdars as well as the state, during the reign of Aurangzeb farmed out the land to the contractors, who left the tenants with only a little of their hard-earned produce. This exploitation naturally left the peasants to the mercy of jagirdars. They were deprived of the bulk of their produce which might have found its way to the markets and some quantity returned to the tenants in shape of ταχάβι and seeds. In the absence of statistical information, it is difficult to make a correct assessment of the magnitude of grain trade; but we can safely infer that neither the jagirdar, nor the state was interested in preservation of the foodgrains as there were no reserved stocks of foodgrains as the state preferred to collect revenue in cash. So in times of natural calamity in the subah, the grain merchants made huge profits and of the inflated prices at which the food-grains were sold from the hoarded stocks of the grain-dealers. In this way the chief beneficiaries, whenever natural calamities, draughts and famines occurred, were the grain-dealers. Above all the imperial visits greatly benefited the dealers as the beneficial to them Imperial tours were attended to by large retinues which led to further scarcity of and fodder.


During the imperial visits large quantity of food and fodder was appropriated from the merchants for use in the imperial camp. A small quantity was exported to Ladakh and Baltistan, and Rajouri; basmati was sent for imperial kitchen. Besides the cereals, saffron, chestnut, fruits and vegetables were main articles of agricultural trade. Chestnut was appropriated by farm contractors and then sold to the biryan Faroshan.

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8. Tuzuk, p. 286
   (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 230.

   (ii) Hashmatullah Khan, p. 311.

10. A'lin, I, pp. 62-3 (M, K.)

   (ii) Pelsaert, Jahannir's India, p. 34.

Droughts, Famins and Measures of Relief

In spite of strict adherence to the natural climatic schedule, the former was deprived of his toil from time to time, by the climatic truancies. The Kashmiri peasant started his agricultural operation right from the Nouroze. His minutest negligence could have spoiled his entire crop easily, because the snowfall on the mountain tops in the early autumn days withered the unripe crops. Moreover, man made barriers also were very often responsible for the failure of crops. Uninterrupted warfare and the imperial visits were no less harmful to the toiling peasant.

In 1997 Kashmir experienced the first famine under the new rule. The oppressive role of occupation forces, and the continuation of Mughal-Chak skirmishes had compelled the tenants to abandon the ancestral land. The imperial camp comprised of more than 25000 souls further aggravated the food situation. The price automatically shot up and the poor people failed to meet out their meagre demands. This caused a terrible panic in the kingdom. The children were exposed to

   (ii) A.N., III, p. 727.
3. Ibid., Tuzuk, p. 286.
   (ii) A.N., III, p. 727.
   (iii)Iqbal Nama Jahanniri, II, p. 453.
sale. Thousands of people died and many more fled. Keeping in view this experiment, Jahangir, during his visit in 1622, directed his attendants to arrange their provisions before leaving for Kashmir. But Akbar promptly came to the rescue of the people. Free kitchens were opened everywhere in the cities and principal towns where thousands of people were served two time meals. In order to alleviate his subjects, Akbar ordered the construction of Nāgar Nagar fort. The labourers were paid in cash and in this way hundreds earned their livelihood. Besides this, other measures were also undertaken. Cash grants were awarded to many people during his stay and prices were fixed. The grain dealers were asked to follow them strictly. During the reign of Jahangir there was no crop failure but plague and fire devastated a considerable portion of the suba during 1622-24. Thousands of people died because of this terrible

   (ii) A. N., III, p. 727.
   (iii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 453.
   (ii) Macalgar, Akbar and the Jesuits, pp. 77-8.
9. Ibid. 453
10. Ibid.
   (ii) Tuzuk, p. 223.
plague. The magnitude of the plight was great, perishing entire families, and this plague was followed by a devastating fire. More than 12000 houses burnt in the city of Srinagar. After two years the plague subsided.

In 1642, during the reign of Shahjahan a terrible flood devastated the entire valley. 4000 houses were grounded around the Dal Lake alone. Next year the failure of rains further aggravated the situation. This caused a terrible shortage of food and fodder. The people left Kashmir in search of subsistence. More than 30,000 people went to Lahore, where they appealed the Emperor for relief. The farmers were not able to cultivate the land as neither seed nor the oxen were available. The deserted lands depicted a horrible picture. Numberless free kitchens were opened in and on road-sides. Grain was sent from Lahore, Gujrat and

12. Ibid.
15. Ibid., pp. 204-5.
17. Ibid. (ii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
Ahmadabad to Kashmir. 20 Tāqāvi loans besides the seeds and oxen were distributed among the peasants. 21 Tarbiyat Khan, the Subedar, failed to organise the relief measures efficiently, and he was replaced by Zafar Khan. 22

In 1564-65, untimely snow-fall destroyed the crops. Seventy-nine thousand rupees were sent by Aurangzeb as relief. 23

Famines on minor scale and other natural calamities in the shape of earthquakes, and fires, were common. 24


22. Tarikh-i-Shahjahani etc., p. 98; Gouhari Alam, p. 273; Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

23. Mohamad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, p. 830.


(ii) Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

The land revenue system established by Sher Shah Suri had a sound basis which held good up to 1586—the year when Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire. On the other hand, constant warfare during the period succeeding Zainul-Abedin had thrown the entire administrative set up by him out of gear. In between 1586 and 1589, there was further deterioration in the Subah, resulting in the subsequent Yadgar rising.

Akbar wanted to streamline the local administration, but it was not possible of realisation till 1589. Before undertaking reforms and reorganising the provincial system, it was essential to study the existing system, because the Mughals paid considerable attention to the traditions of the newly conquered territories.

4. Ibid.
5. Rizvi, A.A., Revivalist Movement in Northern India, pp. 224.
7. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 9.
Kashmir was an appendage of and a sarkar included in the subah of Kabul. But the arrangement was in form, and in effect it enjoyed the status of a subah.

From the very start of the Mughal rule, the process of territorial expansion continued, and, therefore, various changes in the administrative set up were initiated from time to time.

Kashmir valley, since times immemorial, was divided into two divisions, the upper division above Srinagar was known as Marâz, and the division below Srinagar was called Kamrâz.

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar appointed


Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 8. P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 65, holds the view point that Kashmir became a separate subah under Jahangir, but Abul Faz'l, A.N. III, p. 605, clearly states that Kashmir was a separate subah. But Mohammad Sharif Al-Najfi, has included the revenue of Kashmir as a sarkar in the Kabul subah. Majalisul Slatin, Rieu III 906 or 1903; f. 115a.


Sheikh Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli and Khwajgi Mohamad Husain to carry on the assessment work in the Maraz division and Khwaja Shamas-ud-Din Khafi and Kunwar Man Singh were sent to Maraz.

9. Shaikh Faizi son of Sheikh Mubarak Nagori was born in 1546-47. He was poet and a physician. He held the rank of 400. He died in 1595. (i) A.N., III, p.674. (ii) A'in, II, Blochmann trans., pp. 549-50.

10. Mir Sharif Amuli came to India in 1585, and joined the Mughal services. After the death of Mirza Hakim, he was appointed as Amin and Sadir of Kabul. He was both a scholar and a poet. He belonged to the Sufi sect of Wahdatul-Wajud. He held the rank of 900. He died in 1598 A.D. A.N., III, 452, 477, 513, 548, 557 and 834. (ii) A'in, II (tr. Blochmann), pp. 502-4. (iii) Malasirul-Umara, II, p. 289.

11. Khwajgi Mohamad Husain was younger brother of Mohamad Qasim Mir Bahar. He was given the title of Mir Bar. He came to India in 1569 along with Munim Khan. He was given various assignments from time to time. He held the rank of 900. A'in, I, N.K.,P. 167. (ii) A.N., III, p. 548. He died in 1612; Tuzuk, p. 114.

12. Raja Man Singh son of Raja Bhagwan Das joined the Mughal service in 1576, and was given the title of farzand. He rose to the prominence after the battle of Goganda (Golconda). He held many posts from time to time, and played a vital role during succession crises at the death of Akbar. Tuzuk, p. 130. He died in 1614, Tuzuk, p. 130. See A.N., I, pp. 6; II, pp. 14, 185, 186, II, 280, 288, 342, 372, III, 448, 467, 511-17, 548, 576-82, and 834.

The assessment was carried after the harvest, and, secondly, the local officials did not extend their full support, so the reports were prepared on the basis of the experience of the authorities. In spite of so many lacunae, the reports were quite exhaustive. The reports revealed that the land was divided into tracts, and each tract was called patta, each patta was equal to one bigha and one biswa in area, according to gazi Ilahi.

The revenue demand under the Sultana was one-third of the produce, but practically more than two-third was appropriated. The actual rais were found as under:

One man, 30½ sers for mu'na, mothe, and mash; two mans 20½ sers for kanoni and arzan; five mans of paddy; wheat one man, 26 sers, barley one man and 26½ sers, and

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14. Ibid., 549.
16. Ibid. This is not supported by the documents and local administrative manuals. The area was determined by the quantity of seed required in the area i.e. an area in which one kharwar of seed was sown was known as one Kharwar of land. Revenue document Nos., 17, 21, 23.
17. A.N., III, p. 549.

(ii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 373a.
(iii) A.N., III, (Beveridge translation), pp. 830-3 and N.
(iv) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 243, each Kharwar of land was equal to four British acres. Even at present the same tradition is followed. Each trakh is equal to two kanals.

17. A.N., III, p. 549.
(ii) A'in, II, p. 570.
lentils and rape one man and 30½ sers from each patta.\textsuperscript{18}

The total revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce, and revenue demand was decreased by two lakh kharwars of paddy.\textsuperscript{19} Since the officials of Yousf Khan Rizvi had not been cooperative, and as such the revenue was fixed tentatively. Meanwhile, one Tota Ram, Peshkar of Yousf Khan Rizvi, complained against him for embezzlement in the revenue.\textsuperscript{20}

Akbar sent Qazi Ali and Qazi Nurullah to investigate the case.\textsuperscript{21} A detailed assessment was carried

\begin{flushleft}
18. A.N., III, pp. 548-49. There is no substantial difference between the rais\' fixed in the rest of the Northern India and Kashmir, \textit{A'in, II}, (N.K.), p. 207-8. These were new rais and not the old as presumed by Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 224.

19. \textit{A'in, II}, p. 570 (Bloch); (ii) A.N., III, p.549.

20. \textit{A'in, II}; (N.K.), p. 196. Tota Ram was himself a corrupt official, \textit{Tarikh-i-Kashmir}, Anon. (Hindi) RPD Srinagar, p. 8.

\end{flushleft}
out, which caused great distress among the soldiers and the servants of Yousf Khan Rizvi, who were deprived of the illegal income exacted from the cultivators. Qazi Ali was assisted by Hasan Beg Sheikh Umari. He was deputed in 1592 on the request of Qazi as the amashtas of Yousf Khan did not cooperate with him.

Qazi Ali divided the sarkar into 42 mahals; each village was assessed and the total demand was fixed at 3,063,050 lakh kharuars and 11 trakhs, out of it 901,663 kharuars and 8 trakhs were to be paid in cash at the rate of

22. A.N., III, p. 595; Shrivara, Raja Tarangni, tr. J.C. Butt, p. 418.

23. Nothing is known about the early life of Hasan Beg Sheikh Umari. He was given Pakhli in jagir in 1569, A.N., III, 591. In 1601, his mansab was increased to 2,500. During the rebellion of Khusrou, he joined the prince along with his five hundred stout Badalehshi soldiers at Nathura. After the repulsion of the revolt, Hasan Beg was put into a cow-hide and tied to a donkey. He died in the same skin on June 11, 1606. Tuzuk, p. 32.

24. A.N., III, pp. 617-19. During this period revenue operation, Qazi Ali was killed in an encounter with the servants of Yousf Khan Rizvi. Husain Beg Sheikh Umari escaped to India via Rajouri. Mirza Yadgar was declared the king, later the revolt was put down and Yadgar was killed. For details, see Chapter I, Section II.
13\frac{6}{29} dams per kharwar.\textsuperscript{25}

The grain was commuted into cash at the rate of 29 dams per kharwar.\textsuperscript{26} The total jama\textsuperscript{1} was fixed at 74670411 dams.\textsuperscript{27} However, Yousf Khan Rizvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced jama\textsuperscript{1}. The entire suba was attached to khalisa under the charge of Shamas-ud-Din.\textsuperscript{28} But, on the recommendation of prince Salim, it was resumed to Yousf Khan on the previous jama\textsuperscript{1}.\textsuperscript{29} 622,02,203\frac{1}{2} dams. Yousf Khan Rizvi

\textsuperscript{25} Add 7652, f. 297b. In Blochmann edition, 570, it is 901063.8. A\textsuperscript{1}in, II, 570 (Blochmann), Add 7652, f. 297b. Abul Faz\textsuperscript{1}l gives the following scale of the weights current in Kashmir 2 dams weight was equal to 1 pal, \(\frac{73}{2}\)pal = 1 ser; 4 sers = 1 manwat or man; 4 mans = 1 trakh and 16 trakh = 1 kharwar. A\textsuperscript{1}in, II, 570, Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 561b-562a. In the colloqial language the kharwar was called khari, Suka, (i.e. Dutt), p. 424. Latter it appears to have been persianised. I think to translate the kharwar as load, Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 375, is not correct. According to the same authority each kharwar was equal to 177.02 lbs., while Laurance had estimated one kharwar equal to 166 \frac{2}{3} lbs, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 242.

\textsuperscript{26} A\textsuperscript{1}in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570-71, Add 7652, f. 297b.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{28} Khwaja Shamas-ud-Din son of Khwaja Ala-ud-Din was a resident of Khawaf a district of Khurasan. He joined the Mughal Court in 26th R.Y., and was appointed as superintendent of fort Atak. Later on, he was appointed as diwan of Kabul. He died in 1600 at Lahore. A\textsuperscript{1}in, (tr. Blochmann), pp. 494-95.

\textsuperscript{29} A\textsuperscript{1}in, III, p. 627; Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 140.
was transferred in 1594, and Kashmir was parcelled out among Ahmad Beg Khan, Mohamad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Mohamadi Beg. The cultivators were spoiled by the harsh jagirdars; therefore, Asaf Khan was sent to reassess the subah after 1594. Neu jama' was increased by 16392 kharuars 5 trakhs, but a subsidy of five dams in each kharuar was recommended. So, in fact, there was no increase in the jama', when commuted into cash, but a decrease of 860034½ dams. The jama' was fixed at 3079443 kharuars out of it 1011330½ kharuars were to be paid in cash.


31. Asaf Khan Mirza Qawamud Din, Jafar Beg was son of Badi-ul-zaman. Badi-ul-zaman was wazir of Kashan during the reign of Shah Tahmasp Shah. Asaf Khan joined the Mughal Court in 1577. He left the Mughal Court and attended the Court of Muzaffar Khan of Bengal, because Akbar appointed him only a commander of twenty. But after sometime he joined the Mughal Court and was given a rank of 2000, and the title of Asaf Khan, A'in, Blochmann, p. 451-2. In 42nd R.Y., he was appointed Diwani-kul. In 1605, his mansab was increased to 3000. He was promoted to the rank of 5000 by Jahangir. He died in 1612, Iuzuk, pp. 108-109. According to Ma'asirul Umara (Farsi Akhbar, 108, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh), Asaf Khan died in 1094 A.H./1682-83, which is incorrect.

32. According to Beveridge, A.N., III, pp. 1985-6 n, Asaf Khan revised the jama' in 1594 while distributing the suba among the aforesaid jagirdars. It appears he has not noticed the reference in A.N., III, p. 661, where it is mentioned that Asaf Khan did not enhance the revenue.

33. A'in, II, 570-71 (Blochmann), Add. 7652, f. 297b.

34. Ibid.
Qazi Ali had divided the sarkar Kashmir in 42 parganas but Asaf Khan reduced the number to only 38. As mentioned earlier, the jagirdars appropriated the surplus produce from the tenants. The cultivators collapsed under the heavy burden of exorbitant taxes. In 1597, Akbar found the subah in a ruined condition. He immediately introduced some new reform measures in order to ascertain the actual jamā'. The subah was divided into 14 divisions, and two bitikchies (one Hindi and the other Persian knowing) were appointed to each division.

All the previous rais were supurious and a fixed jamā' was realized annually without obtaining information afresh regarding kāshṭa and uftāda lands.

37. A.N., III, p. 726.
38. Ibid. Beveridge in his translation of A.N., III, pp. 1085-6, has wrongly interpreted the following sentence: 

He presumes 'اپ ہے' is a clerical mistake and it should be 'ہے ہے' (in each village) which is not a fact. See Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 453.
But the bitikchies were instructed to avoid spurious or unauthenticated information. The new demand was fixed according to the fertility of the land and the span of cultivation.

For the land left uncultivated for a period of ten years or more, the demand in the first year was fixed at one-sixth, one-fourth for second year, one-third for third year and afterward at the usual rate when brought under cultivation. In case the land was ploughed after a period of less than ten years and not more than four, the demand was one-fifth for the first year, one-third for the second year and thereafter at one-half, while it was one-third in the first year and one-half in the subsequent year if brought under plough after a period of four years.

In case of cash crops like saffron, the state demand continued the same and the same method of assessment, i.e. Nasqi-galla-Sakhash was followed.

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40. A.N., III, p. 727. Beveridge has wrongly translated this sentence "when the settlement was for more than ten years....." A.N., III, p. 1086.

41. Ibid.

42. Inscription of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, (ii) Tuzuk, p. 315.
   (iii) Rouzatul Arifin, f. 15.
   (iv) Revenue document Nos. 7 dated 1082, and 23 dated 1074 R.P.D. Srinagar. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 194, has conjectured that zabti system was followed in case of cash crops, does not apply, so far as saffron cultivation in Kashmir is was concerned.
Under the Sultans the land revenue was realized in kind, but under the Mughals the mal was realized in kind and other taxes in cash.

The method of Nasqi-nala-Bakhash introduced by Akbar continued throughout our period but in a simple form. Obviously the tenants were benefited by this system because they were not directly affected by the fluctuating prices. The burden of droughts, truancies of climate and floods was borne by both the parties viz., the cultivator and the assignee. But at the same time there were disadvantages as well. It was a cumbersome and expensive method. It involved a great number of officials at the harvests besides the usual village officials. We can easily visualise the difficulties

(ii) Al'in, II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71.
(iii) Tuzuk, p. 300.

44. Al'in, II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71. According to Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 237, the entire land revenue was realized in kind and cash nexus introduced earlier, was withdrawn. It is partially correct, because the sairjahat taxes were realized in cash. Supra 43.

45. Al'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570.
(ii) Durrul U'lum, f. 164b.

46. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 239.

47. Durrul U'lum, p. 164b. See the Section III, Part I of this Chapter also.
experienced by the peasants under such a method. The presence of a shiqdār at the time of harvesting and thrashing was essential. While on the one hand the short spanned harvesting season was a domicile sword hanging over the head of the peasant and on the other he was to wait upon the village official which very often might have been responsible for the spoliation of the produce.

In the other regions of sublike Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, the zamindars continued to levy the taxes according to previous systems, while Nasqi galla Bakhash as the method of assessment remained in force throughout our period.

48. The main source of revenue in Little and Greater Tibet was gold dust collected from the sand of the Indus and Shayok. Lahori, Badshah Nana, II, p.288. Approximately two thousand tolas of gold was collected from the sand, and sold at the rate of rupees seven a tola, Amali Salih, II, p. 264. Sheep and cattle were also levied. The house-hold requirements of the chieftain were provided by the people. Grain was supplied from twenty four villages from Nubra, besides Lamryu, Skarpoche, Tungmogong, Spopula, and Buzgo, for the chief. Meat was supplied by residents of Rupsho and Ruthog, butter from Zanskar and four thousand maunds of timber was provided by the villagers of Chalang, Khurdung and Dhandrdhole valleys. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i Jammu, etc., p. 427. Similarly, no tax was imposed on the land in Kashtawār. Each house owner was to pay a sum of six sanhansi equal to four rupees annually, besides, a tax of rupees four was levied on each ser of saffron, but the tax was paid by the customer. Tuzuk, pp. 296-97.

49. Durrul Ulum, f. 164b.  
(iii) Morgland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 122.
It has been discussed above that the magnitude of land revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce. But above and over the demand, extra burden in the form of wujhat, sairjhat, habubat and faruhat was also borne by the tenants.

It is not possible to determine the percentage of the said taxes in an euclidean way. But it requires explanation if the taxes were included in the jama'. Whatever was realised from the cultivated land was called māl; the expenses incurred on its assessment and collection were called jihat, while the tax imposed upon various occupations and

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50. *A'in, I, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
(iii) M.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 42-43.

M.A. Siddiqi, *IESH*, Vol. II, Part I, January, 1965, p. 375, has presumed the taxes in the crop sharing regions were not separately calculated. But we have a significant evidence in Inshai Har Karan where a Qabaz of Abdul Latif a servant of Samad Khan jagirdar is preserved. habubat from the Mugadam of Shauangas village. He had received rupees sixty on account of habubat from the Mugadam of Shauangas village.

(ii) Dasturul Amali-Alamgiri, Add. 6599, p. 30621; f. 28.

52. Ibid.
trade was known as sairjahāt. There were in addition exaction and perquisites appropriated by the assignees excluding jamā', known as habubāt and farṣāt.

Besides, we have a long list of various impositions like dāmdārī, sirdarakhtī, dastār shumārī, teči charāch, hāsili-hatāb, and chouthai.

Hāsili hatāb was realised at the rate of two dams per kharwar of jamā', I'tanad Khan increased it to four dams.

   (ii) Dasturulamli Alamgiri, Add. 6599, p. 30621, f.29. A list of all such occupations and trades is available in this manual.
   (iii) According to Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 552a, māl or māliya was the tax on produce of the agricultural land, but the orchards and fodder tax was known as jihāt.
   (v) N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 42-43.


55. Hāsili Hatab was a tax imposed on each village in connexion with fuel brought from the forests, and chouthai was a tax on the litigants. They had to pay one-fourth of the value of the sued property. This tax was an innovation of Abu Nasar Khan in Alīn, II, p. 178.
   (ii) Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar.
   (iii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 528a.

56. Qazvini, II, f. 267b-268a. (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription. (iii) Birbal Kachroo, Majmut-Tavarikh, op.cit. has also preserved a copy of the same inscription.

57. Ibid.
A tax on the villages yielding a revenue of four hundred kharwārs and above was also levied at the rate 62 dams. Sardarakhti and kāhcharai taxes were included in the sairjahat taxes. Though Jahangir explicitly had forbidden the realization of the sardarakhti in his 13th year, but practically it was never discontinued. As a matter of fact, during 1622-32, the orchard-owners were compelled to cut down their orchards because of the torturous imposition.

After the annexation the aforesaid abwābs were remitted by Akbar, but after his death Jahangir again issued directives to the officials not to realize the abolished taxes. Similarly, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb

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50. Ibid. Before his appointment two sheep were to be paid, but Shahjahan discontinued the cess completely.
59. Tuzuk, p. 252.
61. Jamia Masjid Inscription.
63. Claudin, History of Jahangir, p. 100.
64. Jamia Masjid Inscription. (ii) Qazvini, II, ff. 267-68.
65. Firman to Risale Das and Hashim Khan.
exempted the tenants from these taxes. There can be only two assumptions as to why the strictures were issued from time to time. Firstly, it was Mughal tradition to provide guidelines to the officials and assignees for future and secondly, the taxes continued to be realized. Alternately two other considerations might have necessitate the re-statement of their orders viz., firstly, the successive emperors to reassert their authority after their accession issued. Such orders, and secondly, the orders issued earlier were never implemented by the officials. This second explanation appears to be more plausible. The state was a protecting arm to the exploiters, and a party to this exploitation and this appears to be partly if not wholly, correct, because strictures were issued from time to time in the interest of the tenants and a number of pieces of evidence may be cited to support the proposition further. The top-level


67. A’lin, 196, 198, (ii) 175 etc.
(ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription.
(iii) Aurangzeb’s firman to Rasik Das and Hashim Khan.
(iv) Akhbarat, 39, 42, 43rd year.
(v) Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 524, 532.
(vi) J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 89.
officials were removed on the complaints of the subjects. 68

Even the taxes actually realised were repaid to the ryots concerned. 69

68. Tuzuk, p. 294.

Malik Haidar, Chadūra, f. 214.

69. A Document dated 1118 H preserved in R.P.D.

Srinagar No. 31.
## Table I

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24 **Shahābād** 21
25 **Kutahār** 41
26 **Krohen** 68
27 **Khuihāma** 55
28 **Khoi** 14
29 **Kamrāz** 469

2. Kamrāz Parganah was stretched over a vast territory. It was divided into 6 Taphas:

30 **Lār** 87
31 **Mānchihāma** 89
32 **Mārtand** 11
33 **Mohammadnāīd** 30
34 **Nāgām** 200
3. Comprised of three Taphas:
35 **Wunts** 30

36 **Greater Tibet**

37 **Little Tibet**

38 **Kashtawar**

39 **Gilgit**

40 **Barshāl**

41 **Sarsāl**

*
| 42 | Pakhli       |
| 43 | Dardu        |
| 44 | Doomyal      |
| 45 | Damtūr       |
| 46 | Kashāk       |
| 47 | Kamlāk       |
| 48 | Kahal        |
| 49 | Punch        |
| 50 | Rajour       |
| 51 | Narwardwan   |
| 52 | Noushahra    |
| 53 | Banihāl      |

(*) Mainly based on *Mukhtasar Tawariikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Koul 'Ajiz, and supplanted with the information contained in *Uaqiat-i-Kashmir*, compiled in 1748, and *Tarikh-i-Hasan* MS I Vol.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of Parganah</th>
<th>Paid in Kind</th>
<th>Paid in Cash</th>
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<td>1. I'tchch in Jarret, Ulaj in Sheifta Collection MS.</td>
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<td>Wahi</td>
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<td>'Ular</td>
<td>128656- 4</td>
<td>12605- 8-0</td>
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<td>2. Khatar of Jarret,II, p. 355.</td>
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<td>(Maru Adwín)</td>
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<td>Revenue 2</td>
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<td>7. Bankal of Jarret, II, p. 355.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Sairul Mawāzia</td>
<td>192641-4-0</td>
<td>18553-12-0</td>
<td>8. From each pargana a few fertile villages were attached to Khalisa and were termed as Sairu Mawāzia. The total number of these villages was 109 (Naraīn Koul 'Ajīz in 1709).</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Lār</td>
<td>128650-0-0</td>
<td>22650-0-0</td>
<td>9. Pargana Lār has not been mentioned in any of the MS of A'īn while it was assessed by Shamasud-Din. The revenue figures for this pargana are from Tarikh-i-Hasan, MS, Vol. I.</td>
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<td>342694-12-0</td>
<td>10. Since the figures in various manuscripts vary from each other, I have consulted the following MS: Add.7652, Br. MS., Blochmann (ed) Jarret's II volume, Sheifta Collection MS &amp; Sir Sulaiman Collection of M. A. Library, AMU., Aligarh. Nowal Kishore edition 1889.</td>
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<td>22,99,09,680</td>
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<td>22,99,11,300</td>
<td>Sajan Rai Bhandari</td>
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*
Revenue assessment and collection was most cumbersome job. This process stretched over nearly the entire year. It involved a large number of officials with the Diwan at the top and village munaddam and patuari at the lower grades.¹

As a matter of fact the entire bureaucracy was either directly or indirectly involved in land revenue administration. Every mansabdar held a rank and his remuneration was fixed accordingly.² The state in lieu of giving the salary in cash assigned certain area with the jama' equal to his rank. The state thus delegated its authority to the Mansabdars to collect the revenue and charge their emoluments and the cost of the maintenance of their respective contingents from such accumulations. They administered their jagirs through their agents. The villages where revenue was collected by the state directly were known as khālisa. But the chiefdoms of Little and Greater Tibet, Kashṭawār, and Pakhli were assigned to the local chieftains as their uatan jagirs. They carried the administration according to the traditional set up.³ The revenue of these newly acquired territories was calculated broadly and without any regard to practical realisations in

¹ Irfan Habib, The Avorarian System of Pluqhal India, p. 127.
² See Chapter III for further details.
order to determine the rank of the watan jagir holder.\(^4\)
The Centre did not intervene in their territories so long as
they remained peaceful and paid the peshkash, whatsoever,
regularly.\(^5\)

But the jagirdārs and madadi ma'āsh grant holders were bound to conform to the imperial directives
and strictures.

As mentioned above in Section I of this
Chapter, Akbar soon after the annexation appointed a team
of officials to bring the land revenue administration in
tone with the administration of the Emeir.

In the land revenue administration, there
were two sets of officials who were directly involved in it,
viz. firstly, those who were appointed by the government and
were subject to transfers; secondly, the permanent hereditary
village officials like muqaddam, patwāri and ganūngga and
chowdhari.

The services of the latter description
were most essential in the khālisa and equally in jagirs.
Their pivotal role was to a larger extent responsible for

\(^4\) Tuzuk-i-Jahānānirī, p. 294; Lahori, Badshah Nama,
II. p. 287.

\(^5\) Akbārāt, 12 Rabiul Awal, 43 R.Y.
Muḥaram, 13th R.Y.
shaping the socio-economic set up. But here we are concerned with their service which they rendered in connection with the land revenue administration.

The bagaddan, who played the part of an intermediary was the main pillar of land revenue system. His services along with the village patwari were essential but he was never considered a government servant. He assisted the khālisa officials and the agents of the jāgīrdar in assessment and collection of land revenue. Land Revenue System was based on Naqīgalla-Bakhsh system and māl was realized in kind.

6. Khawariqus-Salikin, f. 119a
   Laurance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-1

S. Nurul Hasan, *Zamindars under the Mughals*, published in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, p. 25.

E. F. Knight, *Where the Three Emperors meet*, pp. 65-66


7. Inshai Har Karan, (Folios not page-marked) 406/139
   Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.

The grain was carried to the city of Srinagar through river transport. Therefore, it was the exclusive responsibility of the muqaddam to carry out the delivery of grain to the boatman who apparently used to be Tahvildar.9

In order to prevent the shortfall in the revenue realisation taqāvi loans and seeds were advanced to the ryots through him.9 He was to sign an undertaking guaranteeing the repayment of loan, cost of seed along with the interest.10 He functioned as the sole representative of the villagers and in due course of time muqaddam turned to be most resourceful and powerful person.11 On the account of identical interests, muqaddam logically might have been fighting on behalf of the peasants against the atrocities of the jāgirdārs. A solitary but significant evidence in Khauri Salikin also supports our inference. Village Pānzhā of the paraγana Nāgān was in the jāgir of subedar. His agents were cruel and harassed the tenants.

10. Gulshan-i-Dashtūr, ff. 530b, 531a.
Sheikh Fatah Dar the muqaddam of the village raised his voice against the agents. Later he was imprisoned by the subehdār.

But at the same time he did not lag behind in exploiting the tenants where his own interests were involved. The muqaddam kept the ryots divided and encouraged dissension among them. In some villages there used to be more than one muqaddam, possibly because of the hereditary character of the institution.

In lieu of their services (mugaddami), they received some perquisites in the form of revenue free land called Nānkā.17

15. Ibid.
17. Diwan Pasand, f. 41.

Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 532a.
Laurence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.
Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 127.
S. Nurul Hasan, Zamindārs under the Mughals, p. 25.
Patwari

Patwāri a hereditary village accountant, a close associate of mughaddam, and an accomplice of Qanūngo, who collectively turned a dehān to a bonded labourer. His primary duty was to maintain land records, since the continuation of the land records was essential for determining the land revenue. But to conceal his deceit he prepared spurious records besides the authentic ones. His records were utilised for the auditing of pajālis. He accompanied mughaddam to paragana office at the time of annual verification of revenue assessment, collection and distribution of taqāvī and seeds.

19. The institution was existing in the suba since a very long time by the name of Gramādīvira, R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 401.

Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.


N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 18-19.


22. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 534b.
Most of the state demand in the Subah was realized in kind, and the grain was deposited with the Tahwilder or havildar or Ambardar. Sometimes, the grain was collected in the same village in the granary of the Tahwilder, who later carried it to the nearest river port wherefrom it was carried to Srinagar. Sometimes, the ryots carried the grain in person and delivered the same to the Tahwilder, who apparently used to be a boatman. The whole transaction was supervised by the muqaddam of the village.

The Tahwilder executed an undertaking promising the safe delivery of the grain without any adulteration or embezzlement. Samples of the grain were retained by the muqaddam for checking the grain at the time delivery.

25. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 530b.
27. Inshai Har Karan, op. cit. Ramzan Bhat, boatman, was Tahwilder for the village 3adr (village not identified) of pargana Brang. Karim Haji, son of Rajab Mathani, was chattadar of village Kemu, Insha No. 3102. Research Library, Srinagar; Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 531a
29. Ibid. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 531a; Insha Collection No. 3102, Research Library, Srinagar.
They charged the malguzar with some extra grain in order to meet out wastage, and at the time of delivery he was given some rebate as well. But at the time of the appointment economic considerations were also taken into consideration.

The chestnut growers had to pay the carriage charges to the Tahvildar at the rate of one tanka per kharwar. These operations were administered by the paragana officials, the Amil, AmIn, Choudhari and Qanungo. Besides, there were Karkun, or Batikht, Mutasadi, and Fotadar.

Amil or Karori:

This institution was introduced in the subah by Mughals. In 1586, Akbar appointed Amils in each paragana to take charge of revenue administration. The primary duty

30. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 530b.
31. Hidayatul Dawäid, op. cit.
32. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 530b.

Hasan Bag Khäki, Järîkh-i-Kashmir, f. 36a.

In 19th year Akbar introduced some new measures to check the frauds and embezzlements. An area yielding a carore of tankas was assigned to an official called Karori; the experiment was later discontinued, but the word Karori still stuck to the amil or amalguzar. A'in, II, p. 230. Khulästus-Siyar, f. 26a; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, op. 275, 80.
of āmil or karori was to supervise and expedite the collection of the revenue assessed by the āmin. He was to ensure the cultivation of the arable land and provide ṭaqāvi and seeds to the tenants. In case the money was not available in the treasury the āmils borrowed it from the mahājans. At the time of revenue collection coercion was also applied if the tenant was adamant to pay the revenue.

Mahāsils were appointed in each village in order to watch grain fields, thrashing grounds, orchards and other fruit trees and to expedite the revenue collection by the āmil.

The following papers and registers were maintained by the karori.

Jamā-ūa Assābargī, roznānchā, aṣwārcha Jamābāndī, Jamā-ūa-Kharch Fotādār, maintaining rate lists. A copy of these documents was also submitted to the Provincial Diwan.

34. Dastūrul Āmli Ālamārī, Add. 6599, f. 195, Khulasatul-Siyāq, f. 27. A'in in the chapter of Āmāl Guzār has laid down detailed directives for karori.


36. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 524.


37a. Durrul'aloom, f. 164b. It appears Mahāsils and Murāsādī was only one official. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532. See also Tuzu' Jahangīrī, p. 308.


In lieu of their services he received 8 per cent of the revenue during the reign of Shahjahan, later it was reduced to 5 per cent. During the reign of Aurangzeb there was no change in it. One per cent was retained till the auditing was completed. His account papers were subject to rigorous checking particularly after his dismissal or transfer. It took a great deal of time, obviously the āmilis had to remain in the prisons for a longer duration.

Āmil was assisted by a large retinue officials in his work. They were Kārkun or bitikchī, mutasadī and sehbandis. Out of these Kārkun or bitikchī was of considerable importance. His primary function was the maintenance of

40. A'īn, has not given the pay schedule of Karori. Khulasatus-Siyāq, f. 26; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 289.

41. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536.

42. Khulasatus-Siyāq, f. 27; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 289.


44. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 287-8, supposed that bitikchī was a separate official other than Kārkun. But as a matter of fact, their functions of were quite identical. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 281.

N. A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 19, 79, 85, and 86.

Sihbandis literally means soldiers or peons employed for the collection of revenue. They helped the revenue collecting authorities during harvest. Yasin's Glossary of Revenue Terms, f. 65.

These troopers helped jagirdars also, and received their perquisites mainly from assignees at the rate of 4 p.c. In the khālisa lands Sihbandi charges were not imposed. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536b. See also ff. 523 and 526.
the account records. He received the revenue papers from the Qanūngo furnishing the details about the land of each individual cultivator village-wise. 45

In 1597, Akbar divided the Subah into 14 divisions and two bitikchīs were appointed in each division in order to scrutinize the village records and effect the fresh assessment. 46 Kārkun was appointed on the recommendation of the Amin. 47

Fotadār or Khozinadār:

Fotadar was an official incharge of the paragana treasury. 48 He received the revenue from ryots either directly or through the muqaddams. 49 He was not entitled to disburse any amount without the prior sanction of the Diwān. In case of emergency, he could incur some expenditure subject to the approval of Diwān with the consent of Āmil and Kārkun. 50

46. A.N. III, pp. 726-27. See also Chapter II, Section I.
47. Nicār Nāma Munshī, ff. 77-8.
49. Ibid. As already stated the most part of the revenue was realized in kind and as such the office was not so much important in Kashmir.
At the time of his appointment economic considerations were also kept in view.\textsuperscript{50a}

\textbf{Amin or Munsif:}

Literally Amin means a trustee. But practically he had to perform multiferious duties. He was a trustee who looked after the interests of ryots, and jagirdars as well as of the state.\textsuperscript{50b}

During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, Amin was a sarkar official, but Shahjahan appointed Amins in every mahal which undermined the importance of the Amin.\textsuperscript{51} Hitherto amil supervised the entire paragana administration, but with the new changed arrangement the karori only was to realize what the Amin assessed.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50a} Diwan Pasand, f. 83.
\textsuperscript{51} Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{52} Khulasatus-Siyyaq, f. 18. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 254, also.
Amin resolved disputes arising among assignees on the demarcation of their holdings and such other disputes relating to jagirs. He maintained the following records: Mawā'īna Dah Sāla, and Tūmārī Jama' Bandī, bearing the signatures of Choudharīs, Qanūngo and Qāzi. He went in person from village to village to ascertain the actual cultivated land and u'fṭada in consultation with the muqaddam and the Qanūngo. A copy of the papers maintained in his office was sent to the Diwān.

53. In 1074 H there was a dispute on the demarcation of the land between Sheikh Qāsim and Mir Jāfar. Amin went in person and resolved the dispute.

Document No. 23, Research Library, Srinagar.

Inshai Ālamgiri, 334/67.

Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.

54. Hidayatul-Qawāid, op. cit.

55. Ibid.

56. Zawābita Ālamgiri, or 1641. f. 36.

Hidayatul-Qawāid, op. cit.

N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 84.
It is significant to find out whether Qanūngo was a village or a paragana official. Abul-Fazl explicitly records in the A'in that there was a Qanungo in each paragana. A similar official functioned in the province and was known as Qanūngo-i-Kuli. But a controversy has arisen on account of the significant evidences available in Badshāhnāma, Qazvini, and Shahjahan Nāma of Mohamad Šāliḥ Kumbu and the inscription on the gate of Jamāʿ Masjid at Srinagar, stating that there were numerous Qanungos in each village and Shahjahan in 6th R.Y. ordered the dismissal of all the additional Qanūngos known as Qanūngo-i-Jz'vē which raises the assumption that since the Qanūngoship was a hereditary right and divisible among the successors. Therefore, the number kept on increasing. In

59. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 87-89.
60. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, II, f. 268a.
order to have equal share in each village the Qānūngos have obviously divided these villages among themselves. This inference is further supported by a late 18th century administrative manual also. 61

The Qānūngo-i-Jz've continued functioning in spite of the explicit orders of Shahjahan. 62 The existence of more than one Qānūngo was an additional burden on the peasants and jāgirdars because of extortionate exactions and fraudulent accounts, 63 which undermined the law and the sanctioned usage.

Qānūngo was considered to be a "walking dictionary" of prevailing rules, customs, traditions and practices. 64 He maintained land records pertaining to assignments, grants and khalīṣa besides the revenue returns. 65 A duplicate copy of the papers was sent to the Qānūngo-i-Kul. 66

61. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a. See also Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 84.
62. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
63. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, II, f. 268a.
64. A'in, I, p. 209.
66. M.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 87-89.
The Qānūngos were categorised in three grades, and their pay was fixed rupees fifty, thirty and twenty respectively in the form of Jāgin-Jātan.  

Choudhari:

The Choudhari was a parāgana as well as a provincial official. He functioned as a representative of the villagers and head of the muqaddams. The office was hereditary, but sometimes it was also conferred on the incumbents. It was the pleasure of the state to appoint or dismiss any Choudhari. Aurangzeb issued an order that there could not be more than two Choudharias in one parāgana.

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Gulshan-i-Dastor, f. 532.

68. M.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals.

69. I.H. Quarashi, Mughal Administration, p. 244, suggests that the Choudhari was a village headman, which is not supported by facts.

70. Waqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 213.


The prestige of provincial Choudhari increased tremendously, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb. They played a vital role in the economic exploitation of the peasants. The state kept them informed of all the assignments, grants, transfers and appointments.

Ijāradarī was a common feature during the reign of Aurangzeb. Choudharis entered into a league with the mustājīr while farming out the khālīsa land.

Choudhari Mahesh Koul grew so powerful that even subahdar was afraid of him. He laid out a magnificent garden on the bank of Dal lake spending thousands of rupees for its beautification.

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Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.

74. See the revenue documents and administrative manuals of this period.
Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 73.

75. Akhbarat, 39th R.Y.,
Wanaya Ramthumore and Ajmir, Transcript Copy, the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, p. 71.

76. Gulshan-i-Dastür, f. 534.

77. Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.
Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 73.

78. Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.
Diwan:

The Diwan was the chief revenue and finance officer at the provincial level. His position was next to that of the Subahdar.

Qazi Ali was the first Diwan appointed in 1591 by the Emperor Akbar. He was assisted by a large retinue of officials. Qazi's land revenue assessment provided a base for the Mughal land revenue system in Kashmir.

In 42nd year Akbar issued an order to make the Diwan directly answerable to the Emperor and his status was elevated and so he stood next to the Subahdar. But the Diwan and Subahdar carried on the work without any animosity or confrontation. As a matter of fact in the

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81. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 73.

82. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 62, has remarked that Diwan was rival of Subedar. We don't come across any such evidence in Kashmir. There was substantial difference between the rank of Diwan and Subedar. Subedars never had a rank below 1000 while Diwan in many cases held the rank of 200 and not more than 1000. Mir Ahmad Khan, Diwan of Kashmir (1692), had a mansab of 500/60 Akhbarat, Rajab, 24 R.Y. Rahmat Khan was appointed in 1689 as Diwan of Kashmir with a mansab of 100/200, Mohamad Kazim Alamgir Nama, I, p. 487. Hassan Beg had a mansab of 400/203 Akhbarat 43rd year.
absence of Subedar the Diwan discharged his duties as naib-subahdar. This inference is supported by various pieces of evidence.

Abul Fateh was Diwan of Kashmir. During the absence of Hafizullah Khan, he functioned as the Naibi Suba for more than a year. 83 Arif Khan also discharged his services as a naib-i-suba during the subahdar of Ali-Mardan Khan who used to stay out of the subah during the winter months. 84 Mullâ Ashraf was Sadâr and Diwan. He also discharged his duties as Naib of Ibrâhim Khan, 85 1707–8

It is also significant that pluralities of offices were conferred on some incumbents and the same person could function as the Diwan, the Sadâr, the Qâzi, and the Qânûngo-i-Kul. 86 Mullâ Ashraf was Sadâr as well as Diwan. 87 Khuaja Hashim was Qânûngo-i-Kul and held the post of Diwan also. 88 Qazi Aslam was Qâzi, Bakhshi, Waqa-i-Nigar and held the post of Diwan also. 89

83. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 176.
84. Narain Koul Ajiz, Mukhtasar Târikh Kashmir, f. 196.
86. Akhbârât, 26 Shaban, 43rd Year.
87. Supra 85.
88. Supra 86.
89. Ibid. Badshah Name, Lahori, II, p. 362.
The combination of so many posts in one person would have encouraged corruption and malpractices.  

Provincial Divān was directly appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Divān-i'Ala.  

As stated, alone the jāgirdārs were free to administer and manage their own jāgirs according to their choice.  

Divān was a link between the state and the assignee.  

Divān scrutinized and executed sanads and the Armans to the assignees.  

The parāgana officials submitted the records pertaining to revenue administration to him. He accordingly provided information to the Diwani'ala. The Divan also

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90. Inshai-Alamqiri; Sulaiman Collection 334/67, AMU, Aligarh. op. cit.


93. Ibid. p. 294.


95. Halat-i-Manālīki Mahroosa, Add. 6598, f. 146.
exercised general supervision over the revenue ministry. He could dismiss any corrupt official. He took note of the arrangements for the distribution of taqāvī and seeds. He resolved the disputes arising among the jāgirdārs and the mustājir. The following documents were maintained in his office. Receipt of official letters and their execution, assessment and collection reports, income and expenditure papers, treasury records, grant and assignment papers and agreements and undertakings executed with the state servants and assignees.

The Diwān was a mansab-holder and received jāgirs in lieu of his services.

96. *Niqâr Nama Munshi*, ff. 69-70.
   Inshâi Alamgiri, 334/67, Sulaiman Collection, ANU, Ahišahr.
   Dâstûr Amâli Bakâr, f. 17.
   Khulasatus-Siyâq, National Archives, New Delhi, f. 19.
   *Gulshan-i-Dastûr*, f. 531b.
100. *Tarikh-i-Âlamqiri*, f. 43a.
   Akhbaarât, 24, 46 R.Y.
The big jagirdars and the princes of the royal blood who had large areas in their jagirs almost followed an identical administrative set up. They appointed their own 'amils, and the requisite staff. 101

N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 102.
Revenue Assignments and Grants

and the last

In the previous sections of this chapter, it has been stated that the land revenue was a tax on the produce of the land in order to carry on the day to day administration. In the khalīsa lands, it was collected by the officials of state and deposited in the state treasury, but in the jagir lands this right was delegated to mansabdars in lieu of certain obligations and duties which they performed for the state. The mohāls in the first category were technically called khalīsā and the second as jāgirs.

There were two other types of jagirs known as In'am jagir and mashroot. In'am jagir was conferred on some mansabdar by way of a reward for some extraordinary performance, while mashroot assignment was made subject to the assignee's performing certain duties or fulfilling obligations of a specific


2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 256-7.


4. In 1622, Dilawar Khan annexed Kashtawār, and Jahangir conferred one lakh rupees the revenue of the territory to him as in'am for one year only. Tuzuk, p. 297.
nature as elaborated in the terms and presumption of assignment subsequently. 5

Besides, cash awards or land grants were conferred upon men of letters, eminent scholars, distinguished poets, sufis, and muslim ladies. 6 These grants were not subject to any kind of obligation. Such grants were called madad m'ash grants. 7 The land thus was divided into three divisions, the Khalisa, jagir and Madad M'ash lands. Bulk of the land revenue was assigned in jagirs and about 5 per cent pertained to Khalisa.

Qazi Ali, the Divan of Kashmir conducted an exhaustive survey in 1591 in order to assess the land revenue. 8 He divided the Subah into 38 mahâls. 9 Some of

5. Akhbârât, 12 R.V. Rabi II., 16th Ramzan, 44 R.V. Shaban, 46th R.V.

6. Al'in, Bâlochmann, 348-90, Documents Nos. 13-6, 51, 18, 21, 27 and 5.

7. Al'in, ed. (Blochmann) Vol. I, pp. 348-90. W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 277. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 313. Abul Faz'l has provided us details about the sayyârid extend at the time of compilation of the Al'in (40 R.V.), but this column is quite blank so far as Subah Kashmir is concerned. It suggests that Akbar did not confer any land or cash grant during this period.


the most fertile villages in each paragan were earmarked for khāliṣa.  

The villages above Srinagar were called Sairul Mawāzīd bālā and below Srinagar Sairul Mawāzīd pāyeen.  

The revenue of these villages was assessed at two lakhs one thousand and ninety-five kharwārs of paddy roughly about 6½ p.c. of the total revenue.  

Meanwhile Yousf Khan Rizvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced revenue and whole of Kashmir was placed under the khāliṣa, but for a short period.  

The ratio between khāliṣa and jāgir almost remained the same during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. But under Aurangzeb it was reduced to 3.62 per cent in 1673-74 and the declining trend continued. In 1699-1700 it was 2.62 per cent.  

During 1586 and 1627 saffron-producing area was exclusively earmarked for khāliṣa, but later it was also parcelled out among jāgīrdārs, and only some portions

11. Ibid.  
12. Ibid. The total revenue was kharwārs 39633050–11.  
14. Khulasatu-Siyag, 410/143, Subhanullah Collection, f. 32.  
were retained in the khalisa.

Noushahra,\textsuperscript{18} Punch,\textsuperscript{19} Damyal, Kar\textsuperscript{20} Pakhli\textsuperscript{20} and Rajouri\textsuperscript{21} were always assigned in jagirs. While little Tibet, greater Tibet, and Kashtawar were assigned to the local chieftains in watan.\textsuperscript{22} It is peculiar to note that the far-off regions which were exposed to the disturbances and upheavals, were not attached to khalisa. But as a matter of fact mahals were usually assigned to powerful nobles.

It is also peculiar to note that the scenic spots and tourist resorts were either assigned to the princes of royal blood and ladies of haram or to umara\textsuperscript{uzam}.

\textsuperscript{18} Halati Mamalik-i-Mahroosa, Add. 6598, f. 199, revenue of Noushahra was 39037 dams. It was in the jagir of Dara Shukouh. It was later resumed and assigned in jagirs again. Zawabita Alamqiri, or 1641, f. 156.

\textsuperscript{19} Punch was assigned to Mir Nasrullah Arab in 1624-25 Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 597. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 432. Waris, Badshah Nama, ff. 249-50.

\textsuperscript{20} See Chapter I, Section III.

\textsuperscript{21} A.N. III, 565; Iqbal Nama, II, 412.

\textsuperscript{22} See Chapter I, Section II.
Bybehāra was a place of considerable importance. The old fort was repaired by Akbar and a thanedār was posted there to administer the Marāz division. The village was assigned to Prince Parvez, Shahjahan assigned the jagir to Dāra Shukoh. It was in his jagir along with Noushahra till his death, and Aurangzeb assigned the jagir to Prince Mu'azzam. Inch was assigned to Rām Dās Kachwāha by Akbar.

In 1622, Jahangir assigned it to Khanijan. In 1640-41, Shahjahan gave it to Islam Khan and named the pargana as Islāmabad. Aurangzeb assigned it to Prince Mu'azzam.

Village Sapapūr a beautiful tourist spot famous for scenic beauty of the Manasbal lake was in the jagir of Nurjahan Begum. In 1644-45, it was assigned to Jahan Ara Begum. One of the gardens was assigned to Dāra Shukoh. Village Achaval was in the jagir of Jahan Ara Begum

23. Faizi Sarhindi, Akbar Nama, f. 238-39a
27. Tuzuki Jahangiri, p. 313.
28. Ibid.
which was later assigned to Zebun-Nisa Begum\textsuperscript{33} by Aurangzeb. Loka Shawan was in the Tahsil of Aurangzeb and later it was assigned to Mohamad Mu'azam.\textsuperscript{34}

During 1594, and 1597, entire subahs were given to Ahamad Beg Khan, Mohamad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Mohamad Beg.\textsuperscript{35} But in 1597, their jagirs were resumed, and Kashmir was assigned to Asaf Khan.\textsuperscript{36}

It has been mentioned elsewhere that the jagirs were frequently transferred and as such it is not possible to work out the holdings of such large number of jagirdars.

It is obvious that the assignees were not necessarily posted in the same province where they had their jagirs.\textsuperscript{37} They managed their assignments through their agents and trustees.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{33} Kambu, Amali Salih, II, p. 331.
\textsuperscript{34} Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 211.
\textsuperscript{35} A.N., III, p. 654, Faizi Sarhindi, Akbarnama, f. 222a.
\textsuperscript{36} A.N. III, p. 732.
\textsuperscript{37} Waga' Ranthambore, Wa-Ajmir, transcript copy of the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{38} Ruqaat Alamqiri, letter No. 175 to Asad Khan.
It appears that the agents did not fulfill the conditions faithfully, and as such the jagirdars were put into great trouble. Such a state of affairs compelled the jagirdars to farm out their holdings to merchants who apparently were natives. The parties entered into a contract stipulating the conditions. At the time of contract the farm merchant, technically called mustajir advanced some amount to the jagirdar. A lumpsum was arbitrarily fixed by the parties. Mustajir appointed his own persons to collect the revenue from the tenants. They had obviously nothing to do with the betterment of the ryots and did not take steps to increase or at least maintain the


N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 92-93, suggested that Ijara and Taahhudi were two different types of revenue farming. In Taahhudi, the farmer was entitled to deductions effected on account of natural calamities. He was to report the increase and decrease in the revenue to the concerned officials. The Taahhudi was a government official while as Mustajir was not a state official. But the details available in Gulshan-i-Dastür, an administrative manual of late 18th century make us infer that the Mustajir and Mutahhidi were synonymous. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 278.


42. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 92.
previous jama'. But a few mustajirs advanced taqāvi and seeds to the peasants for their own benefit.\textsuperscript{43}

The merchants made handsome profits although the restrictions were imposed upon them not to collect more amount than stipulated in the agreement. Since jācirīs were frequently transferred, therefore, the mustajir was not sure if he could keep the lease for the stipulated period. The jāgirdārs off and on frustrated the agreements and entered into new contracts with the highest bidders.\textsuperscript{44} Keeping in view these conditions the revenue farmer appropriated as much revenue as possible.\textsuperscript{45} It appears the revenue farming had become wide-spread during the late 17th century. A parallel administration of the intermediaries appears to have emerged out. The ultimate result was the fall in the revenue, and ruin of the villages; it was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb passed orders to discontinue the practice of revenue farming.\textsuperscript{46} In case of non-compliance the assignments of the jāgirdars were to be resumed.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{43} Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff, 522-3.
\textsuperscript{44} Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 522-3, 525.
\textsuperscript{45} Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 285.
\textsuperscript{46} Akhbarat, 37/38 R.Y., Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 285.
\textsuperscript{47} Akhbarat, Jamid, II, 39 R.Y. It appears the assignees were adamant to comply with the orders, therefore, Aurangzeb ordered to confiscate the farmed out jagirs.
We can imagine the margin of the profit accumulated by the mustajir by going through a petition submitted to Aurangzeb by the lhradars for continuation of this system. They had advanced huge amounts and were not in a position to recover even a thousand rupees from their clients, but Aurangzeb did not yield and directed them to recollect from those to whom it was advanced. 48

Lhradar was not only prevalent among the jangirs, but even khilisa land was also farmed out, though rarely. The river posts and octroi-posts were also leased out. 49 The lessees had to execute an agreement and paid the stipulated amount monthly. 50

This system appears to have posed so many administrative, social, and economic problems; and a new class of intermediaries was created who put extra burden on the shoulders of peasantry specially. The rural economy further deteriorated and a new urban middle class made its emergence. 51 The corrupt officials entered into league with

48. Akhbarat, Jamid II, 39 R.Y.
49. Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 522, 532a.
50. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 532a. In case the traffic remained suspended either because of heavy snowfalls, etc. etc., the lessees were given exemption.
51. I.A. Khan, 'Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire' Presidential Address, Indian History Congress 36th Session, Aligarh. See also article, C.W. Smith, 'Middle Classes A hypothesis' published in Islamic Culture, Vol. 37, 1942.
the mustajir and they also made huge profits. Though it was expressly forbidden. No official or muqaddam, patwāri or any person connected with the land revenue was allowed to get any lease.

Ijārādarī was not only harmful to the peasantry but it affected the state exchequer as well.

Grants

Land and cash grants were bestowed upon Brahmans, Muslim theologians and men of letters even before the Mughal rule. During our period these grants were known as Milk, amlāk and Suyūrgāl. But the term Madadi Ma'āsh gained currency subsequently, alīma was also used for the land grants, while the cash grants were called wazifa. The grants given to shrines, mosques, and madrasas were known as wa'af. A farman to this effect was issued by the emperor on the occasion of conferring this grant. Such farmans had almost a set text in which the rights and favours were noted down. These grants were granted by the state as


54. In all the land grant documents the term "Madadi-Ma'āsh has been used.

55. Research Library, Srinagar, 23.

56. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 312-3 & n.
well as by the jāgirdārs to the men of religion, shrines, mosques, learned persons and Muslim ladies. But the jagirdars' grants were only for their own term, however, traditionally the new jagirdars allowed them to enjoy these benefits, but they could not claim any kind of ownership or hereditary right. But these rights were established in 1622 by Aurangzeb.


58. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 17, supports our assumption. Baba Abdul Hakim, son of Baba Abdul Rashid, was granted 5 kharuars, 8 traks of land in Madadi Pladadi. It continued to be in the possession of his successors even after 1709. See also document no. 21, Research Library, Srinagar. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 315.

59. The above cited farmans fully endorse our statement. The sons of Baba Abdul Rashid retained the grant, not on the basis of the inheritance, but the labour which was put in while bringing the forest land under plough was taken into consideration. However, in 1709 only 100 kharuars of rice out of the produce of said grant was given to the family.

The contention of M.A. Siddiqui, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals, p. 125, and I.H. Qurashi, The Administration of the Mughals, p. 211, that the Madadi Ma'ash grantees enjoyed all the benefits of private property. They were entitled to dispose of or lease out their farms is not supported by the grants documents available to us. See document nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, and 50, Research Library, Srinagar. See also Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 306.

Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article published in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, supports our inference; but partially. He opens that Madadi Ma'ash land grants were bequeathed, but the holders were not entitled to dispose of the land.
In the grant documents specific area in terms of kharwārs or bighas is mentioned, in jāgirs. The officials were directed to chak or demarcate the area granted in madadi ma'ash. Both the jāgirdār and the officials did not allow any a'ima holder to cultivate any land in excess to the grant.

There are some grantees who were paid in kind. But they were directed to collect the grain from specific villages and the muzariān, muqaddāman, and mutasādīs were also directed to release the sanctioned quantity.

60. Kharwār was unit of measurement and as well as of weight in Kashmir. See Chapter II, Section, III.

Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, also has the same opinion, but mentions that the grants were hereditary in nature, and more stable than the jagirs.

61. Research Library Srinagar No. 21, in a land grant of one hundred kharuars granted to Musmati Jâna Bibi and others descendants of Sheikh Abdul Hakim, the concerned officials are directed to demarcate the sanctioned area. Kharwar was both a unit of weight and measurement. See Chapter II, Section I.

Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 301.


They were exempted from all the obligations like \textit{Wajihat-u-Awarzat}, and were not required to maintain any contingent, etc.\textsuperscript{64}

Half of the land was granted from the culturable waste and half from the cultivated one. Sometimes whole of the grant was assigned out of culturable waste land.\textsuperscript{65}

Subsequently, the basic nature of the grants was changed. In 5th R.Y. Shahjahan issued an order confirming hereditary rights up to 30 bighas; and if the grant exceeded 30 bighas, half of it was allowed to be retained by the heirs,\textsuperscript{66} which was reduced to 20 bighas by Aurangzeb.\textsuperscript{67} However, in 34 R.Y. the grantees were given hereditary rights.\textsuperscript{68}

The grants assigned to shrines, mosques, tombs, etc. were administered by mutaualis.\textsuperscript{69} The income from these

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{64} Farman of Shahjahan to Bano. Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 299.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Research Library Srinagar Document No. 17. Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 299.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 304.
\item \textsuperscript{67} \textit{Gulshan-i-Dastur}, f. 531; Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 306.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Irfan Habib, \textit{The Agrarian System of Mughal India}, p. 306.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Mohammad Murad, \textit{Tuhfatul-Funara}, f. 84a. Research Library No. 20.
\end{itemize}

Income of some orchards and land was reserved for some renowned Muslim establishments in Mecca, and Mashhad Sharif; Mohammad Aslam Mum'ami, \textit{Gouhari Alam}, p. 272; I.H. Qurashi, \textit{The Mughal Administration}, pp suggests that a Mudawali was appointed in each pargana, but it is not supported by facts. It appears that each shrine had a separate Mudawali who managed the waqaf, etc.
grants and *Nazūrat* was utilized for the maintenance of the shrines, free kitchens, and the rest was distributed among the mujawiran.

No rigidity or strict conformity to the observance of traditional rules was maintained in the matter of *madadi ma'āsh* grants the piety, eminence of scholarship, the social status and economic condition of the grantees were taken into consideration. The assumption is supported by the grant documents mentioned above.

The deserving persons put forward their representations through the Qāzi and the *Sad'īr jizy* or provincial *sadr*. He submitted these applications to the *Sadru-Sadur* with his endorsement. *Sadru-sadur* presented the applications to the emperor and sanctions were granted. The grant documents were endorsed by the *sadru-sadur* on the backside and a summary called *zāmen* was also scribed.

Sometimes, the nobles, zamindars and influential people submitted applications on behalf of the sufis, saints and their descendants for the sanction of such grants. The ladies represented their cases through *vakils*.

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70. Research Library Srinagar No. 38.


73. Research Library Srinagar No. 29. Land grants assigned to ladies were termed as musmiyati jagirs.
The documents were checked periodically and duly endorsed by the officials concerned.

It has been already mentioned that the revenue department was administered by Diwan-i-Subah, but the madadi ma'ash grants were supervised by the ministry of religious affairs; but subedar also could confiscate the madadi ma'ash grants. 74

It is significant to note that madadi ma'ash grants are mostly found in the Sairul Mawazia (villages earmarked for khalisa from each paragana) Nāgām, Adwān and Kuthār.

Besides jagirs and grants, Altamgha jagirs were also conferred on various nobles. Such a jagir was for the first time granted to Malik Haidar, historian, architect of Kashmir by Jahangir sometime in 9th R.Y. 75

74. Nauab Saif Khan, Subedar of Kashmir, at the time of tashihah "periodical scrutiny" confiscated the land grant of Muhammad Murad a descendant of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. See document no. 51, Research Library, Srinagar.

75. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 415a. Malik Haidar and Malik Ali had been exiled by Akbar after the annexation along with Yousf Shah Chak. At the time of the murder of Sher Afghan both Malik Ali and Malik Haidar won the sympathies of Mehrun-Nisa Begam by extending her a helping hand. Soon after her marriage with Jahangir, Malik brothers were granted Al Tamoha jagir and zamindari in the village, Chadoora. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 213a; Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 210b.
Another evidence regarding Al-tamgaha grant is confirmed by a farman of Shahjahan to Asafudaula preserved in Tārikh-i-Hasan. 76

On the basis of both these pieces of evidence it is obvious that Al-tamgaha grants were permanent in nature and without any kind of obligations. These grants were almost similar to madadi ma‘āsh grants. 77

76. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 115a-b. Asaf Khan laid out Nishat Bagh in Kashmir. A canal which supplied water to the garden was granted in Al-tamgaha

77. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 312.
CHAPTER - IV

SUBAHĐAR AND HIS FUNCTIONS

The Subahdar was vice-regent of the emperor;\(^1\) and carried on the administration of the Subah on his behalf in accordance with the rules and regulations setforth from time to time. His appointment was made under an imperial farmān called farmānī sabti, in which directives, and guidelines were laid down.\(^2\) There were no hard and fast rules prescribed for the appointment or the duration of the office. No doubt the resourcefulness and capability of the probable candidates was duly considered.\(^3\) The previous knowledge of the person about the Subah and its affairs appears to have been taken into consideration. In support of this proposition a few examples may be cited. Each such Subahdar had been to Kashmir in one capacity or the other prior to his appointment. Mirza Ali

\(^1\) A‘īn, II, pp. 223-25.
Diwan Pasand, p. 30621; f. 86.

\(^2\) Diwan Pasand, p. 30621, f. 86.

\(^3\) Niqar Nāma Munshi, f. 20.
Dastūrul-Amali Shahjahānī, 653/71,
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
Aligarh, f. 183.
Akbar was appointed Subahdar in 1605-6. He had been to Kashmir in 1592 as a commander of Akbar to deal with the Yaqdgir episode. In 1622 Hashim Khan was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir. His father, Mohammad Qasim Khan, was formerly Subahdar of Kashmir and Hashim Khan accompanied him. Similarly Saif Khan was in Kashmir along with his father, Tarbiyat Khan, Subahdar of Kashmir; and later on he too was also appointed Subahdar of Kashmir. Ibrahim Khan was also in Kashmir during the governorship of his father. Inayatullah

4. Mirza Ali Beg was resident of Badakhshan. He came to India and was given a mansab of 500 Al'in, I, 163 (N.K.), Keval Ram, Tarkaratul-Umara, f. 194. In 46 R.Y. he was given a mansab of 2000, and in 1605-6, Jahangir raised his mansab to 4000, Iuzuk, 11, and appointed him Subahdar of Kashmir in 1015/1605, Iuzuk, p. 35, Keval Ram, Tarkaratul-Umara, f. 194, Ma'asirul-Umar, III, pp. 355-55. He died in 1616. Baharistan-i Shahi, ff. 197a-8b, Janat-i-Kashmir, p. 118, Tarih-i-Hashmat-i-Kashmir, p. 47, and Gauhar-i-Alam, p. 253, have wrongly mentioned his date of appointment 1013H = 1604-5, and according to Mohammad Murad Teng, Tuhfatul Fugara, f. 77a, 1014 1605-6., Jabal Nama, Jahangiri, III, p. 516.

5. See Chapter I, Section I.

5a. Iuzuk, p. 97.

6. Saif-ud-Din Mahmod alias Faqirullah was son of Tarbiyat Khan, Ma'asirul-Umar, I, pp. 486-87. In his 30th regnal year, Shahjahan appointed him Superintendent of Qur-Khana with the rank of 700/100. On account of his role against Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb raised his mansab to 1500/730 and granted him the title of Saif Khan. In June, 1661, he was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, p. 832. In the 9th regnal year, he was appointed Subahdar of Multan, in 14th R.Y. again appointed Subahdar of Kashmir. During his visit in 1663-4, he was rewarded for having defeated Murad Khan of Askardu, Tarih-i-Alamgiri, ff. 53-54, Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri (Sarkar's Translation), p. 34. Ma'asirul Umara, II, p. 482. For details of his biography, see Ma'asirul Umara, II, pp. 479-485.
Khan, son of Saif Khan had been in Kashmir for a very long time and was latter appointed as Subahdar of Kashmir.  

During the reign of Shahjahān, and Aurangzeb, we notice that the same persons were reappointed frequently e.g. Zafar Khan Ahsan was appointed by Shahjāhan in August 1632 and again in the 21st regnal year, he was re-appointed by the same monarch.

Ali Mardān Khan was appointed Subahdar in the 14th regnal year and was again elevated to the same

7. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 211.
8. Lahori, Badshāh Nama, I, p. 432.

Zafar Khan Ahsan was son of Abul-Hasan; in 1632 Abul-Hasan was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 432, and Zafar Khan acted as his Maulā. After his death, he was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir in March 1533, Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 474. In 1642, he was again appointed replacing Tādiyāt Khan, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 282-3. His mansab was increased to 3032/1500, Ma'asirul-Umara, II, p. 763, but he was removed in 1645 from Subahdārī because of his unjust attitude towards Sunnis, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, p. 191, for his detailed biography, see Ma'asirul-Umara, II, pp. 756-763.
post in 31st regnal year. During the reign of Aurangzeb
the reappointments were more frequent. Saif Khan was for the
first time appointed in 7th regnal year, second time, in 13th
regnal year, while Ibrahim Khan was appointed firstly in 4th
regnal year, second time in 21st regnal year, and third time
in 45th regnal year, and fourth time in 1709. 10 Nauazish Khan
was given charge of the Subah for the first time in 1707,
second time in 1739, 11 while Inayatullah Khan remained in the

9. Ali Mandan Khan was son of Ganj Ali Khan an old
servant of Shah Abbās I. After the death of his
father, he was given the title of Baba-Sani and
appointed him governor of Qandahar. After the death
of Shah Abbās II, Shah Safi did not favour the nobles
of Shah Abbās. Ali Mandan Khan approached Shahjahan
and surrendered the fort to him, Ma'asirul Umara, II,
pp. 705-906. In absentia he was granted a mansab of
5000 zec in April, 1639 in token of a reward, Kumbu,
Amali Salih, II, p. 289. Meanwhile, he proceeded to
Lahore, and Murtaza Khan, Mir Bahshi and Tarbiyat
Khan delivered him to the Court. The same year as a
token of reward, Kashmir was assigned to him, and
Zafar Khan was transferred, Kumbu, Amali Salih, II,
p. 298, Dasturul Amali Shahjahani, 673/51, Maulana

In October 1640, his mansab was further increased
to 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him,
Lahori, Dadshah Nama, II, p. 163. In 1641, he was
given 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him,
Lahori, Dadshah Nama, II, p. 163. In 1647, he was
given 7000/7000 out of it 3000x2x3 horse. In March
1655, he was again appointed as a Subahdur of Kashmir,
and held the post for seven years, Waqif-i-Kashmir,
pp. 140-1.

10. Supra f.n.6.

11. Nauazish Khan Mukhtar Beg, son of Iṣlam Khan Roomi,
was given a mansab of 1000 in 17 R.Y. by Aurangzeb,
and in 24th he was given the title of Nauazish Khan
and raised to the Faujdar of Mardou in 24th R.Y. In
49 R.Y, his mansab was increased to 1000, Kewal Ram,
Tazkira-ul-Umara, p. 163, Ma'asirul-Umara, I,
pp. 246-47.
office from 1711-12, second term during 1712-13, third term from 1717 to 1720, fourth term from 1724 to 25. Normally, the duration of the office did not exceed three to four years. During our period, 35 governors were appointed for a period of 122 years; holding the post for an average of $3\frac{1}{3}$ years. However, some of the Subahdārs remained in the office for a period of one to two years, while some of them remained in the office for more than seven years. Ī'teqād Khān was appointed in 1622 and retained the office until 1632. Ali Mardān Khān was Subahdār for 11 years; Ibrahim Khan held the post for 13 years (8+5); Zafar Khān remained in office for 7 years.

In the matter of appointment the racial factor seems to have been of little consequence though on an analysis it may be inferred that the Iranis were predominant, followed by Tūrānis. Only one Indian Muslim, Hafizullāh Khān was conferred the job, and no non-Muslim was ever elevated to the

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13. Couhari Ālam, p. 269. P. Saran, Provincial Administration Under the Mughals, p. 177
14. See Appendix 'B'.
Out of 35 Subahdars, 23 were Irânis and only 12 Tögrânis. It is also peculiar to note that Subahdari of Kashmir was never assigned to any prince except Murâd, he too was removed within one year, while the Subahdari of other provinces was frequently assigned to the princes.

During the absence of the Subahdar, his duty was performed by his Naib, who was nominated by the Subahdar himself subject to the imperial confirmation. From 1586 to 1707, the Subahdars remained mostly in the Subâh, while after 1707, they mostly stayed outside and occasionally visited the province of their posting. For brief durations of absence of the Subahdar, Diwan or Sad'ir was left incharge of the Subâh, while for longer periods a separate mansabdar was given the

16. Murâd Bakhsh was appointed in 1647 and transferred in February, 1648. Waris, Radshah Nama, I, f. 6, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 149a. Author of Kouhar Alam, f. 289, has wrongly mentioned the date of his appointment 1051H/1641-42. See also Dr M. Athar Ali's article, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan' pp. 80-92, Medieval India-A Miscellany, III, p. 86., and Mohamad Murâd, Tuhfatul-Fugara, f. 81a-b.


18. Ibid.

See also Appendix 'D'.

The absence of the Subahdar and the rule by proxy led to the deterioration of the economy and administration, to which a crushing blow was given by the Afghans in 1752. At the time of appointment enormous presents were offered to the emperor, and the same process was repeated at the time of transfers, and promotions. Costly gifts worth lakhs of rupees and comprising rarities of Kashmir were presented on such an occasion to the emperor. Dress of honour, and gifts of scimitars and swords were bestowed upon Subahdar designate.

20. See Chapter II, Section III.

Ali Mardan was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir and Kabul. He designated Abdul Gani Beg, one of his relatives, as Naib-i-Subah.

During 1709 to 1752, every Subahdar nominated his deputy, who carried on the administration on behalf of the Subahdar. See R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule, etc. pp. 333-338.

I.H. Qurashi is not correct in his statement that the provincial governorship was assigned to Naib only in case the Prince was a minor. Such administration, etc. pp. 228-29.

During the period 1709 to 1752, more than 25 Naibs were appointed while the number of Subahdars did not exceed 20. See Appendix 'D'.


Muhammad Kazim, Alamnirnama, 832, 965.
Adab-i-Ālāmīnī, f. 274b.
At the time of his arrival in Kashmir, mansabdārs, state officials, zamindārs, and respectable persons welcomed the Subahdār. Saif Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān, and 'Ali Mardān Khān, directed the above mentioned officials and others to accord their warm welcome at Herāpurā.24 Saif Khān was very keen about their presence. Subsequently, it became a conventional, and every incumbent was warmly received.25

Functions and Duties

As an administrative and executive head, the Subahdār looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary, and general administration.26 The Mughal emperors paid periodical visits to the Subah. The Subahdār used to receive the emperor at the out-skirts of the Subāh, and at the time of departure accompanied him as far as the boarder of the Subāh to give him a befitting send-off.27

Duhahī 'Alam, p. 296.
Ameerud Din, Pakhlīwāl, Tahqeeqat-i-Ameer, f. 169a.
25. Ṭuqālat, Acc. No. 2776, f. 15. (Research Library, Srinagar).
26. Idhāyatul Qawā'id, f. 42b.
Diwan Pasand, ff. 85-7.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 536-37a.
Halat-i-Manalik-i-Mahruṣa, ff. 144-6.
Iqbal Nama, III, p. 589.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 17, 191.
Tarikh-i-Alamgīrī, ff. 53a-54b.
He remained in the camp throughout the stay of the emperor and arranged food, fodder and transport facilities for the imperial camp. The roads, and inns were superbly equipped to meet the requirements of the emperor's comfort during the travel. Feasts, festivities, illuminations and jashns were arranged.

Under the Sultans the kingdom of Kashmir in its heyday comprised the Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtuār, Rajouri, and adjacent smaller principalities. Subsequently, such far off regions fell apart from the Centre, but soon after the annexation of Kashmir in 1586, the Mughals followed an expansionist policy in all directions. These expeditions were expedited and commanded by the Subahdārs; occasionally helped and reinforced by the Subahdārs of

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29. Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, wa Almāniri, p. 131b.

30. See Chapter I, Section II.

On the internal front the refractory
zamindars, and rebels were suppressed with a heavy hand;
every step was taken to maintain law and order by the
Subahdars. 33

The outposts were fully garrisoned with the
soldiers and supervised by the Subahdār. 34 The Forts of
Rajouri, Noushahra, 35 Bijbehara, 36 and Tibet Khurd 37 were
left in the charge of thanedars, who were under the direct
control of the Subahdārs. 38 Apparently, the Subahdār of

32. During the Tibet campaign a contingent from Kabul
was diverted to Kashmir, A.H., III, p. 823.
Similarly, Mohamed Ain Khān, Subahdār of Lahore,
was directed to arrest the chieftain of Kashtaur
in case he was reluctant to pay the tribute,
Akhbārāt 13th R.Y. See also Akhārāt 46 R.Y.

Iṣbah Nama, Vol. II, p. 452
Akhbārāt 46th R.Y.
Uaqil-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
J.N. Sarkar, Punjāb Government & Administration, p. 52.
S.H. Sharma, Punjāb Administration, p. 239.

Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.
Hutickson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II,
p. 605-6.

35. Iuzuk, p. 317.
Kumbu, Amali Šalih, II, p. 15.
Insha Har Karan, f. 17.
Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.
Insha Collection, Acc. No. 2675, ff. 20-29,
Research Library, Srinagar.

Desideri, Travels (tr. Fillipi di Filippi), p. 75.

37. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.

38. Iuzuk, p. 317.
Kashmir used to be the Jinādār of a Srinagar fort also. It has been already pointed out that there was no separate post of Provincial Foujdar in Kashmir. The Subahdār was incharge of military and police administration also. We can suggest that the Foujdar of Marāj, Kamrāj, Punch, Pakhli, and Noushahra, were his subordinates. The Foujdar of Noushahra, and Chakla Jammu was sometimes assigned to the Subahdār. He supervised the troops of the mansabdārs stationed in the Subah. He used to rush contingents to the war-front whenever he received emperor's command to do so.

39. Jadunath Sarkar, Muqadd Administration, p. 52n.
40. Muhammad Din Fugn, Safar Nama Kashmir, p. 64.
41. Raja Darshnait, f. 168.
Safdar Khan was appointed Foujdar of Jammu also by Jahangir. Hafizullah Khan was appointed also Foujdar of Jammu, Akhbarat, 33 R.Y.
Runaūt, a collection of letters of the reign of Aurangzeb preserved in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 45a.
42. Mohamad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 197b.
S.R. Sharma, Muqaddal Government & Administration, p. 238.
43. Akhbarat, 43, 47 R.Y.
Waqiāt-i-Asad Baci, f. 7a.
S.R. Sharma, Muqaddal Government & Administration, p. 238.
P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 107.
Thus the maintenance of peace both internal and external and the efficient running of the provincial administrative machinery was the prime responsibility of the Subahdar.

The annual collection of the peshkash from the autonomous chieftains and zamindars was carried on by the Subahdar and it was deposited in the provincial treasury. The autonomous chieftains attended his Court very often or kept their respective vakils at the provincial Court.

Administration of Justice:

As a matter of fact there was a separate department for the administration of justice, but the Subahdar also held regular Courts and discharged the judicial functions. Criminal, and civil cases of complicated nature

43. Akhbarat, Muharam, 13th R.Y.
   J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.
   S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.

44. Akhbarat, 12 Rabi I, 43 R.Y., Rajab 46th R.Y.

45. Lahori, Badshah Mama, I, p. 139.
   Mohamad Murad, Tuhaftul-Funara, f. 65b, 61a.
   S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.
   Gouhari Alam, pp. 269, 204.
   The statement of I.H. Qureshi that the Governor was not allowed to intervene in the administration of justice is not borne out by facts: The Administration of Mughal Empire in India, p. 229.
were mainly lodged in his Court. The cases pertaining to Sabi-Suhāba were also mainly filed in his Court, but the decisions in such cases were given by the Qāzi and the Muftī.46

In 1565 Sheikh Abdul Rashid filed a suit against Husain Malik brother of Malik Haidar Chādoora in the Court of the Subahdār.47 Another suit was filed in the Court of Saif Khan by a Hindu against Khuaja Sādiq Naqashbandi. After a summary trial the khwāja was flogged to death.48 Another case against Abdus-Shakoor was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhīm Khan. He was alleged to have used indecent words against the Caliphs.49 One more case about a mosque of a village named Āruat was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhīm Khan.50

The Subahdār was not entitled to overrule the decision of the Qāzi. In the case of Abdul Rashid cited above, the Subahdār wanted to save Malik Husain, but the decision of the Qāzi was executed under the directions of the

47. Mohammad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Funūrā, ff. 91-2.
Emperor; again one Rustum Manto of Soibugh village was executed even against the consent of the Subahdār. However, the more enterprising and influential Subahdārs encroached upon the power and authority of other officials by reducing the Sadr, the Qāzi, the Muftī, and the Kotuāl to mere non-entities. I'tamād Khān who was Subahdar during 1661-62, and Fāzil Khān were strict and impartial in the dispensation of justice. They decided cases daily after summary trials and enquiries.

Social Service

Existing concepts of social service and government departments apart, there was sufficient scope for works of public weal and common welfare in Mughal Kashmir particularly under the stewardship of the Subahdār. The relief measures in the event of natural calamities like floods, famines, droughts, earthquakes, fires, and epidemics, were launched under the supervision of Subahdārs. In support of our

52. Mohamad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fugarā, ff. 97-98b. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 189
statement we can advance a few significant evidences too. In 1597, a terrible famine spread all over the Šubah. A Koar directed the Šubahdar to open a large number of langars or free supply kitchens. In 1635-36, a heavy flood inundated the entire rice fields in the months of July and August. With the result that the entire crop was damaged and thousands of people left Kashmir. Huge amounts were released by the Emperor to the Šubahdar for relief measures. Šarbiyat Khan did not discharge his duty efficiently while making disbursement of the relief funds. He was removed and Šafar Khan was appointed in his place. He supervised the work in person and demanded additional grant of one lakh of rupees to be distributed among the peasants to expedite the agricultural operations. In 1675, thousands of houses along with Jamia Masjid were gutted the outbreak of a sudden fire. The Šubahdar

Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 166.

Šadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 53a. Wagišt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

Wagišt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 360.

Mohamad Murād Tāng, Tuhfatul-Fugārā, f. 81b.

was directed to advance one hundred rupees to each affected family.  

Subahdār and Land Revenue Administration:

In Chapter II, Section III, we discussed the functioning of the land revenue organization. The Dīwān was the head of the revenue and finance departments. But the madadī ma'āsh grants were administered by the Ṣaadīr. But the Subahdār as a matter of fact was a coordinator of various administrative divisions.

In regard to the position of the Subahdār viz-a-viz the Dīwān, Jadunath Sarkar held the view that the Dīwān was in no way a subordinate official but a rival of the Subahdār. But a closer examination of the source material suggests a different inference. Undoubtedly the Dīwān was the head of revenue department but not a rival of Subahdār and held a position next to the Subahdār in the administrative hierarchy.

60. Khalil Mirjanpuri, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 136b.
62. See Chapter II, Section IV.
63. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 53.
To quote a few instances based on original sources would lead us to the same conclusion. It is significant to note that a Diwan was appointed as Naib-i-Subahdar but not vice versa.65 Secondly, the mansab of any Diwan did not exceed the mansab of a Subahdar. Thirdly, various reports and statements were submitted from the Court of Diwan to the Court of the Subahdar.66 The jagirdars and grant-holders presented their documents to the Subahdar and the Subahdar periodically checked and verified the sanads.67 He recommended for further increase of the mansab, decrease or cancellation of the grants and jagirs, while we do not find such powers vested in the Diwan. He was to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, take care to get more and more land under the plough. Dilawar Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Saif Khan and Fazil Khan took vigorous steps to

65. P. Saran observes that the Subahdar and Diwan were official of equal rank and very rarely a Diwan was appointed as a Subahdar, p. 182, but on pages 195-96, he states that Diwan was not equal to the status of Subahdar but inferior to him. Provincial Administration under the Mughals, pp. 181-82; Gouhar-i-Alam, p. 299.

66. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 537a-b.
Hâlät-i-Mamâlik-i-Mahrûsa, ff. 144-45.

67. Ḫulqâlat-i-Kashmîr, p. 164.
Various land grant documents preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, and S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, bear the seals of the Subahdars.

See also Chapter II, Section IV.
improve the agrarian conditions. 68

Thus a Subahdār had a supervisory control over land revenue administration as well. 69

As an administrative head, Subahdār recommended the appointments, promotions, transfers within the Subah and even the demotion of various petty officials. 69 He appointed the clerical staff in parganas or delegated his powers to the amils. 70 At the time of promotions the experience and seniority of the officials was also kept in view, 71 and no weightage was given to racial or communal considerations. Almost entirely the revenue and finance department was manned by the Hindus. The prestigious posts of Peshkārs and

68. Akhbarat, 44 Regnal Year.
Diwan Pasand, f. 92.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 307b-8a
Gouhar-i-'Alam, pp. 271, 289.
Muhammad Murad, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, ff. 81, 87.
Amiruddin, Pathliwāl, Tahmeedat-i-Ameeri, p. 159a;
Waqiaat-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Abdul Qadir Jaisi, Hashmat-i-Kashmir, ff. 51a-b.
Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.

69. Akhbarat, Rabi I, 43 and 45 R.Y.
Fazil Khan's recommendations for the grant of mansabs to Kashmiris, See Akhbarat, Rab. I, 43 R.Y.
Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 49.

70. Diwan Pasand, ff. 86, 92.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 178.

71. Diwan Pasand, f. 92.
Chaudharis were filled up by this class. Jota Ram,72 Mahadev Koul,73 Sudharshan Pandith74 and Choudhuri Manohar75 were some of the famous officials in this category. Thus the multigarious duties and responsibilities of the Subahdar may be fairly and elaborately detailed by a perusal of the papers and registers maintained by his Court and statements furnished by the lower offices. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, an administrative manual of 18th century gives us a detailed account of such documents.75

The following papers and documents were submitted to his office:77

72. Jota Ram was Peshkar of Yousf Khan Rizvi, A.H.I., III, pp. 617-18.

73. Mahadev Koul was Peshkar of Ali Mardan Khan. He was burnt alive during a food riot. On this occasion, Mohammad Yousf Kauosa Sadr Suba Kashmir and other nobles were summoned to Court to explain their position.

74. Sudharshan Panditli was Peshkar of Anayatullah Khan.

75. Choudhuri Manohar was Choudhuri Kul during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Birbal Kachroo, Naimoo-ut-Tawarih, f. 417a.
Document No. 31, Research Library, Srinagar.
See also Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 401-3.

76. Nath Panditli, Gulshan Dastūr, ff. 536a-37b.

See also Halīt-i-Manṣūlik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-45.

77. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536a.
1. Paragana-wise annual schedule of Hāl-i-Hāṣīl
by the Dīvān, (2) the pay schedule of the clerks, and accountants,
descriptive rolls of the mansabdārs stating transfers, promotions,
and assignments from the Bahshī, (3) the descriptive rolls
regarding the grants, the periodical checking reports, new grant
documents, and cancellation of previous grants from the office of
the provincial Šādīr, 78 (4) the descriptive roll of zamindārs
from the clerk in charge of zamindārs bearing the seal of
darogha kachāri, (5) the lists giving the details of income and
expenditure regarding the state-owned kārkhanās from the office
of Dīvānī Buyūṭt, (6) the annual report furnishing the details
about the income from Mahāl Mīr Baharī, (7) income statements of
Mahāl Dāmāri, 79 and mahal Panj-Kulāncā 80 from the paraganā
Qānūngos, (9) the income and expenditure statements of the mint
from Musharif-i-Dar'ulzarb, (10) statement pertaining to jewellery
market from the Darogha Bāzār, (11) the Hāl-i-Hāṣīl figures,
of Saffron with the remarks regarding the cause of decrease in
production if any from the musharif, (12) Hāl-i-Hāṣīl figures of

78. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536b.

79. Kashmiri fowlers earned a great deal of money from
bird catching especially during the winter months.
A tax was imposed on them. A'īn, II, p. 172.

80. The coloured feathers of okar and other birds were
collected from the bird sanctuaries of Mahal Mīrā and were purchased by the state for decoration of
headgear and imperial standards. Mainly feathers of
cranck and fouls were collected. A'īn, II, p. 174
("m."). Approximately 10755 feathers were collected
annually. Tuzuk, p. 315. This village is not
identified. It should be perhaps Bokar Sar, which
is still famous for winter foul.
māhāl Singhār, (13) the rate lists of grains, vegetables and other articles from the office of the Mirahb-Naīś, (13) information regarding the functioning of various courts from the musharif, (14) Ḥaqīqat Hāl-i-Hāsil of In'am and mashrūṭ land grants, (15) the descriptive roll of the troopers and horses maintained by the māsābdārs of the Suba, (16) pargānā-wise statistical information of the Jam'a dāmī of jāqīrs, khālis, and the pāibāqī lands, (17) the expenditure accrued on Malvījāt submitted to the centre, (18) the demand list of māsābdārs, (19) monthly collection and disbursement of revenue pargānā-wise from the office of Diwān. 81

Keeping in view the wide range of the above mentioned statements and papers, we can safely infer that the Subahdār controlled the executive, revenue, judicial, police and military administration as falling within his jurisdiction. He was to safeguard the interests of the state as well as of the subjects. He looked after the administration of the river ports, state karkhāns, mines, mints, markets, and such other things.

**Limitations to the Subahdār's authority and imperial checks**

We have mentioned above that the Subahdār was governed by the rules and regulations setforth from time to time by the centre and did not enjoy unlimited power as is the

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81. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536b.
contention of Vincent Smith. 82 The subahdars were guided by certain norms and principles. The Subah of Kashmir remained cut off from the rest of the Empire during winter months, and as such a Subahdar could have wielded unlimited power, but this was not the case. The maintenance of law and order both internally and externally was his prime duty, but he could not wage war, enter into a treaty or sue for peace without the imperial directive. 83 In September, 1637, Zafar Khan subdued Little Tibet, and installed Muhammad Murad, the vakil of Abdal in his place. This act of audacity on the part of the Subahdar was resented to by Shahjahân, and the Subahdar was reprimanded. 84

In A.D. 1672, the Subahdar sought the permission from Aurangzeb to use force against the Raja of Kashtawar who was reluctant to pay the annual peshkash. 85


83. P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 188. S.R. Sharma contradicts his own statement that "He put down local rebellions, carried out minor military operations on his own in the provinces or the neighbouring areas." In this very passage that "He could not make war on a feudatory state in the province or an independent prince in the neighbourhood without the permission of the Emperors." Mughal Government and Provincial Administration, p. 239.


85. Akhbarat, Muhamram, 13th R.Y.
A network of imperial spies, Šawānih Niçārs, Khufiya Nauis and Harkaras kept a close watch on the movements of the Subah officials. Even minutest and trivial matters were reported to the Court. Ibrahīm Khān, Saiif Khān, and Tarbiyat Khān were sacked on the basis of the reports submitted by the Khufiya Nauis.

The periodical visits of the emperors provided ample opportunities to people to approach them to get their grievances redressed. We should keep this in mind that the nobles and mansab holders owed allegiance to the emperors and as such were a natural check to the Subahdars. During 1587-88, one Jotā Ram lodged a complaint against Yousf Khān Rizvi in pursuance of which Qāzi Āli was appointed to investigate into the embezzlement case. Similarly Malik Āli and Malik Haider were...

Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 287-8, 293, Akhbabād, 45 R.Y. Anayat Khān, Ākān-i-Ālamqirī, p. 211.
87. Sadiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanī, f. 45b.
Abdul Qadir Jaisi, Hashmat-i-Kashmir, f. 51a.
Sadiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Shahjahanī, f. 98a.
89. Tuzuk, p. 149.
Bahrāistān-i-Shāhī, f. 21ib.
90. A.N. III, 617-18.
always a threat to the Subahdārs. Dilāwar Khān, Safdar Khān and Ahamad Beg Khān were transferred by Jahāngīr, because of complaints against them. I’taqād Khān and Ṭarbiyat Khān were removed by Shahjahān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, Saif Khān, Muzafar Khān, and Abū Naṣar Khān were transferred by Aurangzeb on the basis of complaints filed by the people.

In spite of checks and controls, some of the Subahdārs were to a greater extent oppressive and harsh. I’taqād Khān imposed taxes on orchards, levied 60 dāms on each village which was yielding a revenue of 400 kharuārs or more, and oppressive tax on boatmen was also enhanced by him, but in 1632 Shahjahān remitted all these taxes.

91. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 215a.
92. Tuzuk, p. 149.
    Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
    Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 215a, 216b, 217a.
93. Suka, Raja Taranqni, (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 424, states the atrocities of the servants of Yūsuf Khān Rizvi done to the common people. Mīrza Aḥmad Bān Shahī during his Subahdāri was not less oppressive, Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 211b.
    ‘Āli Mardān Khān himself was an ideal Subahdār but his Uzbēk and Tūrānī servants were very cruel and behaved just like brutes, Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 141.
    Gouhari Alam, p. 273.

See the Inscription on the gate of Jamīʿ Masjid, Srinagar.
Abū Naṣar Khān, and his brother, Muzafar Khān, imposed again several taxes on agriculturists, common people, and artisans. They corrupted even the secret writers. The Khufiyā Nasīrs also tried to squeeze the common people. During the period of the later Mughals, the Naib Subahdārs also followed suit. It is significant that this state of affairs manifested itself only when the Central authority was on the decline and weakness and instability were rampant in the body-politic. From 1622 till the death of Jāhānār, Nur Jahan's power had tremendously increased over the affairs of the empire, and there was none to check the atrocities of I'taqād Khān who was a close relative of Nur Jahan. Similarly, Aurangzeb's presence in the Deccan adversely affected the administrative machinery in the North which roused the venality and corruption of the Subahdārs.

95. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 189.


For the political power of Nur Jahan after 1622, see Nur Jahan and Junta, S. Nurul Hasan, Cycostyled article in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.

For details on Kashmir under the later Mughals, see article of Dr Z.U. Malik, "The Subah of Kashmir under the later Mughals" published in Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. II, pp. 249-263.

For a general study of the period, see Irwin Later Mughals and J.M. Sarkar, Downfall of the Mughal Empire, also.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of Subehdar</th>
<th>Racial Extraction</th>
<th>Rank at the time of appointment</th>
<th>Year of appointment</th>
<th>Name of Wibi Subehdar (if any)</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mirza Ali Akbar Khan</td>
<td>Turani</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuzuk, p. 11; Ma'asir-i-Jehangiri, f. 57. Kewal Ram, f. 194.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Nawab Quli Khan</td>
<td>Turani</td>
<td>800/500</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuzuk, 53, 79; Barairstan-i-Shahi, f. 211. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 123.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Safdar Khan alias Hashim Khan, son of Qasim Khan (latter was given the title of Safshikan Khan)</td>
<td>Irani</td>
<td>3000/2000</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuzuk, p. 97; M.U., II, pp. 736-738. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p.123.</td>
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Shah Bahman's Reign

9. Ahmad Khatam 10/1615-16

10. Ahmad Khatam 10/1620

11. Iraj Khatam 10/1622

12. Khoja Sahl-Masoudi 6000/1632


15. Shah Quli Khan 2000/1600

Reapportioned Term 1639

Zulqadar Khan
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<th>Khan</th>
<th>2nd Term</th>
<th>3rd Term</th>
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<th>M. U.</th>
<th>1st Term</th>
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<td>Abul Fethan Khan</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>1797</td>
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<td>1793</td>
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<td>1795</td>
<td>M. U.</td>
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<td>1796</td>
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<td>1795</td>
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<td>Alija Khan</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>M. U.</td>
<td>1796</td>
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**University of Lucknow**

25. M. U. 11, pp. 120-123.
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<td>Jan-Muhammad Khan</td>
<td>2000/1000</td>
<td>1745-46</td>
<td>Jan-Nasir Khan</td>
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<td>1740</td>
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<td>3411-41 Khan</td>
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JUDICIAL AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Judiciary

The Mughal annexation of Kashmir ushered in significant changes in the various spheres of the administrative set up of the Subāh but the judicial administration was retained substantially on the traditional lines. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, had practically paved the way for the introduction of Islamic Institutions like Shaikhul-Islām, Qāzi, Mir'adl and the like long before the Mughal conquest. But it was during the Mughal period that institution of the Shaikhul-Islām lost its significance and its place was taken by the provincial Qāzi.  

The Qāzi-ul-Quzaṭ appointed the Qāzis of the nargahns and towns in the Sultanate. Mīr ʿalī was appointed in Jrinagar, the capital city, and he functioned as a semi-judicial officer and a deputy of the Qāzi-ul-Quzaṭ.  

The bulk of population were followers of the Hanafia school and were governed by its laws.  

The Mughal annexation, virtually did not effect the working of the system. As a matter of fact, the governing principles were of the same shariat law and so the legal aspect of the judicial was identical under the Mughal as before. Yet regional usage and traditional values did influence the system to an appreciable extent.

The judiciary during our period was not alienated from the executive. Theoretically the basic and primary duty of the ruler and his agents was to save the subject from the clutches of the oppressors. Therefore, each official right from the Subahdār down to the petty parganah officials were entitled to administer justice together with their executive responsibilities.

The judicial powers of the Subahdār have been already discussed in the previous chapter. He was both an administrative head and a chief judicial officer within the Subāh. 

The jurisdiction of the Diwān was essentially limited to the revenue cases.

5. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 338-339.
6. See Chapter IV.
7. See Chapter II, Section, IV.
The Qāzi

In the judicial administration the institution of Qāzi was of considerable importance, and the Qāzi played a significant role in the provincial administration though his importance decreased during the Mughal rule. Still the Qāzi occupied third place in the administrative hierarchy after the Subahdār and the Diwān.

There were no hard and fast rules for the appointment of the Qāzi. The family background, the academic qualifications and keen intellect were kept in view at the time of his appointment. Qāzi Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Qāzi Moosa, was appointed by Akbar soon after annexation. Qāzi Salih was succeeded by Qāzi Abdul Qāsim. He was recommended by Qāzi for this post. He was replaced by Qāzi Abdullah Zaqīr

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8. See Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 201-1, Mohibbul Hasan, for the Qāzi during the Sultanate period.


10. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 310-12.

11. Qāzi Moosa was Qāzi during the reign of Yousf Shah Chak. His son, Yaqoob Chak, put him to death on account of his refusal to include the name of Ali in prayer call. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f.195a-t Warfīat-i-Kashmir, p. 123.

12. Qāzi Abul Qāsim was son of Qāzi Jamal Syāfi Kōṭī. He was a famous saint and scholar of his time. Qāzi Sal was the tutor of Abul Qāsim also.

His appointment was also made on account of intelligence and ready-wits. After his death, Qā'iz Abul Qāsim, son of Qā'iz Mulla Mohammad Raza, was appointed on the basis of his qualification; Qā'iz Mohammad Muḥsin also appointed on this post on account of his family background. He was a relative of Qā'iz Abul Qāsim.

There were no rules fixed for the duration of the office. It depended upon the integrity and sourcefulness of the person. Qā'iz Abdul Karim held the post of Qā'iz for twenty-four years during the reign of Aurangzeb, while some of the Qazis were removed after a couple of years only.

Functions and Duties

Abul Fazl had laid down the following directives to be followed by the Qā'iz, in the chapter A'in-i-Mir'ad l wa-Qā'iz.

15. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 192.
16. Qā'iz Abdul Karim was relative of Maulana Mohammad Yeusf Kauqda. He was a pupil of Maulvi Abul Fateh Kaloo. After the transfer of Mohammad Yeusf, he was appointed the Qā'iz, and remained in the office till the last years of the Aurangzeb's reign. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 215.
"Though it is the immediate duty of a monarch to receive complaints and dispense justice, yet it is not possible for one person to do everything, so the King delegated his powers to some others. Thus obviously he was to administer justice and redress the grievances of the oppressed.

A code of justice in consonance with the ideals of Akbar was prepared and the Qāzīs were to administer justice and investigate the cases according to the same rules.

The Qāzī should not decide the cases barely on the basis of oaths and the statements of the witnesses or on the production of an undertaking. He should apply his intellect and wisdom and take all the facts into consideration to his utmost satisfaction; he should himself pronounce the judgement.

The charity grants were also distributed through the Qāzī among the Ālamā and needy people.

**Appointment & Qualifications**

A Qāzī should possess all the best qualities of a judge. He should be well-versed in the Islamic jurisprudence.


Honesty and integrity should be the aim of his life. He should refrain from mixing with the common people, should not accept the invitation of all and sundry, and in no case should accept the presents, etc. from any person.21

The Qazi held his Court five days a week, attended the Court of the Subahdar once a week but Friday was observed as a holiday.22 There was no territorial or executive jurisdiction of the Courts in the modern sense of the term. So there was nothing to prevent any one to approach the Qazi's Court.23 There were Qazis in each pargannah and the towns. The village Qazi led the prayers, and attended the Nikah ceremonies. He was a teacher and some of them issued decrees to the villagers. Qazi of Sopore was of considerable importance. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Qazi was appointed to the vassal state of Kashtaur as well.25

Complicated cases were usually filed in his Court, while cases of ordinary nature were decided in the Courts of the Kotwal and the thanedars.26 Several categories of cases were disposed after summary trials, so no written proceedings of them were maintained.27 Moreover, judicial proceedings and details

25. Hashmatullah Khan, Itrakh-i-Jamny, etc. p. 214.
27. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 95.
of adjudication in respect of civil and criminal cases are not traceable while such details are available from the records pertaining to the Subahs of Ajmer, Deccan, etc., which perhaps may be explained in view of devastation caused by the Afghan and the Sikh invasions of Kashmir in which many records perished, therefore, the exact definition of the powers, functions and jurisdiction of the Qāzī's offices becomes problematic.

The appointment of the provincial Qāzī made by the emperor in his discretion without any recommendation of the Subahdār or Qāzī-ul-Quzāt. He was given a high mansab and sufficient madad-i-maʿāsh grant so as to keep him free from all financial burdens. Cash awards were also given to them.

Qāzī was assisted by the Mufti and Mir'adul. Some times, a Naib-i-Qāzī was also appointed by Qāzī.

The secular type cases of Hindus and Muslims were also decided by the Qāzī. But the suits pertaining to the personal law were decided according to the ways and methods

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29. Iqbal, Badshah Nama, II, f. 272.

30. Jāgilāt-i-Kashmir, p. 211.
sanctioned by the religious precepts followed by litigants.

In 1586, an order was passed that the cases of Hindus should be decided by the Panditha and not by Qāzīs.31 Jahangir appointed Srikanth as a "Qāzī of Hindus,"32 but any evidence of any other Pandith was appointed after the death of Srikanth is lacking.

**Mufti**

Mufti was not an official, but it appears the Qāzī sought the advice of learned theologians in order to settle the complicated cases.33 We do not find any evidence of the appointment of Mufti. There were usually more than one Muftis in the city of Srinagar alone.34 The Mufti was simply one who elucidated or expounded a law point;35 and his advice was sought on certain occasions only.36 This institution had become hereditary in nature,37 and the senior member of the

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32. Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, pp. 194-95.
33. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 345-46.
34. Wadist-i-Kashmir, pp. 168, 189.
35. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 34.
36. Ibni Hasan states that the presence of a Mufti was no essential if Qāzī was well qualified. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of Mughal Empire, pp. 314-15.
Mohammad Murād Teng, Tuhfat-ul-Fugarā, f. 63a.
family was called Mufti 'Azan. Even the expert theologians and scholars could also issue Futwā (legal pronouncement). The people approached them to seek their advice in order to know what is lawful and what is unlawful.

Some of the famous Muftis who rose to the prominence were Mulla Yousef Chackak, Mulla Abdul Razak, Mulla Mohammad Tahir, Mulla Sheikh Ahmad, Mulla Mohammad Ashraf and Mohammad Murad Naqashbandi.

Miri 'Adl

This institution was also introduced in Kashmir by the Sultans. Miri 'Adl was appointed by the Qazi, and he tabled the cases which were filed in the Court of Qazi.

41. Mulla Yousef Chackak was a disciple of Khuja Khawand Muhammad and Mulla Fazil, and Mulla Abdul Razak were his contemporaries, *Aqīf-i-Kashmir*, p. 143.
42. *Aqīf-i-Kashmir*, pp. 166, 169.
44. *Aqīf-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
45. Akhbaraat, 46 R.Y.
48. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp. 293-1. I.H. Qureshi, assumes that Miri 'Adl was appointed in most important cities, is not born out by facts, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 191.
The assertion of P. Saran regarding the post of Mir'adl is that the post was combined with that of the Qazi and there was no such independent institution. In support of his thesis, he puts forth the following arguments that in the regnal year of Akbar, the Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and the following officers were appointed in each province:

1. a Sipah Salar
2. a Disan
3. a Baghshi
4. a Mir'adl
5. a Sadr
6. a Kotwal
7. a Mir Bahr
8. a Waqia Navis

Since there is no mention of a Qazi, so it can be conjectured that the Mir'adl and Qazi was the same institution. Furthermore, he assumes that the office of the Sadr and Qazi were not separate, but only one and the same office.

But both of his assertions are not supported by facts. Abdul Fazl explicitly has laid down the rules and instructions for Qazi and Mir'adl separately, and again

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.

See also Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 322.
Faujdar and his functions

The protection of life and property of the subjects was equally important for the peace, tranquility, and the stability of the state. Therefore, every effort was made to have a close watch over the law and order situation both internally and externally. The vassal chieftains were responsible to maintain peace within their territory. The entire area under the direct administration of the Subahdar was divided into a number of divisions and each division was entrusted to an official known as faujdar.¹ These territorial faujdārs were subordinate to the Subahdar. The territorial limits of a faujdār varied from place to place.² Some of the faujdāris stretched over a parganah as pargana Dachan and Khouarpora, and Darve-ua Karnave, while in some case, faujdāri limits extended over a few parganas like faujdāri Kamrāj.³ There were sixteen parganas in Kamrāj division.⁴

2. S.R. Sharma presumes that every serkar was assigned to one faujdar, Punjab Government and Administration, p.243, but it was not a fact so far the Subah of Kashmir was concerned.
3. W.A. Siddiqi, incorporating Siyāq Nama, Rand Ram Kāyisīth, states that a new faujdāri in Chakla Faizabad was created during the reign of Shahjahan. I have not been able to trace out the newly created Chakla Faizabad in Sarkar Kashmir, which was assigned to a faujdar. There is no mention of this, neither in Harain Koul Ajiz's Tarikh-i-Kashmir, which was compiled in 1708, nor in Landār-i-Kashmir, written in 1748. Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. 4, 1961, p. 25. Since the Siyāq Nama was written in Bihar, and the details essentially pertain to the same province. Pargana Fatehpur of Faizabad serkar is in this very province. No Chakla of this name was ever created in the province of Kashmir.
4. A'in, II, pp. 177–78. The whole division had only one faujdar, Rung'at, S.R.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
Noushahra, and Bhimber were separate faujdāris, but sometimes, all the three faujdāris were assigned to one official. The faujdārs of Rajouri, and Noushahra, used to be officials of high rank, while the rest of them were of lower ranks.

The Subah of Kashmir comprised five divisions viz., Kashmir, Punch, Pakhlī, Kashtaur, Little Tibet, and Great Tibet. The number of paraganches increased from 38 to 56 during this period. It was divided into the following faujdāris: Kanrāj, Barag, Jāve-ua Karmā, Rajouri, Noushahra, Dachanpārā, and Khawarpārā, Poonch, Kāchyāl, and Damyal.

6. Saeed Khān was appointed in 1268H/Faujdar of Bhimber and Noushahra. Mohammad Kazim, Alamār Nama, p. 195.
7. See Chapter II, Section I.
8. See Appendix 10.
The manual explicitly treats the Qāzi, Mi'rādāl and Mufti separately. According to this manual the Mi'rādāl was to investigate and dispose of cases which were filed in his Court. In case there was some difficulty, he should refer the case to the Qāzi. Again the institution of Ṣadr was a separate institution and had distinct functions. It was not necessary that the same person should be the Ṣadr and Qāzi. There are so many examples to illustrate it further.

Qāzi Šālih was appointed Qāzi of Kashmir by Akbar soon after annexation and Mulla ḫālib was Mi'rādāl during this period. During the reign of Shahjahan, Qāzi Abdullah was Qāzi of Subah, and Mulla Hāji Bandey was Mi'rādāl and Mulla Muhammad Tāhir was holding the post of Ṣadr. Thus it is obvious that the Ṣadr, Qāzi and Mi'rādāl were three separate posts. However, sometimes, the same person was appointed as Qāzi and Mufti or Qāzi and Mi'rādāl.

55. See Chapter II, Section II.
58. Mohammad Ashraf was Mufti as well as Ṣadr in 46th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. He held the mansab of Amin Jaziya also. Akhbarat, 46 R.Y. During 1727-1729, Maulana Inayatullah was serving as Mi'rādāl and Daroga Adalat as well.
It appears that the strategic importance of the region was kept in view while determining the area of a faujdāri. Since the annexation the rebels had taken shelter in the mountainous regions of Komrāj, Mārāj, Dachanparā, and Dachen Khawura regions. These regions entrusted to faujdārs in order to keep a close watch over the activities of the rebels, and recalcitrant zamindārs. Rajouri, Neuchahra, and Shimber had great strategic importance. These posts were, as a matter of fact, gateways of Kashmir. Above all, these regions were inhabited by turbulent chishtains who always created trouble. So separate faujdārs were appointed in these regions. Poonch, Kaśhāl, and Danyāl formed one faujdāri. In 1282, 1364, faujdār Jāber Quli was transferred and Muṣṭād Quli Gakhar was appointed as faujdār. The faujdārs were appointed by the Emperor under a farman bearing the seal and signatures of the Bahāshi-ul-Aulk.


17. Ḵᵛājā Bahāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 205a.

18. Ḵᵛājā Bahāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 205a.


20. See Chapter, I, Section II.


22. Ḵᵛājā Jahanānī, p. 294.
Functions

The primary duty of a faujdar was to protect the common people from the tyrannies of thieves and miscreants, and put down rebellious rebels of the Subah. 23

The maintenance of law and order, care and safety of the highways, and vigilant watch over the activities of thieves and robbers. 24

His help was also sought by the revenue collectors in case the recalcitrant zamindars or ryots were reluctant to pay the revenue. But he was advised not to use force in the first instance. 25 He also watched the jagirdars and zamindars if they refrain to collect the illegal cesses from the tenants. 26 He maintained a large contingent, 27 and had to be always vigilant and mobile.

Bahrastan-i-Shahi, f. 205a.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 218. See also Nigar-Nama Munshi, f. 68.
N. A. Siddiqi has also elaborated the duties and function in his book, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 24, 36, 61, and 113-114. For a general study, see J. H. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 63-64.

Hidatul-Qaua'id, f. 213a.
Bahrastan-i-Shahi, f. 205a.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 218

25. A'in, I, pp. 196-97; Ruqaiyat, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, 195


Thanedār

Thanahs or police posts were established in Ṣubāh at various places. The duties and functions of Thanedārs appear to have been identical with that of faujdār. But the region under the control of one thanedāri were comparatively smaller. In the absence of source material, it is rather difficult to demarcate the territorial jurisdiction of the thanedārs.

The Faujdār had a large area under his charge and had to perform multifarious duties, therefore, the need arose to establish thanās in various localities. Secondly, sometimes, the strategic importance of certain areas also required a close watch. For example, during his visits, Akbar ordered the establishment of Thanās at Noushahra, Rajouri and...

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28. The Thanedār of Marāz as well as of Kamrāj were practically carrying on the functions of Faujdārs. See Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
Mostly the Thanās were stationed in the hilly regions of the Subah. As a matter of fact, there was no need of so many police posts within the valley, because there were only few crimes in the Subāh. It never posed a serious threat to the administration, Alîn, II, 170 (N.K.). Kalmat-i-Tawbah, f. 926. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 228.
Mohammad Kāzīm, Alamqir Nama, pp. 1038-39.
32. Insha-i-Harkaran, f. 17. See also Ruga'at, Acc. No. 2675, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 28-29.
Bijbehra. Another thana was established during our period in Kamrāj and Shigar. Fortresses of Rajouri, and Noushahra were built during this period. The old fort of Bijbehara was repaired and thanas were stationed in these fortresses.

After the conquest of Little Tibet, a thanedār was posted by the Subehdār with the permission of the Emperor in this territory.

The Thānas were equipped with men and material so as to defend the territory.

The Thānedārs were appointed by the Emperor, but had to serve under the Subehdār.

Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b-239a.
34. Waqīat-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
35. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.
Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238-39a.
38. Desideri, Travels etc. (tr. Filipi-Fellipo), p. 75.
Waqiät-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
40. Mangli Khan was appointed by Aurangzeb as a thanedār of Noushahra, Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, pp. 1038-39.
Tuzuk, p. 317.
Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 513.
On account of administrative deterioration during the latter Mughal period, some of the thanedârs revolted against the Subehdârs and caused great disturbances.\(^{41}\) They became law breakers rather than guardians of law. In 1749-50, Babarullah Khân, thanedâr of Kamrâj, entered into a league with the turbulent zamindârs of Muzzafarabad, with the assistance of each other they pushed back the provincial forces beyond Pattan. The innocent subjects were harassed, their property was looted and the women were molested.\(^{42}\)

Kotwâl

We have already stated that the rural areas were under the control of the faujdâr and the Thanedâr. The village Chowkidâr kept them informed of all the local developments.\(^{43}\)

\(^{41}\) Waqiât-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
\(^{42}\) Waqiât-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

This is perhaps the only instance when any official openly rebelled in Kashmir. No doubt, the peoples risings took place intermittently during the Mughal rule. The period of latter Mughals was virtually full of chaos and confusion and lawlessness was prevalent all over the Subah. See also Zahiruddin Malik, 'Suba of Kashmir under the latter Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. II, 1972, pp. 149-63.

\(^{43}\) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 228.

Superfluous assumption of P.N.K. Bânzai that Kashmir had varying number of sarkars in the Mughal period and each sarkar was in-charge of a Kotwâl, where he looked after the personal security of people, A History of Kashmir, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.
Similarly, the urban areas like cities and towns were under the jurisdiction of the Kotwāl concerning all police and municipal affairs. As Srinagar was the only city of great importance in the Subān, the Kotwāl was perhaps appointed to that metropolitan city only.

The chief duty of Kotwāl lay in the maintenance of law and order, supervision of markets, and slaughter houses, guarding against, and apprehension of the miscreants and anti-social elements, and keeping the undertrials in his custody in his office which was called Chabīṭārā Kotwāli. The accused who were under his charge where presented to the Courts where their cases were put up for trial. He also executed the sentence of convictions and in while exercising a measure of judicial authority in the disposal of some cases.

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44. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 66-71. P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration, pp. 232-235. See also article of Akram Makhdoo, Journal of Indian History, Vol. 14, Part I, p. 111-13; 1935. The assertion of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of sarkars in the Mughal period and each sarkar was in charge of a Kotwāl, where he looked after the personal security of people, A History of Kashmir, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.

45. All in, I, pp. 197-8, see also Historical Fragments, p. 452. Nigarnāma Munshi, f. 130. P. Saran, Provincial Government & Administration, pp. 232-35.


The nature of the Kotwāl's office may be compared with the present police superintendent but it cannot be likened to that of a municipal officer because the very concept of civic administration was not understood in the modern sense of the term during this period.

Muhtasib

This institution had a long standing in Kashmir. During the Hindu rule, this officer was known as Naqaradhikṛta. His duty was to collect the fines imposed upon the defaulters, and keep an eye on the public morale. The same duty was carried on by the Muhtasib and the Kotwāl during the Muslim rule. But the significance of Muhtasib comparatively decreased under the Mughals. Under Aurangzeb the office regained its importance but subsequently it died down.

49. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultāns, p. 204.
Nigar-Nāma Munshi, f. 132a.
Dastūrul 'Amal-i-'Alamgiri, Add. 6599, f. 38.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 394.
See also Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, Supp. pp. 174-75.
51. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 25.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 394, 398.
A solitary but quite significant piece of evidence throws sufficient light on the nature of duties of the Muhtasib.

A Muhtasib raided the house of a mansabdar, Mir Mohammad Safa, where a mahfil-i-Sama was being hosted. The Muhtasib was informed by his informers and in order to stop the musical recital, the raid was conducted. It can be conjectured that the Muhtasib was virtually "censor of the public morals," and was charged to prevent the people from indulging in un-Islamic practices.

Bakhshi

The Bakhshi occupied a significant place in the provincial administration next to the Diwan. The incumbent used to hold a high mansab. His appointment

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52. Mulla Ahmad Bin Abdus-Sabur, Khwāriqu-Sālikīn, f. 145b.
54. Mohammad Salim Bakhshi had a mansab of 1000/400, Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir-Nāma, p. 196. Ali Akbar who was transferred from Kashmir to Kashgar had a mansab of 250/60, Akhbarat, 17th Jamid, II, 44 R.Y.
was made by the Emperor and the order bore the signatures of all the four central Bakhshis, but he had to work under the subordination of the Subahdār. It is quite significant to note that the post of Waqī'a Nāwīs was assigned to the same official. In A.D. 1640, Qāẓi Mohammad Qāsim was holding the post of Bakhshi as well as that of Waqī'a Nāwīs. Another Bakhshi was functioning as a Waqī'a Nāwīs. Similarly, Mohammad Salīm who was Bakhshi was appointed as Waqī'a Nāwīs.

55. Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, Supp., pp. 174-75. P. Saran has wrongly interpreted the sentence as there used to be four Bakhshis in province who were appointed under the seal of the Mirbakhshi, Provincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 197-9. Halāt-i-Mamalik-i-Mahroosā, f. 139. Ibn-i-Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 215.

56. J.N. Sarkar is not correct in his assumption that the Bakhshi used to be an official attached to the personal contingents of the Subehdār, Mughal Administration, p. 55. It is an admitted fact that every noble of considerable rank had his own "Sarkar", which was obviously supervised by the personal staff of the noble. He appointed his Diwan, Bakhshi, Treasurer and amil in his Sarkar. Obviously, it was not the Subehdar only who had his personal staff. But every noble maintained it. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Auranzēb, pp. 161-62. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 537a, William Irvine, Army of the Indian Mughals, p. 40. Ibn Hasān, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 231-32.


58. Akhbārāt, 17th Jamādi II, 44th R.Y.

in 1656. He retained both the offices for a long time. Obviously, this increased the significance of the Bakhshi. Being a Wasiq Naqsh, he personally attended the office of the Subahdar and posted his subordinate staff in the offices of Diwan, Sadir, Qazi, and the parganah officials. His weekly reports were submitted to the centre directly in a sealed envelop. He had well-staffed office to carry on the work efficiently.

He maintained the descriptive rolls of the retainers of mansabdars, the jagirdars and the zamindars within his Subaan. He disbursed the emoluments of the taina-tanani-suba and other officials who were paid in cash.

60. P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals, pp. 199-98. The importance of the officials can be also felt by this single evidence that Shahjahan during his visit to Kashmir remained for sometime in the house of Qazi Mohammad Qasim Bakhshi, Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 419. It is the only evidence when any of the Emperors had stayed in the private house of any official other than Subahdar.


64. P. Orme, Historical Fragments, p. 401. I.H. Qureshi is of the opinion that the Bakhshi was not a pay master-general. He discharged such a duty only occasionally, Administration of the Mughal Empire, p. 79.
The tāyinatīs of the Ṣuba sought his permission if they wanted to go outside the Ṣubāh otherwise they were termed absconder (Firārī) and their property was subject to confiscation. The property of the deceased was also escheated by the Bakhshī.

III SECRET SERVICES FOR INTELLIGENCE

The centralised structure of the Mughal administrative set-up made it imperative to keep a close watch over the provincial affairs; especially with the expansion of the empire the need of vigilance was felt still greater. It was not possible without any effective espionage system. In the early stage there was only one institution known as Waqia' Nawis. As we have stated above the post was often combined with that of the Bakhshi. He posted his subordinate officials in the various provincial offices, and bi-weekly reports were submitted to the central government through dāk-chouki. The officials attached to this institution collected all sorts of information, even the private gossip of the officers, and the like was transmitted to the Emperor. This department almost kept a diary of the daily official transactions. In due

1. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 357-358.
2. In the Independent Kashmir, there was highly developed espionage system, but we don't know about the fate of these institutions after the Mughal annexation, Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 203.
course of time its efficiency was affected and the reports usually were biased, which necessitated the introduction of a secret service which kept the centre well posted without omission and commissions. This was called Khufiyā Nawīs or Sawaihī Nawīs. The appointment was made secretly, and his reports were considered very reliable and authentic. Prompt action was taken against a defaulter against whom the officials submitted such reports. Ibrāhīm Khān, the Subahdār, was reprimanded by the Emperor on the basis of the report of the Khufiyā Nawīs. The Khufiyā Nawīs kept an eye on the conduct of the officials and sent reports against those officials whose conduct was not conducive to the state policies. But in the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign the Sawānīh Nīgar also entered into alliance with the corrupt Subahdārs and played a vital part in exploiting both the state and the people. Abū Naṣar Khān and his brother Muzaffar Khān paid a share out of their illegal exactions. Obviously, they remained in the

7. Mirāt-i-Ahamadi, p. 175.  

8. Gouhar-i-ʿĀlam, p. 293.  
Mirāt-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), p. 174-75.


11. Mohammad Murād Teng, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 97a.
office for longer periods in spite of their atrocities and illegal exactions. 12

But on the whole the Khufiya Nawīs was a great check on the behaviour of the provincial officers. Subsequently, another official called Markāra was appointed to each province. This official was on the same duty but it proved a counter to Khufiya Nawīs and Waqīa Nawīs. Of all the three officials, his reports were considered to be more reliable. 12a The identity of this official remained almost concealed 13 while the Khufiya Nawīs had become an open service. 14 The Markāra reports were directly sent to the centre through dāk-choki. 15

12. Mohammad Murad Teng, Tuhfatul-Fugarā, f. 97a.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 198.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534b.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 198-99.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534b.
The Mughal administrative set-up was highly sophisticated. Each and every branch of the administration was well attended. ¹ The division in the work resulted in the efficient functioning of the administration. We have already discussed the major branches of administration. But our study will be incomplete if we do not take note of the minor administrative functionaries.

Mir Bahri

The geographical features of Kashmir had provided the Subah with natural stream-links and as such the entire trade and commerce was carried on through rivers. ² River transport was a lucrative profession and it always remained in the hands of "Hanjis". ³ In order to divest them of their profits a heavy tax was imposed on each member of this tribe irrespective of his working capacity. ⁴ During the reign of Jahangir I'taqad Khan

1. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 354-56.
   Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 99a.
   Inscription on the gate of Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar.
reversed the old system and imposed an annual tax of 75 dams irrespective of their age and sex, but in 1633-34, the order was repeated and the tax was levied according to the old rates. 60 dams on a young man, 36 dams on boys and 12 dams on infirm old men.

There were more than 5700 boats plying in the river Jhelum and in its tributaries during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. In his first visit, Akbar wanted to visit the upper division of the valley in a boat and so a large number of beautiful house-boats were afloat on the river Jhelum and the Dal Lake. The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called Mir Bahri. It was considered to be a prestigious post. Mullah Mazhari a famous poet was appointed by Akbar as Mir Bahari of Kashmir.

5. Qazvini, Badshah Name, II, ff. 267-68a. Inscription of Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar.
6. Ibid.
10. Doabghah, an adjacent town of Sopore was famous for boat industry. David Ross, The Land of five rivers and Siydh, p. 166.

Keeping in view the nature of the services, we can assume that he had a considerable retinue under him, posted at various ferries and posts, to collect the tax levied on the merchandise, grain and fodder. Besides, the tax collection, he was supervising the building of boats and the maintenance of boat bridges as well.

Bayūtātī

His duties were identical with that of Khānisāmān of the central government. This official was in charge of buildings, gardens, and state Karkhānās. He was known as Dīwānī Bayutātī and daroga Bāghāt-o-Munzihāt also. In 1044/1634-35, Shahjahan appointed Malik Haidar, architect-historian Daroga Bāghāt-va Īmārat, he remained in his office till his death, and Mohammad Kāẓim was appointed in his place. He was replaced by Sayed

   J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 44-45.
15. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, II, pp. 53, 208.
Maqsood. He died in 1683-84 and Hāji Mohammad Sayeed appointed as bayāṭātā, who was succeeded by Mohammad Rafi. Some of the Bayāṭātās held a high mansāb also. Hāji Mohammad Sayeed had a mansāb of 250/10, and Mohammad Ishaq Khān, son of Darāb Khān held the rank of 400/20 and Mohamad Moonis 300/2.

He was incharge of state houses, palaces, gardens and Karkhānās. The maintenance, and administration of the state property was his sole responsibility. He appointed his own subordinate staff like mālīs, and chowkidārs. His appointment was made by the Emperor and he was in no way an official subordinate to the Khānisāmān.

15a. Akhbarat, Shawal, 25 R.Y.
16. Akhbarat, Ramzan, 40 R.Y.
17. Akhbarat, Shawal, 25 R.Y.
Rabi I, 46 R.Y.
18. Akhbarat, Rabi I, 46 R.Y. Mohamad Hadi was given a rank of 200 and appointed Bayāṭātā in 1702, Akhbarat, 23rd Safar, 44 R.Y.
19. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 44-46.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government and Administration, p. 242.

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Structure of Society

The Mughal conquest was turning point in the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Kashmir. Henceforth the Subah entered into a new phase of its history, breaking the age-long state of isolation.

In fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in the first quarter of 14th century had paved the way for the Islamic institutions. The process of cultural assimilation, however, continued, and it was the Mughal period that it took a definite shape. There was substantial change in the working of the political and administrative institutions, and the socio-economic set-up did undergo a drastic change. The cash nexus was introduced during the period which gave a new filip to the traditional economic set-up. Persian language which had already found its way into the Subah eliminated Sanskrit & Sharda completely. New Sufi Order like Naqashbandi.

2. See Chapter II and III.
3. See Chapter VI.
   'Potentialities of the Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', pp. 11-13.
   For detail, see Chapter VII
Chisti and Suhrawardi were introduced. The indigenous Rishi (mystic) Order and Kubraui Order disintegrated along with Nurbakhshia Order which was gaining ground during the Chak rule.

It was during this period that the Kashmiri merchants, solidiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside Kashmir. They spread almost all over India, while Irânis, Tûránis, Afghâns, and Indians came to Kashmir and settled in the Subâh. Obviously, this social mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.

The adjacent chieftains of little and greater Tibet, Kashmir, Punch, and other hill states were reduced to complete submission. A uniform administrative set-up resulted in the free movement of merchants from one region to other. The jagirdârs besides the provincial officials mostly lived in the cities and towns. Thus these urban centres became the hub of all socio-cultural activities. New townships developed on the trade routes. Srinagar had the privilege of being the capital of the Subâh and became the main centre of all the

Tarikh-i-Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, ff. 21ab,
University Collection 69/2, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
Bahâristân-i-Shâhi, ff. 205b-6a.

6. See Chapter VIII
social movements. The industrial development took a different shape, but the shawl-weaving industry developed immensely. It almost revolutionized the economy of the Subah.

Thus these currents and cross-currents, action and inter-action ultimately resulted in the assimilation of diverse cultures and a new social set-up emerged out. However, links with the past were not broken altogether; but a new social order had taken birth from the debris of the old indigenous traditions.

Dress, diet, housing, customs, and mode of living did undergo a change in the period that followed.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to discuss the important features of the social institutions, stratification of society, social and religious life and movements and the interplay of social, cultural intellectual and economic factors in the evolution of a composite and integrated social order in Kashmir as part of the larger social forces in operation in the whole of the Mughal Empire.

Diet

Rice remained the staple food of the people in the valley as usual. It was boiled and left to cool

Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565.
Tuzuk, p. 300.
down, because there was no custom of taking hot meals. Neither salt nor ghee was added during preparation. But the people of upper classes enjoyed all sorts of delicious dishes of various types and various preparations of meat were also cherished on festive occasions. Both boiled and fried green and dried vegetables were used commonly. Walnut oil was mostly taken by the poorer sections of the society. Rape linseed, sesame and mustard oil was in common use. Butter and fats were not used commonly for the preparation of the dishes as it was considered to be harmful because of cold climate. Froth of buckwheat, barley, and millet was mostly eaten by the common people residing on the outskirts of the Wular-lake. Water chestnut flour was the staple food article of thousands of people. The nut flour was supplied to biryán Farōshān of Srinagar, also by the farm contractors who

10. Tuzuk, p. 300. Boiled rice was called "bhata".  
11. Tuzuk, p. 300.  
18. Tuzuk, p. 301.  
19. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 344.  
appended the nuts from the lakeside during the harvest season. Bread prepared from the nut-flour was considered to be highly nutritive.

Fish, mutton, beef, fowls both domestic and wild were used by all sections of the people. Beans, knolkhol, carrots, brinjal, and pumpkins were the usual vegetables. Grams were not locally produced but lentils and other kinds of pulses were raised throughout the Subāh.

17. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 344.
24. Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 112a.
27. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a, mentions that the pulses of mong, mothe, blackbeans, while beans, krothi, and lentils were used commonly. See also f.n. 56a.
Wheat and barley was cultivated in a few pockets of the valley. Buckwheat, and millets were the main crops of Little and Greater Tibet, Pakhli and Kashtawār. Special kind of rice was produced in Rajouri, but the people mostly used bread in these regions. 29

Spices of various kinds like pepper, turmeric, ginger, cloves, chillies and saffron were added to increase the taste and flavour of the dishes. 30 These spices were mainly transported from Agra. 31

Drinks

Most common drink, though not intoxicating was tea. It was imported mainly from China via Ladakh. 32 Soft liquor of various types was used by all and sundry. 33 It was distilled from grapes, barley, rice, and mulberries. 34 Locally

Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II,
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 417-18.
J. P. Ferguson, An Introduction to the history of Kashmir, p. 162.
Desideri, Travels, p. 78.

Tuzuk, pp. 300-1.
Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 556a.
Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 46, 73.

31. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35.

32. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 64b.

Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 560a.

the liquor was called mas. Boza was prepared from rice in Pakhli as well as in the valley. The distilled liquid was preserved in earthen jars for years together. The oldest boza was called "achi". In Little and Greater Tibet, a peculiar drink was prepared from barley, millet and buckwheat. It was mixed with goats butter. The delicious soft intoxicating drink was called "chang". Cups after cups were taken to heat up their bodies.

On festive occasions there was free consumption of liquor by the participants. Angūr and qandī were the cherished drinks of singers. But there appears to have been substantial decrease in liquor consumption during the later half of the 17th century. Tobacco was introduced during the late 17th century, and during 18th century, it was puffed by a larger section of the society.

35. Tuzuk, p. 300.
37. Tuzuk, p. 290.
38. Desideri, Travels, etc. p. 78.
39. Ibid.
41. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 404.
42. Zaffar Khān Aḥsan, Haft Maṇnavi, f. 8a.
43. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 96.
Dress

The climatic conditions have a direct relation with the dress of the people. The cultivation of cotton was not profitable because of poor yield while as excellent pastoral areas provided sufficient grazing ground for sheep; so wool was available in larger quantities. Secondly the valley and Kashtawar was full of mulberry trees. Silk worm were reared upon the leaves of this golden tree. So, the dress of men and women was prepared from wool, while silk garments was the privilege of upper class-people only. Cotton cloth being very costly was considered to be an item of luxury. A loose and long gown of pattu was the common dress of all the people in the valley and Pakhli. During the winter months, woollen blankets were used by all sections of the society. It was very difficult to differentiate a Hindu from a Muslim on the

47. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, pp. 552a.
48. Pelseart, Jahangir's India, p. 33.
49. A'in, II, pp. 170-1. Tuzuk, p. 301. Some modern writers attribute the introduction of this loose long gown locally called pheran to Akbar, intending to make the people of Kashmir lethargic, vigNE. G.T. Travele, etc. II, 142. E.F.Knight, Where Three Empires meet, 26, Laurance, Valley of Kashmir, 251. It is quite contrary to the facts Phiren was commonly used even before the Mughal conquest, Rohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, 228. As a matter of fact the Mughal monarchs ridiculed this dress, A'in, II, 170; Tuzuk, p. 301.
50. Wagiät-i-Kashmir, p. 185.
basis of dress. Drawers were not used by the lower sections while jama, peshuaz, chemes were the main articles of dress of upper classes. These articles were made from fine silk, zardast, kimkhab and velvet. A long and loose dress of pattu and pustin was common in Ladakh. But in the hotter regions of Rajouri, Noushahra, Baramgalla and Punch the people used to wear cotton cloth and the style was resembling to that of the Punjab. Ulama, and eminent scholars put on a black cloak of Persian style and a turban of white colour. The headgear varied from place to place. Both Hindus and Muslims shaved their head, but they were a beared.

51. Tuzuk, p. 301.
52. Tuzuk, p. 301.
53. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 562.
54. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 562.
55. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans,
56. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 562.
58. Tuzuk, p. 317.
61. He calls it a cabay.
Turban was a common headgear but the common people usually put on a skill-shaped cap. During winter bag-shaped woollen cap like Russian balacva was worn by the people. The Tibetans put on a typical type of head-dress of red and yellow colour.

Women folk dressed their hair in plaits and a long clout of dyed wool was attached to the locks of hair, and put on an ornamented head dress called qasābā, while the elderly Hindu laides tied a white handkerchief around their head. Nose ring was used by the women of Rajouri, Baramgalla and Noushahra.

Shoes made from hides was not used by common people. It was a luxury for them. They used pulhāre, a typical type of footwear made from twisted rice straw. Wooden sandals were commonly used. A woollen long cloth called petawā was tied around the legs in order to protect the calves from pinching cold winds.

60. Ibid.
62. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.
63. Qasābā was a type of handkerchief tied around the head by women folk, Allīn. I, p. 74.
64. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 260.
67. A.N., III, p. 540; Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 3.
68. Tuhfatul-Fugārā, f. 63. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 3.
Kanger, a bowl-shaped earthen pot contained in wicker work was a peculiar thing used to warm the body. Hot embers made from tender willow and poplar twigs, and chinari leaves were put into the bowl. The burnt chaff of grain was also burnt in it. It generated a heat of moderate temperature. The Charārī Sharīf was a famous centre of the manufacture of the kanger. 70

Festivals and Pastimes

"When a Kashmiri, even of the lowest order, finds himself in the possession of ten Shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is lost," was the observation of George Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783. 71 Kashmiri never missed a chance to participate in a festive occasion. Both religious and secular type of festivals were observed and enjoyed by all the sections of the people.

Ī'd, Shab-i-Barāt, Nourōza, Diwāli, Dussehra, were observed with great rejoicing, pomp and show. 72 All


See also Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 256.

72. Tuzuk, p. 305.

Lahori, Badshāh Nama, II, p. 168.
sections of society participated in these festivals. Nouroze, Diwali and Ids had become virtually the national holidays. Bonafires, illuminations and jashnās were arranged surpassing even the excellence of Persian style. A legendary birth day of the River Jhelum on the 13th of Bādūn was celebrated by illuminating tinny oil lamps on both the banks of river Jhelum. Dussehra was a Hindu festival, but the Muslims also participated in it equally. Both Akbar and Jahangir distributed robes of honour upon the Hindu nobles.

Besides these national festive occasions, some regional and local religious festivals were also celebrated. The death or birth anniversary of saints and ṣūfīs, who were scattered all over the Subāh, were celebrated with reverence. The annual fairs or Urs of the saints like Sheikh Noorud-Dīn Rīshī at Charāri Sharīf, Bābā Jānbāz Wāli at Saramulla, Rishi Maloo at Islamābād, Sayyid Ali Hamadānī, and Sheikh Ḥamza Makhdoomī at Srinagar were also held with great reverence and adherence. Hindus also celebrated the annual fairs of Tulla Mullā.

75. Tuzuk, p. 314.
76. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
77. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 414.
Amar Nath, Sind Berari, and Kokar Nag. 78

The death or birth ceremony of the local saints were almost celebrated throughout the valley. In the course of time these ceremonies turned into annual fairs. 79

Games and Pastimes

We are not in a position to have a detailed account of the games and pastimes on account of paucity of source material. However, the people took to the following games and pastimes: The hunting of wild ducks and fowls was a common hobby. The bird catchers delighted in taking their boats in the midst of the lakes along with their highly trained falcons. The falcon was left free and it pounced upon its prey in the midst of air and brought it down in the water. The fowls that were caught were cooked and served among the friends. 80

Polo or choughān was a common game played almost throughout the Subāh by all sections of people. 81 It was equally popular in Tibet and Kashtaur. 82 It is interesting
to note that mock battles were fought among the youngsters of different wards of Srinagar in Maisuma ground. Tipcat, hopscotch, and wrestling bouts were some other games played during our period.

Housing

Kashmir has always been praised for its lofty trees, no wonder that four, five and six storeyed buildings were built in wood. The ground floor was reserved for cattle, first floor was meant as family apartments, second and third floors were reserved for household chatties.

Stone, lime and backed bricks constituted the main building material used by the upper classes. Keeping in view the geographical and climatic conditions, stone was not freely used by the common man. The house roofs were slanting as now

87. A'īn, II, p. 169. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398. The temples were made of stone only but the shrines and mosques were built in wood only. But subsequently the Mughals reintroduced the use of stone in civic buildings. See Chapter VII, Section III.
to let the snow fall off during the winter months. The roofs were covered with planks, and brick bark covered with fine earth. Tulips, white and pink lilies were grown over it. Rosaries, and orchards were laid out in front of the houses of rich people, and fruits and vegetables were cultivated in the kitchen gardens. The custom of enclosures was not in vogue, but in the course of time the habit developed and mud walls were built around the compounds. Wine yards, and ivy bales with plane and poplars was the peculiarity of their mansions. Their houses were mainly built on the banks of the Jhelum, and around the Dal lake. The exteriors of these mansions were highly decorated, but the interiors were not equally beautiful. Lattice work was artistically introduced in place of glass-panes. Most of them owned luxury house-boats and Shikaras. Other luxurious amenities were also at their disposal.

90. Desideri, Travels, p. 351.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.
93. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 11.
94. Desideri, Travels, p. 351.
95. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 314a-b.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 33.
96. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34.
Forster, From Bengal to England, II, pp. 11, 36.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.
The houses of the common people were constructed in fresh cutpines, fir and cedars. The planks were fastened together and gaps were filled up with mud plaster. The roof tops were covered with paddy straw and reeds. The same style of houses was in vogue in Kashtawar, Bānīhāl and Pakhli, but these were not multistoreyed. But the houses in Little and Greater Tibet were of quite different style. On account of scarcity of timber, stone constituted the main building material. The houses were single storeyed with a few rooms.

The layout of the city of Srinagar was excellently beautiful. It was spread over on the both banks of the river Jhelum. Interiors were linked by canals presenting a picturesque look. The city was densely populated and houses were built close to each other on eitherside of the streets. The lanes though paved with hewn stones, were yet very narrow, and the city was congested. Baramulla, and Islamabad were two other

100. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 140a.
102. Desideri, Travels, p. 75. See also Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, Physical etc. Chapter III.
towns spread over the same river. The towns of Shopiyan, Bijbehara, Kashtawar, Punch, and Rajouri were not congested.

Floor Coverings

The lower sections of the society used paddy straw, and mats made from turf of lakes called pets (Typhe Sp). It commonly grew in the lakes and marshy lands.

But the dhurries, carpets, gabbas, and other textured floor coverings was the privilege of the aristocracy. Cots and chairs were not used in the valley and Little and Greater Tibet, but it might have been in use in the Rajouri, Punch and other such regions.

106. Tuzuk, p. 296.
107. Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir,
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 306b.
    Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 69.
    Wat, Commercial Products of India, p. 777.
    Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 180b.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562a.
Utensils

The peasant household consisted of a few earthenpots, some bowls, and a pair of earthen pitchers. Brass, copper, and other metal wares were used by the upper classes. China wares, sapphire and jade dishes and plates were also in use of this privileged class.

Status of Women

Women enjoyed the same position in society as was accorded to them in Persia, Turkistan, and the rest of Mughal India. The ladies of the upper starta of society enjoyed the privileges of an aristocratic society while the women folk in general faced the hard life side by side with their husbands. They worked in the fields, in gardens and earned their livelihood from wool spinning. They did not observe pardah and moved freely in the streets. They

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112. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 557.
113. Wāgiñ-i-Kashmir, p. 141.
115. For the comparison, see Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34, and Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 402-4.
117. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34.
participated in the festivals and fairs, while the ladies of aristocracy and the Ulama maintained strict pardah and did not go out except in palanquins and litters. They received elementary education from tutors within their own houses. Some of the ladies of sufis even managed the khānqaḥs after the death of their husbands. Begam of Khwaja Mo'inuddin after the death of Khwaja in 1085/H managed the khānqaḥ and surpassed even men in its administration. It was a sufic belief that women could not sustain the hardships required for emancipation and to achieve perfection as Sufi, but Mullah Shāh Badakhshī had some women disciples also. Roopa Bāhuāni was also a saint and a Sūfi of her time. She was a disciple of Shāh Sādiq Qalandar. However, the common women neither leisure nor the facilities to receive education. Though Islam has permitted polygamy, but it did not gain currency in the Subah. It was not practised by the common people. Even the zamindārs who were financially better off did not have usually

118. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 189-90.
marry more than one wife. But polyandry was quite a common custom among the Buddhists of Ladakh and Askardoo. The condition of the women-folk of the valley was comparatively better than those of Ladakh and other hilly regions.

In Rajouri, and Bhimber, inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims were quite common. It is very strange to note that in a number of cases, Muslim ladies were buried alive with their husbands after the latter's death. Sati among Hindus was also quite common in these regions. Both Jahangir and Shahjahan discouraged the inter-marriages and strictly forbade the Sati. In spite of all restrictions, it continued until Aurangzeb's accession. He strictly prohibited the practice and warned the officials to face dire consequences if sati was resorted to with their connivance or failure.

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124. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 531a-b.
125. Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, p. 419. Fillipode Filippi, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 135.
126. J.P. Ferguson, Kashmir - An Introduction, etc. p. 154.
Child marriage was a common feature in both the communities in all regions of the Šubāh.131 Widows had no social restriction to remarry and they were entitled to own property.132

Kashmiri beauty had always been proverbial. Fair-complexioned girls with striking and sharp features and a pointed nose had made the 17th century European travellers133 spell bound as they overwhelmed with fascination all the other foreigners who coveted the possession of the valley. George Forster expressed the same opinion about the womenfolk of the Šubāh.134 But the majority of the common womenfolk who were exposed to the sun and heat were no so charming in looks and were of pink complexion.135

The Mughal nobles had a great desire to marry Kashmiri girls.136 During the Mughal rule so many Kashmiri girls were married to them137 and many demands of superb beauty were appointed as maids in the imperial household138 with various assignments and duties.

132. Wāgīt-i-Kashmir, pp. 129-30. See also madad-i-māsh grant No. 10, 24, Research Library, Srinagar.
133. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 404, 415-17
137. A'in, III, p. 220.
Manucci, Storia De Mogor, II, p. 328.
It was during this period that the women of Kashmir was exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in the shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking and white slave trade. 139

Matrimonial Alliances

It was a marked feature of medieval society that the weaker chieftains gave their daughters in marriage to the powerful ones who obviously happened to be their overlord or suzerain. The chieftains of Jammu, Rajouri, Poonch and Little and Greater Tibet entered into such alliances even before the establishment of the Sultanate. 140 The same tradition was kept up by the Muslim Sultans. 141

Mughal Monarchs in general and Akbar and his successors in particular attached inordinate emphasis to matrimonial alliances. Many Rajput chieftains offered their girls in marriage to the Mughal emperors and princes. 142 The same policy was followed in Kashmir. Even before the formal annexation the daughter of Husan Chak was married to

141. Kashmir Under The Sultans, p 209
Prince Salim. After the conquest many princesses found their way into the imperial harem. It was not the ruling dynasty of Chaks but the chieftains of Tibet, Rajouri, and Kashtawar who were also persuaded to enter into matrimonial relationship. Even the powerful nobles were persuaded to give their daughters to the princes of royal blood. Such alliances had far-reaching consequences, the rebel chieftains were pacified and befriended to obey the Mughal emperors and relinquished armed struggles against the Mughals. It thus proved a master stroke of imperial policy of winning friends and disarming opposition. Information is lacking as to what role these ladies played in the imperial harems, and how far they were able to effect the imperial policies.

143. Akbar had daughter of the Chak ruler in his harem, A.N., III, p. 609.


144. See f.n.143 supra.

145. Wajārist-i-Kashmir, p. 139.

Gouhar-i-‘Ālam, p. 269.

146. A.N., III, p. 626.
RELIGIOUS LIFE AND MOVEMENTS

Shia-Sunni Relation

Background:

As already observed above the state patronage by way of Madagi Maāsh grants and stipends etc. was extended to the Sūfis, theologians, scholars and others ever since the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. It attracted many people of significance erudition and piety from outside Kashmir. In A.D. 1481 Shams-ud-Din came to Kashmir as an envoy of the Court of Sūltān Ḥusain Shah. He was a votary of the Nurbakhshi belief and he introduced it in the Subāh. Bābā Āli Najār, and Bābā Ismā‘il Kubravi became the first disciples of Shams-ud-Din. He remained in Kashmir for eight years but the exigencies of his office did not permit him to propagate his missionary ideas freely and publicly. However, on his return to his native land, he came again with the job of a missionary to propagate the Nurbakhshia ideology. It was during this period that civil war among the sons of Zainuṭḥāidin had gravely affected the administration and the nobles were freely indulging to create chaos and confusion. The

1. Ṭarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 434-35.
   Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 60a, 78b-79a.

2. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 78b-79a-b.
   See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 112-14.
Chak Clan was gaining importance and in the course of time they laid claims to the throne. Meanwhile, Shamsuddin was able to influence a large section of this clan. In 1540, Mirza Haidar Dughlat conquered Kashmir. Though he allowed Sultan Nasuk Shah to rule over the land but he obtained virtual control over the land. In order to consolidate his position he devised a method to divide the Kashmiris. He prescribed the propagation of the new creed and brought back Daniyal, son of Shamsuddin from Askardo. Fiqah Ahwat, a treatise by Iraqi on the Nurbakhshi theosophy was sent to some leading Indian theologians for scrutiny. It was decreed as an innovation (bid'at;) and on this pretext the Mirza attacked the Chak strongholds. Zadibal Khangah of Iraqi was burnt and the feelings of the two sections were thereby alienated. Meanwhile Mirza Haidar was killed in an encounter in 1551, and soon after his death Chak rule was established. The Chaks adopted retaliatory attitude towards the Sunni 'Ulama; who were opposed to the continuance of their rule. The Shah Mir nobility was reduced to a subordinate position and the powerful Chak clan and their allies, the Malikis obviously controlled the resources. All these factors combined to widen the gulf and the powerful Mughals who cast covetous eyes on the Subah got an opportunity. In 1584-85, a party of the Sunnis of


4. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 434-35.
Kashmir approached Akbar who immediately mobilised an army under Shah Rukh Mirza and Raja Baghwant Dass and sent an expedition to Kashmir which resulted in snatching power from the Chaks.5

The establishment of the Mughal rule subsided the sectarian tension for some time but mutual dislike was still simmering in the die-hards and could have manifested itself in an ugly manner if given the time and expression.

In the course of time the Maliks of Chadoora regained their foothold in Kashmir.6 In 1616, Malik Haidar was assigned zamindari rights and given the title of Raisul Mulk and Chugtai.7 His brother Malik Ali was assigned jagirs and a mansab. They rebuilt the khānqāh of zadibal and Hasanābād. Their influence was increasing day by day. This development caused anxiety among the other sections.8 Even the Subehdārs disliked their interference.9 Ahmad Beg Khan, Dilāwar Khan tried to

5. See Chapter I, Section I.
6. Maliks of Chadoora were staunch supporters of the Chaks. Malik Haidar and his brother served Yousf Shah even in Hindustan during his exile. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff.214-16, Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
7. Malik Haidar, Malik Ali and Aiba Chak were in Burdwan when Sher Afghan was was killed. Aiba Chak died on spot. He held the mansab of 10,000, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, 518-9; Keval Ram, Tazkiratul-Umara, f. 15. Malik Haidar was only injured. But after the death of Sher Afghan the Maliks rushed to the help of Mehrunnisa the future Nurjahan. When she entered the harem the Maliks were fabulously rewarded. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 214-16. Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
poison the ears of Jahangir in order to tarnish their image.  

In 1618, a section of Srinagar was devastated by fire. Jamia Masjid was also burnt. Jahangir who happened to be in Srinagar directed the royal water carriers under Maliks to extinguish the fire; but they failed to save the mosque. 

This incident provided an opportunity to intriguer to hatch out a conspiracy against the Maliks. Malik Nāji and Malik Haidar were alleged to have burnt the mosque in retaliation of the destruction of the khānqāh of Zadibal. Jahangir ordered the Maliks to rebuild the mosque and bear its expenses.  

It was bitterly resented by the Shias and fostered sectarian hatred. Henceforth the sectarian skirmishes took place from time to time.

In 1636, sectarian riots broke out in the city of Srinagar. A certain incident led to the flare-up. A group of vagabonds of both the sections were relishing mulberries at Maisūma. Meanwhile a querrel broke out amongst them and some of the Shias used indecent words about the Prophet and the three

12. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 216. See also the inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid of Srinagar.
Caliphs. In a short-while the entire city was engulfed in the riots. Sunnis attacked Zadibal and Hasanābād, and destroyed the life and property of the Shias. 14 Khwāja Khawān Mahmūd rose to the occasion and he controlled the situation, but he demanded the execution of the culprits. Zafar Khān, the Subehdār did not pay any attention, and the Khwāja left the city in protest and encamped at Haft-Chinār. Thousands of his followers followed him. In spite of such a popular demand Zafar Khān did not yield. He awaited the imperial orders. Khwāja Khwān Mahmūd was summoned to the Court and was not allowed to return to the Subān. 15

In 1667, once again sectarian riots broke out. Sheikh Abdul Rashīd Chikan, along with his disciples was going to participate in the annual fair of Shaikh Nūruddīn Rishi at Charārī-Sharīf. 16 When the procession reached Chadoora, Malik Husain, son of Malik Haidar, was at the gate of his house. He did not pay his respects to the pilgrims. 17 Sheikh Rashīd ridiculed the Malik and hot words were exchanged. 18 The Sheikh

17. Wāqiat-i-Kashmīr, p. 165.
abandoned the pilgrimage and approached Saif Khān, the Subehdār. The Sheikh was not satisfied with the enquiry. Meanwhile, Khufiyā Naūs reported the facts to Emperor. The case was handed over to Qazi Askar, and Malik Ḥusain and his servants were executed.

The worst riots took place in 1685-86. There was a quarrel between a businessman and one Abdul Shakoor a resident of Hasanābād on some private matter. Abdul Shakoor was reluctant to pay his debt, so the parties abused each other. The merchant filed a suit in the Court of Qāzī, alleging that the debtor had committed denunciation of the Prophet's companions (Sabbi Suhābā), and demanded their immediate execution. Ibrahim Khān wanted to pacify the parties through the good offices of Mulla Tahir Muftī. But the situation was aggravated by Murīd Khān, Alaf Khān, Mirzā Muqīm, Khwāja Sharīf Dehbedi, and Mohammad Sābir. A group of miscreants set Hasanābād to fire. Ibrahim Khān sent his son, Fidāi Khān, to protect the residents of Hasanābād. The said Afghan nobles took arms against

Fidai Khan. Gunfire was exchanged and innocent people became victims. Mufti Tahir wanted to settle the dispute amicably; but the Qazi was not cooperative. Mufti's house was set to fire along with the Subehdar's residence. Ibrahim Khan directed his troops to put down the riot and directed his son to arrest Qazi Aslam. When the people came to know this, they gave a stiff resistance. Fidai Khan opened fire and more than forty people were killed, and ultimately Baqi Baba, Haji Bandi, Khwaja Qasim, and Lala Ganai were arrested. But Ibrahim Khan was immediately transferred and he was demoted. Thus the objective of Afghan nobles was fulfilled. However, an enquiry commission was set up and Ibrahim Khan was found innocent. But it took more than two years to establish the fact.

23. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
28. Had these noble been motivated by religious sentiments, execution of Abul Shakoor, his son, son-in-law was sufficient, Tuhfatul-Fugara, f. 92b.
Even the rural areas did not remain immune. In Soibug, some followers of Sheikh Hamzā Makhdoomi lodged a complaint of Sabbì-Suhāba against Rustum Māntū in the Court of Qāzi Abdul Karīm. Rustum Māntū was an influential Imamia Shia. He was thus executed under the orders of Qāzi.29

Another incident occurred in the village of Āruṭ. The dispute aroused on the ownership of a mosque. The dispute, however, was settled by the personal intervention of Subehdār not to the entire satisfaction of Sunnis as he handed over the mosque to the Shias.30 Thus the sectarian feelings induced by Mirza Häidar Duglat kept the two sections divided throughout our period and during the Afghān rule, it further intensified. This mental dissention never allowed them to unite, and face the common foe jointly. The ultimate result was the loss of independence.

However, after the annexation the imperial policy was never aimed at the division of the masses. As a matter of fact strict steps were taken to put down such risings. The authorities were never prepared to tolerate any movement which posed threat to the internal security of the Empire. Even high influential persons were not forgiven.


30. Gohar-i-'Alam, pp. 284-85. This mosque was captured by Sunnis earlier, Wāgiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 163.
Khwajā Khawand Mahmūd was externed from Kashmir in spite of his popularity in the Subāh and his influence at the imperial Court. Being a preceptor of Jahān Ara Begam and a close associate of the Mughal dynasty, the orders were not reversed. Similarly Aurangzeb did not forgive Saif Khan and Ibrahim Khan on account of their partiality towards one section. The imperial policy was to maintain law and order in the Subāh at any cost.

Sūfī Silsilāhs

Rishi order

Islam was introduced in the Subah through a number of preachers and by the middle of 14th century Muslim Rule was established in the kingdom. By this period the entire Middle East, Spain and almost whole of subcontinent was brought under the sway of Muslim Rule. Coming into contact with the major religions of world muslim philosophy did undergo a tremendous change. Many Sūfī orders were founded in order to provide psychological relief to the afflicted humanity. But when Islam found its way into this kingdom the Sufi orders had already achieved systematisation, organisation and elaboration of ideological concepts and code of ethics. But as elsewhere

31. Tuhfatul-Fugāra, ff. 50, 80.
See also Naqashbandi Silsilah for details in this Chapter.
mystic theosophy could not absolve itself of the essentials of the assimilation of local phenomena. The cultural and social interaction with the local traditions made at sometimes queer expression. The influence of the shaive ideology resulted in the foundation of an indigenous mystic order. The founder of the this order was Sheikh Nooruddin Rishi.\(^1\) Due to his efforts and favourable circumstances the entire kingdom order gained adherence in almost the entire kingdom. Its development was a sort of social protest against the committed 'ulama.\(^2\) The order was highly influenced by Shiveite philosophy, and in the course of time the role of 'Ulam-i-Dahar (the worldly-minded theologians) drifted them towards asceticism.\(^3\) They preferred to live a life of ascetics and had no charm in the worldly affairs. They abandoned marriage and moved from village to village.\(^4\) They preferred to live on dry vegetables and fruits rather than taking up a luxurious life. They did not eat meat and did not marry.\(^5\) In the course of time they even did not take

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5. *Tuhfatul Fuqara*, ff. 62-63. The Tazkiras of the saints are full of such evidences. When the saints lived for days together on such things. See *Rishi Nama*, Baba Nasibuddin Gazi, etc. etc. See also *A.N.*, III, pp. 551-52. *Alin*, II, p. 170. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
the basic fundamentals of Islam into consideration, and had legitimatized so many heresies. They did not take into consideration what is moral and what is immoral. According to their thinking the external forms of religion like prayers and fasts were essential for those who were not perfect. Most of them had become miracle-mongers and as such they interpreted dreams and displayed miracles, and at the same time most of them were devoid of religious and mystic knowledge.

There were more than two thousand Rishis living during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, Gouhar Šūfi, Wahid Šufi, Ahala Rishi Bābā, Ropi Rishi Bābā, Nand Rishi disciple of Hardy Rishi, Netji Rishi Pām Rishi, Āwat Rishi a disciple of Lāchan Rishi and Pasli Rishi disciple of Bābā

7. Ibid. 7a. Ṭarikh-i-Rashīdī, p. 436; A'īn, II, p. 170; Tuzuk, 3

Abul Fažl considers them Brahmans, which is not a fact. Though they had ascetic tendencies, but they were not Hindus. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Mughals, pp. 223-224. Miss Azra Nizami in her article on Abul Fažl in Medieval India — A Miscellany, Vol. , pp. has not followed his statement and has not taken note of either Jarret's translation of A'īn, II, or Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 274-5.

10. A.N., III, pp. 549-51. Ahmad Bin Bahnambal, Madani Akhbar, p. 329ab
Hanifuddin were some of the more famous saints of the order.\footnote{12}

The ascetic and shaivite approach of Rishi order was not the correct answer to the expansion of Shia ideology. The new trends at the imperial Court, were also posing a challenge to the traditional Muslim thought. The Ulama on the other hand wanted to retain the controle of the imperial policy. The people in general withheld their support to the order on account of their inclination towards heterodox Islamic thought. Besides there were inherent defects in the order too. It was not organized like other Sufi orders. They had neither khanqahs nor places for congregation where the new entrants could have received instructions. Thus under such pressures the order which was already in disorganized shape collapsed and disintegrated during our period. It could not withstand the social force inherent in the Suharawardiya, Naqashbandhi, Chishtya and Qadiri order which were more or less systematically organized and close to the well-received Muslim thought.

The Suhrawardi Order

This silsilah was introduced and reorganized in the Subah by Sayyed Jamaluddin,\footnote{13} roughly in the late 16th

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{12} Tuhfatul-Fugara, ff. 62-63. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 133-\hfill
  \item \footnote{13} The origin and development of the order had taken place a long way before the establishment of Mughal Rule in Kashmir. Therefore, no stress has been laid on the origin or development of this order. For the details, see K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion & Politics during the 13th Century, pp. 220-29.
  \item Tazkira Mulla Ali Raina, ff. 280a-281b.
  \item Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 106.
\end{itemize}
century, but Sheikh Ḥamzā Makhdūmī was in body and spirit its real founder in the valley.  

Sheikh Ḥamzā was son of Bābā Usūmān Raīna, descendants of Chandarbansi Rajputs. He was born in A.D. 1494. According to the tradition of the time he received primary education in his own village Tujār. He was yet in his tender age, when he attended the Madrasah, Dārul-Shafa of Bābā Ismāil Kubravi. He had a chance to learn at the feet of Sayyid Jamāluddīn Bukhārī who happened to be in Srinagar for a period of six months. But theology, mystic philosophy, and logic were taught by Bābā Ismāil. Bābā Ismāil was himself a follower of Kubravi order.

Sheikh Ḥamzā was exiled from Srinagar by Gāzi Shah Chak. But these restriction were no impediments to his religious zeal. After the death of Gāzi Shah Chak he returned to

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14. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in his statement that the Sheikh was founder of Kubravi silsilah, A History of Muslim Rule, p. 434.
18. Khāwīrī Quṭbīn, f. 143a.
Srinagar and gave instructions to his disciples in the khanqah of Bābā Ismā'īl.20 He died in 1576.21

Baba Hamza had a chain of accomplished scholars as his disciples descending down to ages. Baba Dāūd Khāki, Baba Naṣibuddīn Gāzi, Sheikh Ali Raina, Khwāja Ḥasan Qārī, Mullāh Ahmad Chāquli, Khwāja Mīr Zoonī Rishi, Hardī Baba, and ʿAlī Tēli were his favourite disciples.22 Baba Khāki and Baba Naṣibuddīn rose to the height of renown and received homage from hosts of people.

During our period the order underwent certain modifications. It counted highly learned personalities among its votaries, but the influence of Rishi ascetics became dominant. The Ulama followed worldly pursuits and as such the order began to disintegrate during our period. As a matter of fact it had ceased to function as a Suhrawardīya order soon after the death of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. His disciples more or less had their following in rural areas, and were known as


21. The Author of Waqīyat-i-Kashmir gives the date of his death 974/1567 which is not correct. His famous Wasiyat Nama preserved in S.P. Museum, Srinagar, bears his signatures. This document bears the date Jamādi I, 984/1576, 17th May; therefore, his death might have taken place after this date. The chronogram of Bābā Daudoo Khāki supports our assumption, Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, p. 73. P.N.K. Bamzai gives 1586 his expiry date, A History of Kashmir, p. 534.

22. See Chapter VII, Section II, See also Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, p. 73.
Makhdoom Babas. The Babas were patronised by the Mughals. Grants in land and produce in kind were lavished on the khanqah of Sheikh Hamza for the maintenance of the disciple and the descendants of the saint. However, the silsilah was comparatively well organised and khanqahs were built where the saints gave instruction to the new entrants, and imparted religious education to the children.

**Naqashbandi Order**

The order was introduced into the Subah by Khwaja Baba Wali of Khwarism in 1590-91. He was himself a disciple of Sheikh Husain Khwarism. Baba Wali came to Kashmir in 1590 and settled in the khanqah of Sayyed Ali Hamadani. He attracted large crowds and in a shorter period became very popular. The year 1592 was a period of turmoil and there was a revolt. The rebels approached him with a request

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23. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 221.

24. See Chapter III, Section II.


as to lead the rebellion. He not only rejected the offer but organized the people against the rising. Meanwhile, Yādgār Mirza had accepted the leadership and Baba was poisoned under his orders in 1592.\(^{28}\) After his death the mantle fell on Bāqī Billaḥ. It was Bāqī Billaḥ who introduced and organised Naqashbandi silsilah in India.\(^{29}\) Bāqī Bellāh remained in Kashmir for two years only, and then returned to Delhi where he died on 20th November 1603.\(^{30}\)

Naqashbandi silsilah was an offshoot of silsilah Khwāja-Gān. It was basically organized by Ahmad Aṭā Yāsī. After his death it was revitalized by Khwāja Bahāuddīn Naqashband, hereafter the silsilah was called Naqashbandi silsilah.\(^{31}\)

But the silsilah flourished under the guidance of Khwāja Khawand Mahmood. He infused new vigour into the silsilah and reactivated and reorganized the order in the Šubān. On account of his piety and profound knowledge, he exercised considerable influence over the people.\(^{32}\) Khawand Mahmood

\(^{28}\) A.A., III, p. 617.
\(^{29}\) Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movement in Northern India, pp. 185-86.

\(^{30}\) A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 186.

\(^{31}\) Tuhfatul-Fuqara, ff. 49-54a.
Nizami, K.A., Naqashbandi influence on Mughal rulers and Politics, cyclostyled article in the Seminar, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.

\(^{32}\) Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī, f. 599.
was son of Mir Sayyid Sharif Khwaja, a descendant of Alauddin Atar. He was an eminent disciple of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqashband. Khwaja Khawand Mahmood was himself a disciple of Abu Ishaq Dahbodi. Khwaja built a khanaqah in Srinagar where he carried on his work enthusiastically. He strongly opposed the Shia doctrine and under his influence the Shia spirit was dampened. He sent a similar mission to Little Tibet which comprised Mulla Abdul Hasan, and Daoud Kashmiri to check the expansion of the Nurbakshi order and to propagate the Naqashbandhi silsilah. Khwaja Khawand Mahmood was externed from Kashmir in 1636, and he settled in Lahore. His son, Khwaja Moinuddin, carried on his mission in Srinagar after the departure of the Khwaja. Khwaja Moinuddin was tutored by his father, and in scholarship he even surpassed him. He had composed a few books beside the Mirat-i-Tuyib, biography of his father and earned among his contemporaries wide publicity.

33. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, ff. 417-8.
34. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, ff. 417-8, Tuhfatul-Fugara, ff. 49a-54b.
36. Tuhfatul-Fugara, ff. 50a, 80a.
A. A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 183.
37. A. A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 183.
38. Tuhfatul-Fugara, ff. 50, 80.
Gouhar-i-'Alam, p. 268.
39. Tuhfatul-Fugara, ff. 50, 80.
Waghat-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
A. A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movement in Northern India, p. 183.
Fateh, Mulā Muḥammad Yousf, Mulā Abūnabi, Mulā Sheikh Ahmad Mufti were his close associates. They jointly prepared a treatise known as Futawāi-Naqashbandi under his guidance.

Akhund Mulā Kamāl

Mulā Kamāl was a famous saint of the order. He was a disciple of Khwaja Abdul Shahid Naqashbandi, a descendant of Hazrat Ubaidullah Ahrari. He left Kashmir and settled at Syalkot, and later he left for Lahore. He died in 1699. Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Maulānā Abdul Hakim Syalkotī were his close associates.

Khwaja Haidar Matino

He was son of Khwāja Feroz. Feroz was himself a disciple of Abdu-Shahid Naqashbandi. Khwāja Haidar was initiated in the order by Baba Nasibuddin. Later he became disciple of Maulanā Jouhar, but achieved perfection under the

40. Tuhfatul-Fugara, f. 50; Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
41. Tuhfatul-Fugara, f. 50; Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 158.
42. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 419.
43. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 119.
44. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 119.
Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, p. 419.
45. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 143-44.
guidance of Sheikh Abdul Haq Nuñadis Dehlavi. He remained for a long time in his khanqah but later returned to his native land, Kashmir. He had a large number of disciples, and Mulla Abdul Hakim became very famous. Khwaja Haidar died in 1649.

Mulla Husain Khabaz

Mulla was a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Qari, but after his departure to Mecca, he attended the khanqah of Abdu-Shahid Ahrari. It was he who initiated the Mulla into the Naqashbandi order. He sternly criticized the Wajudi philosophy, and wrote a treatise Hidaya-tul-Āma to accord a logical rejoinder to them. Mulla Husain died in 1643/44. The following few lines give us an insight into his philosophy.

47. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.
49. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.
50. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 132.
51. A MS of the treatise is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.
52. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 132.
53. A MS of the treatise is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.
Besides the above mentioned saints, Shah Qasim Haqani, Hayat Beg and Haji Mustafa Roomi were also votaries of the Naqashbandi silsilah.

The Naqashbandi order flourished in the Subah during the Mughal rule. Its sphere was further widened by the efforts of Sirhindi saints. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Sheikh Abdul Affad Sirhindi, Sheikh M'asum Raza had a large following in Kashmir. They visited Kashmir from time to time and most influential family of the Muftis became their staunch followers.

Akhun Mulla Husain Khabaz, Khwaja Sadiq Soodh, Maulana Abdul Rashid Zargar, Maulana Haidar Bach and Mahdi Ali Sopori were initiated by the Sirhindi saints into the Naqashbandi silsilah.

The Chishti Silsilah

Like the Naqashbandi order, this silsilah was introduced during the Mughal rule. Accordingly it flourished in our period, but it was not so popular as the Naqashbandi order.

55. Tuhfatul Fugara, f. 51.
56. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 132, 134, 156.
It was Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi, who organised the silsilah in the Subah.\textsuperscript{57} Sheikh Yaqoob was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganai. He was born in 1520-21 and died in June, 1595.\textsuperscript{58} He was very intelligent and his memory was very keen. He committed the holy Quran to memory when he was seven years of age.\textsuperscript{59} On attaining maturity he left for India and widely toured, India, Central Asia, the holy cities of Islam, Madina and Mecca, in the company of Sheikh Salim Chishti in 1556-57.\textsuperscript{60} Before joining Sheikh Salim, he had already got an opportunity to attend the khanqah of Sheikh Husain Khwarism.\textsuperscript{61} He learnt Hadith from Sheikh Hajar Sindhi.\textsuperscript{62} Sheikh Sarfi won the little title of Sheikhi Ummam on account of his profound knowledge and scholarship.\textsuperscript{63} Even scholars like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi learned

\textsuperscript{57} Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110. 
\textsuperscript{58} Muntakhibu Tawarikh, II, p. 403, III, 148. 
\textsuperscript{59} His date of birth in Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110, is 978/1570-71, which appears to be a clerical mistake. See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, Iran-i-Sagir, p. 164. 
\textsuperscript{60} Badauni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, III, pp. 110-11. 
\textsuperscript{62} Insha, 891/5528, f. 116a, Sulaiman Collection, M.A. Library, AMU, Aligarh. 
\textsuperscript{63} Badauni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, II, p. 393. A'\textit{\textit {in}}, I, p. 175.
Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi had a large number of followers. Mir Ahmad was his favourite disciple and was declared his vicegerent and successor by the Sheikh. Mir Ahmad lived a simple life, and possessed no more than one shirt. Mir Ahmad was invited by Sultan Husain, Chief of Pakhli. He built a khanqah also for the Mir. He died on 21st July, 1607. Mir Hamza, son of Haji Murad, Sheikh Mohammad Yousf, Sheikh Musa Zahgir, Mulla Haji Ganai, Mulla Haji Bandi, Habibullah Noushahri and Mulla Tahir were some of the famous disciples of Sarfi. These saints and scholars kept on initiating their own disciple in continuous process and thus the order continued to expand and flourish.

64. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 206.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, p. 363. For details of his literary works, see Chapter VII.
65. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
66. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
67. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
68. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
69. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
70. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 130.
71. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.
71a. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.
Kubravi Order

Kubravi order was introduced soon after the establishment of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. But the order had almost disintegrated by the end of 16th century. Baba Ismail Kubravi tried to reorganize and revitalise the silsilah, but it did not make much headway in the face of the growing popularity of the Naqashbandi order. Some of the Kubravi saints also became the adherents of Naqashbandi silsilah.

Qadiri Silsilah

This order was introduced by Sayyid Ismail Shami into Kashmir during 1584-85. The Sayyid was a disciple of Sayyid Mohammad Qadiri. In Kashmir the Sayyid became a close friend of Baba Daud Khaki. On the request of the Sayyid, Baba Khaki placed Mir Nazuk Qadiri under his tutorship.

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72. The contention of Noorullah Shostari is Mir Sayyed Ali was a Shia, Majalisul Moominin, p. 49, which is not born out by facts. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 58.

73. R.K. Paramu is not supported by contemporary evidence that Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was the founder of Kubravi order in Kashmir, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 434. See Supra. 13 of this Section.

74. Sheikh Musa Baldimari was a famous Kubravi saint of his time. After his return from Mecca he joined the Naqashbandi silsilah, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 130-1.

75. Tuhfatul Fugara, ff. 47ab. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 105-6

76. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 105.

77. Tuhfatul Fugara, f. 47b.

78. Mir Nazuk Qadiri was a descendant of Qazi Moosa Shahid, and a great grandson of Qazi Mir Ali, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 126.
Mir Nasuk Qadiri surpassed his preceptor. Under the guidance of Mir Nasuk Qadiri, the silsilah made tremendous development. It was the Mir who revitalized and organized the order. After his death, his son, Mir Mohammad Yousf, took over the charge of the headship in 1614-15. He introduced zikr-bil-jahar in his daily performances like that prevalent in the Kubravi silsilah. Mir Mohammad Yousf was succeeded by his son, Mir Ali Muhammad Qadiri, in 1619. Under his guidance the silsilah attained great eminence. He died in 1662-63.

During the reign of Shahjahan, Qadiri silsilah reached its climax in Kashmir through the efforts of Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the preceptor of Dara Shukoh.

Mulla Shah Badakhshi, son of Akhuand Mulla Abdi, was a native of Araksau, a village in Badakhshan. His original name was Muhammad Shah, but in Kashmir he was known as...

79. Tuhfatul Fugara, f. 48a.
82. Tuhfatul Fugara, f. 48a.
83. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 424.
84. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 128, 163.
85. Tuhfatul Aulia, p. 167.
86. Tuhfatul Aulia, p. 167. Mohammad Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, wa 'Alamgiri, f. 110a.
Akhwand Mulla Shah Badakhshi. After his migration from his native land he settled at Lahore where he was initiated into the order by Miyan Mir. Mulla Shah spent winter at Lahore and summer in Kashmir, but after the death of Miyan Mir he permanently settled in Kashmir. Dara Shukoh built a mosque and a turkish bath for him within the walled city of Nagar Nagar.

After his settlement in Kashmir, his relatives also came from Badakhshan and settled in Kashmir.

Mulla Shah Badakhshi had great influence at the imperial Court. Dara Shukoh, and Jahan Ara Begam were his devoted disciples and he was highly respected by Shahjahan also. Wazier S'adullah Khan counted among his followers.

87. Sakinatul Aulja, p. 152.
Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 41b.

88. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 424.
Dabistan-i-Muzahib, pp. 386-87.
Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, f. 6b.
Tuhfatul Fuqara, ff. 41b, 42a.

89. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 424.
Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, f. 6b.

90. Tawakul Beg, Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, f. 18a.
Tuhfatul Fuqara, ff. 41b-42a. The mosque is in ruins now. See Chapter VII, and the Plate No.


92. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 207. See also Risala Jahan Ara Begam. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, ff. 29a, 44b.

93. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 207.
Wazir-i-Kashmir, p. 162.
On the conclusion of the war of succession, Mulla Shah Badakhshi became a victim of Aurangzeb's wrath.\textsuperscript{94} In spite of his considerable influence, he was directed to leave Srinagar immediately on the receipt of the order.\textsuperscript{95} He left the valley and settled in Lahore where he died in abject poverty.\textsuperscript{96}

Mulla Miskin Mughal, Mullah Shah Gadai, Qazi Salih, Mulla Abdu Nabi, Khuaja Hasan Bach, Qazi Abdul Rahim, and Khuaja Mohammad Amin Nawachoo, were his prominent disciples.\textsuperscript{97}

The Qadiri saints introduced Islam in the far-off regions of Kashtawar during the reign of Shahjahan.\textsuperscript{98}

Shah Farid-ud-Din a descendant of Mir Sayyid Abdul Qadir Gilani introduced Islam in Kashtawar. He was born in 1592-93, at Baghdad. He came to India during the reign of Shahjahan and remained at Agra and Delhi for sometime.\textsuperscript{99} During the same regime he left for Kashtawar and settled in the vicinity of Lakishmi Narain Temple.\textsuperscript{100} His presence was soon

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{94} Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42a.
\item \textsuperscript{95} Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42a. Wajiat-i-Kashmir, p. 162.
\item \textsuperscript{96} Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, ff. 13b, 24a, 28b, 37a. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42b.
\item Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
\item \textsuperscript{97} Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha\underline{\textit{Ah\textsuperscript{w}al-i-Shahi}}, ff. 13b, 37a
\item \textsuperscript{98} Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42b. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
\item \textsuperscript{99} Rouzatul Arifin, f. 3a. Hutickson, History of the Punjab States, II, p. 654.
\item \textsuperscript{100} Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
\end{itemize}
felt and large crowds attended his meetings. Meanwhile Raja Jai Singh the Chieftain of Kashtawar heard about the miracles of the saint. He attended his meetings. The Raja was so much impressed by his piety and high learning that he embraced Islam under the title of Sakhtiyar Khan. \(^{101}\) Faridud Din was succeeded by his son, Shah Asrarud-Din. He was brought up and initiated into the order by his father. Raja Kirat Singh who had succeeded Raja Jai Singh was also converted to Islam under the name of Sa'adat Yar Khan. \(^{102}\) After the death of Shah Asrarud-Din, the mission continued to function under the able guidance of Shah Ambiya-ud-Din and Shah Badrud-Din. \(^{103}\) The latter has a number of disciples in the valley also. \(^{104}\) He died in Kashmir and his body was taken to Kashtawar and buried there. \(^{105}\)

However, the conversion of the chieftain did not mean a mass scale conversion. \(^{106}\)

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Fedric Drew, Northern Barrier of India, pp. 82-83.


F. Drew, Territories of Jammu & Kashmir, pp. 82, 119-20. See also Chapter I, Section II.

\(^{103}\) Rouzatul Arifin, f. 13a-b.

\(^{104}\) Iuhfatul Fugara, ff. 13ab. Rouzatul Arifin, p. 17a.

\(^{105}\) Rouzatul Arifin, p. 17a.

\(^{106}\) Forster, From Bengal to England, I, p. 349.
Nurbakhshi Silsilah

The order though in the process of decline in the period may be mentioned here as its postulates betrayed mystic learning. We have also discussed it above in the context of Shia-Sunni problem. The order was introduced into the Subah by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi.\textsuperscript{106a} As a matter of fact, it was basically a mystic order, but had close affinity to the Shia ideology and gradually it came to be associated too closely to the Shiite creed. Iraqi's son, Daniyal, introduced this order to Askardoo and Kargil.\textsuperscript{107} All this development took place before the Mughal annexation.

After the conquest of Mirza Haidar, the movement received a set back and its strongholds were destroyed.\textsuperscript{108} The movement meanwhile then showed disinclination to be a mystic order. It was now a political movement and as such could not withstand the pressure of other political groups.\textsuperscript{109}

After the fall of Chak rule in 1586, the Maliks of Chadoora were the adherents and advocates of this sect.


\textsuperscript{107} Nurullah Shostari, Majali-sul-Muminin, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{108} Baharistan-i-Shahi, ff. 119a-120.

\textsuperscript{109} See Chapter V, Section I. See also Census Report, 1891, p. 17 of J&K State.
During the reign of Jahangir, the khanqah of Hasanabad and Zadibal were rebuilt, but henceforth there was no further expansion. Only some followers of this sect lived in a few pockets of the valley and a small number lived in Askardoo and Kargil.

Before concluding the Chapter, we may take notice of the developments which took place within the Hindu population.

By the end of 14th century, there was an mass conversion and the only section which resisted was those of the Brahmans. They continued to enjoy the benefits of the offices as this was the only literate section. Even during our period they enjoyed these benefits without any hindrance. Therefore, there were no substantial changes in the socio-economic life of this section. So far as the philosophy of Hinduism is concerned, it had already achieved a high level of soundness and perfection but its further development was restrained. The Mughal period, therefore, did not witness any change in the Hindu ideology. Adit, Rishi Pir Pandit, and Roopa Bhauani, attained

110. See Chapter V, Section I. See Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, pp. 213b-214a.


112. See Chapter, II, Section IV.

tremendous popularity in Hindu philosophy with remarkable aptitude to synthesise the ideological concepts of Hinduism and Islam. Adit Das joined the imperial Court soon after the annexation. We don't get any further information about him. He died in 1594-95.\(^{114}\)

**Rishi Pir Pandith:**

He was born in 1637 in a fairly orthodox Brahmin family.\(^{115}\) From his very childhood, he was inclined towards religion. After attaining maturity, he learned Yogic philosophy from Krishnakar.\(^{116}\) Rishi Pir was a close associate of Akhwand Mulla Shah.\(^{117}\) The impact of his teachings was quite considerable but in the course of time he turned to be a miracle monger and taken to luxurious worldly life.\(^{118}\)

**Roopa Bhawani:**

Roopa was born in 1625. Her father, Pandit Mahadev Dhar, was a respectable person of his community.\(^{119}\) Roopa was married in her tender age which proved a failure. She

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\(^{114}\) A.N. III, p. 662. A'in, I, p. 166. See also Blochmann (translation) of A'in-i-Akbari, p. 608.


\(^{119}\) Prof. Hajini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 19.
was exposed to tremendous hardships which ultimately pushed her into mystic lore. She was a pupil of Shah Sadiq Qalandar.\textsuperscript{120} Her poetry is full of mystic experiences. She died at a ripe age of 96 years in 1721.\textsuperscript{121}

The impact of these social and religious movements on the society were of quite considerable importance. On one side Islam made its headway in the far flung areas of Kashtawar, Rajouri, Noushahra and Little and Greater Tibet, and on the other side it enriched the indigenous culture. Art, architecture and literature of Kashmir flourished and consequently a new social order evolved. We have already mentioned that the state policy was never based on a partisan attitude. So long as the interest of state were not jeopardised no action could be taken against any section or individual, but there vigilance and resistance and chastisement if any section or individual threatened the stability of the Empire. Khwaja Khawand Mahmood, Mulla Husain Subazwari, Mulla Shah Badakhshi and similar other saints were extermed from Kashmir just because their presence was not looked with favour as posing a threat to the interests of the state.\textsuperscript{122} The Mughal emperors, as a matter of fact, followed a liberal policy and the individual liberty was never threatened.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{120} P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 499.
\textsuperscript{121} Prof. Hajini, Kashir Sha'iri, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{122} See Chapter V, Section II.
\textsuperscript{123} Angus Maddison, Class Structure and Economic growth India and Pakistan since the Moghuls, p. 15, London, 1970.
such an attitude that various religious and social movements flourished during this period. These sufi movements together various fragments of the society. The mutual understanding among various ideological groups, developed and a new class or group of free thinkers came into existence. This class represented all the sections of the society. Mullah Shah Badakhshai, Mulla Husain Sabzuari, Shah Sadiq Qalandar, Mulla Tahir Gani, Mulla Mohsin, Roopa Bhawani, Rishi Pir Pandith, and Sheikh Akmalud-Din were the advocates of this ideology. Ibrahim Kakak and Yousf Diwan were also exponents of the free thought. They believed in the unity of God and equality of all the religions. They had no bias against any religion. Mullah Shahr, Shah Sadiq Qalandar, Mulla Mohsin Fani, Ibrahim Kakak and Yousf Diwan enrolled disciples from all sections of the society. Sheikh Akmalud-Din Kamil, Haji Aslam, Salim, and Mulla Tahir, have propounded their ideology through their poetry.


125. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 190.


129. See above footnotes, 115 and 116.

130. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 224.


133. The following compleat of Kamil throws some light on the ideology of the author:
CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The period under review witnessed many developments in the economic field. We have already discussed the important features in the sphere of agriculture in chapter II. It is appropriate here to deal with the main developments in industry, trade and commerce, condition of workers, their professions, the volume of foreign trade, imports, skilled and minor crafts and the like to give a complete picture to the society in the Mughal Subāh of Kashmir.

In the rugged and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. It is thus appropriate to discuss the trade routes in Mughal Kashmir before coming to the discussion of trade, industry and other aspects.
Trade Routes

Surrounded by an unbroken chain of high mountains, Kashmir was physically hampered to keep pace with the economic development of the rest of the Empire. Trade and commerce could not flourish on account of these natural restraints. But this ring of mountains was pierced by various passes which established links with the outside world and ensured the needs of the land being fulfilled by contacts with the people inhabiting other lands. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the Subān, and a regular link was maintained with the rest of the Empire. The routes received extra care and were maintained properly.

Abul Fazl states that there were twenty-six routes linking Kashmir with the outside world. The Central Asian trade route passed through Kashmir, connecting India with Central Asia. But only six routes were of great importance. These routes remained open for the most part of the year. Even during the winter months merchants traversed the routes though with great difficulties.

The Mughals paid great attention to the maintenance of these routes. Rivers were spanned with bridges, and inns were built.

   Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-'Alamgiri, p. 53a.
   Lahori, Bahshah Name, II, pp. 169-70.
   Iqbal-Nama-Jahanqiri, III, p. 559.
all along to provide shelter to the travellers. These steps gave a fillip to the trade and commerce of the Subān.

The imperial or Mughal road, Muzzafarabad-Pakhli route, Kashtawar-Wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route, were of great significance.

Mughal Road

This route connected Kashmir with Gujrat and it was frequently used by the Mughal monarchs. It runs over the Pir Panjal Pass, via Hastivanj. Greater part of the route is hilly. In 1589, Mohammad Qāsim Khān was directed to level and widen the route. Thereafter it was made passable for pack loads, ponies, mules and elephants, but on account of its high altitude it remained closed during the winter months.

4. Lahori, Badshah Nama, (I) II, p. 15.
   Iqbal Nama, III, p. 564.
   Alamgir Nama, p. 720.

   Laurence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 23, 383-84.
   In 'Alīn, II, p. 169, it is Hastivater.

6. A.N., III, p. 538, Beveridge has also accepted it as Hastivater, p. 821. See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 24.


8. Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 131a.
Bhimbhar, the starting point for the valley attained great importance. A strong force was stationed here during the visits of the Mughal emperors to Kashmir. Heavy armour was also mounted on Bhimbhar. Next halting place was Adhidak. It is at a distance of 6 miles from Bhimbhar. The important stages on this route were Saidabad, Noushahra, Chingas, Rajouri, Thanā, Bahrāmgalla, Poshiāna.

12. A. N., III, p. 538, gives the name of place Adidat. But in Bates Gazetteer, p. 163, and in the prepared by Montgomery in 1859, it is Adhidak. Beveridge names it as Aditak. A. N., III (translation), p. 819. It is called Kajidar Pass also. A. N., III, p. 538. In Rannels' Map, it is Uddi Duka. It is in long. 74°-11', lat. 33°-3
13. Saidabad is about 13 miles from Bhimbhar.
14. Noushahra was an important town lying in the territory of Kashmir Subah. A garrison was always stationed here. A. N., II, p. 538; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 17. It was considered a gateway of Kashmir. A garrison was stationed here. A. N., III, p. 538.
17. Thanā is 8 miles from Bahrāmgalla, and 14 miles from Rajouri, Beveridge, A. N., III, p. 832 n.
18. Bahrāmgalla is a village near Pir Panjal Pass (11400 ft.) in lat. 33°-36', long. 74°-27', in the gorge of Ratinpīr Pass.
19. Poshiāna is a village 30 miles from Rajouri in the
Aliabad, Hirapura, Shopiyan, and Khampora.

Most difficult part of the road was that which connected Noushahra with Aliabad; thence to Srinagar it was quite easily passable. It was studded on the side by over twelve inns which were built by Akbar and his successors. These inns were located at Jahangir Hatí, Noushahra, Rajouri, Thanā, Bahrāngallā, Shāji-Marg, and Khampūr. These places developed into busy trade centres and their importance did not diminish even as late as the establishment of the Sikh rule over the Subāh.

20. The ancient name was, perhaps, Dūnd, A.N., III, p. 541. Ali Mardan Khan built a Sarai in its vicinity, and henceforth it was called Aliabad. See also Beveridge, A.N., III, p. 823.

21. A village 7 miles south-west of Shopiyan in lat. 33° 41', long. 74° 46'.

22. A township of the same name in lat. 33° 44', long. 74° 53'. 29 miles away from Srinagar.

23. Khampur is situated 10 miles south of Srinagar. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, 140n. In the text of A.N., III, p. 542, it is Khanpora. In the map of Rennel, while it is kampour in A Memoir of a Map of Hindoustan, op. cit., p. 65. In Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, it is Khanpura, in lat. 33° 56', long. 74° 52', p. 487.


26. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469

27. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 22-23, 469.


29. G.T. Vigue, Travels in Kashmir & Ladakh, I, p. 225. See also Rennel, Memoir of A Map of Mughal Empire, pp. 132-138. The names are wrongly spelt which create some confusion.
Muzaffarabad Pakhli Route

The route connected Kashmir with Rawalpindi and thence with Peshawar. It was also frequently used during our period. In 1589, Akbar left Kashmir by the same route because it was situated on a comparatively lesser elevation and snowfall too was not heavy there. He appointed Hāshim Bāgh Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, to widen the route below Bārāmulla. The route remained almost traversable even during the winter months and ponies and pack horses, elephants, and even heavy armour were carried on this route. Jahangir also issued orders to maintain the road in good order. In 1622, Nooruddin Quli was appointed to rebuild the road and span the rivulets. He was assisted by Malik Ali also. In 1640, during his visit, Shahjahan sent Rājā Jagat Singh to repair this route, and Husain Bāgh was deputed in 1655 for the same purpose.

32. Ibid. 27 n. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, pp. 75-77.
34. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 221a-b.
35. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 183.
The starting point of the route was the ferry of the Indus near Attock. It passed through Hasanābadāl up to river Kunhār. The river was forded below Cadhi Habibullah at Shangraf Kani, on the border of Pakhli. After crossing Kishan Ganga it moved along with the left bank of the Jehlum up to Baramulla. From Baramulla to Srinagar there were two routes. The route over the river Jehlum and Noupora-Pattan route.

Punch Route

The easiest route connecting Punch with the valley was through Ḥāji Fīr Pass. It was virtually an offshoot of Pakhli route. The important stages below Baramulla were Rāmpūr, Gori, Ḥatinā, Ḥaidarābād, Aliābād, Khota and Punch. Another

37. The distance between Attock to Srinagar is 96 kos 77 poles. A.N.,III, p. 584.

38. During our period the river was known as Nain Sukh, A.N., III, p. 375. In the survey map of 1869, it bears both the names. A Sarai was built on the left bank of Nain Sukh river by Akbar, Tuzuk, pp.221-2; Iqbal Namā, III, p. 559.

39. A.N.,III, p. 377. Shangraf Kani is not traceable it should be Malgalee of the maps. See Tuzuk, p.289 also

40. Tuzuk, p. 292. A.N.,III, pp. 557-58. Noupora is a village about two miles away on the left side of Srinagar Baramulla road. Beveridge suggests the name of this village Tapar, A.N.,III, p. 646. Tapar is only four miles from Pattan.


42. A mud fort was also at Gori. It is an ordinary village fourteen miles from Rampur.

43. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 76.
route shoots from Gori to Mari, while Punch was linked with Jammu via Rajouri. Suran, Thanā, Rajouri, Dharamsāla, Akhnoor are important stages on this route. It remained open throughout year and snowfall was quite insignificant.

Poonch was linked with the valley by another route also. It was across Tosamaidan Pass (14000). It was of great strategical importance, but on account of high elevation it remained under snow for more than six months in the year.

Kashtawār Route

There are two routes leading into Kashtawār from Kashmir. From Islamabad one goes by way of Singhpura and another via Dasu. The first Mughal attack on Kashtawār was

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45. Suran is a village 13 miles south of Punch in lat. 33° 40', long. 74° 17'.


46a. Singhpura is a village about 32 miles north-east of the town of Kashtawar in the lat. 33°26' and long. 75°37' on the Kashtawār side of Mārbal Pass. Bates' Gazetteer, pp. 343-45.

47. Dusu is 3 to 4 miles above Nowbāgh in the lat. 33°37' and long. 75°28'. Kuthār is about 12 miles below this village. Bates' Gazetteer, p. 312.
launched by the same routes. It connected Kashtaur with Badrawah and Jammu through Ramban. The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot, and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.

Central Asian Trade Route

The road traverses nearly the whole of Ladakh from east to west. It was passable during the period from March till November, but on account of its commercial importance, the merchants very often used it during the winter season as well. It connected Kashmir with Central Tibet, Kashgar, Yarkand and China. The trade of Kashmir with Bhutan, Nepal, and Bengal was also carried on by this route. As a matter of fact this route launched by the same routes. It connected Kashtaur with Badrawah and Jammu through Ramban. The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot, and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.

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48. Tuzuk, p. 295. See Chapter I, Section II.
49. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 76-78. See also Drew, Jammu & Kashmir Territories, pp. 139-40. The author had traced more than five routes connecting Kashmir with Kashtaur. These were simply a combination of Pir Panjal and Mughal Route.
50. Tuzuk, p. 295.
52. Desideri, Travels (tr. Fillipo De), pp. 74-75. Cunningham, Ladakh, Political, Physical, etc. p. 148. This route was followed by Father Desideri an Italian traveller in 1714. In 19th century another Italian traveller, Fillipo de Filippi, also used the same route. I have taken help from their works mainly, Desideri, Travels (tr. by Fillipo De Filippi) and Fillipo-De-Filippi, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol. II. The latter has also translated the Desideri's account into English. Ahmad Shah Naqashbandi a native of the Subah has also provided us with a detailed description of this important trade route. It has been translated into English by Dowson Ross in Royal Asiatic Society, London, Vol. 12, 1850. Cunninghams accounts Ladakh - Physical, political, etc. substantiates our information. See also Moorcroft & G. Trebic, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II, pp. 211-51.
was the life vein of the woollen industry of Kashmir. The entire shawl wool was brought to the valley through this road. It was important both commercially and strategically. Mirza Haidar Dughlat launched his first attack on Kashmir in 1530 passing through this route and in the subsequent Mughal invasions on Little & Greater Tibet under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the same route provided the passage and facilitated the task of the invading forces.

On account of the high elevation and scarcity of fodder most of trade was carried on by the porters on their backs. Horses, mules, and yaks, were also put into service. The beasts of burden were usually exchanged at Dras and Leh for onward march.


55. Desideri, Travels, pp. 74-75.

56. See Chapter I, Section II.


59. JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 373-4. Leh was an exchange market for the goods brought from Central Asia, India, and Kashmir. The caravans mostly exchanged their merchandize here and returned to their native lands.
From Srinagar to Baltal the road is quite comfortably passable even for all kinds of beasts of burden. Baltal is about twenty miles from Sonamarg at altitude of 1150 feet above sea-level. From there begins mountainous track. Baltal is the last inhabited village on the side of Kashmir, and Matayan lies on the other side of the Zojill Pass at a height of 10700 feet. From here the route turns on along with the Dras river up to Kargil, and passes to Purig valley as far as Waka, leaving Pashkyum on the left side. Here it leave Waka river behind and crosses Namayika Pass (1300'). It then keeps up with the defile and the river Kanji is crossed below Phofo-Law Pass. Then it leads to Lamayur. From here it follows the course of Wanlæ-chū to its confluence with the Indus below the bridge of Khallach.

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60. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarih-i-Jammy*, etc. etc. pp. 415-17.
62. Pashkyum is a large village, 5 miles from Kargil in lat. 34°30' and long. 76°15'.
63. It is situated half way between Kharbu and Nurla in long. 76°50', lat. 34°20'. From here a route leads to Zanskar also. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 555.
64. It is known as Khalsi or Kulsi also situated in long. 76°57', lat. 34°19'. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 486.
it moves along with the river past the valleys of Nurla, Saspul, Buzgo, and Pitak. Near Pitak it leaves the river and moves North-East till it reaches Leh. From Leh the outlets beyond take the form of about eleven routes crossing the Karakoram range of mountains. But the route which was commonly followed by the merchants was the one leaving Leh behind. From here it was passing along with Loche-Khardongla, plans and crossed the Shayok below the confluences of Nubra river near Khelsar. It then passes along the valley of the Nubra river till it comes across Sasir Pass. From Sasir it ascends the river Shayok. From Sasir Barangsa it is divided into two branches. One goes along the left bank of Shayok while the other after crossing Shayok passes through Murgo and Bursa. It lays through Depsang plain and crosses

67. It is known as Leh Pass and Laoche La Pass also in long. 77°42', lat. 34°20'.
68. It is in the long. 77°40', and lat. 35°5' at the elevation of 17820, Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 721. See also Cunningham, Ladakh - Physical, etc. pp. 224-25.
69. It was simply a camping ground, with a collection of stone wall enclosures to protect the travellers in long. 77°50', lat. 35°2' 35", 'elev. 15240'. Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 235.
70. It is Burtsi II, of Bates Gazetteer, long. 78°5', lat. 35°10', elev. 16000, p. 246.
the Chapchaq near Palloo. Next stage comes Karakoram. The other branch is crossed above the confluence of Chapchaq and Shayok. It moves along with the Chapchaq up to Palloo. From Palloo the route leads to the Chinese town of Tashigong. It is here again divided into two branches, one leads to Central Tibet and other to Yarkand. Leh was linked with Sipti and Lahole also. This route was used mainly by the merchants of India. The Tsprang Christian Mission had also used the same route. Unfortunately the maintenance of the route was not paid the attention by the authorities that it deserved.

The rivers were spanned by the swinging bridges and there were no caravan sarais on the Tibetan routes which was a great lacuna in the administrative efficiency in the Subah.

71. In Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 270, it is Chipchuk long. 79°12', lat. 33°45'.

72. Desideri, Travels, (tr. Fillipo De Filipi,) p. 81. It has been spelt by him as Trescigkhang. According to Ahmad Shah Naqashbandi, the name of the first town on the Yarkand border is Kekair; it was here that a Chinese garrison was stationed and custom dues were realized from the merchants. JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 380-81.

73. William Moorcroft and George Tribeck, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II, pp. 218-54, gives a full description of Lahul Spti - Leh route which he followed during his visit in 1835.
Soon after the Mughal annexation a chain of inns spread over the main trade routes. During his first visit Akbar and his camp followers utilized their tents, but Jahangir in his visit of 1622 and his subsequent tours did not require tents for his encampment. During the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb a number of new inns were built and the old inns were repaired and improved. The first inn was built by Mohammad Quli Khan at Khāmpora, and Sand Barari. It was completed in 1597. Under Jahangir inns were built on the way side of the Pahkli route as well as on the imperial road.

But it is under Shahjahan that a chain of magnificent inns was put up along with the imperial road. The main inns were built at Changas, Rajouri, Thana, Sahramgalla, Poshanā, Hirpārā, Shāji Marg, and Khāmpora. The Sarai at

76. Faizi, Akbarnama, f. 242a.
77. In the text of A.N., III, p. 725, it is Nandi Brari perhaps a clerical mistake, while in Beveridge's translation, it is Nari Brari, p. 1083, while Bernier calls it Sand Brari, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 413.
79. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu Lubab, I, p. 301.
Rajouri was built by Zafar Khan. He was also incharge of Noushahra inn which was transferred to Ali Mardan Khan in 1641-42. During 1646-47, another inn was built in between Noushahra and Bhimbar which was assigned to Islam Khan. Jehan Ara Begam also got an inn constructed at Hirapora. Shahjahan entrusted the administration of each inn to a noble of high repute. This arrangement continued throughout our period.

During his visit, Aurangzeb assigned the administration of Changas Sarai to Mohammad 'Azam, Rajouri inn to Mohammad Mu'azam, and Thana Sarai to Murtaza Khan.

Though these inns were basically built for the imperial use but inns for the travellers were also built on these sites. In the course of time townships developed around these places. Obviously the travellers were supplied with the food

    Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, pp. 18-20, II, p. 469.
81. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 212.
82. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469.
83. The inn was called Khair Sarai.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469.
84. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 16.
    Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, p. 721.
85. Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, pp. 802-4.
86. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 20.
water and fodder besides shelter. References as to the charging of fee for stay in such wayside inns from those who sought shelter are lacking. This may be taken to suggest that such inns constituted a measure of public deal undertaken by the state to promote trade and travel and provide comforts to the imperial officials and troops to traverse distances through the rugged hilly terrains.

River Navigation

River navigation was the main source of transport in the valley\(^87\) but ponies,\(^88\) mules,\(^89\) camels,\(^90\) and donkeys\(^91\) were used in the hilly tracks of the Subāh. Yāk was also used in the Little & Greater Tibet,\(^92\) but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of porters.\(^93\)

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87. *A'in*, II, p. 170. Abul Fazl states that there were 30,000 boats in the valley which appears to be an exaggeration, *A.N.*., III, p. 550. But the statement of Maḥmud Khan appears to be correct, *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*, II, p. 564.


89. Inshāi Harkaran, f. 115a. Research Library, Srinagar.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.


There were 7500 boats in Kashmir in 1589 when Akbar visited Kashmir. The cargo boats were known as *bahts* and the light boats called *shikārās* were used for the general conveyance of the people. During his visit, Akbar introduced some new type of boats of the Gujrat and Bengal models.

94. See Supra 87.

95. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 141a-b. The author states that there were more than 15 types of boats used for various purposes. See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 380-2.

External Trade

Despite the natural barriers Kashmir kept excellent trade relations with Persia, Central Asia, Bhutan, Nepal, Bengal, and Patna.\(^1\) In the course of time it extended as far as Golconda and Bijapur.\(^2\) In the 18th century Kashmiri merchants had started trade of medicinal herbs and such other products with the East India Company.\(^3\)

Though the trade relations with Central Asian countries had a long antiquity a very long time, but owing to the ever-increasing demand of the shawls and other articles of luxury by the Mughal nobility and aristocracy the trade with these countries developed tremendously.\(^4\) The Caravan route leading to Central Asia from Lahore via Srinagar was well-frequented and remained always busy.\(^5\)

The shawl remained the chief commodity of export and so the wool merchants had flourishing business. These

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merchants had almost monopolized the wool trade in the wool-producing regions of Ladakh, Gilgit and Central Tibet. They had deployed their agents throughout this region to advance the loans and collect the shawl wool from the producers. They had established their warehouses in Chinese Turkistan, Central Tibet, Lhasa, Nepal and Bhutan. The bulk of the shawl trade was carried on with Mughal India. The Mughal nobility and aristocracy was the main customer of this stuff. In addition to the shawls floor coverings like carpets, dharies, and printed and embroidered sheets were also sold to imperial Farash Khānā. Silk worm seeds were imported from Gilgit and Greater Tibet and they were reared on mulberry leaves. The cloth was exported to India and Central Asia.

6. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, pp. 115-16. See also article on Shawl Industry in Kashmir during the Mughal period of Abdul Majid Mattoo, Indian History Congress, 36th Session, 1975, Aligarh.


Qazvini, Badshah Nama, II, f. 259, III, p. 326b.

Waris, Badshah Nama, II, f. 373.

Watson, Commercial Products of India, p. 1016.

Gupta, N.S., Industrial Structure of India, p. 58.
Saffron

The costly condiment was produced in the valley of Kashmir at Pampore and Kashtauar. It was prescribed by the physicians as a medicinal herb and was also used as a spice to flavour food with fine fragrance. It was exported to India, Yarkand, Tibet and China. In the 17th and 18th centuries a small quantity was purchased by the English and the Dutch merchants too. In the late 17th century Kashmiri saffron merchants had to face the competition from Nepali merchants transacting business at Patna.

The prices varied from time to time. Abul Fazl states that the price of saffron varied from rupees 8 to 12 a seer. Pelsaert refers to the Kashmir saffron as costing rupees twenty to twenty four and that of Kashtauar 28 to 32 of rupees per seer at Agra.

20. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 73.
22. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.
Fruits and Vegetables

Large quantities of vegetables and fruit were exported to India. The dry fruits made their way into the markets of Lahore, Ahmadabad, Agra and Amritsar. During the 17th century the fruit merchants reached as far as South India with the fruits. Almonds, walnuts, apples, peaches, grapes, quince and quince-seed, melons and water-melons were the main fruits exported to the Indian market. Grapes used to sell at 108 dams a maund.

Forest Products

A large number of merchants were engaged in the trade of medicinal herbs. These were exported to India and in the course of time English factors displayed interest in their purchase.

24. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.
25. Kalimatu-Taibat, ff.45a-b.
27. A'ín, I, p. 44.
Saussurea Lappa (Costus)

The root was obtained from the forests of the valley and exported to India. The root was famous for its medicinal properties. The factors at Surat and Ahmadabad were the main customers of this root.

Calamus

A large quantity of this herb was sold to the factors at Surat. The Kashmir product was superior to that of Kabul. It was sold at the rate of one mahmudi per seer.

Amber Beads

There were two species of this herb. The merchants of Kashmir delivered the stuff to the factors at Surat at the rate of 40 mahmudis and the superior yellow quality at 50 mahmudis per seer.

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
Warm Wood

It is an aromatic herb found in Kashmir at an altitude of 5 to 7000 feet. After distillation process it yields a dark green oil of intoxicating properties.

It was for the first time purchased by English Factors during 1618-21. It was found highly nutritive and especially conducive to the sailors. In the course of time huge quantities were purchased by them and each ship was provided with two hogsheads of this liquor.

Besides these articles various kinds of scents and flowers were also exported to India and sold at exorbitant prices. Salix Caprea (Bed mushk), scent of roses and flowers and musk deer yielded handsome profits.

Paper

Kashmir had provided a speciality in the production of fine paper. It was in great demand in India. Large

35. George Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 93.
36. Factories, VI, p. 338.
37. Court Minutes, East India Company, November, 20, 1618. See also Factories, Vol. 6, p. 338.
38. Mr Mountney was appointed in A.D. 1618 as an agent to deliberate the transactions with the merchants. Factories, Vol. 6, p. 338.
40. Desideri, Travels, p. 78.
41. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 78.
quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmadabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir. 44

Rajouri rice, and fowls from Kashmir was exported to India mainly for the royal kitchen. 45 Inkstands, trays, walnut wood boxes, spoons, silver and paper articles of various types were also in great demand in India. 46

Feathers of okar and the coloured plumes of various birds were exported in large quantities. The nobility was the main consumer of these. They decorated their banners and headgear with these beautiful plumes. 47

Horses of various breeds both local 48 and those brought from Ladakh were exported to India. 49

Imports

The main articles of import were salt, 50 shawl wool, cotton cloth, 51 cloves, mace, paper, silk worm seeds, turmeric, ginger, 52 and sugar. 53

44. Factories, I, 1618, p. 18.
45. A'in, I, pp. 34, 40, 41.
49. Hamida Khatun Naqvi, Urban Centres in Northern India, p. 46.
52. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 35-36.
53. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 396.
Like wool, salt trade was also a flourishing one. Since salt was not available in the Subāh, so it was imported from India.\(^54\) On account of its high consumption, it was in great demand in the valley. The labourers also received their wages in terms of salt.\(^55\) It was brought from Bengal also.\(^56\) Thanā had turned to be a salt mandi and the Kashmiri merchants purchased it mainly from there.\(^57\)

**Internal Trade**

The continued peace and tranquility in the Subāh under the Mughal rule and the state administration served to boost the internal trade to an appreciable extend during the Mughal period.

In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system.\(^58\) The business though flourishing, was carried on inside the houses.\(^59\) But in late 18th century, the systematic marketing system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of bazar sarafan, bazar Bagalia

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57. Mohammed Murad, *Waqiat-i-Fugara*, f. 43b; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 159.
Bazāzā, Sabāga (Chintz market) etc. etc. developed.

Forster who visited Kashmir in 1783 saw the trade and commerce thriving like anything. He fully bears out the account of Father Desideri who was in Kashmir in 1714.

Arts, Crafts, and Industries

Rural population was mainly busy in the agricultural pursuits and in petty handicrafts like cloth weaving, smithy, carpentry, oil pressing and animal husbandry. These crafts were also agro-based. The artisans even up to recent times received a share out of the village produce in lieu of their services.

As such a village to a greater extent remained self-sufficient during our period. It supplied its basic requirements within the village. Though the surplus produce found its way to the city, it was appropriated in the shape of land revenue and other cesses. In return the villages received hardly anything from the cities and towns. This flow of village surplus in the course of time changed the economic life of the cities. It is an established fact that the Mughal aristocracy were chiefly urbanized people.

60. Wagiat-i-Kashmir, p. 8.
63. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 119.
64. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 119.
and as such they lived in towns and cities. They laid out gardens around these centres and built lofty buildings. All these factors led to the expansion of Srinagar in particular and other townships in general.

These urban centres turned to be the natural shelters for various types of artisans. It is, therefore, no wonder that the famous industrial centres of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar. Where over 2400 looms were busy in the production of this costly stuff, which filled the coffers of the Subāh with money.

The skillful artisans specialised in various techniques, designs, and artistic embellishments. The mode of production, the system of monopolization of resources and markets and concentration of surplus profits in the hands of mercantile community points to the emergence and growth of the capitalistic system under which the artisans manufactured the exquisite shawls neither for the artistic display nor for the profit sharing. But the dexterous artisans were reduced to a state of semi-bondage, perpetuated by social compulsions and lived in wretched plight with their meagre wages.

65. See Chapter VII.
68. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 403.
Carpet Industry

This industry flourished simultaneously with the Shawl Industry. Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those from Persia. The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeded over a hundred rupees. There were state-owned kārkhanās apart from the private kārkhanās. Besides gālichas, dhurries, gabās, and other floor coverings were also manufactured here.

Minor Arts and Crafts

A good deal of iron, silver, brass vessels, paper mache, paper, wood carvings, and furniture of delicate nature and boats of various styles were also manufactured in the Subah. Paper was made from rags, hump fibre and silk.

70. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
71. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
72. Waris, Badshah Nama, II, f. 373.
73. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562a.
75. Akhbārāt, Ziq'ad, 40th R.Y.
76. Raqā'īm-Karaīm, p. 22.
77. Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, pp. 82, 83.
N.S. Gupta, Industrial Structure of India, p. 114.
Though mineral exploitation in the Subah of Kashmir was sadly neglected yet some effort was made to extract the earth's hidden natural treasures. Copper, iron, sapphire, and salt peter, mines were worked out in a minor scale. The iron was obtained from Shahabad, and Khrive mines mainly. The iron was obtained from Shahabad, and Khrive mines mainly. Iron ore was exported to Lahore also.

Copper was obtained from 'Aishmuqam Copper mines.

Gold was mainly acquired from the sand of the Indus in Greater Tibet and Pakhli. More than 2000 tolas of gold was collected in Tibet alone. Yet quality was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a tola.

80. N.S. Gupta, Industrial Structure of India, p. 107.
82. Al'īn, II, p. 175. Sajan Rai Bhandari, Khulas-tu-Tawarih, p. 82.
Since the very ancient times Kashmir had attained fame as an important land for the promotion of learning and literature. It had produced historians like Kalhan, Srivara, Ksemendar, Ratnakar, and Jonaray, philosophers like Abhinavagupta, Utpala and Somanand, dramatists like Abhinavagupta, and Udbhatta. But the Brahmans had exercised the monopoly to impart education. The advent of Islam lifted the veil and gates of knowledge were thrown open to the common people. It is true that neither the Sultans nor the Mughals created a separate department of education at the centre or in the provinces. But the liberal patronage of the Kings and nobles and the tremendous efforts of the Sufis, saints, scholars and theologians afforded impetus in boosting the remarkable development of education by opening and expanding madarasas.

The mosques and khāŋqāhs virtually became the seats of learning. Though the primary aim was the training of

1. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Cultural Heritage of Kashmir, pp. 3-35.
2. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Miskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, ff. 24a, 37a
   Wagišt-i-Kashmir, pp. 120, 121, 135, 143.
3. Wagišt-i-Kashmir, pp. 143, 146, 177, 192, and 207.
   Binod Kumar Sahay, Education and learning under the Great Mughals, pp. 6-7, 32-33.
the pupils in religious literature, Qur'ānic phonetics, theology and logic. The gates were widened for the education of all and sundry without distinction of caste or social status. Consequently a considerable number of people were able to read and write, which in the long run led to the development of literature. 4 The Mughal rule ushered in a period of great literary and educational activity. It would be apt to make brief notices of some of the luminaries of the period.

These famous teachers were Sheikh Ismail Chishti, Khwājā Hasan Qārī, Khwājā Ishāq Qārī, Khwājā Haidar Natīnū, Mulla Abdul Razāq Bāndhī, Bābā Šālih, Khwājā Qāsim Tirmizī, Mullah Muhammad Afzāl, Abdul Rahīm Fafoo, Mulla Tāhir Gani, and Muhammad Zamān Nafiā.

Sheikh Ismail Chishti

Sheikh Ismail was a pupil of Maulana Jamāl. After his death, he attended the khānqah of Sheikh Nūrullāh, a saint of Chishti order. 5 He had a privilege of being disciple of Mīr ‘Abdullāh Bukhārī. After his return to Kashmir, he opened a school and imparted education for a period of twelve years. He died a few years after Mughal conquest of Kashmir. 6

4. Ṣabīr Afāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, No. 113, Isfandiyar 1350, p. 68.
P. N. Chopra, Life and Letters under the Mughals, pp. 140-1.

5. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.

6. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
Khāwāja Hasan Qārī and Iṣḥāq Qārī

These two scholars were brothers; on account of their command over the Qurānic phonetics they were called Qārī. They were the disciples of Sheikh Ḥamza Makhdoomi and Sheikh Yāqoob Sarfī. Sheikh Hasan took to the teaching profession for a long time. Iṣḥāq Qārī too served after his brother's death in the same Madrasa. 7

Mulla Husain (alias Haji Ganai)

He lived in the vicinity of Jamā Masjid, Srinagar. He was a teacher in the khānqāh of Malik Jallāl-ud-Din Thākoor. This school continued to function till the establishment of the Sikh rule. 8

Mulla Abdul Razāk Bāndey

Abdul Razāk was nephew of Mulla Fāzil. He remained in Kabul for a long time as a teacher. He adopted the same profession in Kashmir after his departure from Kabul. 9

Bāba Śāleḥ

He was a disciple of Bāba Naṣib. Bāba lived in a cave at village Gogna for a long period where he kept on giving lessons to his pupils. 10

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7. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 121.
   Sheikh Hasan was buried in village, Shiva, in the Zainagir parganah. See also Chapter VI, Section II.


   Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.

10. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 146.
Mulla Abdul Rahim

He had extensively toured in Bukhara, Samarqand, Bshagdad and India. During the rest of his life he remained in the Naqashbandi khanaqah as a teacher for a long period until his death in 1694-95.11

Mohammad Zamân Nafia

He was the brother of Mulla Tahir Gani, and a pupil of Mulla Mohsin Fani. He died in 1709-10.12


Waqiät-i-Kashmir, p. 192

The Kashmiri language was spoken by a considerable majority of people spread over from Thana to the outskirts of Pahkli. The origin of the language can be traced to as early a period as twelfth century. Pandith Kalhan has also used a number of Kashmiri words in Raja Tarangni. Kashmiri or Koshur belongs to the Dardic group of languages. In spite of such a remote antiquity it remained a spoken dialect only. The best works on philosophy, history, science, art, and literature were produced in Sanskrit and later in Persian. It is quite interesting to note that the lyrics of Lala Ishwari, and Sheikh Nuruddin Rishi, were written in Sharda or in Persian script, no script of Koshur was evolved in the valley.

There were presumably two important factors which hampered the growth of Kashmiri as a written language. Before the advent of Islam, Sanskrit was the official language and the religious scriptures were also available in the same language. Therefore, it was advantageous to be learnt both for

religious merit and economic consideration; therefore, the elite did not pay any attention towards the development for a natural script of Koshur. Subsequently, the advent of Islam in the Ṣubāh threw open the gates for Ṣufis, saints, scholars and adventurists. They substituted the Brahmins and eventually Persian became the official language. It continued to flourish and thrive throughout the medieval period. The Persian speaking people had as a natural consequence, no taste for the local dialect. Therefore, the constant royal patronage to Persian, did not allow Koshur to grow beyond a spoken dialect. However, it still remains a fact that even under such circumstances, it did not die out. But the influence of Persian appears to have increased, and a large number of Persian words side by side the Sanskrit were retained. But in the hilly pockets of Kashtawār and Bāṁihāl, it remained unaffected, with a profound influence of Sanskrit. In the north western regions of Dachūkhawūra, and Karnāve the impact of Shīnā continued to be dominant.

Some of the lyrical works of Haba Kḥāṭūn,

Habibullah Noushahri, Roopa Bhawāni, Sāḥib Koul and Mirza

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6. Mohiud-Dīn Ḥājinī, (Introduction) *Kashir Sha'eri*
   See also A'īn, II, p. 351 & n. (Jarrets note).


Akmal-ud-Din Badakhshi have survived to this date in Persian script. These were composed during the Mughal period but the manuscripts at our disposal are of later date. A short account of some of these literary figures would be relevant here to mention.

Habba Khātoon (1551-1606)

It is strange that contemporary sources are silent about the marriage of Habba Khātoon with Yousuf Shah Chak. However, it is beyond doubt that the lyrics attributed to her are of an innovation in the Kashmiri literature. She was the pioneer of "Lol" Love Songs. Her poetry is full of anguish and sadness, of an afflicted heart.

Habibullah Noushahri (1555-1617)

He was a profound scholar of Persian. He has composed poems both in Persian and Kashmiri. He was a contemporary of Habba Khātoon. Probably both composed poetical


There is a strong tradition about the existence of Habba Khātoon. Besides her love songs, we have a bridge Habba Kadal by name. It is said it was built by her. It is not possible to brush aside such a strong tradition.


works about the same time. As a matter of fact both of them were trend setters in Kashmiri poetry. Habibullah was representing both the Divine and the profane love in his sufistic poetry and the "Lol" songs.

Roop Bhawani alias Alak Ishwari (1625-1721)

The poetess was born in a rich Brahman family. At an early age she was married to a Pandith, but the marriage proved an utter failure. She was driven to mystic faith. Her lyrics have a mystic touch expressed in Kashmiri with heavy weightage given to Sanskrit words which used extensively.

Sahib Koul d. 1642

A contemporary of Roop Bhawani reflects mystic lore in his lyrics and simultaneously exhibits deep influence of Shiva philosophy. He had also used Sanskrit words frequently.


14. See Chapter V, Section II.


16. A collection of her poems is available in the Research Library, Srinagar, in a manuscript form. See also Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 19.

17. Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 16. A collection is extended in Research Library, Srinagar.
Mirza Akmalud-Din (d. 1717)

He was a descendant of Abū Nu'amān Abū Hanīfa. His ancestors had settled in Badakhshān, hence the epithets Badakshī was attached to the names of their successors. His parents came to India during the reign of Akbar. In his early age he had come into contact with Habibullah. He had been able to enjoy the company of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. Kāmil was an expounder of the ideology of Wahdatul-Wujūd.

He has used both Persian and Sanskrit words frequently in his Kashmiri songs. He died in 1717.

19. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 224. Bamzai has given the date of his birth 1642 which is not supported by facts, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Sagir, p. 165.
20. Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, Isfandyar 1350, p. 82.
Mohiud Din Hajini mentions that Akmal used the "Nunda Akmal" as his poetic name. He states that Akmal died in 1720, Kashir-Shairi, p. 18.
It has been stated above that the Persian was adopted as an official language during the reign of Zainul-Abidin. But Sanskrit continued to be language of elite. The official histories of the Sultans continued to be written in Sanskrit. Besides bilingual inscriptions on the epitaphs of the graves and a few bilingual documents also support this assumption of bilingual use.

It was only during the Mughal rule that Sanskrit language completely disappeared from the scene. By the end of the 17th century the Hindus, who had been guardians of learning and literature took to Persian language.

The Mughals were great patrons of Persian. They awarded land and cash grants to the scholars, and poets. The Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The famous Sanskrit history, Rajatarangni of Kalhan was translated into by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badoni. Besides the royal patronage the presence of Persian speaking officials, saints and sufis

2. The works of Jonaraj, Shriwara, and Suka are in Sanskrit. The bilingual Wasiyat Nama of Sheikh Hamza is also in Sanskrit and Persian.
gave a fillip to the spread of Persian literature. Poets and scholars like Ḥālit Ḩisfānī, Ḥūja Moinūd-Dīn Naqashbandī, Ḥāji Mūḥammad Jan Qudsī, Mūlla Tūgrā, Mūḥammad Qulī Salīm, Mīr Iltāhī, Ināyāt Kūnān, son of Zafār Kūnān, and many others settled in Kashmir permanently. They had a large number of associates. As such Kashmir turned to be a miniature Persian. Numerous works on literature, philosophy, religion, medicine, and music were produced by the Kashmiri natives. Bernier has rightly observed that the Kashmiris were not inferior to the Persian in medicine and poetry.

Some of the distinguished scholars of our time were Sheikh Yaqūb Sarfī, Ḥūja Ḥabībullāh Ḥūbī, Malik Ḥāidār, Akhwānd Mūlla Kāmāl, Mūlla Māzharī, Mūlla Awjī, Mūlla Yūsf Chachak, Mūlla Zehnī, Mūlla Nādīmī, Mūlla Mūḥsin Fānī, Mūlla Iltāhī Gānī, Bābā Da‘ūd Mishkūtī, Bābā Nasībud-Dīn, Mīrza Dārāb

5. Tuzuk, p. 286.
Ma‘āsir-i-Rahimi, p. 1260.
Malik Hāidār, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190a.
Binod Kumar Sahay, Education & Learning under the Great Mughals, pp. 2-3.
Tuhfatul-Fugārā, ff. 50, 80.
7. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 150.
8. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, pp. 150, 151, 152, 154, 172.
Bernier, Travels in Mughal India, p. 402.
G. M. D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 446-8.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Iran-i-Sapir, p. 59.
See also Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 330a.
Joyā, Akmal-u-din Bādakhshi, and Narain Koul Ājīz. A brief notice of some of the native scholars and facts of Persian may be given here.

Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfī

The genius, scholarship, and keen intellect of Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfī was well recognized even during his life-time. He had been a pupil of Sheikh Salīm Chishti and Sheikh Husain of Khwār-I-Qāmi. He himself was a teacher of Sheikh Ahamad Sarhindī. He was the author of an introduction to Faizi's Tafsīr entitled Sawāt-i-ul-Ilhām, the commentary to Şahīb Bukhārī and composed the Maslakul-Akhyar, Wamīq Azra, Layla Majnun, Magāzi-un-Nubwāh, Manāsikul-Haj, Manāqibul awliyā and a collection of Quatrains, Qasaid and a diwān of Ghazals.


Haji Muhammad Kashmiri d. 1597-98

Ancestors of Haji Muhammad had come along with Sayyid Ali Hamadani and settled in Kashmir. He was born in Kashmir and was tutored by Sheikh Muhammad Bāqī Naqashbandi of Delhi. He was a prolific writer and teacher. The following well-known works are ascribed to him: Sharḥ Shumil-un-Nabi, Fazāilul-Qurān, Shahrul Mujarad, Khulasah—Kitābul Auza'a Fi-Bayān-i-Mazhabul Arbā'.

HaMbullah Noushahri

He was a prolific scholar of Persian as well as of Kashmiri. Hubi was a pupil of Sarfi. Talbīḥul Quloob, and Raḥt-ul-Quloob were his most valuable works on Sufism. He had a Diwan also.

Baba Nasibud Din Gāzi

Bābā was a pupil of Sheik Hamzā Makhdoomi and Bābā Dāud Khāki. He has translated an earlier biography of Sheikh Nūrud-Dīn in Persian verse known as Noor Nama. He died on 28th May 1638.

19. For his life history, see Kashmiri poetry in this chapter. See also Wajīf̣āt-i-Kashmir, p. 132. Abdul Hamid Isfani, Irānī Sagīr, p. 167.
20. See Chapter V, Section II. Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irānī-Sagīr, pp. 109, 146-49.
Malik Haidar

He was an associate of Yousf Shah Chak and accompanied him during his exile to Hindustan. He was an architect and a statesman at the same time. But he is famous as the author of *Tārikh-i-Kashmir* compiled during the reign of Jahangir.²¹

Mulla Mazhari Kashmiri

Mazhari was a native of Kashmir, but he remained in Iraq for a very long time.²² He was able to enjoy the company of Muḥtashim Kashi, and Waḥshi.²³ After his return to the motherland, he was appointed as Mir Bahri Akbar in 1595. He had composed a diwān comprising 6000 verses. Mulla Mazhari died in 1609.²⁴ He is the translation of a few of his verses:

> "What lovely look lay in Layla's eyes
> That shut Majnūn shut his eyes to friends and strangers.

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²¹ See Note on Sources. (Introduction)
Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart.
Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore
Though I break through a hundred scenes,
I cannot step out of myself, I wander over a
hundred stages and am still at old place."

Mulla Nadīmī

His name was Mohammad Šāleḥ and Nadīm was his
pen-name. Nadīm was a pupil of Mullā Zehni. He has composed
thousands of verses in lucid Persian style. 25

Mulla Mohsin Fānī

Fānī a philosopher-poet was the son of Sheikh
Hasan Ganāl. He was a pupil of Sarfī. 26 After his teacher's
death he left for Balkh and joined the service of Nazr Mohammad
Khan. But he soon returned to India. 27 Shahjahān appointed him
Ṣad'ir of Ilahabad. On account of his liberal thinking, he was
elevated to the company of Dara Shukoh. 28

He has composed a Diwan, an autograph copy of which
is available in the Punjab University (Pakistan). 29 His poetry
has a mystic trend.

   G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 447, 471.
27. Sābir Āfāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Abdul Hamid Irfani,
   Irani Sagir, pp. 79-80.
   Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irāni Sagir, pp. 159-60.
Mulla Tahir Gani

The Mulla belonged to a reputed 'Ashai family of Kashmir. At the age of twenty he commenced composing verses in a lucid Persian style. His fame spread as far as Persia. Mirza Šāib was so much influenced by his style that he came to Kashmir to meet him. Mulla Tahir never attended the Court of any prince nor did he write any Qasida in praise of any dignitary. This verse of Gani (in translation) testifies to his bent of mind.

"The world's wealth, Gani cannot blot one's fault. For all gold's scratchings, still the touch stone is black."

Baba Dāūd Mishkwāti

He was a disciple of Baba Nasību-ud-Dīn Gāzi and learnt logic and tradition from Sheikh Haidar Charkhi. He

30. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 171.
had a profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. A Tazkira Asrārul-Abrār and a biography the Sufis of Kashmir are some of his famous works. He has rendered Mantigut-Tā'ir of Sanai into his own Persian verse. 35

Nārāin Koul Ājiz

By the end of the 17th century Persian language had completely replaced the Sanskrit. The Brahmans, an intellectual class also took to Persian to enter the government services. Nārāin Koul Ājiz was the first Kashmiri Pandith who excelled in the Persian literature. He is the author of the Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i-Kashmir. 36

Chief characteristics of the Persian works both in prose and verse, composed by the Kashmiri scholars, and poets may include the mystic trend, lucid style, verses of high order portrayal of the natural beauty of the valley. One important trait of the Persian poetical works in Persian as composed by the native poets consists of the composition or versification of the famous works of classical Persian poets, under the same respective titles by the Kashmiri poets of Persian for instance Sheikh Yāqoob Ṣarfi wrote Khamsa on Maulana Jāmī pattern, 37 Bābā Dāūd Mishkuātī the Mantigut-Tā'ir on the model of Sinaī famous work under the title of Asrārul-Ashṣār. 38

35. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 176.
36. See note on the sources.
37. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 111.
Art, Architecture and Gardens

The Mughals were great builders indeed. They raised magnificent palaces, forts, mosques, tombs and laid out gardens throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Their monuments and gardens still retain their magnificence and grandure. The valley of Kashmir was also studded with beautiful monuments and gardens by the Mughal Emperors and their nobles. But it is astonishing that most of the monuments have perished in the course of time, except a few gardens, and sarais, the Pathar Masjid, the Main Gate of the Nāgar Nagar fort, khānqāh of Shah Hamdān, and some other shrines. It appears, the cause of this whole-sale destruction was the negligence during the oppressive rule of the Sikhs. The conflagrations earthquakes, and climatic conditions were not less responsible for this decay.

The wood constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but the royal palaces and mosques built by them were exclusively of lime and stone over a core of brick work.¹ The art of stone building was revived by the Mughals, which was almost forgotten by the Kashmiris.² But its influence remained confined to the imperial architectural activity. The indigenous wooden architecture of Kashmir flourished uninterrupted,

¹ Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 23.
² Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Muslim Period), pp. 83-86.
imbibing no influence from the Mughal style. This wooden architecture of Kashmir has its own peculiarities in spite of its resemblance to that of Scandinavian countries, and Tyrol of Australia. It has been least influenced by the Buddhist Pagodas. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has rightly observed that there was not a single Buddhist Pagoda at the advent of Islam in Kashmir. The Pagoda architecture is quite different.

It is also quite significant to note that notwithstanding the highly skilled craftsmanship, Kashmiries were ignorant of joinery work. That is why they used to put the logs on each other and the gaps were filled with brick, stone, and lime.

The architecture of our period can be divided into two sections. The stone architecture, and the wooden architecture. Nāgar Nagar fort, Pathar Masjid, Mullah Akhwand Shāh Mosque, and a Sarais are the living examples of the stone architecture, while Khānqāh Mu‘allā, Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, mosque at Shopiyān, Hazrat Bal mosque, and a number of tombs where the remains of holy saints are enshrined, represent the wooden architecture.

Nāgar Nagar Fort

Kohi Mārān had a considerable importance for the defence of the city of Srinagar. It is on account of this


importance that the Mughals laid out a well-fortified and magnificent city. During his first visit, Akbar directed Yousf Khan Rizvi to construct houses for the soldiers they were forbidden to occupy private houses. By 1597, a large number of houses had been built and barracks too were built for the soldiers. In 1597, Akbar directed Mohammad Quli Khan Subahdar to dismantle the mud-wall and construct a strong fort of stone there. The foundation of the fort of Nagar Nagar was laid in 1597 and the construction was completed sometimes after 1606 at the cost of 11000000 rupees. The construction work of the fort was divided into segments, each portion was entrusted to a noble so that the completion might be affected within the shortest period. Then attention was drawn to constant improvements and

1. A.N., III, p. 543. See plate No. 1
2. A.N., III, p. 726.
3. A.N., III, pp. 726-27, 733
   Tuzuk, p. 302.
   Inqilab-Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 454.
   Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118, and Anand Koul,
   Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 88, have wrongly given the date of completion 1006/1597.
   R.K. Parmu has also raised an unwarranted controversy over the date of foundation and the rational behind the construction of this fort. When it is clear both in Akbar Nama, III, pp. 726-27, and on the inscription of the Sanga Darwaza, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 299-301. The fort which crowns the hillock of Kohi Mara was built by Atta Mohammad Khan, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Birbal Kachroo, Majum-Tawarikh, f. 246a. Percy Brown is not correct in his statement that the new fort is a replacement of the original citadel of Akbar, Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period), p. 88. Outer wall of the Mughal fort encircled whole of the hillock.
4. A.N., III, pp. 726-27. According to the local sources the construction was supervised by Looli Najar a highly skilled carpenter of Kashmir, Gouhar-i-Aalam, p. 252. But the Mughal sources are silent and as per inscription it was Mir Muhammad Husain who was supervising the work.
new palaces were added to inside the fort for long. \(^5\) Jahangir in his first visit after accession renovated the palace and an art gallery also was built in it. \(^6\) He spent 10,000 rupees for an aqueduct, but the idea was later dropped, \(^7\) and the construction was left incomplete. It is astonishing to note that there is not a single building existing in tact nor the ruins of the palaces are traceable. But the main gate known as Sangin Darwaza, and the dilapidated Kathi Darwaza are extant. Sangin Darwaza is a structure highly expensive, ornate and stoutly built. Its elevation consists of well built-arched recess. There are gateways on each side. Kathi Darwaza is now in ruins. \(^8\)

**Pathar Masjid**

Pathar Masjid or Nove Masjid was built in 1623 under the supervision of Nurjahan Begum. \(^9\) It is situated on

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7. *Pelsaert, Jauhangir's India*, p. 34.
8. Percy Brown suggests that Kathi Darwaza was main gate of the fort, *Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period)* p. 88. See *plate No. 36*.
the left bank of the river Jehlam directly opposite to the KHĀNQĀH-I-MU'ALLĀ. It was built in pure granite polished stone, with a length of 180 feet and breadth 54 feet. The style is quite simple and lacking in any kind of ornamentation. The interior is divided into three passages by two rows of massive stone arches. The roof of each compartment is artistically ribbed and vaulted. The facade consists of 8 massive arches with a large elegant central arch. In simplicity and layout it resembles the Moti Masjid of Agra. But the central dome appears to have been destroyed in the course of time. The external wall of the compound is purely of masonry work in lime and bricks baked by fire. The eastern gate on the river side has been rebuilt recently, but the old wooden door panels along with the frame have been preserved in it. The carved floral designs on the door panels depict the real artistic skill of the Kashmiri artisans.9a

The Turkish bath and Madrasā built by Fāzil Khān in 1697-98 are not now traceable.10

MULLA AKHWAND SHAH MOSQUE

It is situated near the shrine of Sheikh Makhdoomi. It is a most neglected monument and in ruins now. The domes and minarets are in a delapidated condition and the raised verses of the Qurān have been defaced, yet it is a living

9a. See plate I.  
example of the Mughal architecture. It was built in 1649 by Dārā Shukoh for his preceptor Mullā Shah Badakhshā.  

The mosque has a typical layout. It is as a matter of fact a mosque within mosque, built in polished granite stone. In finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments. The exterior wall has six engrafiled windows on the north and the south. Main-gate, now closed, lies in the east. The dome over the Māhrāb, now dilapidated, appears to have been of great architectural importance.  

The Turkish bath is in ruins. It is purely a masonry work in bricks and lime.

Jamia' Masjid

The mosque represents both the stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir. It is rather a synthesis of Mughal and Kashmiri architecture.

Originally the mosque was built in 1400 by Sultan Sikandar, but it was devastated by fire on a number of times. In 1622, while Jahāngir was in Kashmir, the mosque was completely

11. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, pp. 116-17. See plate III and IV
12. Tuzuk, p. 298.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 269-70.
destroyed. He directed Malik Ḥaidar to rebuild the mosque. It was again destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, but was again restored. The massive arched gateway is built in stone and bricks. The building consists of a courtyard surrounded by wide colonnades. The outer-wall is of masonry work having projecting entrances on all the three sides. The interior of the building contains a large amount of wood work. There are about 378 wooden ornamented posts of 25 to 50 feet in height.

**Khāṅqāh-ī-Mu'allā**

The Khāṅqāh is the best example of the typical wooden architecture of Kashmir. Sultan Qutubud-Dīn had great reverence for Sayyid ʿAli Hamadānī had built this mosque for the saint. It was destroyed twice by fire in 1479 and 1731, but was again restored. The present Khāṅqāh was built in 1732.

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13. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 215a. Tuzuk, p. 301. See the inscription on the main-gate of this mosque also.


15. See for the details, Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 269-70. See also Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), pp. 87-


17. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 244.
It is a 70 feet square building two storeys in height. It stands on the right bank of the Jehlum on an irregular masonry foundation of an old temple. Its three tiered pyramidal roof surmounted by the open pavilion for Mu'azzin, over which rises the steeple with 125 feet high finial from the ground is of considerable interest. The interior lower hall is 63 feet long and 43 feet broad. In the centre there are four eight-sided ornamented posts supporting the second storey. The panelled walls and painted ceilings in multi-coloured designs add to the grace of the hall.

This pattern of architecture can be found in all the shrines, khanqāhs and mosques which were built during our period. The khanqāh at Sopore, Baramulla, and Shopiyān are virtually replicas of Shah Hamdān mosque. The shrines at Charari Shareef, Hazratbal and so many other shrines scattered all over the Subān are also in the same style. There is hardly any difference of the architectural design, or ornamentation in these buildings.

18. Wāqi‘at-i-Kashmir, p. 244.
James Fergusson, History of Eastern and Indian Architecture, II, pp. 333-34.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 269-70.
In the course of time this style of architecture was introduced in Little and Greater Tibet also. The mosques which were built in this region during the Mughal rule represent the provincial style. But the scarcity of wood did not allow the style to flourish on a large scale. It remained confined only to the mosque architecture.

Shigar mosque is a replica of Khānqāh-i-Mu‘alā. The facade of the building facing the east consists of a portico as high and wide as the main building. There are three doors of saracenic style in it. Towards the south, there is a gallery of very pleasing design. The centre of the roof has square aperture with a little columned superstructure, surmounted by a curious pinnacles. The gaps and openings are filled with sundried bricks. The inner chamber of the building is rectangular with four pillars supporting the ornamented capitals. The exterior walls have lofty windows closed by ornamented lattice work.

The mosque at Leh known as Kashmiri mosque is also in the same style.

We have already mentioned that during the Mughal rule a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. The inns at Khāmpūra, Changas, Rajouri, Saidābād and Bhiraber have survived up to this day, but have lost all magnificence and grandeur. These inns have almost a resembling architectural pattern. Each Sarai has two broad divisions, one
for the harem and other for the Emperor. A couple of sleeping chambers adjacent to the big halls, a mosque and a Turkish bath are the peculiarities of these wayside inns. There is an open courtyard encircled by massive stone walls built in stone, lime, and bricks representing the typical Mughal architecture.

The Sarais of Changas and Saidābād are fine specimens of this architectural style.

Saidābād Sarai is a large square building divided into three divisions; well built vaulted small sleeping apartments are on all sides. The mosque and a separate rectangular hall lie in the east. There is no passage link between the main building and this hall.

Changas Sarāi is more elegant and ornamented. However, it falls within the same architectural pattern.
Calligraphy

Calligraphy and elegant lettering was an art cultivated and valued highly and sometimes treated with greater respect than the art of painting in the Muslim world. It had attained perfection in the Islamic world well before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. Kūfī and Naskhī styles were very popular. The Kūfī style was popularised by the Umayyads while Naskhī flourished under the Abbasides.

Soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in the kingdom of Kashmir, the art of calligraphy developed tremendously. In the course of time a distinct Kashmiri style was evolved. An unwashable ink and unique tints were discovered by the artists. After the fall of Sultanate, the Kashmiri artists entered the imperial service and in the galaxy of artists they retained their individuality.

References:

1. A'īn, p. 103 (tr. Blochmann)
4. A'īn, (Blochmann tr.), p. 103.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp.265-6
6. Tuzuk, p. 44.
The art of illumination, border decoration and illustration was at its highest pitch during the reign of Akbar. The Kashmiri artists also excelled in this art. The floral designs were most convenient for the religious scriptures. These designs abound in the various works of the period. The Kashmiri artists had achieved mastery in Kūfī, Nastālīq and Shalqamū, besides Kashmiri Qalam. The art of calligraphy was considered a noble profession. A number of scholars earned their livelihood by scribing the holy Qurān.

Mohammad Husain Kashmiri was a famous calligraphist of our period. He was given the title of Zarrīn Qalam by Akbar. In the art of calligraphy he even surpassed his teachers, Maulāna Mir Āli and Abdul Azīz. His skill was acknowledged by all the calligraphists of the period.

Āli Chaman was another famous Kashmiri calligraphist who excelled in the art at the imperial Court.

7. Lachi Ram Kashmiri, Khulāsātul-Insāh, f. 25b.
Ganāfi, a famous scholar of his time, was a calligraphist also. His Nastāliq style was unique. Hāji Bahram was his contemporary. His scribed Qurān could bring an enormous amount of 10,000 tankas. Mulla Mohammad was a pupil of Mulla Mir Husain Zarrūn Qalam. He adopted Shalgami style while his teacher had excelled in Bādāmi style. Mulla Mohammad joined the Court of Shahjahan and was given the title of Zarrūn Raqam. The inscription in various imperial buildings were scribed by him. His elder brother, Mulla Muhsin, was also an eminent calligraphist and was styled as Shīrūn Qalam.

14. Mohammad 'Azam claims to have acquired his autograph copy of Mirsadul-Ibad, a treatise on Taṣawuf. It contained 10,000 verses. The scribe has maintained symmetry, Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 134.

15. Waqīyat-i-Kashmir, p. 135.


Skilful Kashmiris had excelled in all kinds of arts and crafts but it is quite strange that they were deficient in a high degree of proficiency in the art of painting.

The remark of Tara-natha, a Tibetan monk, regarding the existence of a Kashmir School of Painting had become a point of controversy among the art historians.\(^1\) Karal Khandalavala, H.B. Havel and V. Smith suggest that the remarks of the Tibetan monk are partially correct.\(^2\) They presume that the panel or fresco paintings might have been cultivated or were already existing in the Şubâh at the time of the monk's visit in 1608, which would have led him to this conclusion.

In the light of above controversy the statement of Abul Faz'\(1\) that there was a group of five Kashmiri painters at the Court of Akbar is of great significance.\(^3\) But we have not been able to acquire any piece of their artistic display. Furthermore, there is not a single evidence on this point in the

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chronicles. It is only in the late 17th century that we come across the Basohali art which was an offshoot of Pahari School of Painting. It bears the distinct features of Mughal art. The late 18th and 19th century works of Hindu mythology contain a number of paintings similar to the Pahari Art. But the colour combination and finishing is not so perfect as in the art pieces of Pahari School.

It appears that the art of painting began to gain ground in the Subah only after the disintegration of the Empire. But it did not flourish there because the lack of any kind of patronage from the Afghans and the Sikhs, while the Hill Rajas extended liberal support to the artists, which resulted in the development of Pahari School of Art.


5. See the collection of Sanskrit and Hindi Section in Research Library, Srinagar, Nos. 1159, 2302 (11 Paintings); 718, (11, 16 and 18) 889.

6. W.G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills, Chapter III and IV.

G.M.D. Sufis presumption that there existed a school of painting in Kashmir is not supported by facts. The specimen of paintings in fresco on the walls of Barahdari of Nashat and Shalimar does not indicate the work of any Kashmiri painter. The Mughal Court was always accompanied by the imperial artisans. Kashmir, II, p. 557. P.N.K. Bamzai had also committed the same mistake. The love lyrics of Vilhana a Kashmiri poet of 11th century, are not definitely illustrated by a Kashmiri Artist in the 15th or 16th centuries, A History of Kashmir, p. 576. Khandalavalas supposition is that the paintings belong to U.P. or Delhi School, New Documents of Indian Painting, pp. 80-85.
Music

The decay of the Sultanate and the loss of independence adversely affected the harmonious growth of the peculiar traits in the art of music which was the pride of the Kashmiri Sultanate. The Shah Mir Sultan, in general, but Zainulabidin, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah were great patrons of this art. Yousf Shah Chak and Habba Khâtûn were fond of music and could play on various instruments. Mirza Haidar Dughlat also enriched the music of Kashmir by various instruments.

In spite of linguistic difference, the Mughals patronized the musicians and rewarded them from time to time. Akbar had a group of Kashmiri musicians at his Court. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb rewarded the musicians and minstrels at the time of their arrival in the Šubâh. But towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb directed the Šubehdârs to discourage the musicians and take away their instruments.

2. A.N. I, p. 198.
5. A'in, (Blochmann tr.), p. 681.
7. See also Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 100.
Saints, Şufis, and local mystics were very fond of classical music and the art thus was patronized by them.

Kashmir music had three distinct forms, Şufiana Müsiqi, Chakri and Sahrai. Şufiana Müsiqi never filtered down to the masses. Şufiana Müsiqi remained the privilege of the aristocracy only. It is no wonder that it still retains the feudal characteristics. Chakri (group songs) and Sahrai styles were patronized by the common people.

Here it may not lie out of place to refer to the Baghats. This tribe is almost scattered all over the Şubān. Their services were required by the peasantry at the time of marriage ceremonies. This class of minstrels performed jashans in honour of the emperors and Şubehdārs at the time of their arrival.

Saz, Santoor, Sităr, and Dukra were the instruments required for Şufiāna music. Daf, Sārangi, lute, and earthen pitcher were common musical instruments.

Khuaja Momin Jabil, and Maulana Khuaja Mohammad were two famous critics—music of our period.

Khuaja Momin Jabil was son of Abul Qasim. Jabil was pupil of Mulla Jawahir Nanta, famous musician of his time. Momin Jabil was a close associate of Yousf Shah Chak, who was himself a lover of music. He has written a treatise on music also. Maulana Mohammad was the pupil of Khuaja Momin. He excelled in this art during the reign of Shahjahan.

10. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 158.

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The fanciful Mughal gardens highly elegant, exquisite and tasteful are scattered all over the Subah. They still retain their grace, magnificence and artistic excellence. Historians, adventurers, naturalists and poets paid eloquent tributes to the natural and scenic beauty and the decorative art pattern of the sublime grace and exquisiteness of the Mughal gardens.

The Mughal emperors were very fond of gardens and the valley of Kashmir in its profusion of superb natural beauty, its variegated foliage and its enchanting vernal flower growth afforded the natural ground for the efflorescence of numerous gardens and the enclosed monuments to shed lustre to the entire set up. Right from the annexation hundreds of gardens were laid out by the emperors, the Subahdars, and other principal officers. Though the tradition of gardening and horticulture in Kashmir dates back to the period of the Sultans, and even before yet there were certain characteristics which are associated with the Mughals only.

The fencing, symmetrical arrangement of the flower beds, presence of water and above all the existence of fruit trees within the garden were the peculiarities of the Mughal gardens. As a matter of fact the modern horticulture owes a great deal to the founders of these gardens. Experiments in

grafting and the introduction of new fruit trees was virtually started with these gardens. Most of the gardens were laid out around the Dal lake and in the vicinity of the city. It is said that more than 700 gardens were found around the lake only.

As mentioned above Akbar founded the township of Nāgar Nagar in 1597. A beautiful garden called Darshan Bagh was laid out by him within the fortified city. In 1622, Jahangir renovated the imperial palaces. Mu'tamad Khān was assigned this work. A beautiful garden was laid out in front of the palace. It had three terraces and an art gallery was arranged in the centre of this square garden. This garden was called Bagh-i-Nūr Afzā.

Bagh-i-Ilahi

It was laid out by Yousf Khān Rizvi during the tenure of his office as Subahdār in the vicinity of Batspora.

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2. Tuzuk, p. 301
   Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 111.
5. Iqbal Nama Jahanpī, III, p. 567.
   Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 27.
   Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 37.
A canal three yards in width was brought from the Sindh for the irrigation of this garden. A pavilion was built in the centre with a tank in the front. Rows of fountains were installed in it. It was beautified by the plantation of chinars. Later on Shahjahan built two more pavilions on the either side of canal and included this garden among the imperial gardens.

**Bagh-i-Naseem**

It stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal lake. A cool fragrant breeze blows throughout the day and night. It was laid out by Akbar, and improved and enlarged by 'Azam Khan, Saif Khan, and Afzal Khan. It was enclosed by a massive wall and a canal was dug out from Lār defile to irrigate the garden. It retained its fame on account of its beautiful chinar trees. These were planted by Akbar and later Ali Mardan Khan also added more plants.

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13. Stuart Villier is not correct in assuming that the chinar was introduced in the Subāh by Ali Mardan Khan, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 158. Even during his first visit Akbar saw massive worn out chinar trees in the Subāh, *A.N.*, III, p. 548. See also *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-301.
Bagh-i-Bahar Arā

It was laid out by Nurjahan Begam in the midst of the Dal lake opposite Darshan Bagh near Sodra Khon. It was divided into two terraces. A double storeyed pavilion was built during the reign of Shahjahan in 1635.

Noor Bagh

It was founded by Nurjahan in the vicinity of I'dgāh. A branch of Shah Kul was brought through Zunimar for the irrigation of the garden. It was famous for its fruits, flowers and chinars. The garden is now in ruins but the mohalla which sprang up around it is called Noorgagh.

Bagh-i-Irādat Khan

This garden was planted by Irādat Khan in 1618-19 near Nawapora. It was divided into various terraces. Cascades,

14. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 26-27. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 113b. Sodra Khon is an island in the Dal lake. The lake is considered to be deepest around this place.


17. Gazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 605. (Transcript copy of Department of History).
fountains and chutes made of polished granite were its main peculiarities. A magnificent palace was built in the garden which was destroyed by fire.

Bagh-i-Haidarabad

Ali Mardān Khān laid out a splendid garden near Noushehra. It had many terraces. Tanks and fountains were built in each terrace. A canal was dug out from Lār to provide water to the garden.

Another garden was founded by him near Tel Bal and named Bagh-i-Aliabad. Fruit trees of various kinds were planted in the garden and the income from the fruits was annually sent to Mashad Sharif.

22. Waqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141
Bagh-i-Sadiqābād

Sadiq Khān, a noble of Shahjahan, laid out a beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal lake opposite Shala Mār Bagh. It consisted of a number of terraces. A canal from Lār was constructed for its irrigation. Carved stone fountains were the striking features of this garden. A mosque was built in it during the reign of Aurangzeb by Fāzil Khān and the Holy relic of prophet was placed in it. It is now known as Hazrat Bal.

Choudhari Bagh

Mahesh Koul a Choudhari laid out a splendid garden comprised of 60 terraces near Ishabari. Irrigation facilities were provided to this garden by taking out a channel from the Sindh.

Bagh-i-Zafar Khan

In 1635-36, Zafar Khan laid the foundation of a large and beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal lake. Zafar Khan offered the garden as a peshkash to Shahjahan during the latter's visit to this garden. On account of its vastness, it was named Bagh-i-Tūlānī.27

Bagh-i-Zafarābād, Bagh-i-Gulshan, Bagh-i-Hasanābād were also founded by him during his tenure of Subahdārī.28

Besides, the above mentioned gardens, we have the world-famous Shālimar, Nishāt, Chashma Shāhī, and Hārwan gardens. These gardens are situated on the Dal lake in the background of a mountain.

Shālimar Bagh

Shala Mār is a village in the Phāk Parganah at a distance of 9 miles from Srinagar.29 During Raja Parversen's rule (78-139 A.D.), a famous saint lived in the vicinity of Shala Mar. Raja Parversen laid out this garden in honour of the saint.30 In the course of time it was reduced to ruins. Nothing

29. In Tuzuk, p. 303, and Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 133a, it is Shala Mal but A'in, II, p. 173, has Shala Mar, which is correct.
was left there on its site except a natural water-fall. On his tour in this area, Jahangir was too much fascinated by the natural beauty of the area and he laid out a garden called Bagh-i-Farah Bakhash. It was spread over an area of 7500 square yards. The canal passing through the garden was paved with stones under the supervision of Prince Khurram.

The garden had three terraces with a tank in the centre of each division studied with fountains. A beautiful Baradhari was built in the central portion. Cascades and chutes were paved with coloured glazed tiles so as heighten the effect of the reflection of the sky and the clouds. Chabutarae were raised in each division at the point of water chute. A high wall was raised around the garden and a small cell was built on the four corners.

The Emperor Shahjahan visited the garden in 1636. The poplars and chinars planted some fourteen years earlier were in full bloom. He directed Zafar Khan to add

32. Iuzuk, p. 303.
33. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315b.
34. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 316.
35. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 34. See plate no 47.
36. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315b.
another garden adjacent to Farah Bakhsh. A tank, forty square yards, was built in the centre. A barādāri, ten feet by eight, was also constructed in it. This part of garden was called Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh. It was reserved for the harem only.  

Nishāt Bagh

It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar on the farthest end of the Dal lake. It was the gayest of all the gardens and even surpassed the Shalimar garden both in layout and design and architecture. It was put up by Asaf Khan during the reign of Jahangir. In 1635, Asaf Khan hosted a feast in honour of Shahjahan. He was highly impressed by the layout of the garden.

The garden comprised 9 terraces and the last one was reserved for zenāna. A magnificent palace was built in the zenāna. An 18 feet high arched wall separated the harem garden from the rest of the garden. A channel about 13

38. C.M. Villier Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 168. See plates No VII and VIII
40. Qazvini, Shahjahan Name, III, f. 317. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 35. V. Stuart states that there were 12 terraces in the garden, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 168.
41. This wall is still in tact but the zenāna palace and the garden is in ruins.
feet wide runs across the garden foaming down from one terrace to other in the shape of cascades.

Each terrace was in itself a complete garden. In the centre of each terrace there was a tank adorned with fountains made of stone. Sexagonal marble chabūtarās were erected in each terrace bridging the canal at the head of every water fall. These chabūtarās are fine examples of architecture. These marble thrones are a special feature of Nishāt garden.

There were two bāradāris in the garden, one at the entrance and the other in the third terrace. The bāradāri was a two-storeyed building in Kashmir-Mughal architecture standing on a stone foundation. It is fifty-nine feet long and forty eight feet wide.

Besides the above stated gardens, the Chasama Shahi, Bagh-i-Dilāwar Khān, Bagh-i-Saif Khan, Bagh-i-Gangi Reshi, Bagh-i-Qawamuddin Khān, were of considerable importance.

42. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 35.
43. V. Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 171.
44. See plate No IX.
46. Wajīh-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 118b.
47. Lahori, Badshah Name, II, p. 29.
Chashma Shahi

Chashma Shahi, a famous spring of fresh water flows on the slope of Zebwan mountain in the Phāk Parganah about five miles from Srinagar. This spot was previously called Kutlina. It attracted large crowds of people during the summers. During a visit Prince Dārā Shukoh was impressed by the natural setting of the place. He laid out a garden and built a few houses and a mosque on its site. A marble cistern originally built at Lahore was brought to Kashmir and placed over the source of this spring. Subsequently, Jahān Āra Begam laid out a beautiful garden around the spring and called it Chashma-Shāhi after the name of her preceptor, Mulla Shah Badakhshi. C.M. Villiers Stuart has translated the Chashma Shāhi as Royal spring. It has presumably led Bamzai, Dr Parmu and Ferguson to the erroneous conclusion that the spring garden was laid out by Shahjahan, which is negated by the contemporary evidences. Mullāh Shah Badakhshi used to call it Chashma Sāhibiya. There was another source of the spring above this one.

49. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi, ff.56a-b.
50. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi, ff.56a-b.
51. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi, f. 56b.
56. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi, f. 56b.
57. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi, f. 56b.
Its source was widened by Hasan Raina a disciple of the Mullah to allow greater volume of water to gush out. During 1649-50, Husain Beg Khan arranged a garden around this spring and built an edifice nearby. Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara Begum too added a few buildings to embellish the place.

Other gardens spread over the valley were too numerous and it is difficult to describe each of them separately. But the Bagh-i-Wafa, Bagh-i-Shihabuddinpora, Bagh-i-Dara Shukeh Bijbehara, Verinag, Achiwal, Kokar Nag, Islamabad, Machi Bhawan in other parts of the valley have won the eternal fame.

Bagh-i-Shihabuddinpora and Bagh-i-Wafa were situated below Srinagar and the rest of these eternal gardens lie in the Marāz division.

58. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 28b.
59. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.
60. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.

Bamzai assumes that the garden was laid out in 1642 by Ali Mardan Khan is not supported by facts, A History of Kashmir, p. 594.

J.P. Ferguson, has also committed the same mistake. He states the spring garden was built in AD 1632 by Ali Mardan Khan. It is evident that Ali Mardan Khan had not even joined the Mughal service at this time.

61. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 117b.
Shihābuddinpora is a joyous spot on the confluence of the Sindh and the Jehlum. It was developed during the reign of Jahāṅgir. Chinar trees were planted in it and two pavilions were built in the garden.

Bagh-i-Uafā

Mansbal lake is at a distance of 15 miles from Srinagar and the garden was laid out on the right side of this lake near village, Safāpur. It was planted by Mirza Haidar Duglat but improved upon and renovated by Nurjahan Begum. In 1642, the garden was assigned to Jahan Ara Begum.

The garden was spread over the slope of Diyar-Larī mountain. It was divided into three terraces, tanks and fountains were installed in each terrace.

62. At present it is known as Shadepora at the distance of 12 miles in the north-west of Srinagar in long. 74° 43' lat. 34° 11'. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 727.


64. Long. 74° 43' Lat. 34° 16'.

65. A.N., III, p. 556. Moorcraft states that the garden was laid out by Akbar is not born out by facts. Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II, p. 221.


The spring garden of Verinag was most unusual of all the Mughal gardens, as it was situated at the foot of thickly wooded hill-side about three miles below Jawahir Tunnel.

Crystal clear water bearing the reflection of the pine laden mountain in the background enchanted Prince Salim. He visited the spot in the company of his father and directed his officials to build a house for himself. By 1622, the house was complete and a beautiful garden was also laid out in front of the spring. The basin shaped spring was embanked with heaven stones in octagonal position. Each side of the octagon was 17 yards long and the diameter of the spring was 40 yards. A magnificent building was put up above the spring in brick and mortar.

In 1636, Shahjahan visited the garden, but he did not like the layout and the buildings of the garden. Malik Haidar was appointed as Daroga Baytuṭat and directed to remodel the whole plan. The existing main channel divided...
the garden but two smaller channels were then built for irrigating the side gardens. A palace with a Turkish bath was built in the centre. The garden was named Shahabad.

**Achawal Bagh**

It is situated at a distance of 6 miles from Islamabad. A small but a pretty garden was laid out there by Jahangir in 1622. It was improved upon and renovated by Shahjahan in 1636. A pavilion was built in the centre of the garden. Later in 1641, a summer house was built in it. The garden was called Sāhibābād. In 1662, Aurangzeb assigned the garden to Zebunnisa Begum.

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75. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 328. J. J. Modi has raised a controversy over the date of the foundation on the basis of two inscriptions. He suggests that the work was started in 1029 and the work was completed in 1036 H. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, 1917-18, Vol. 25, No. 71, pp. 64-73.
76. Tuzuk, p. 313. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 327.
77. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 51.
78. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 51.
The vigorous effort made by the Mughals in developing the remote scenic spots into health resorts produced healthy and beneficial effect on the economic life of the people. We have already stated emperors, subehdārs, and other officials vied one another in laying out gardens and building monumental palaces and summer houses. Every one wanted to surpass his predecessor, with the result continuous development was constantly effected and these picnic spots too often visited by and reserved for the various categories of the ruling class became the tourist resorts. The modern tourist industry, as a matter of fact, owes a lot to the Mughals. The direct impact was no less beneficial. It checked the economic drain out of the Subāh to a great extent. The money realized from the people was diverted to this field. Enormous amount was spent over on these gardens and monuments. 80 Eight lakhs of rupees were alone spent in one year by Shahjahan on the buildings and gardens. 81 These gardens gave a fillip to horticulture also. Experiments on grafting and plantation of new varieties of fruit were also carried on in these gardens 82 with too well-known and beneficial effects for the variety and exuberance of fruit industry in valley.


81. Dastūrul Ḥamal-i-Shahjahānī, f. 18, Sulaiman Collection 675/53, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

82. See Chapter, II, Section III.

The Subān of Kashmir constituted a very significant unit of the Mughal Empire as it lay in the region adjoining the Kabul province as well as touching the border of the Central Asian lands. Its southern boundaries were adjacent to the provinces of Lahore and Multan which were connected by a number of routes with the plains of the Punjab, which lent it compactness and unity with the rest of Mughal India. Its climate was bracing and healthful which attracted the Mughal royalty, nobility and the social and intellectual elite for frequent visits to the enchanting valley with its lofty mountains, superb beauty and majestic view on the banks of its lakes and rivers. It, therefore, became a first-rate tourist resort to which the rich people flocked to pass the summer days in happiness and revelry particularly because to the Mughals, the Turks, the Persians and the Afghans who constituted the bulk of the upper classes, the scorching heat of the summer sun in the plains was intolerable.

It was no mere accident of history or a freak in the chain of events that prompted Akbar to undertake the extension of the Mughal rule to the region of Kashmir. It was in fact the logical culmination of the imperial adventure to bring about the annexation of Kashmir by any means or under any circumstances so that the defence of the Empire in the North-Western region should be completed by holding the regions of Kashmir and Kabul under the sway of the Mughals. To Akbar the subjugation of Kashmir was the
fulfilment of an opportunity for the realisation of the dream of having impermeable natural frontiers with the outlying posts garrisoned with strong forces to repulse any attempts of invasion on the part of the Uzbeks or any other source of trouble to the Mughal frontiers in that region. A week Kashmir under the possession of the declining Sultanate of the Chaks with the faction fight among the nobles could have fallen an easy prey to the cupidity of the rising power of the Uzbeks through Gilgit and Ladakh and could have further posed a threat not only to Kabul but to the Mughal possessions in the Punjab also. It would have checked the imperial ambitions in the South as the Emperor's hands would have remained tied down with the affairs of the North-West. So it was indispensable to Akbar to bring Kashmir under his direct rule and consolidate his power through maintaining a strong army and enforcing vigorous administrative measures so as to render it an effective safeguard against any misadventure by an external power and to overcome opposition within Kashmir with its other units aimed at restoring the Chak Sultanate or any other insurgent move. Moreover, the weakness of Yousuf Shah and Yaqoob Shah in combating the Mughal advance tactfully and vigorously as well as the intrigue and treachery of the Kashmir nobility together with the perennial Shia-Sunni conflicts darkened the horizon of Kashmiri politics and frustrated all hopes of putting up a stubborn and successful opposition to the Mughal enterprise. Consequently the kingdom of Kashmir lost its independence and became a regular province of the Mughal Empire in 1586, which though it proved advantageous to the Kashmiries in many respects by widening the

1. A.R., III, p. 626
scope of their economic and social activities and developments in many fields in the Šubāh, yet it restricted the full growth of the people of Kashmir to rise to the stature of independent living according to their own choice and wishes and the continuity of institutions and traditions which independence alone can bring forth. Here in lies the significance of the debacle inflicted on the Kashmiris in 1584 and 1586 as it stunted the growth of the natives as self-governing people which further deteriorated in the form of subjugation under the Afghans and the Sikhs on the fall of the Mughal Empire. It further engendered the loss of spirit; enthusiasm and fervour and curbed the martial characteristics of the Kashmiris. This sentiment was voiced by a number of contemporary Kashmiri historians who were gravely shaken and grieved at the loss of the power from the hands of the local people and passing-off the kingdom of Kashmir to the possession of the Mughals.²

The annexation of Kashmir brightened the prospects of the Mughal Empire and within a period of two years from the fall of Kashmir Akbar convened a war council during his visit to Kashmir in 1589 at which the decision of the conquest of Kabul was taken, ostensibly with a view to restricting the expansion

² Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 185a-86. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 175a.
St. Xavier, who accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1597, had also recorded similar sentiments of the people, JRASS, Vol. 23, N.S. 1927, pp. 115-15.
of the Uzbek Empire in that direction. Thereafter the strategically important principalities of Kashtawär, Punch, Pakhlī, Little & Greater Tibet, Rajouri and Noushahra were reduced to submission and merged with the Subāh to widen the scope of the defence of Kashmir. It signified the drawing up of the political geography of large part of modern Kashmir by the Mughals.

Despite the many disadvantages latent in the annexation of Kashmir from the Mughal occupation brought about many good things to Kashmir. The administrative machinery which was thrown out of gear during the decline of the Chak power was streamlined and made effective. The land revenue system in particular was reshaped and brought in tune with the administration prevailing in the rest of the empire introducing annual and periodical checks and auditing, chances of cheating and embezzlement were reduced in the accounts and revenues. The institution of auditing was introduced by the Mughal practice of Darāmdī. The judicial, police and general administration was formed on a firm footing. The litigants had free access to the Courts and officials. The Courts of the Qāzis, the executive and revenue officers dispensed justice. The Subahdār also set a law court to redress the grievances of the complainants, even the Emperor was accessible to the offended parties for the dispensation of justice. The imperial officers, the mansabdārs and jagirdārs were ordered to refund the illegal cesses and abwābs which they realized from the people, yet cases of officials indulging in corrupt practices, misappropriations and illegal exaction on record yet they constitute exceptions and not the rule.
The uniformity of administrative system, abolition of the toll tax, improvement and extension of the routes boosted the trade and commerce of the Šubāh. The peace and tranquility in the region as well as the change in the agrarian conditions rehabilitated the shattered economy of the Šubāh after the Mughal conquest.

The woolen textile of Kashmir entered into a world market through the medium of export trade of the Mughal Empire. It enriched the Šubāh and promoted the industry enormously. The wool merchants monopolized the trade in the wool producing areas, and important feature was that the Kashmiri merchants were henceforth seen in Nepal, Patna, Ahmadabad and Aurangabad.

The Mughals introduced the Cash nexus in the Šubāh. In the initial stages it created some problems but in the course of the time worked well. The payments for external trade were made by the Hundis. The revenue was partially realised in kind but it was commuted into cash by disposing it of to the grain merchants. An important feature of the period under review is the emergence of a middle class which monopolised the woolen textiles, shawl industry in the urban centres and at a latter stage the revenue farming.

The Mughals spent enormous sums on the construction of monuments, gardens and development of health resorts. Even the petty officials also emulated the example of their masters in this regard. Thus the bulk of the revenue was spent over in the development of the Šubāh.
The Mughal conquest had also given rise to the feelings of distrust and dislike among the Kashmiris towards the conquerors and there was no love lost within the ruler and ruled for a longtime. We find better relations subsisting by the time we come to the Aurangzeb’s reign, yet it would be equally incorrect to say that the Kashmiris were altogether ignored in matters of appointment to public offices. We find a number of Kashmiris serving the Mughals in other parts of the Empire. Iba Chak, Husain Chak, Shamsi Chak, Mali Ali, Malik Haidar, Yousf Khan, Mulla Mohsin Fani and a large number were given mansabs and jagirs during the reign of Aurangzeb. Malik Haidar and Malik Ali were given jagirs and title of Raisul-Mulk and Chugtai was conferred on Malik Haidar by Jahangir, Mulla Mohsin Fani was appointed Sadr of Allahabad and Mulla Mohammad Yousf was appointed as a Waqia-Navis of the Mughal Embassy to Iran by Shah Jahan. Abdul Karim Kashmiri was conferred the Foujdari of DaAmony by Aurangzeb, besides, a number of Kashmiris were given minor posts. But we cannot ignore the fact that prestigious posts were usually assigned to Irânis and Šurânis. The Indian element was only a later development.

Favourable climate, scenic beauty and continued peace as well as attentive and devoted following was enough incentive to the Sufis, saints and scholars to settle in the valley. They belonged to various nationalities and groups. This gave rise to a phenomenon of new social behaviour and humanitarianism. Naqashbandi and Chishti orders were introduced and flourished during our period. Islam was introduced into the farflung areas of Ladakh and
Kashtawar. The dissemination of the Shia faith was checked by the extension of the mystic movements and indirect result of these Sufi movements was the disintegration of the indigenous mystic order called the Rishi order. The sectarian feelings aroused by the orthodox rulers like Mirza Haidar Duglat and the Chaks were still alive. But in the course of time, under the strong rule of the Mughals sectarian feuds and feelings were suppressed.

Some modern historians have attributed the loss of martial spirit among the Kashmiris totally to the establishment of the Mughal rule. But the martial spirit of the Kashmiris though immensely diminished by the prolonged Mughal occupation had other factors to influence it adversely. The Budhist, Shiva, and Sufi influence also dampened it. With the exception of Sultan Shihabuddin the other Sultans were contented with the territorial limits of their kingdom. We cannot ignore the unfortunate fact that a band of 300 soldiers under Mirza Haidar Duglat could defeat the Kashmirians in 1533 and again in 1540. Even Mohammad Gāsim Khan entered the city of Srinagar in 1585 without any hinderence. It is thus obvious that the loss of martial spirit was to some extent the outcome of a process initiated much before the establishment of Mughal rule, but it was in fact destroyed by the Mughal occupation.

The Mughal conquest was a turning point in the cultural history of the Subah. The mass scale contacts enriched the already copious cultural heritage. Cultural life attained a new dimension. Persian became the popular language. Gulistān, Bostān, Karima Nāmihaq of Sādī, Pandnāma of Attār and Divān-i-Hafiz were committed to memory. The era produced historians, scholars, and poets of the highest order.

The Sanskrit language was eliminated because it lost the state patronage and had no firm ground among the masses. Art, architecture and garden culture entered into a new phase of development.

It was the Mughal period which opened the way for European travellers. Jerome Xavier, Bendjet De goes, Pelsaert, Bernier, Desideri and Father Fryre came to the enchanting valley during our period. Through their accounts and writings they introduced Kashmir with its novelties to the European world, which in long run helped in the growth and development of modern tourist industry and foreign trade, and other contacts and aroused their interest in the land, the people and the masterly crafts of Kashmir.

The remarks of Sir Jadunath Sarkar regarding the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Kashmir at the close of our period cannot be swept aside. It is quite strange that a historian of his eminence and calibre could pass sweeping remarks on the basis of isolated and stray references and attribute the
ruin of Kashmir to the atrocious rule of Aurangzeb. This would be going too far in making simplified assertions. The evidence contained in the accounts of St. Xavier, Francisco Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri, Father Fryre and lastly George Forster on the one hand, and Abul Faz'1, Jahangir, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Malik Haidar, Narain Kou Ajiz and Mohammad 'Azam on the other leads us to the conclusion that though the Mughal occupation had hampered the growth of the Kashniris to their full stature yet the socio-economic order ushered in by the Mughal conquest in 1586 led to the attainment of many tangible results in the overall developments in the fields of administrative, social, economic and cultural institutions.

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