itinerant friars. The remaining three days he devoted to the inspection of the army, to hunting, music and dealing out justice. Husain Shāh also possessed a taste for poetry. It is related that a poet, who usually received from him gifts and a robe of honour every 'Īd, sent him this line[1] before a particular 'Īd—

خلعتِ شاهی مرا اسپے رسد یا زین رسد

The Bādshāh wrote back the following line :—

این چنین کم فهم را نے آں رسد نے این رسد

Khwāja A'zam and Pīr Hasan Shāh quote other couplets of Husain Shāh—

آں تُرک آل پُوش سوارِ سمند شُد
یاران حذر کُنید که آتش بلند شُد

حائل کرده تیغ و بسته خنجر یار می آید
دِلا برخیز و کارے کُن که جان در کار می آید

It was the set practice of Husain Shāh, after Friday prayers, to order his treasurer to put aside a sum which he gave away in charity. Çuka says: "The goddess of wealth, though insulted by large expenditures, went with him." The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* says, Husain Shāh founded a college and lived in the society of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the *pargana* of Zaina-pōr as their *jāgir*.

Before he died, the nobles at the court began to intrigue about the next successor. Some favoured a choice between Husain Shāh's brother, 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, while others preferred to have the youthful prince Yūsuf Khān as their next king. 'Alī Khan retired to Sopōr and returned with an army. Daulat Chak then advised the king to send the royal insignia to 'Alī Khān to avoid bloodshed. The king followed his advice, abdicated on account of epilepsy in 1570 A.C., and thenceforward remained at Zaina-pōr where he passed away in 1572 A.C.

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1. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 203.
2. *Ibid.*, page 202.

ʻALĪ SHĀH CHAK

[978 *to* 987 *A.H. or* 1570 *to* 1579 *A.C.*]

ʻAlī Khān ascended the throne as ʻAlī Shāh Chak. Like his brother Husain Shāh, ʻAlī Shāh too was a just and wise ruler. He showed great respect towards saints and friars. As Bābā Dāʻūd Khākī says—

والئی کوران علی شاہ ، گوستدارِ صالحان

پور او شہزادہ یوسف با جاہ و جلال

Although the Chaks were Shīʻas, and the Shīʻas of Kashmīr are condemned like the Sunnīs of Balkh in the satirical Persian couplet—

دو گروہ اند در جہان بے پیر

سنّی بلخ و شیعۂ کشمیر

it appears on the testimony of a great Sunnī leader, the lieutenant of Sultān-ul-ʻĀrifīn Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, namely, Bābā Dāʻūd Khākī, that this ruler was good to the Sunnīs.

An impostor from Īrān dressed in the garb of a darvīsh and named Shāh ʻĀrif came to Kashmīr. He claimed relationship with the reigning Safavī king, but was found out.

Soon after his accession, ʻAlī Shāh put an end to all feuds among his nobles. He appointed Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Baihaqī, who was a Sunnī, as his prime minister. Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Baihaqī was the grandson of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī whom we have known in the course of the struggle between Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh. Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak was the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī. These Baihaqīs descended from Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī, the father-in-law of Baḍ Shāh and had migrated to Kashmīr during the time of Sultān Sikandar from Baihaq a district to the North-West of Nīshāpur in Īrān. They took a very prominent part in the politics of Kashmīr during the days of the Later Shāh-Mīrīs.

Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, ʻAlī Shāh's prime minister, a brave man indeed, seems to have been a person singularly disposed towards peace, and settling affairs by tact. He showed great wisdom on several occasions: notably

in securing the king's pardon for 'Alī Chak, son of Naurūz Chak, who had been imprisoned for rebellion. He also restored peace and amity between the monarch and his son Yūsuf Khān who had killed, in an altercation, Ibrāhīm Khān, popularly known as Ibbā Khān, the son of Ghāzī Chak.

Bahādur Singh, the rājā of Kishtwār, who had ascended the *gaddī* in 1570 A.C. was defeated twice in succession. After his first defeat in 1572 A.C., the rājā offered to the Bādshāh's grandson, Ya'qūb Khān, his sister Shankar Devī. This lady, later on, gained the sobriquet of Fath Khātūn and subsequently took her husband, when he was defeated by Akbar, to Kishtwār. The rājā also promised to maintain the annual tribute. When he was defeated the second time in 1574, the rājā gave his son Nārāin Singh as hostage, and renewed his pledge for payment of tribute. The same year, 'Alī Shāh received Qazī Sadr-ud-Dīn and Maulānā 'Ishqī, Akbar's ambassadors, with a message of matrimonial alliance. He thereupon sent his niece, Husain Shāh's daughter, who had previously been sent back by Akbar, along with presents. He also included Akbar's name in the Friday sermon and struck coin in the Emperor's name, indicating that he owned Akbar as his suzerain.

Haidar Khān and Salīm Khān, sons of Nāzuk Shāh, allied themselves with certain nobles of Hindustān and proceeded to invade Kashmīr in 1575 A.C. 'Alī Shāh sent his nephews, Lohur Chak and Muhammad Chak, against the enemy. Muhammad Chak, cleverly as a mere matter of show and to hoodwink the adversary, took Lohur Chak prisoner, and boldly joined the enemy. Finding the earliest opportunity he turned the tables on Salīm Khān and put him to the sword, at which Haidar Khān fled. Thus ended this final attempt of Shāh Mīr's descendants to regain the throne.

In 984 A.H. (1576 A.C.) Kashmīr suffered from a famine which lasted for three years. Food had become so scarce that, at times, people actually stooped to cannibalism. Zaitī Chak, popularly known as Zait Shāh, was a zealous darvīsh and a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm. When 'Alī Shāh asked Zaitī how long the famine was to last, Zaitī frankly told him that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death. The king met his death while playing polo in the plain of the 'Idgāh, as the

pommel of his saddle entered his stomach.[1] Before his death, however, he saw his son, Yūsuf, crowned king to prevent Abdāl Khān Chak, his own brother, from creating any mischief. Abdāl Khān Chak was eventually killed by Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, the Vazīr-i-A'zam.

YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK (i)

[987 *A.H. or* 1579 *A.C.*]

Yūsuf Shāh continued to have Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī as his prime minister. But the king abandoned himself to the career of a voluptuary, which so estranged his minister that he resigned his post. Muhammad Baṭ was appointed in his place, and the king continued indifferent to the state.

The nobles banded themselves together and sought help from Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī who advised them to avoid rebellion. At the same time, he sent word to the king through Bābā Khalīl, a Shī'a divine, requesting him to treat the insurgents mildly in order that the revolt may not grow in volume. The king exhibited a lack of diplomacy when he asked Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, on pain of death, to hand over the insurgents in chains to him. It was both a direct affront and a challenge which the Sayyid accepted readily.

Malik Muhammad Nājī[2] advised the king to be generous in order to win over to his side even his opponents. But to this Yūsuf would not listen. On the other hand, he dispatched soldiers under two Sardārs, Habīb Khān Chak and Muhammad Khān Chak, to fight Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī. Malik Muhammad Nājī lost his son in this contest. The king too lost his throne. Malik Nājī pined and died within a few weeks. Yūsuf relinquished the insignia of royalty and betook himself to the mountains of Briñal-Lāmar between Tahsīl Kulgām and the Pīr Pāntasāl range.

[Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī is known in Kashmīr history as Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, the title of *Khān* being applicable in Kashmīr to those notables who were concerned with the control of the army, and to princes of the royal blood. *Khān* may be supposed to be, more or less, somewhat analogous to *Duke* in English usage except that a dukedom is hereditary but not a khānate in Kashmīr in that sense.]

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1. C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1885, page 135.
The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 217.

SAYYID MUBĀRAK KHĀN BAIHAQĪ

[986 *A.H.* *or* 1578 *A.C.*]

Sayyid Mubārak, now installed as a ruler, started his short régime in a somewhat unceremonious way, rather Lenin-like in a socialist manner. He broke up the crown and divided its gems amongst the poor. His manifest disregard of his nobles, however, seriously offended them. They plotted for the return of Yūsuf Shāh. Sayyid Mubārak however, sent Dā'ūd Mīr, a courtier, with an invitation to the exiled king, who sent his sons, Ya'qūb Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, intending to follow them himself. But he was secretly warned against this by Abdāl Baṭ, the commander of forces, who explained that the invitation was a ruse played by Sayyid Mubārak. Eventually, however, he gave battle and was severely defeated, whereupon he disappeared behind the Briñal hill in Tahsīl Kulgām.

Abdāl Baṭ, the commander, manœuvred so successfully that he threw both Yūsuf Shāh and Sayyid Mubārak into utter confusion, and also caused them to fight each other. The result was that Abdāl's clever machinations secured the throne to Lohur Chak, since Sayyid Mubārak willingly offered to abdicate, after a sway of six months and two days according to Hasan, and eight months and fifteen days according to Khwāja A'zam, though Haidar Malik Chāḍura and Khalīl Marjānpurī set down the period as two months and fifteen days only. Sayyid Mubārak at his abdication recited the following lines :

شہا فقر و غنا از ما و مُلک و عِزّ و جاہ از تُو

کہ دُنیا را وفائے نیست خواہ از ما و خواہ از تُو

Yūsuf was balked of the prize of kingship for which he had been invited. The death of the Baihaqī took place in 1591 A.C., five years after the advent of Mughul rule in Kashmīr.

LOHUR SHĀH CHAK

[987 *A.H.* *or* 1579 *A.C.* *to* 988 *A.H.* *or* 1580 *A.C.*]

Badī'-ud-Dīn or Gauhar Shāh, better known as Lohur Chak, was Yūsuf Shāh's cousin, being the son of Shankar Chak. Abdāl Baṭ received the coveted office of prime minister under the Pādshāh.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak, on losing the crown which seemed to be within reach, repaired to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sīkrī, on January 2, 1580 A.C., to solicit help to regain his kingdom. That Emperor, it is needless to say, was only awaiting an opportunity like this to turn it to his own advantage. Akbar, therefore, willingly sent Rājā Mān Singh and Mīrzā Yūsuf with an army with the exiled king, and they were joined by Muhammad Baṭ, Yūsuf Shāh's vazīr, at Lāhore with an army one thousand strong. Yūsuf Shāh, on Muhammad Baṭ's advice, suspected that Akbar would usurp the kingdom himself, and was now smitten with remorse for unnecessarily seeking foreign help. He left Rājā Mān Singh and Mīrzā Yūsuf behind, on the pretext that it would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. We shall meet Mān Singh later.

Through the efforts of Muhammad Baṭ, Yūsuf was able to rally four thousand men around him before reaching Kashmīr. He crossed the river Jhelum, near the village Dalna, seven miles from Bārāmūla, to avoid Yūsuf Ḍār's three thousand soldiers deputed by Abdāl Baṭ. Yūsuf Shāh entered Srīnagar triumphantly. Abdāl Baṭ was killed. Lohur Chak sought safety in abdication by flight and subsequent death. Lohur had reigned for about thirteen months during which Malik Haidar, practically an eye-witness, remarks that plenty ruled the land and that a *kharwār* of shālī or unhusked rice was available for a *falas* (pice), and the people enjoyed prosperity.

YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK (*ii*)

[988 *A.H. or* 1580 *A.C. to* 994 *A.H. or* 1586 *A.C.*]

After an exile of a year and a half, Yūsuf Shāh re-established himself on the throne. In the beginning, he devoted his attention to the affairs of the state, freed the country from schism, and re-entered into friendly relations with Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī to whose son he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Malik Haidar Chāḍura, the historian, entered Yūsuf Shāh's service and continued in it for twenty-four years in Kashmīr and in Yūsuf's exile in Bihār.

It was Yūsuf Shāh who used to visit Gulmarg during the hot weather, and changed its name from Gaurīmarg (the *mārg* or path or pass of Gaurī, wife of Çiva) or popularly Gurmarg or Horse's Meadow (from *Gur*, a horse) to Gulmarg,

'the Meadow of Flowers.' He used to visit Sonmarg, Ahrabal, and Achabal too. Yūsuf had his *Zulīkhā* in Habba Khātūn to whom he was attached as a prince. Their love romance is one of the most poetic episodes in the romantic literature of Kashmīr. On one brief separation, Yūsuf Shāh, cried out—

بر یادِ دُو زُلفِ بُتِ کشمیر نژادے
شُد تار سر و مار سر از گریہ دو چشمم

[Tārsar and Mārsar are two lakes in the *pargana* Phāk. Tārsar is stated to mean the lake of Tārā, a goddess. Mārsar is the lake of Cupid.] Habba or Hub will receive notice, later on, among the 'Noted Women of Kashmīr' in Chapter VIII.

[Gulmarg is about 28 miles east of Srīnagar, and 13 miles due south of Bārāmūla. The *Marg*, which is shaped somewhat like the figure 8, is about 3 miles long, and varies in width from a few hundred yards to more than a mile. It is enclosed, on all sides, by hills densely wooded by deodār. The whole of its surface is dotted with flowers of every hue. The elevation of the Marg is about 3,000 feet above the level of the Valley of Kashmir, and above 8,700 feet above the sea. The climate is cold, bracing and salubrious. The rainfall is three times as much as at Srīnagar and yet it is not more than two-thirds of that of Murree. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān, it is said, used to itch their tents for picnics on the stream that winds through Gulmarg, as, before them, Yusuf Shāh and Habba Khātūn used to enjoy life in their own days. Gulmarg is thus a land of Kashmīr's royal lovers.]

Peace did not reign long. Yūsuf Shāh's nobles soon began to show restiveness on account of his indifference to state affairs. Prominent conspirators like Shams Chak, 'Ālam Sher Māgre and Sayyid Yūsuf were hauled up. Later, Muhammad Baṭ, the Vazīr, and his brother Husain Baṭ, along with Yūsuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, were suddenly discovered in their designs against the king, and were imprisoned. But Yūsuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, escaped from prison, and joined Haidar Chak, a commander of Lohur Chak's troops, at Lāhore, whence they quietly decided to proceed to Ladākh or Western Tibet. From that country they attacked Kashmīr, but were defeated, captured, and punished by having their eyes put out. The king's son Ya'qūb Khān also rebelled and joined Haidar Chak. Both were defeated, but Haidar Chak fled to Lāhore to Rājā Mān Singh. The Rājā already owed Yūsuf Shāh a grudge for the manner in which the latter had spurned his help. To checkmate Haidar Chak's designs, Yūsuf Shāh sent

Khwāja Qāsim with presents to Rājā Mān Singh. The Khwāja, on his return, pretended to have achieved success in his political mission, while Rājā Mān Singh had already assigned the districts of Naushehra and Bhimbar to Haidar Chak as jāgīr.

A little detail from Abu'l Fazl about this campaign will be reproduced here. "When the envoys,* Mīr Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil, returned from Kashmīr, Akbar dispatched Shāh Rukh Bahādur, Rājā Bhagvān Dās, Shāh Qulī Mahram, Mādhū Singh, Mubārak Khān and others under the charge of Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhī, Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Chak and others . . . . When the army marched to conquer Kashmīr, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, as also some of the landholders there were well-disposed." "The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow and the winter had come to an end, they would advance through the passes. When the enemy were off their guard, the Mughul army was to proceed by the Paklī route where snowfall is less." (p. 723).

"On this news, Yūsuf Shāh Chak resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near a gorge of the river Kunhār, a tributary of the Jhelum. In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war." The force that was sent had passed Bārāmūla by six *kōs*. To the good fortune of the Mughul army Yūsuf Shāh, however, suddenly recalled his men, setting store on the difficulty of crossing the passes, the advent of snow and rain, and the invading army belonging to a hot country. Yūsuf Shāh accordingly revised his plan.

But Yūsuf Shāh learnt rather late that Akbar's delegation had arrived near Pakhlī or Hazāra, and the Mughul troops had traversed heights and hollows, and had come near Būlīyāsa (old Bolyāsaka, perhaps now called Bunyār) on the right bank of the Jhelum some 50 miles away from Bārāmūla and six marches to Abbottābād. The expedition of Muhammad Shāh Rukh and Rājā Bhagavān Dās marched from the west and followed the bed of the Jhelum and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of Kashmīr. Jahāngīr refers to this when he says (*The Tūzuk*, Vol. II, p. 132) that Ya'qūb Shāh fought

*Based on the *Akbar-nāma*, Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. III, Chapter LXXXV, pages 715-25.

with Bhagavān Dās' army at Būlīyāsa which he calls Bhūlbās and which he says is the boundary of Kashmīr. The fact is that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb, however, fought vigorously; and the Mughul army suffered terribly from the cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads, and the rain and snow, and were glad to retreat on any terms.

Meanwhile, Akbar sent Tīmūr Beg to Yūsuf Shāh. Yūsuf Shāh, in turn, sent his son Ya'qūb Khān, who had now composed his differences with his father, with presents, to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sīkrī. On receiving the news of the death of Mīrzā Hakīm, Akbar's step brother, then governing at Kābul, the emperor resolved to proceed thither, and desired to interview Yūsuf Shāh on his way. When Yūsuf Shāh failed to put in an appearance, Akbar directed Mīr Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil Dīwāna to present Yūsuf at court. Ya'qūb Khān reached Kashmīr after forced marches to apprise his father, who, spurred on by Khwāja Qāsim, was very angry at the insult Akbar had offered him. Yūsuf Shāh's nobles dissuaded him from going to Akbar's court. Yūsuf was not actually materially helped by Akbar in gaining the throne of Kashmīr. But, at the same time, it is true Yūsuf would not have been successful so easily had it not been known that Akbar was prepared to aid him. Akbar's historians henceforth treat Yūsuf as a vassal and call him Yūsuf Khān. Yūsuf's view was—as Sir W. Haig says (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, page 292)—that, as he had re-gained his throne without the aid of foreign troops, he was still an independent sovereign. Akbar on 20th December, 1685, ordered Rājā Bhagavān Dās, Shāh Rukh Mīrzā and Shāh Qulī Khān to advance upon Kashmīr.

Akbar did not conduct his campaigns himself, and it was a weakness in him as a ruler, points out Lawrence Binyon,* that he did not always choose his lieutenants wisely. The three generals sent on the Kashmīr campaign quarrelled. One of them was " Bīrbal, a musician, a poet, a jester, rather than a soldier or commander." Akbar could hear the loss of eight thousand men more calmly than the loss of Bīrbal who was killed in the engagement. " Bīrbal, his dear Bīrbal, his merry companion, whose voice, as he talked or sang in the evenings verses of his own

Akbar by Lawrence Binyon, Peter Davies Ltd., 1932, pages 134-35.

composition, was still in his ear: Bīrbal, for whom he had built so beautiful a house at Fathpur-Sīkrī: Bīrbal, the one Hindu who had embraced the emperor's new religion of the Divine Faith." But according to the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn* (Vol. I, page 192), Akbar had drawn lots between Abu'l Fazl and Bīrbal. The latter's name came up and consequently he had to go. As success from the military point of view could not be claimed, Rājā Bhagavān Dās tried to save the situation diplomatically by proposing terms, whereupon Yūsuf Shāh visited his camp. Taking advantage of Yūsuf's absence, the Kashmīr nobles placed Ya'qūb Khān on the throne, and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting a great loss upon it. Rājā Bhagavān Dās was obliged to make terms with Ya'qūb, the chief of which was the annual payment of tribute by Kashmīr to Akbar. The *Akbar-nāma* says that the Kashmīrīs offered to agree that "the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhinshāh and that the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial. A superintendent or dārūgha should be appointed for each department and then the army should return . . . . His Majesty , ... accepted the agreement."

The Rājā took Yūsuf Shāh to Akbar's court. But Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Rājā Bhagavān Dās had made, and broke faith with Yūsuf by detaining him as a prisoner. Bhagavān Dās, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak ceases, here, as a ruler. He was generous. He was cultured. He was a liberal Shī'ā. But he was weak and fickle. His lack of decision and his indifference to affairs of state cost him his crown. He should have controlled the factions and his nobles by tact and firmness. He lacked these and ended his life away from his own land. Yūsuf showed bravery in returning the attack of Sher Afgan Khān, whom he killed near Burdawān in Bengal.

YA'QŪB SHĀH CHAK.

[994 *A.H.* *or* 1586 *A.C.*]

As Habīb Shāh was the last of the Shāh Mīrīs, the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr, Ya'qūb Shāh was the last of the Chaks. On his accession, Ya'qūb made 'Alī Ḍār, a prominent official, his minister, and himself took to a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule naturally followed.

'Alī Ḍār, the first minister, rebelled, fled the city, and suffered death by drowning. The second minister, Muhammad Baṭ, relentlessly persecuted the Sunnīs. Qāzī Mūsā, the Chief Qāzī, was ruthlessly done to death by Ya'qūb Shāh. Ya'qūb, it seems, wanted the Qāzī to retain the name of Caliph 'Alī to the exclusion of the other three Caliphs of the Prophet in the public prayer. Qāzī Mūsā objected to it. He said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qūb was offended. He sent for the executioner and put Qāzī Mūsā to death. Qāzī Mūsā's house was also plundered.* The Sunnīs were naturally so alarmed that Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* and Bābā Dā'ūd *Khākī* petitioned Akbar for help and entered into the following covenant with him:—

1. That the ruling prince shall not interfere with religious affairs, the purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals.

2. That the dignitaries and officials of Kashmīr shall have no Kashmīrī, male or female, Hindu or Muslim, as slave. [Possibly this was to forestall the Mughul custom of taking slaves from subjugated areas.]

3. That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way, or *begār* exacted.

4. That the nobles of Kashmīr having been a source of mischief shall have, for the present, no share in the administration of their country.

Qāsim Khān was ordered to march on 28th June, 1586 A.C., upon Kashmīr with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rajaurī and proceeded to Srīnagar. Ya'qūb made several attempts to retrieve the situation, but met with no success. The flight of Yūsuf and Ya'qūb has been satirized in the following couplet:—

نه از یُوسف نشان دیدم، نه از یعقُوب آثارے

عزیزان یُوسف ار گُم شُد، چه شُد یعقوب را بارے

*A full account will be found in the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār* by Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad *Ghāfil* in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, Add. 24,029, page 299. See note on the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār* on p. 236, footnote.

Mīrzā Qāsim entered Srīnagar in 995 A.H. (1586 A.C.). From that date Kashmīr came under foreign domination. She now embarked upon her career as a Mughul province.

Now that we close the story of Kashmīr as an independent country, some observations on this loss of independence are perhaps pertinent.

Shāh Mīr was a foreigner to Kashmīr, but, as we said, he saved Kashmīr from subjugation by the Tughluqs. The Chaks brought about the defeat and death of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and prevented Bābur and Humāyūn from forming Kashmīr into a principality of theirs. Kashmīr was conquered by Bābur's grandson, the great Akbar no doubt, but this conquest was due more to causes inside Kashmīr than to Akbar's military might. Akbar's own Prime Minister, Abu'l Fazl, had at one time admitted that if the ruler of Kashmīr fortified Kashmīr's passes, an army of "thousands of Rustams" would find it difficult, or rather impossible, to get possession of the country. (See the footnote on page 17).

The last descendants of Shāh Mīr lost Kashmīr by internecine warfare and by incompetence. But they were not bigots or religious fanatics. They were tolerant, forbearing and cultured. They made no distinction in the matter of their military recruitment. The Chaks, on the other hand, committed atrocities under the cloak of their new cult, though it is true the Shī'as had suffered from Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. The Chaks confined recruitment to the army mostly to the Shī'as. And thus they made the army loyal to themselves alone, but not fit for the general defence of the country as a whole.

Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (725-753 A.C.) had warned Kashmīr rulers against raising troops from a single district—implying thereby any single clan or caste. It was wise advice. The Chaks disregarded it. They raised their army and recruited or promoted their army officers mostly from among the Shī'as. The Chaks had themselves become the re-incarnation of feudal Ḍāmaras of yore. By their heroism the Chaks overthrew the Shāh Mīrīs. By their feudalism and factions they brought about their own fall. For, religious bigotry, the raising of troops mostly from among

themselves, and the consequent factions caused in the people of Kashmīr, led to an invitation to Akbar to rid Kashmīr from fanaticism and oppression.

There is a lesson from the history of Bulgaria, to which reference cannot but be made. A quotation from the *Historians' History of the World* will appropriately illustrate it. "For many centuries the Bulgarians held the whole peninsula (of the Balkans) in suspense, shared their literature and culture with the remaining orthodox Slavic world, and by the doctrines of a native sect shook the whole of southern Europe, and what is the conclusion? The nation once so respected and feared, passed politically under the yoke of the Turks, intellectually under the yoke of the Greeks, and remained in this servitude until in our days it has shown that its task is not finished. The three causes which contributed directly to the fall of the Tirnova Empire (of Bulgaria) were Byzantinism, Bogomilism and medieval feudalism." (Vol. XXIV, page 175).

The causes which led to the fall of the Chaks were (*i*) medieval feudalism that promoted fights and factions among feudal lords, and (*ii*) Bogomilism, which in their case was religious fanaticism.

[The Bogomilism of Bulgaria was founded by a reformer, named Bogomil (literally, Love of God) about the first half of the tenth century A.C. The theology of Bogomilism was founded on the original two elements, a good and an evil, a kind of Manichaeism imported from the East.]

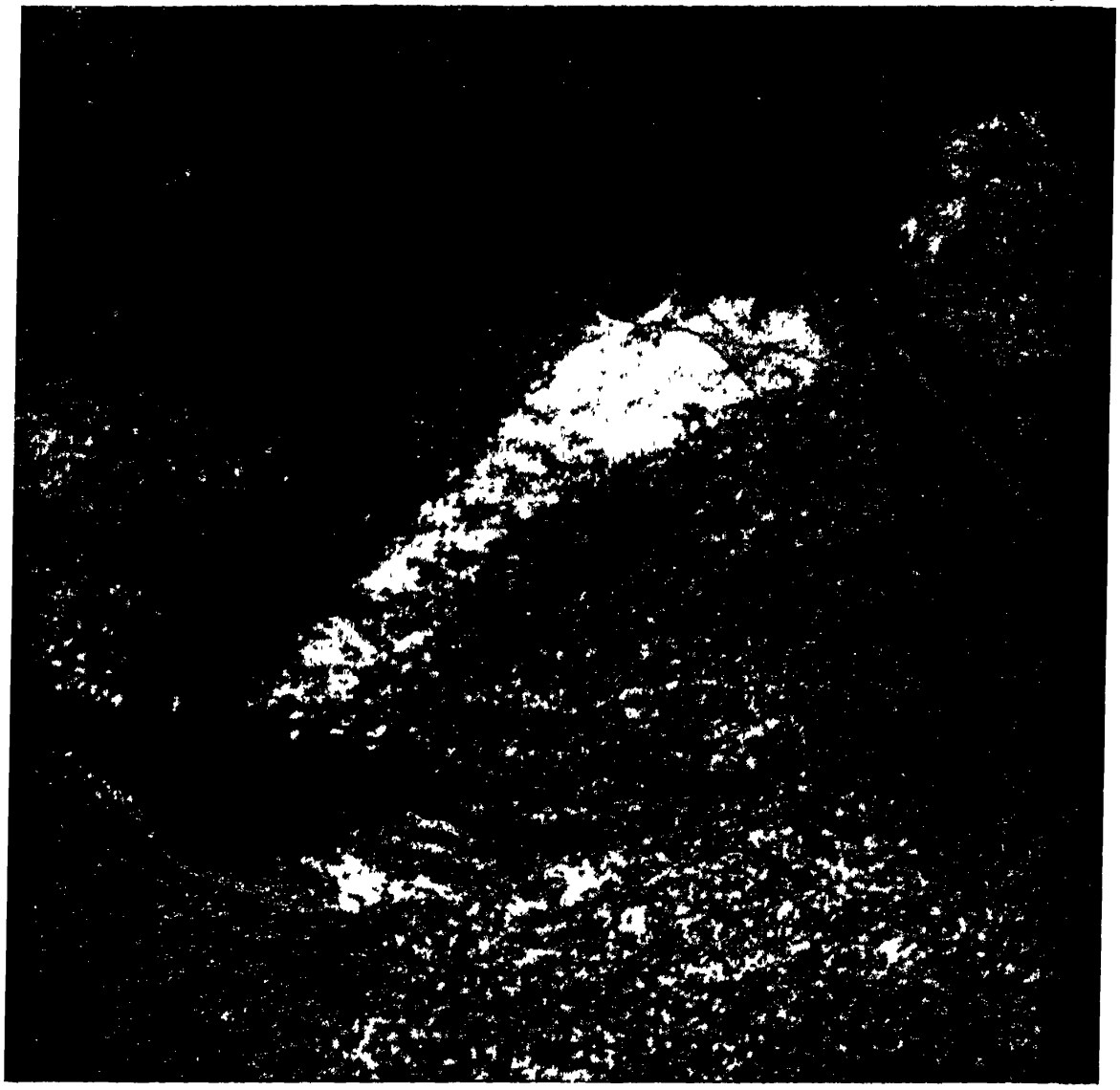
Let us now bury Ya'qūb Shāh before we turn to the birth of Mughul rule in Kashmīr.

We know Ya'qūb was married to Shankar Devī, the daughter of Bahādur Singh, the rājā of Kishtwār, in 1572 A.C. Shankar Devī, as already stated, became Fath Khātūn. In his defeat in 1586, Ya'qūb betook himself to Kishtwār, to the land of his devoted queen. From here he made one more attempt to recover Kashmīr in 1887, but failed. In 1588 Ya'qūb died* at Kishtwār and is buried towards the

*Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad bin 'Abd-us-Sabūr bin Khwāja Muhammad Balkhī Kashmīrī, *takhallus Ghāfil*, the author of the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār*, a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to the conquest of Akbar, and completed by the author at Shāhjahānābād in the month of Safar 1136 (1723 A.C.), says that the death of Ya'qūb Khān Chak was caused by means of a *khil'ah* sent by Akbar.—Riéu's *Catalogue*, Vol I, 1879, page 300.

south of the tank of Sirkōt on the Chaugān, outside Kishtwār town. Fath Khātūn constructed a water-course in memory of her husband. This water-course must have been a great blessing to Kishtwār as it is afflicted with shortage of water. She also constructed a tank, and another water-course from Kālī Nāg to the village Zewar.

The last resting-place of the last independent Muslim ruler of Kashmīr is today but a low heap of lime and stone in a corner of a field in the possession of a Pandit!



This heap of stone and lime represents the last resting-place of the last independent Muslim ruler of Kashmīr, Ya'qūb Shāh Chak, in a field in Kishtwār.

بر مزارِ ما غریباں نے چراغے نے گُلے
نے پرِ پروانہ سُوزد نے صدائے بُلبلے!

Pakhli.—The footnote 1, on page 87, treats of Pakhlī, which occurs so many times in this Chapter also, some more information about it is, therefore, given here. "An ancient *Sarkār* or district of the Mughul *Sūbah* of the Punjāb, now included in the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province, Pakhlī roughly corresponds with the ancient Urasa which Ptolemy places between the Bidaspes (Jhelum) and the Indus. Its king was named Arsakes in the times of Alexander. Hiuen Tsiang found it tributary to Kashmīr. In the Kashmīr chronicle called the *Rājatarangiṇī*, it appears, now as a separate kingdom, now as tributary to that State. In it lay Agror, the ancient Atyugrapura. In Bābur's time, this tract was held by the Khakha and Bamba tribes, whose chiefs had been the ancient rulers of the country east of the Indus but had been driven out by the Gībari Sultāns of Bājaur and Swāt; and the tract derives its name from Pakhlī one of these conquerors. In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* it is described as bounded on the east by Kashmīr, on the south by the country of the Gakhars, on the west by Attock, and on the north by Kator (Chitrāl). Under Durrānī rule, Saādat Khān, was chosen as chief of Pakhlī, then a dependency of Kashmīr. He founded the fort of Garhī Saādat Khān, which was the headquarter of Āzād Khān's rebellion against Tīmūr Shāh. Early in the nineteenth century Pakhli comprised three districts: Mansehra in the south and south-east. Shinkiarī (subdivided into Kandhī and Maidān) in the north-east, and Bhīr-Kand in the centre. The valleys of Kāgān Bhogarmang and Agror were dependent on it."—*The Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. XIX (New edition), Oxford Press, 1908, p. 318-19] " The Pakhlī plain of the Mansehra Tahsil, 3,000 feet above sea-level, is 11 miles from north to south, and 10 from east to west. It is a fertile, highly cultivated tract, especially in the western portion which is irrigated by the Siran river."—*Gazetteer of the Hazāra District*, 1907. Compiled and edited by H. D. Watson, C. S., Settlement Officer, Chatto and Windus, London, 1908, p. 3.

The Mughul rulers concerned with the history of Kashmīr.

[1586 A.C. TO 1752 A.C.]

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1. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, 1556 to 1605 A.C.=963 to 1014 A.H. *Conquers Kashmīr in 1586* A.C.

2. Nūr-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr 1605 to 1627 A.C.=1014 to 1037 A.H.

3. Dāvar Bakhsh son of Prince Khusrū, the eldest son of Jahāngīr, 1627 A.C.=1037 A.H. Khusrū had died in 1622.

4. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Shāh Jahān, 1628 to 1657 A.C.=1037 to 1068 A.H.

5. Murād Bakhsh, the fourth son of Shāh Jahān, 1657 A.C.=1068 A.H.

6. Shāh Shujā,' second son of Shāh Jahān, 1657 A.C. =1068 A.H.

7. Muhyi'd Dīn Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1658 to 1707 A.C.=1068 to 1118 A.H.

8. A'zam Shāh, second son of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1707 A.C.=1118 A.H.

9. Kām Bakhsh, fourth son of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1707 A.C.=1119 A.H.

10. Qutb-ud-Dīn Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1707 to 1712 A.C.=1119 to 1124 A.H.

11. 'Azīm-ush-Shān, second son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1712 A.C.=1124 A.H.

12. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1712 A.C.=1124 A.H.

13. Muhyi'd Dīn Farrukh Siyar, son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, 1713 to 1719 A.C.=1124 to 1131 A.H.

14. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and third nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 A.C.=1131 A.H.

15. Rafī'-ud-Daula Shāh Jahān II son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and second nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 A.C.= 1131 A.H.

16. Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, son of Jahān Shāh the fourth son of Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 to 1748 A.C.=1131 to 1161 A.H.

17. Muhammad Ibrāhīm, son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and nephew of Jahāndār Shāh (simultaneously with Muhammad Shāh), 1719 to 1720 A.C.=1131 to 1132 A.H.

18. Mujāhid-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, son of Muhammad Shāh, 1748 to 1754 A.C.=1161 to 1167 A.H.

Kashmīr then goes to the Afghān ruler, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1752.

CHAPTER VI

KASHMĪR UNDER THE MUGHULS

[1586 A.C. TO 1752 A.C.]

Brave though the Chaks were, they lacked the qualities essential for the making of successful rulers and administrators. Hence the rapid close of their sway extending over only a generation—about 31 years. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the early Mughul attempts on Kashmīr since they have already been related in the preceding Chapter. They begin with Bābur, continue with Humāyūn and Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and are successful with Akbar. Akbar started interference with the affairs of Kashmīr in the time of 'Alī Shāh Chak. Then he helped Yūsuf Shāh Chak against Lohar or Gauhar Shāh Chak. Later he detained Yūsuf, and finally ousted Yūsuf's son, Ya'qūb, and annexed Kashmīr. The Mughuls held Kashmīr for 166 years. Disintegrating forces, however, gathered strength under the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, and Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739 A.C., hastened the disruption of the gigantic fabric of the Mughul empire. Nādir Shāh annexed Afghānistān. After his death, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī obtained complete control over Afghānistān and added Kashmīr to his dominions when the Emperor Ahmad Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, was on the throne of Delhi.

The last effort of the last of the Chaks.

After its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.C. Kashmīr did not readily submit to Mughul rule. Ya'qūb Shāh, the ex-Chak king, was still exerting himself to regain his lost kingdom. Ibrāhīm Chak, Ya'qūb's brother, and 'Alī Malik Chāḍura, the brother of Malik Haidar Chāḍura, joined him. They took the Mughuls unawares at Chēr-wanī* (in the Baḍgām Tahsīl). Ya'qūb Shāh Chak re-entered Srīnagar as king.

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*Chēr-wanī and Chēr-uḍar are two names that appear in the Persian histories of Kashmīr in regard to the same place. Chēr-wanī means the garden of Chēr or wild apricots, Chēr-uḍar means the Uḍar or Karēwa or the alluvial plateau of wild apricots. The place

Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī, the second son of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, Shamsī Chak, Sayyid Husain Baihaqī and Shams Dulī next worsted the Mughuls. The whole country was up in arms and the loss of Kashmīr was imminent.

[The *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* is a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1023 A.H. (1614 A.C.). The author, whose name is not given, (Add 16,706, Riéu's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 1879, pages 296-297), appears to have been a dependant of a Kashmīrī, Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī, to whom he gives a prominent place in the later period of his history. This Sayyid, Abu'l Ma'ālī, was the second son of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī who was raised for some months to the throne of Kashmīr in 986 A.H. (1578 A.C.), and died in exile at Fīrūzābād in 999 A.H. (1590 A.C.). Abu'l Ma'ālī played an active part in the frequent broils which disturbed Kashmīr for some years before its conquest by Akbar, and was thus placed under the command of Rājā Mān Singh under whom he served for four and twenty years. After the latter's death in 1021 A.H. (1612 A.C.), he was presented, with Haidar Malik Chāḍura, to the Emperor Jahāngīr who conferred upon him a *mansab*.

This Abu'l Ma'ālī, therefore, should not be confused with Abu'l Ma'ālī whom Badāyūnī calls 'of noble Sayyid extraction and of the country of Kāshghar,' and was one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn. He married Māh Kūchak Begam's daughter Fakhr-un-Nisā, had quarrels with Bairam Khān, and was ultimately strangled to death by Mīrzā Sulaimān at Kābul during the 'Īd of Ramazān in the ninth year of Akbar's accession. Abu'l Ma'ālī, too, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's English translation, p. 734), and the *Akbar-nāma* (Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 154), did come on a raid to Kashmīr in the first year of Akbar's accession and was at Naushahra, a town between Bhimbar and Rajaurī. Abu'l Ma'ālī marched on to Bārāmūla and was defeated at Mārkalah near Paṭan by Ghāzī Chak, and 'turned his face to flight.' Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī's incursion is noted by Pandit Shuka in the *Kings of Kashmīra* (p. 389)].

Qāsim Khān, Mīr Bahr, the conqueror and viceroy of Kashmīr, at last sought help from Akbar who dispatched Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī with a strong force of

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is four miles from Baḍgām, the headquarter of the Tahsīl of the same name. Baḍgām itself is nine miles from Srīnagar. There was a fort at the end of the Karēwa or the Uḍar. It is in ruins now. Chēr-wanī or Chēr-uḍar appears to have been a convenient battle-ground between Pūnch and Kashmīr, as it lies on the route between Srīnagar and Tosha-maidān and thence to Pūnch. Chēr-wanī or Chēr-uḍar is 13 miles from Srīnagar and 15 miles from Tosha-maidān. Dīwān Jawāla Sahāi, the Chief Minister of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, populated it, and gave it the name of Jawālāpōr. Its population in 1941 was 769.

twenty-five thousand horse. The Emperor further instructed Muhammad Baṭ and Bābā Khalīl, two influential Kashmīrī nobles then residing at his court, to accompany Sayyid Yūsuf and render him all possible help. These nobles won over several powerful Chaks to their side. At the same time, Ya'qūb's indiscreet behaviour towards his nobles and his unfair treatment of Hindus and Sunnīs brought about his final overthrow in August 1589. After three years' struggle with Akbar, Ya'qūb, then, surrendered to him, and retired to Kishtwār accompanied by Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī and Ibrāhīm Khān called Iba Khān.[1] The independence of Kashmīr was thus completely ended in 1589. Qāsim Khān, Mīr Bahr, came to the court with several Kashmīrī nobles, leaving Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī as governor in his place.

The end of Yūsuf Shāh Chak.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak was exiled to Bihār, where he was detained under the charge of Mān Singh, the governor. A year or so later, Yūsuf Shāh Chak was appointed to the 'command of 500,' a rank carrying a salary[2] ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month and a grant in Bihār. Although this appointment was far from being commensurate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign, yet Yūsuf Shāh served in that capacity under Mān Singh for several years. The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded by Akbar's historians. But Haidar Malik Chāḍura says that Yūsuf died in Hindustān on account of acute insanity and deep melancholia, separated, as he was, from his own land, from his own kingdom, and from his own accomplished Queen Habba Khātūn.

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1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zmī*, *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* and *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* all spell this name as Eba Khān, while Pandit Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*, writes Amīna Khān.

The History of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1122 A.H. (1710 A.C.) is by Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*. The author was urged by Kashmīrian nobles to write its history which he began in the fourth year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.C.). 'Ārif Khān, a Kashmīrian who was the Nā'ib and Dīwān of the Sūbadār, had collected the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmīr, and Ibrāhīm Khān, afterwards 'Alī Mardān Khān, wished to become acquainted with their contents. The author had also before him the history of Malik Haidar Chāḍura. Nārāyan Kaul condensed all this material from Sanskrit and Persian into the present abridgement known as the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by him. Nārāyan Kaul was also a fine poet of Persian.

2. V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, pp. 240-41.

The treatment of the ex-ruler of Kashmīr cannot be described, in the words of Dr. V. A. Smith, as generous. In fact, it is one of the chief blots on Akbar's character. Abu'l Fazl says that Akbar's appointment of Yūsuf Shāh was to test his fitness for restoration to Kashmīr. But there is no evidence that Akbar ever proposed to make amends for the wrong which he had done to Yūsuf Shāh Chak– that Yūsuf who disposed of Sher Afgan for Jahāngīr and corrected Akbar's great singer Miyān Tān Sēn, according to the testimony of Malik Haidar Chāḍura as already noted!

It is believed in Kashmīr that Akbar caused a change to be effected in the dress of the people, and the effeminate *pheran* (from the Persian *pairahan*, the long, loose shirt) was thus introduced together with the *Kāngrī*, or, in Kashmīrī, *Kāngar*,* the chafing vessel. "And it is possible," says Lieutenant Newall (page 434), "that this measure, one out of a long series of acts of systematic tyranny and spirit-breaking oppression, may have had its effect in changing the character of this once brave and warlike race." Such a belief, however, lacks authority.

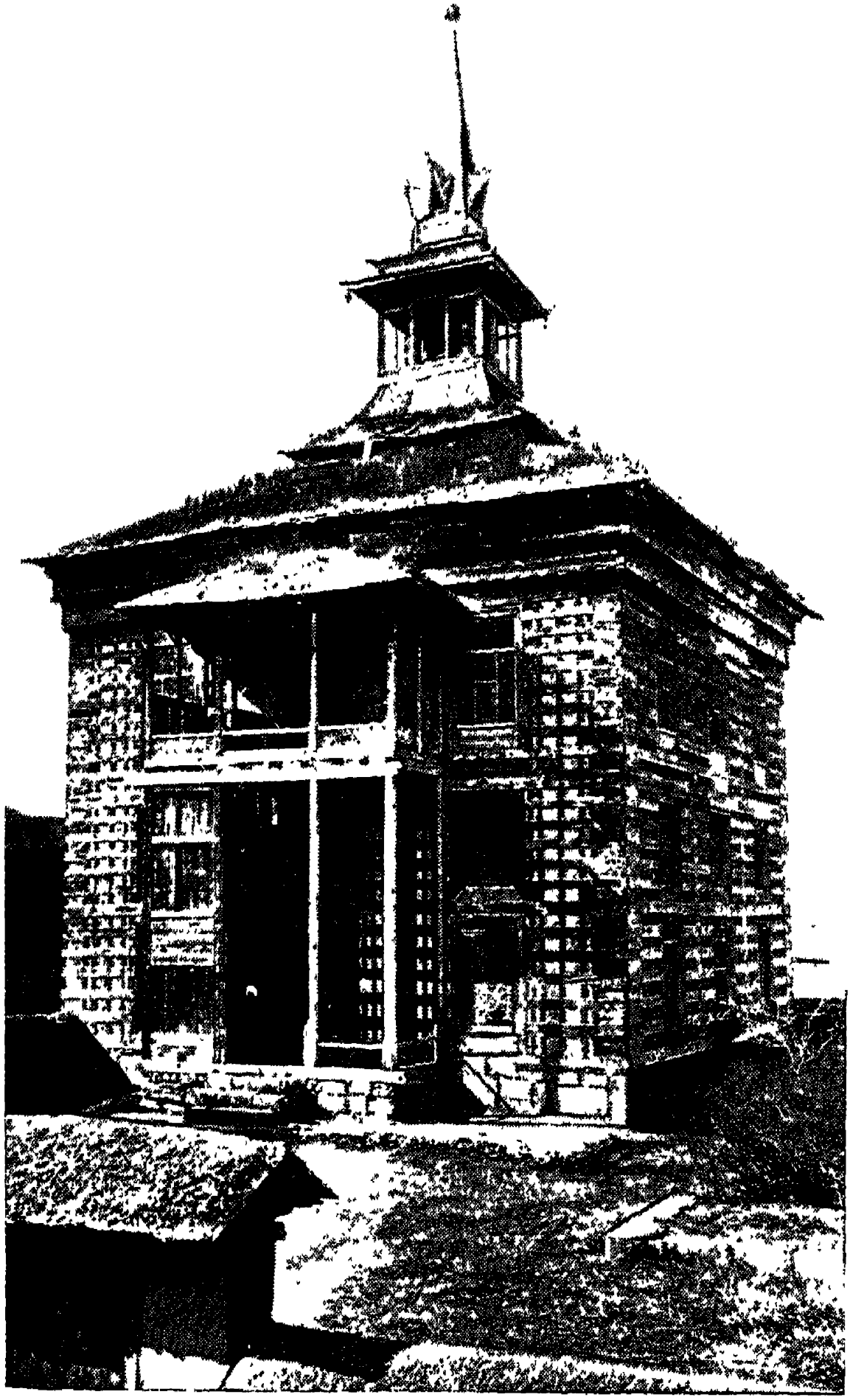
Akbar's reign in Kashmir.

In May 1589 Akbar himself came to Kashmīr by travelling on horseback or on foot. To be precise like Abu'l Fazl, "His Majesty planted his standards in the city of Srīnagar on 25th Khurdād, (5th June, 1589) after 8 hours 24 minutes." Pandit Çuka mentions that "Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the seventh bright lunar day of Āshāḍha pleased the Brāhmana boys with gifts of gold, and they blessed him. He then went to Mārtāṇḍa and gave cows adorned with pearls and gold to Brāhmanas. He was glad to see Kashmīra with its vines and walnut trees and of high and charming woods." (*Kings of Kashmīra,* Vol. III, page 417.)

Three well-known Qasīdas on Kashmīr.

Akbar spent a month visiting towns, villages, springs, and streams, of which the most important

*The statement that Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn "in his effort to reduce the proud spirit of the Hindus, insisted on the use of the *kāngar*, and the gown" is incredible on the face of it, in view of the Sultān's well-known attitude towards Hindus, and his invitation to those Hindus who had left the Valley for fear of Malik Ṣūhabhaṭṭa to return and re-settle.



The Jāmiʿ Masjid at Pāmpar which is noted for saffron and lies on the Jhelum, about 9 miles from Srīnagar.

بسالِ سی و چہارم اواسطِ خُرداد
ز اِبتدائے جلُوسِ خدیوِ عالمگیر
ز نہ صد و نود و ہفت بُود ماہِ رجب
کہ یافت کوکبِ اقبالِ اُو چنیں تیسیر
سخن شناسا منِ فیضی ام ثنا گویت
کہ بر بیاض سخن مدحتت کُنم تحریر
اگرچہ ہند نژادم ولے باقبالت
مرا ز دانشِ یُونانیاں دلے ست خبیر
دگر سخن بدعُائے تو ختم خواہم کرد
چنانکہ نظم شود منتظم بہ حرفِ اخیر

—اکبرنامہ - مطبوعہ کلکتہ - ۱۸۸۶ء - جلد سوم - صفحہ ۵۴۳

The poet 'Urfī also accompanied the emperor, and wrote the well-known *Qasīda* the first two lines of which are:—

ہر سُوختہ جانے کہ بکشمیر در آید
گر مُرغ کباب است کہ با بال و پر آید
بنگر کہ ز فیضش چہ شود گوہرِ یکتا
جائیکہ خزف گر رود آنجا گُہر آید

Andrew Wilson writing in 1875 says:—"It must be delightful to come to this Jhelum valley, in April or May, from the burned up plains of India, and it might revive even a dying man." And so 'Urfī is not alone,—two centuries after 'Urfī, Andrew Wilson corroborates him. So did Sir Lancelot Graham, ex-Governor of Sind, when he told me at Sonmarg in 1943 that he was dying and that Kashmīr climate had revived him.

Munshī Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī in his *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, (Volume I, page 199) notes the following lines in praise of Kashmīr at Akbar's visit in the 34th year of his accession:—

چہ کشمیر اِنتخابِ ہفت کِشور
قسم خُوردہ بخاکش آبِ کوثر

نظر چندانکه بر دستش گُماری
بجز آبِ زمرّد نیست جاری
درین گُلشن ز جوشِ خندهٔ گُل
نمی آید بگُوش آوازِ بلُبل

It must not be imagined that this was merely a pleasure trip to the Happy Valley. Akbar respected the feelings of his subjects by proclaiming that no soldier should molest any citizen. He fixed the camp of his army at Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr or Shādipōr about nine miles in a direct line to the north-west of Srīnagar, and himself halted in Bāgh Hasan Shāh Chak, Khwāja Bāzār, Nauhaṭṭa, Srīnagar. On the representations to the Emperor of the Sūbadār, Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, that the assessment was excessive Qāzī Nūrullāh and Totā Rām* had been directed by the Emperor to submit a report on land produce, and also to make the tax thereon uniform. But as the intended measure jeopardized the interests of both officials and landholders, the authorities deputed by the Emperor were considerably hampered in their task. Qāzī Nūrullāh reported the matter to the Emperor, who dispatched Hasan Beg and Shaikh 'Umar to help him. The Qāzī fixed the pay of the Kashmīr army in cash instead of kind. This precipitated the storm that was already brewing. Çuka also blames the Qāzī for his harshness which was responsible for quarrels caused among the Mughuls themselves (Vol. III, p. 418). The Sūbadār's officials and landowners both united. And Yādgār Mīrzā, his cousin, left in charge to act as Nāzim in the absence of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī who had himself escorted Akbar out of the Valley, was declared as king. Kashmīr was once again in revolt. But it did not take long to suppress the rebellion, which lasted only fifty-one days. Yādgār Mīrzā was taken prisoner and beheaded. Prince Salīm interceded on behalf of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, whom the emperor pardoned. As a result of this insurrection Akbar asked Shaikh Faizī, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Khwājagī

*It is sometimes said that the Mughuls did not employ Kashmīrī Pandits in any high capacity. It is not so. Pandit Totā Rām was the *peshkār* or deputy of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and Pandit Mahādeva was 'Alī Mardān Khān's *peshkār* to whom he entrusted all powers of administration.

Muhammad Husain to scrutinize the accounts of Mar-rāj, while Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khāfī and Kūar (Kañwar) Mān Singh were sent to examine those of Kam-rāj. Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill to make an estimate of it. Çuka notes that, at this time, the Emperor ordered Shaikh Faizī " to distribute one thousand pieces of silver among Brāhmanas and beggars who dwelt in villages and in woods, and in other places." (P. 423). Akbar appointed Qalīch Khān governor of Kashmīr. Qalīch continued in this office for six years. He spent this period chiefly in extirpating the Chaks and suppressing the malcontents.

The building of the Nāgar-nagar.

During the first visit, Akbar had directed Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, his governor, to build the Nāgar-nagar, or Naga-nagarī as Çuka puts it (page 426), around the slopes of the Harī-parbat or the Kūh-i-Mārān (literally, the Hill of Snakes), and the work was completed at a cost of one crore and ten lakhs. The construction of this great bastioned stone-wall was undertaken, it was given out, chiefly with a view to provide work for the people. Under cover of this construction it was, perhaps, also intended to overawe the people of the Valley. Çuka says that the Mughuls were to live within the wall so that the soldiers could not, then, molest the local people (p. 426). The work was supervised by a Kashmīrī, Mīr Muhammad Husain Kanṭ by name, and completed during the reign of Jahāngīr. In the palace there was a little garden with a small building in it in which Akbar, according to Jahāngīr, used constantly to sit. As it was out of order, Jahāngīr deputed Mu'tamad Khān to put the garden in order and repair the building. It was "adorned with pictures by master hands" so that it was "the envy of the picture gallery of China." And Jahāngīr called the garden Nūr-afzā. (The *Tūzuk*, English Translation, Vol. II, pp. 150-151).

Palaces were erected and gardens were laid out. These added a charm to the natural beauty of the country. During his second visit to Kashmīr in 1592 A.C.=1000-1001 A.H., Akbar directed operations against Aju Rāi, the ruler of Tibet Kalān (major) and Khurd (minor), parts of Little Tibet (Baltistān)—who offered resistance. The latter was consequently replaced by 'Alī Rāi who held a principality in that vicinity. Jahāngīr refers to 'Alī Muhammad, the son

of 'Alī Rāi, deputed by his father to be attached to the Mughul court (Vol. II, p. 288.)

On this second visit, Akbar was accompanied by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, whose year of birth may be taken as 958 A.H. or 1551 A.C., was the son of Khwāja Muqīm Hiravī (of Herāt). Khwāja Muqīm was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt or Barrack Officer, or perhaps, Steward of the Royal Household. Khwāja Muqīm acted as Vazīr of Humāyūn, and was an official of Akbar's government too.

In addition to being a student of history, Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, his son, was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry. The interest of Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact, points out Dr. Bainī Prashād, in his Preface to B. De's English translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, that when Akbar ordered the preparation of the History of the Kings of Islam or the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī* in 990 A.H. (1582 A.C.), he employed the Khwāja as one of the seven authors.

The Khwāja's interest in Sūfiism and theology is indicated by his association with Sūfīs and Shaikhs and religious people in general. As Blochmann says, "Nizām-ud-Dīn was a pious Muslim," and yet "managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself." He is one of the two or three with whom the orthodox Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī is pleased.

In addition to being a scholar, Nizām-ud-Dīn was a good soldier and administrator. He was attached to Akbar's court, according to one statement, from the thirty-fifth year of his life. In 980 A.H. (1572 A.C.), the Khwāja was appointed *Bakhshī* in Gujrāt where his duty was to act as the head of the military department and to look after recruitment, reviews and other similar affairs connected with the army.

For his services in Gujrāt, the Khwāja was honoured with the gift of a horse, a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later, the Khwāja carried on a successful campaign in Soraṭh in the Ran of Kachh. He was, after this, appointed Bakhshī in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.C.). The Mīr Bakhshī, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, was one of the nobles of the state.

Nizām-ud-Dīn was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time when he accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr. The Khwāja says his account of Kashmīr which terminates with the end of the 38th year of Akbar's reign, is written in a "summary manner" but that "most of the great events have been succinctly narrated." The reader will completely agree with this last part. And Mr. De, by his edition of the Persian text and English translation and scholarly notes, has made the whole work very intelligible and quite clear.

Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad utilized, for the compilation of the *Tabaqāt* in respect of Kashmīr, as he himself notes: (*i*) *Ta'rīkh-i-Mīrzā Haidar* and (*ii*) *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*. The first is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* and we have already discussed it. The other is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, the author of which is not mentioned. But Dr. Bainī Prashād in his Preface (p. xxx) says that this is probably the راج ترنگنی translated from Sanskrit into Persian for Akbar in 998 A.H. by Mullā Shāh Muhmmad of Shāhābād not far from Ver-nāg, Kashmīr, and re-written in an easy style in 999 A.H. (1590 A.C.) by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī. This manuscript is in the British Museum (Riéu's *Catalogue*, Volume I, page 296, Add. 24,032). [Reference to it will be found on pages 163-4 of *Kashīr*.] The *Tabaqāt* closes with the year 1002 A.H. Firishta and others come after the author of the *Tabaqāt*.

[While staying at Lāhore in attendance on the Emperor, Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad laid out or purchased a garden, and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death in his forty-fifth year, on the banks of the Rāvī, on 14th Safar, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1694 A.C.) when he was expected to rise much higher in Akbar's favour. گوهر بے بہا ز دُنیا رفت (A priceless pearl has left the world) gives the date of his death.]

Akbar spent the summer of 1597 A.C. in Kashmīr, introduced a lighter assessment of revenue and returned to Lāhore in the early winter. Towards the close of Akbar's reign, a severe famine occurred in Kashmīr. It developed to such an alarming extent that the emperor had to transport grain and cereals from Siālkōt to alleviate the misery of the sufferers. Two priests, Father Hierosme Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, and Beroist-de-Gois who accompanied Akbar at his request to Kashmīr, relate their experience of this famine. The famine, they say, was so grievous that "many mothers were rendered destitute and having no means of nourishing their children exposed them for sale in the public places of the city. Moved to compassion by this pitiable sight, the Father bought many of these little ones, who soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their spirits to their Creator. A certain Saracen (Muslim) seeing the charity of the Father towards these children brought him one of his own; but the Father gave it back to the mother, together with a certain sum of money for its support; for he was unwilling to baptize it, seeing that, if it survived there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in that country."

The new land assessment which had followed the remittances of the tax, called *bāj tamgha*, resulted in an

Bhimbar

Bhimbar is a small town situated in the plains, on the right bank of a stream of the same name, which flows into the Chenāb near Wazīrābād. It is about 29 miles north of Gujrāt, 22 miles east of Jhelum, and 50 miles north-west of Siālkōṭ.

The place is of some importance, as being the point of departure from the plains for Kashmīr; it is distant about 150 miles from Srīnagar, by the Pīr Panjāl or Pantsāl route.

The town, which is mostly built of stone, is surrounded on all except the south side by a low hill, about 500 or 600 feet in height.

There is an old Mughul *sarāi* in the middle of the town, and a brick *gaṛhī* or fort of no strength on the north; the former building is used as the *thānah* and the district officer's residence.

To the south of the town are two buildings for the reception of travellers. There is also a good encamping ground supplied with water from the *nadī*. This stream is usually shallow and fordable, but is liable to freshets.

Bhimbar was anciently governed by an independent Rājā; the last of the line, Sultān Khān, opposed Ranjīt Singh's designs upon Kashmīr, and is stated to have been blinded by Rājā Gulāb Singh who, in his early career, was an employé of Sultān Khān.

The ruins of the palace of the old Rājās of Bhimbar may be traced near the village, on the left of the road towards Kashmīr.

This small mosque, on the reverse, has a façade of three arches. "The outer face is soiled by constant exposure to the weather. It was originally covered with painted floral designs which still exist in considerable freshness on the inner walls where they were protected from the inclemency of weather. The lower part of the mural decoration consists of a dado divided into panels which are dark red, fringed with minutely worked floral scrolls. The façade of the arches, their intrados, pendentives, etc., are covered with painted cypresses, palms and various other trees and flowers, natural and conventional. The whole surface is glazed.

"There are two windows at the sides which originally possessed brick screens with star-shaped perforations. The core of the structure consists of rubble stones built in lime over which was applied a thick coat of lime *bajri* which again was superimposed by a thinner one of gypsum. The last served as the background of the paintings.

"The mosque is a very interesting relic."—*Extract from the Kashmir Archaeological Report.* See also page 520.

increase of revenue, which, as recorded by officials, amounted to over a lakh of *kharwār*. A *kharwār*[1] was equal to 3 maunds and 8 seers of Akbar's reign, and was reckoned at 16 *dāms* of Akbar's currency. In normal times, a maund of rice could be purchased for five annas.

In the reign of Akbar the Sūbah of Kashmīr included Kābul and Qandahār, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Vol. II, p. 134).

The re-alignment and construction by Muhammad Qāsim Khān, Akbar's chief engineer, of the great empire route by way of Gujrāt, Bhimbar and Shupiyān ensured the regularity of traffic with India. Faizī referring to such improvements says:

بحکمِ خسروِ والا ز تیشه کوه کنان
هزار جوے روان کرد صاف تر از شیر
چنان بکوه و کمر خاره را تراشیدند
که بهرِ موکبِ شاهی سزد ممرّ و مَسیر
زمینِ عرصهٔ کشمیر آسمان بگذشت
بفرِّ دولتِ تقبیلِ پایهاے سریر

Jahangir.

Jahāngīr was essentially a lover of Nature and Kashmīr, therefore, appealed to him particularly. He paid eight visits to Kashmīr two of which were in the company of his father and six during his own reign, *viz.* 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st.

Jahāngīr was accompanied by his beautiful Queen Nūr Jahān "whose[2] romantic spirit appears to have led her lord and Emperor into the most secluded and picturesque recesses of the Valley." "Many of these pleasant retreats are to this day pointed out as the spots where the royal pair were wont to disport themselves in those days of regal abandon." The royal pair must have passed their time in festivities of every kind. In summer nights, the Ḍal lake

1. Kharwār, literally meaning an 'ass-load,' is the standard measure for weighing large quantities in Kashmīr. The word is abbreviated as *khār* (or *khāri* of the *Rajātaraṅgiṇī*). Nowadays a *khār* is equal to a little over two maunds. See footnote in Chapter X, Section "Weights and Measures."

2. Lieut. Newall's *Sketch of the Mahomedan History of Cashmere*, J. A. S. B., No. V, 1854, p. 436.

must have reflected brilliant illuminations and fantastic fireworks, and the air must have " re-echoed to the sound of song and dance." Akbar, Jahāngīr and his Nūr Jahān, says Mrs. Stuart,[1] are far more vivid personalities in India than Elizabeth or the Stuart sovereigns are in England. To please his consort, Jahāngīr is said to have introduced the *chināŕ*[2] or the plane tree from Īrān, her native country. But this is wrong. The Kāshmīrī word *bawayn* shows the existence of the chināŕ in Kashmīr before Jahāngīr, who himself refers to the girth and spreading shade of chināŕs with wonder. Jahāngīr's account of the journey and his impressions of the country, its people, their costumes and modes of life, of the variety of its picturesque scenery, his comments on men, women and things are all vividly recorded in his own inimitable style in his *Memoirs*. He built many palaces and summer-

1. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913, page 176.

2. **The Chinar**.—Shams-ul-'Ulamā' Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi traces the plane-tree to Īrān. He finds its mention in the Pahlavī *Bundehesh* [the commentary on one of the 21 books of the *Zend-Avesta*. The *Bundehesh* gives an account of the Creation as told in the *Zend-Avesta*]. Herodotus refers to the plane-tree as being held in estimation by the Achemenian kings like Xerxes and Darius, the father of Xerxes. Later Persians call the plane-tree *Darakht-i-Fazl* or 'the Tree of Grace.' Teherān, by some, is called the 'City of Plane-Trees.' And hence, Longfellow's lines :—

> Bright with the sheen of the dew, each glittering tree of the forest,
> Flashed like the plane-tree the Persian adorned with mantles and jewels.
>
> —*Evangeline*, Part the First, II, Lines 22-23.

Pliny in his *Natural History* (Book XII, Chap. 1, pp. 357-58) refers to the plane-tree having been brought on the Ionian Sea into the Island of Diomedea to beautify the tomb of Diomedea. From there it was transplanted into Sicily and later to Italy, where it was planted as "a most singular, rare and special tree" throughout the peninsula. It was carried to Terwin and Tournay in France, where "it was counted as an appearance to the very soil." Those who walked and refreshed themselves under its shadow were to "pay a custom to the people of Rome." Spain, too, had the plane-tree. All this happened, says Pliny, about the time that Rome was sacked by the Gauls. The plane-tree came to be so highly esteemed that people would "water them with wine." Pliny gives several instances of large plane-trees in Italy, in the hollow trunks of which, kings and emperors had made banqueting places—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Volume VI, 1901-03, No. 8, pages 427—434. Jahāngīr also notes large plane-trees in Kashmīr. He says : "I myself was riding on a horse, with five at her saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it,"—*English Translation*, Vol. II, p. 154. The chināŕ is also a native of Farghāna, Central Asia.

houses. He completed the construction of the celebrated Shālimār Gardens. The ruins of palaces at Mānas-bal, Acha-bal and Vēr-nāg, etc., attest to Nūr Jahān's taste in selecting picturesque sites.

The late Justice Shāh Dīn has beautifully described the scene in his well-known poem *Shālāmār*—

نُورِجہاں جو حُسن میں پُتلی تھی نُور کی
اور قد میں جیسے سروِ لبِ جُوئبار ہو
آکر یہاں جاتی تھی وہ دلفریب رنگ
قُربان جس پہ جان سے سو لالہ زار ہو
اور آنا اُسکے ساتھہ شہ مے پرست کا
جسکی نگہ سے چشمِ طرب میں خُمار ہو
سامانِ عیش اور وہ عشرت کی محفلیں
وہ راتیں جن پہ روزِ درخشاں نثار ہو

Baron Schonberg* gives us a moving picture, perhaps of these days, when he writes : "Kashmīr, the reputed cradle of the human race, that spot to which the sagas of the eastern nations have lent a religious veneration, and which the imaginings of the western poets have robed in all the beauties of an earthly Elysium—Kashmir around which is flung all the voluptuousness of Asiatic fiction, and so much of the splendour of Asiatic history—where is the European who hears Kashmīr mentioned, and does not think of the glory of Ackbar, the pomp of Jehangir and the beauty of Nur Jehan?"

Thomas Moore has put these romantic days of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān in the vale of Kashmīr in beautiful poetry in his *Lalla Rookh*.—

'Oh! best of delights as it everywhere is
To be near the loved *One*,—what a rapture is his
Who in moonlight and music thus sweetly may glide
O'er the Lake of Cashmere with that *One* by his side!
If woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think what a Heaven she must make of Cashmere!
So felt the magnificent Son of Ackbar,

Travels, Vol. II, pp. 1-2.

When from power and pomp and the trophies of war
He flew to that Valley, forgetting them all
With the Light of the Haram, his young Nourmahal,
When free and uncrown'd as the Conqueror roved
By the banks of that Lake, with his only beloved,
He saw, in the wreaths she would playfully snatch
From the hedges, a glory his crown could not match,
And preferred in his heart the least ringlet that curl'd
Down her exquisite neck, to the throne of the world !
There's the beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like a long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till Love falls asleep in the sameness of splendour :
This was not the beauty—oh ! nothing like this,
That to young Nourmahal gave such magic of bliss !
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days,
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lips to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes ;
Now melting in mist and now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint has of heaven in his dreams !
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace,
That charm of all others, was born with her face !
And when angry,—for e'en in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the flowers sometimes—
The short, passing anger but seem'd to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken.

" There too the Haram's inmates smile—
Maids from the West, with sun-bright hair,
And from the Garden of the Nile,
Delicate as the roses there ;
Daughters of Love from Cyprus' rocks,
With Paphian* diamonds in their locks ;
Light Peri forms, such as there are
On the gold meads of Candahar ;
And they, before whose sleepy eyes,
In their own bright Kathaian bowers,
Sparkle such rainbow butterflies,
That they might fancy the rich flowers
That round them in the sun lay sighing,
Had been by magic all set flying !
Everything young, everything fair,
From East and West is blushing there,
Except—except—O Nourmahal !
Thou loveliest, dearest of them all,
The one, whose smile shone out alone,
Amidst a world the only one !

---

*Of Paphos, a city of Cyprus, sacred to Aphrodite or Venus.

"The board was spread with fruits and wine;
With grapes of gold, like those that shine
On Casbin's[1] hills;—pomegranates full
Of melting sweetness, and the pears,
And sunniest apples that Caubul
In all its thousand gardens bears;—
Plantains, the golden and the green,
Malaya's nectar'd magusteen;
Prunes of Bokhara, and sweet nuts
From the far groves of Samarcand,
And Basra dates, and apricots,
Seed of the Sun,[2] from Iran's land;—
With rich conserve of Visna cherries,[3]
Of orange flowers, and of those berries
That, wild and fresh, the young gazelles
Feed on in Erac's[4] rocky dells.
All these in richest vases smile,
In baskets of pure sandal-wood
And urns of porcelain from that isle
Sunk underneath the Indian flood,
Whence oft the lucky diver brings
Vases to grace the halls of kings.
Wines, too, of every clime and hue,
Around their liquid lustre threw;
Amber Rosolli,[5]—the bright dew
From vineyards of the Green-Sea gushing;[6]
And Shiraz wine, that richly ran
As if that jewel, large and rare,
The ruby, for which Kublai-Khan[7]
Offer'd a city's wealth, was blushing,
Melted within the goblets there!
And amply Selim quaffs of each,
And seems resolved the flood shall reach
His inward heart,—shedding around
A genial deluge, as they run,

1. Qazvīn, in Īrān, is on the main route to Europe. 16th and 17th century travellers spell it as in the text above.

2. 'Tukhm-i-Shams' is a kind of delicious apricot.

3. Visna is no other than Vishnia, originally Greek but now a Russian word, meaning cherry. The vishnia is a fine cherry in Russia proper and in Turkistān.

4. Erac now written 'Irāq. But here the reference is probably to the district of 'Irāq-i-'Ajam in Īrān, situated to the west of Qumm between Hamadān and Isfahān.

5. Rosolio is the name of an Italian liquor. Here perhaps the meaning is Rosolli of amber colour, *viz.*, yellow wine.

6. Green-Sea. The allusion is to the Persian Gulf.

7. A Mongol emperor (*b.* 1216, *d.* 1294) was the grandson of Changīz Khān. Kublāi Khān ruled as emperor of China and Central Asia from 1259 to 1294 A. C.

That soon shall leave no spot undrown'd,
For Love to rest its wings upon.

" Come hither, come hither,—by night and by day,
We linger in pleasures that never are gone ;
Like the waves of the summer, as one dies away.
Another as sweet and as shining comes on.
And the love that is over, in expiring, gives birth
To a new one as warm, as unequall'd in bliss ;
And, oh ! if there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this.

"The mask is off—the charm is wrought—
And Selim to his heart has caught,
In blushes, more than ever bright,
His Nourmahal, his Haram's Light !
And well do vanish'd frowns enhance
The charm of every brighten'd glance ;
And dearer seems each dawning smile
For having lost its light awhile ;
And, happier now for all her sighs
As on his arm her head reposes,
She whispers him, with laughing eyes,
' Remember, love, the Feast of Roses.' "

—*Thomas Moore.*

ادھر اِک وارثِ اورنگِ اکبر جلُوسِ خُسروی فرما رہا تھا
شہِ جم جاہ نُورالّدین جہانگیر شُکُوہِ بزمِ جم دکھلا رہا تھا
اُدھر نُورِجہان کا جلوۂ حُسن در و دیوار کو چمکا رہا تھا
فروغِ عارضِ مہرالنسا سے جمالِ یُوسفی گہنا رہا تھا
وہ حُسن و عشق کا مُغلی مُرقّع زمانہ کو دکھایا جا رہا تھا
اِدھر محوِ نوا سرمست مُطرب سرودِ آسمانی گا رہا تھا
وہ تارِ چنگ بربط کی تڑپ سے رگِ جاں میں لہو دوڑا رہا تھا
وہ تھی دربار کی شان آشکارا کہ بندوں کو خُدا یاد آرہا تھا
یہ نقشہ دیکھکر بزمِ شہی کا سروشِ غیب یہ فرما رہا تھا

اگر فردوس بر رُوئے زمین است
ہمیں است و ہمیں است و ہمیں است

—چوہدری خُوشی محمد ناظر
نغمۂ فردوس - حصۂ اوّل - صفحات ۱۲۹—۱۳۰

[**Malik Haidar Chadura.**—Malik Haidar Chāḍura, whose *History* we have utilized, must here come in for a few words. Malik Haidar wrote his *History of Kashmīr* from the earliest times to his own, in Persian, in 1027 AH. (1617 A.C.), the 12th year of the accession of Jahāngīr. The total number of pages of the copy used by me on loan from Khān Bahādur Maulavī Zafar Hasan, B.A. (Alig.), O.B.E., Retired Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Nasheman, Delhi Gate, Delhi, is 235, the number of folios is 118. The size is 7″×4″, the written portion of the folios being $5\frac{1}{2}$″×$2\frac{1}{2}$″. The number of lines per page is 17. This manuscript is a copy of the manuscript dated A.H. 1117=1705 A.C. There is another date: Rewārī, 16th September, 1893 A.C., Bhādōn S. 1950, 5th Rabī' 1, 1310 A.H. on this manuscript which may presumably be the date of its transcription from the 1117 A.H. copy. The British Museum MS. Add. 8906, (Vol. I, page 297.), has 224 folios, size $10\frac{1}{2}$″ by $6\frac{1}{4}$″, 12 lines per page $3\frac{5}{8}$″ long in nasta'līq, dated Shavvāl A.H. 1216 (A.C. 1802), and Add. 16,705 (page 298), has 230 folios, size $8\frac{1}{2}$″ by $4\frac{3}{4}$″, 16 lines per page, 3″ long, in cursive nasta'līq, probably in the 17th century A.C. Āghā Hakīm 'Alī, B.A.-P.B., D.S. (Milan, Italy) Director of Sericulture, Srīnagar, secured me another copy of Haidar Malik's *History* which originally belonged to the late Malik Asadullāh and is now in possession of Hājī Mohd. Jawād of Jaḍi-bal, Srīnagar. This copy is very clear and has 262 pages, size $9\frac{1}{2}$″×$6\frac{1}{2}$″, 13 lines per page, in cursive nasta 'līq, dated 1297 A.H.= 1879 A.C.

Malik Haidar and his brother Malik 'Alī were Kashmīr noblemen descended from Malik Muhammad Nājī, the minister of Husain Shāh Chak. In the latter part of his *History*, Malik Haidar says that he had spent four and twenty years of his life in the service of Yūsuf Shāh Chak whom he followed in his banishment to his *jāgīr* in Bihār. Malik Haidar carried out with great success, as Faujdār of Jā'is, (Jā'is from *jaish* a 'camp' is a town, on the rail, in the Salon Tahsīl of the Rāi Barelī district of the United Provinces, on the road from Lucknow to Sultānpur. Jā'is originally had a fortress called Udyanagar or Ujilekāngar) an expedition against Rājā Balbhadr, and was personally engaged with Shīr Afgan Khān in the attack in which the latter succumbed in 1016 A.H. (1607 A.C.). With his brother, 'Alī Malik, he protected Shīr Afgan's widow Mihr-un-Nisā Begam (afterwards Nūr Jahān) against all dangers and even received a wound. Haidar was warmly recommended by her to Jahāngīr who bestowed upon him the titles of *Chaghatāī* and *Ra'īs-ul-Mulk*, with an office in the government of Kashmīr. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* (p. 166) mentions that Mihr-un-Nisā actually entered the house of Yūsuf Shāh Chak for personal safety.

When the Jāmi' Masjid at Srīnagar was consumed by fire during the reign of Jahāngīr, Malik Hasan, the father of Malik Haidar who was a Shī'a, was accused of having been concerned, along with other leading Shī'as, in the conflagration. It is said that, at the instance

of Nūr Jahān, Haidar consequently re-built it at his own expense a the following chronogram illustrates :—

بتاریخ هزار و بست و نُه از هجرتِ سیّد
بروزِ عیدِ روزه سوخته در نوبتِ ثانی
ملک حیدر رئیسُ الملک در عهدِ جهانگیری
نهاد از نو بنائش باز روز عیدِ قربانی
چوتاریخِ بنائش جُست، گفتا هاتفِ غیبی

۱۰۲۹ ھ

نهاد از نو اساسش باز گاهِ عیدِ قربانی

The Jāmi' Masjid, that was originally built by Sultān Sikandar was twice partially destroyed by fire previous to the reign of Jahāngīr and was re-built by Sultān Hasan Shāh and later by Ibrāhīm Māgre Malik Haidar conducted several works of improvement and utility in Kashmīr. His brother, 'Alī Malik, is given the credit of the conquest of Kishtwār in 1029-30 A.H. (1619-20 A.C.).



The grave of the historian Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik at Tsōdur or Chādura about 10 miles from Srīnagar

Chāḍura, to which Malik Haidar belonged, is pronounced in Kashmīrī as Tsōḍur and written Chāḍura. It is a village in the Nāgām *pargana* about a mile from Nāgām itself; and is some ten miles south of Srīnagar. The Khānqāh (tomb) of Mī Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, originally built by Daulat Shāh Chak, was also re-built by Malik Haidar.

"On Sunday, the 7th of Urdibihisht, I rode to the village of Chādura which is the native country of Haidar Malik," writes the

royal visitor, Jahāngīr.* "In truth this is a very pleasant spot of ground, and has flowing streams and lofty plane-trees. At his request I gave it the name of Nūrpūr (the City of Light)." This is an allusion to Nūr Jahān and to Nūr-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr. "On the road there was a tree called *halthal*; when one takes one of the branches and shakes it, the whole of the tree comes into movement," he continues. "The common people believe that this movement is peculiar to that tree. By chance, in the said village, I saw another tree of the same kind, which was in similar movement. And I ascertained that it was common to that species of tree and not confined to one tree. In the village of Rāwalpūr, 2½ kōs from the city towards Hindustān, there is a plane-tree, burnt in the inside. Twenty-five years before this, when I myself was riding on a horse, with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it . . . . It has been noted in the *Akbar-nāma* that my father took thirty-four people inside and made them stand close to each other."]

A Dutch Protestant's view of Kashmīr under Jahāngīr.

Francisco Pelsaert of Antwerp, a Dutch Protestant, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was in India for seven years from 1621 to 1627 A.C. Pelsaert rose to be the President of the Dutch fleet. His commercial report to his employers written in 1626 is printed under the title of the *Remonstrantie*. In this booklet of 88 pages, Pelsaert gives us light glimpses of Kashmīr in Jahāngīr's reign (pp. 33-36). Though the observations are not quite accurate in all detail, and there are several obscurities, the extract has its interest for the general reader, as a whole, from the point of view of a fanatical Protestant trader of the time. Writes Pelsaert: "The city of Kashmir (*viz.*, Srīnagar) itself is planted with very pleasant fruit-bearing and other trees, while two great rivers flow past it. The larger of these comes from Wirnagie (Vēr-nāg), Achiauwel (Acha-bal) and Matiaro (Maṭan, referring to the river Lidar); the other rises from the ground like a well or spring, three kos from the city, having its source at Saluara [Sōlur or Salura village, at one time was on the Anchār Lake—1½ miles from the large spring of Tulmul Tīratha. Sōlur is 13½ miles from Srīnagar] on an inland lake; but the water of neither of them appears to be sweet or healthy, and the inhabitants boil it before they drink it, while the king and the chief nobles have their water carried

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*English Translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge, 1914, Vol. II, pages 154-55.

3 or 4 kos from Swindesseway (the Sind river of Kashmīr, which passes the village Gādur, about eight miles from Srīnagar by road and boat) where the water is clear and snow-white. King Jahangir began the construction of a wooden aqueduct, to bring good water from a distance of 10 or 12 kos into the fort, but realizing that it could be easily poisoned by enemies or malcontents, he abandoned it after having spent fully 10,000 rupees. In Kashmir foreigners usually suffer from the flux, and many die of it; the cause must be water, and also the quantity of fruit which is available.

"On the East side of the city lies a great stronghold, with a wall of grey stone fully nine or ten feet thick, which joins it to a high rocky hill, with a large palace on the summit, and another somewhat lower or half way up, towards the North, as well as two or three residences with separate approaches, but the principal ones lie on the South towards the East. In the centre of this fort is the King's palace, which is noteworthy rather for its elevation and extent than its magnificence. The Queen lives next to the King, on the North side; next to her her brother, Asaf Khan, and, a little further on, Mukarrib Khan. [Shaikh Hasan with the title of Muqarrab Khān was some time governor of Delhi. From his childhood he was always in Jahāngīr's service and in attendance on him.] On the other or southern side, lives Sultan Shahriyar, the King's youngest son, who is married to the Queen's daughter by her first husband. On the south-west live Khawja Abdul [Abu'l] Hasan and also other great nobles, all of whom reside within the fortress and round the hill in a circle of about a kos in circumference. The city is very extensive, and contains many mosques, as their churches are called. The houses are built of pine-wood, the interstices being filled with clay and their style is by no means contemptible. They look elegant, and fit for citizens rather than peasants and they are ventilated with handsome and artistic open-work, instead of windows or glass. They have flat roofs entirely covered with earth, on which the inhabitants often grow onions, or which are covered with grass, so that during the rains the green roofs and groves make the city most beautiful on a distant view.

"The inhabitants of the country and the city are for the most part poor, but they are physically strong,

especially the men, who can carry quite twice the load of a Hindustani ; this is remarkable in view of the fact that men and women get so little food. Their children are very handsome and fair, while they are young and small, but when they grow up they become yellow and ugly, owing to their mode of life, which is that of beasts rather than men. The women are small in build, filthy, lousy, and not handsome. They wear a coarse grey woollen garment, open from the neck to the waist. On the forehead they have a sort of red band, and above it an ugly, black, dirty clout, which falls from the head over the shoulders to the legs ; cotton cloth is very dear and their inborn poverty prevents them from possessing a change of raiment.

" They are fanatical Moslems. It was their twelfth king (*obscure sentence*) who observed this creed, before king Akbar's General, Raja Bhagwan Das, overcame the country by craft and subtlety, the lofty mountains and difficult roads rendering forcible conquest impossible.

" Kashmir produces many kinds of fruit, such as apples, pears, walnuts, etc., but the flavour is inferior to those of Persia or Kabul. In December, January and February the cold is very great, with constant rain and snow ; the mountains remain white with snow, except in places where the sun shines in the warm weather, causing heavy floods in the rivers.

" The reason of the King's special preference for this country is that when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace, owing to his consumption of excessively strong drink and opium, excesses which were still greater in his youth. He usually leaves Lahore in March or April, and reaches Kashmir in May. The journey is very difficult and dangerous, besides being expensive, for pack animals cannot cross the mountains, and practically everything must be carried on men's heads. All the nobles curse the place, for it makes the rich poor, and the poor cannot fill their stomachs there, because everything is excessively dear ; but apparently the King prefers his own comfort or pleasure to the welfare of his people.

" Kashmir yields nothing for export to Agra except saffron of which there are two kinds. That which grows near the city sells in Agra at 20 to 24 rupees the ser ; the other kind, which grows at Casstuwary (Kishtwār),

10 kos (?) distant is the best, and usually fetches 28 to 32 rupees the ser (of 30 pice weight). Many *pamris* are also woven; these are cloths 3 ells long and 2 broad, woven from the wool (it is more like hair), which grows on the hind-quarters of the sheep, very fine and as soft as silk. They are worn here (*i.e.* in Agra) in wraps in the winter because of the cold, and look very well and fine, having a surface like boratos (a thin woollen cloth fashionable in Europe at this period). Walnuts, which are plentiful, are also exported to Agra.

"The goods sent from Agra to Kashmir are coarse, unbleached, cotton-cloth, yarn for local consumption, and also pepper and opium. Nutmeg, cloves and mace are too dear, and their use is unknown; but all of them are, as might be expected, brought there when the King is in residence."

Qalīch Khān and Sa'ādat Khān, governors under Jahāngīr, suppressed the Chaks with a strong hand. All their *hauteur* departed. The poor Chaks took to humbler ways of life, and either went in for humbler jobs or settled down as husbandmen, farmers and horse-keepers. I'tiqād Khān imposed severe, unjust restrictions upon the agriculturist class. He introduced the evil practice of requisitioning or attaching fruit gardens, of reserving forests and villages. He exacted forced labour particularly in connexion with the plucking of saffron flowers, which formed an asset of imperial revenue. Shāh Jahān, however, revoked these practices by issuing a special *farmān* (command) after his accession.

Jahāngīr did not neglect the welfare of his subjects. In 1621 A. C. (1031 A. H.) he abolished the vexatious tax *Rasūm-i-Faujdārī* "to ease the subjects and soldiers." He prohibited in Rajaurī the immolation of Muslim women in emulation of their Hindu sisters who devoted themselves to flames with the remains of their husbands. A girl of twelve* years of age had been buried alive in the grave of her dead husband just before the arrival of Jahāngīr in 1619. The strangulation of daughters at birth by men without means was stopped. He also forbade intermarriage between Hindus and Muslim women. The conversion of

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**The History of Jahangir* by Francis Gladwin, edited by Rao Bahādur K. V. R. Aiyangar, Paul & Co., Madras, 1930, page 92.

Muslim girls to Hinduism and then their cremation with Hindu husbands at one time was as large as 4,000 in Rajaurī and Bhimbar.[1] Shāh Jahān followed his father's policy in the matter. In Shāh Jahān's time, in the seventh year of his reign, an investigation was made into the complaints of Muslims of Bhimbar against the Hindus who burnt the Qu'rān and oppressed the Muslims. On the report of the investigating official, Shaikh Mahmūd Gujrātī, an order was issued that, if a Hindu wanted to be converted to Islam, his family should not place any obstacles in his way.[2] During the present Dogrā rule a Hindu, on conversion to Islam, loses right to his share of the family property.

Owing to difficulties experienced in his journey, Jahāngīr ordered suitable lodgings to be constructed for himself and the harem at convenient stages. He further ordered a garden to be built at the Vēr-nāg Spring. In this garden, there was a picture gallery in which the pictures of Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh 'Abbās of Īrān were painted. According to the contemporary, Francisco Pelsaert,[3] Ver-nāg was "the most delightful pleasure-resort where the King had the best hunting grounds in the whole of India." Dilāwar Khān and Irādat Khān, two of his governors, also constructed gardens on the Barārinambal lagoon fed by the Mār-nāla and situated in the southeast of Srīnagar, and at Nāopōr a village five miles south of Sopōr.

Seven[4] Sūbadārs or governors were appointed by Jahāngīr, one after the other, to govern Kashmīr. With the exception of Qalīch Khān (1606) and Irādat Khān (1620), all were just, and numerous are the instances of their justice. The Hindus of Kashmīr complained against Qalīch Khān to the Emperor Jahāngīr who communicated, after the epigrammatic style of Ja'far Barmakī (see *Al-Kāmil al-Mubarrad*, Lahore, 1337 A.H.=1928 A.C., Vol. I, p. 301), the following warning to him :—

حکومت پناها ! داد خواهانِ تو بسیار، شکرگذارانِ تو کم، آبِ سحاب
بر لبِ تشنگان بریز - ورنه از حکومت برخیز -

1. Qazvīnī's *Bādshāh-nāma*, pp. 444-5, also 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī's *Bādshāh-nāma*, Vol. I, section ii, page 58.
2. 'Abdul Hamīd's *Bādshāh-nāma*, Vol. I, section ii, page 585.
3. *Jahangir's India : The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, 1925, page 33.
4. Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, *Mukammal Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Part II, page 198.

[Protection of Governance. Thy complainants are many, th thanksgivers few. Pour cloud-water on the thirsty people, or el relinquish thy administrative post.]

The *Dabistān*[1] says that Pandit Çrī Kanta, a Kashmīr conversant with Hindu sciences and knowing the Shāstras was invested by Jahāngīr with the dignity of a judge o the Hindus in order that, in every concern of personal la and custom, they should have complete autonomy.

According to his autobiography, Jahāngīr married Kashmīrī lady. 'After him, by the daughter of the princ of Kashmīr who was of the society of the Jōgīs, I ha another daughter, who died a year old.'[2]

As regards territorial extension, Jahāngīr's reig witnessed the conquest of Kishtwār. A description of thi conquest in the language of the royal diarist is worthy o reproduction. It reads almost like the dispatch of a moder war correspondent—

"On the tenth of the Ilāhī month of Shahrīwar, in my 14t year, Dilāwar Khān with 10,000 horse and foot, determined t conquer Kishtwār. He appointed his son, Hasan by name, wit Gird 'Alī *Mīr Bahr* to guard the city and administer the territory. A Gauhar Chak and Aiba Chak laid claim to Kashmīr as heirs, an were stirring up strife in Kishtwār and were wandering in the valle of confusion and ruin, he left Haibat, one of his brothers, with a forc at Desu, which is near the *Kotal* of the Pīr Panjāl, by way of caution Dividing his forces at that place, he himself hastened with force by the road of Sangīnpūr, sending his son Jalāl, with Nasrullāh 'Arab, and 'Alī Malik Kashmīrī and a band of Jahāngīrī servants b another road, and his elder son Jamāl with a band of zealous youn men as an advance-guard to his own force. At the same time, h placed two other forces to move forward on his right and left. A no horses could go on the road by way of precaution, he took som with him, but left nearly all his sipāhīs' horses behind and sent them to Kashmīr (*i.e.* Srīnagar). The young men girded the belt of dut on their waists, and went up hills on foot. The *ghāzīs* of the army of Islam fought from post to post with the ill-fated unbelievers as fa as Narkōṭ, which was one of the enemy's strongholds . . . . Th ill-fated Aiba Chak with many of the people of ruin were slain. B the death of Aiba, the Rājā became powerless and without heart, an took the road of flight, and, crossing by the bridge, stopped a Bhandarkōṭ which is on the other side. . . . . Dilāwar Khā drew up his forces at Bhandarkōṭ . . . . In short, for four month and ten days, Dilāwar Khān having planted the foot of courage at Bhandarkōṭ made endeavours to cross over . . . . Jalāl, Dilāwa

1. Shea and Troyer's *Translation*—pages 164-165.
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 194, footnote 2.

Khān's son, with some of the servants of the Court and a band of Afghāns, about 200 in number, crossed over in safety, made unawares an attack on the Rājā, and blew loudly the trumpets of victory . . The men rushed on the Rājā and made him prisoner . . . Dilāwar Khān . . . having crossed the river (Mārū) came to Mandal Badr which was the capital of the country, and is three *kos* from the river. The daughter of Sangrām, Rājā of Jammu and the daughter of . . . . Sūraj Mal son of Rājā Baso were in the Rājā's house (*i.e.*, married to him). By Sangrām's daughter he had children. Before the victory he had sent his family for refuge to the Rājā of Jaswāl and other Zamīndārs . . . Dilāwar Khān took the Rājā with him, and came to kiss the threshold, leaving Nasrullāh 'Arab with a body of horse and foot to guard the country.

"The whole income of the Rājā consists of fines, and for a small offence he takes a heavy sum. From whomsoever is wealthy and in comfortable circumstances the Rājā, on some pretext, clears out all that he has. From all sources his income is about Rs. 100,000. In time of war 6,000 or 7,000 men on foot collect together. There are but few horses among them. The Rājā and the chief men have about fifty between them. I bestowed a year's revenue on Dilāwar Khān by way of reward."*

During the régime of Dilāwar Khān, following the appearance of a comet, it is said, rats appeared in alarming numbers and considerably damaged the crops. The epidemic of plague infested the country so virulently that the dead were thrown into the river without even the last rites being performed. Let Jahāngīr himself describe it: "On this day (Wednesday, 17th Isfandārmuz, 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign=1617 A.C.) a report of the chronicler of events arrived, that the plague had taken firm hold of the country (Kashmīr) and that many had died. The symptoms were that the first day there was headache and fever and much bleeding at the nose. On the second day the patient died. In the house where one person died all the inmates were carried off. Whoever went near the sick person or a dead body was affected in the same way. In one instance, the dead body was thrown on the grass, and it chanced that a cow came and ate some of the grass. It died, and some dogs that had eaten its flesh also died. Things had come to such a pass that from fear of death fathers would not approach their children, and children would not go near their fathers. A strange thing was that, in the ward in

*The *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1914, volume II, pages 135-139.

which the disease began, a fire broke out, and nearly 3,000 houses were burnt . . . . I trust that the Almighty will have mercy on His sinful slaves, and that they will be altogether freed from such calamities."[1]

"On this day (Wednesday, the first of the month of Āzar=March 1617 A.C., the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign) Kashmīr reports were laid before me. One was that in the house of a certain silk-seller two girls were born with teeth, and with their backs as far as the waist joined together, but the heads, arms and legs were separate: they lived a short time and died."[2]

During the time of Jahāngīr, Kashmīr yielded a revenue amounting to 7,46,70,000 dāms, which undoubtedly indicates the increase of prosperity enjoyed by Kashmīr during his rule.

Shah Jahan.

Shāh Jahān visited Kashmīr four times during his reign at intervals of five or seven years. The first visit took place in 1043 A.H. (or 1634 A.C.), when Shāh Jahān arrived in Srīnagar on June 5. "The enchanting beauty of this province hypnotized Shāh Jahān," writes the author of *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*,[3] "and though he had no staff of painters with him to reproduce its natural beauty, he had a number of excellent writers at court who have described Kashmīr in glowingly picturesque language, which is poetic in spirit though prose in form." The descriptions of Kashmīr written by Mīrzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, British Museum, Or. 173) and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabātabāī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, British Museum, Or. 1676), the versified narratives of Qudsī and Kalīm are instances. Mīrzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī was in the royal retinue on this occasion. Shāh Jahān's second visit took place during January to October 1640 A.C. Another visit is recorded in 1645. The last visit took place in 1651 which, however, was cut short on account of floods and storms. And Shāh Jahān returned to Lāhore. It was at the time of Shāh Jahān's first visit that the Hindu rājā of Bhimbar announced the adoption of Islam, and was given the title of Rājā-i-Daulatmand (or the Rājā of Riches).

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1. The *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, Volume, I, pages 442-443.

2. *Ibid.*, page 406.

3. *History of Shahjahan of Dihli* by Dr. Banārsī Prasād Saksena, the Indian Press Ltd., Allahābād, 1932, pages 314–17.

Shāh Jahān appointed nine governors altogether, of whom two, namely, Zafar Khān and 'Alī Mardān Khān were re-appointed. I'tiqād Khān, who had been appointed by Jahāngīr, continued in office till his high-handedness and oppressive rule brought about his removal. Prince Murād visited Kashmīr in 1640 A.C., and remained as governor for a year, being followed by 'Alī Mardān Khān. During his stay, Prince Murād married a daughter of the Maliks of Shāhābād. Shāhābād was formerly called the Vēr-nāg *pargana*, according to Hasan, and was re-named Shāhābād by Shāh Jahān.

Zafar Khān's original name was Ahsanullāh Khān *Ahsan*. *Zafar Khān* was the title conferred on him by Shāh Jahān on account of his triumphant courage and coolness. He succeeded I'tiqād Khān. In reality, Ahsanullāh's father, Abu'l Hasan Turbatī, was nominated to the governorship. He was, however, too infirm and aged to assume the onerous duties of office in person. The son deputized for the father. Zafar's excellent administration won the Emperor's approbation and he was confirmed in his post.

The final conquest of Tibet was effected by Zafar Khān. Its brief detail is this. Chaks were given asylum in Little Tibet (Baltistān). Jahāngīr's Sūbadār of Kashmīr, Hāshim Khān, son of Qāsim Khān *Mīr Bahr*, attempted to reduce 'Alī Rāi *Marzbān* (Warden of the Marches) of Skārdu to submission but failed. In Shāh Jahān's time, Abdāl, 'Alī Rāi's son, gave protection to Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak. Zafar Khān, therefore, persuaded Abdāl to acknowledge Mughul sovereignty and to read the *Khutba* in Shāh Jahān's name in 1634. But Abdāl, within the next two years, repudiated his submission. Shāh Jahān ordered Zafar Khān to subjugate Little Tibet. With 2,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, Zafar Khān forced Abdāl to resume submission and to pay an indemnity of one million rupees. In the course of the fight, Abdāl's son, Daulat, a lad of fifteen, showed considerable pluck in sallying out of his fort at Shakar on the other side of the Nīl-āb or the Indus, in Little Tibet, but was driven back by Mīr Fakhr-úd-Dīn of the Mughul army. Daulat, on being overwhelmed, escaped with his father's cash and jewellery. Zafar Khān, however, brought Abdāl and the families of Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak to Kashmīr and left Muhammad Murād, Abdāl's *Vakīl*, in charge of the country.

Zafar is chiefly remembered for the removal of

hardships which I'tiqād Khān[1] had imposed upon the people of Kashmīr, and which were beautifully brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by a Kashmīrī poet in a striking and significant poem in honour of the Emperor's birthday :—

خُسروا' دانشی پژوها' داورا' دین پرورا

اهلِ کشمیر اند در دیوانِ عدالت داد خواه

زعفران گُویند خندان سازد اندُهناک را

آمدند از زعفران در گریه جمعے بیگناه

The poet, in the first couplet, addresses the Emperor saying that 'We have a plaint in Your Majesty's Court.' In the second couplet the poet says that saffron causes the sad and the sorry to laugh, but here innocent people are made to weep on account of saffron !

To this effect, Zafar, therefore, obtained a *farmān* from Shāh Jahān which was engraved on a stone and put into the masonry of the gate of the Jāmi' Masjid in Srīnagar and is there still. The translation[2] of this *farmān* is :

GOD IS GREAT

Shāh Jahān the King, Defender of the Faith.

Copy of the auspicious order of His Majesty, Solomon-like in dignity, Sāhib Qirān the Second (or Lord of the Conjunction), which was recorded on the 7th of Isfandārmaz (February) Ilāhī, (or according to Akbar's calendar), at the request of the humblest of dependants who is known by the name of Zafar Khān, with reference to the removal of the wrongs done in the time of former Sūbadārs in beautiful Kashmīr, and were the cause of the misery of the subjects and inhabitants of these regions.

Since all our exalted desire is turned to the contentedness of the people, we gave the order for the repeal of some Acts

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1. I'tiqād Khān Mīrzā Shāhpūr was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula and the brother of Āsaf Khān and of Nūr Jahān. In the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr. Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak revolted and created trouble, but were forced to flee to Tibet. I'tiqād died at Āgra in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.C.).

2. Modified from the English translation by (1) Rev. I. Loewenthal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1865, Volume XXXIII, No. 3, 1864, pages 288–90, and by (2) Sir Jivanjī Jamshedjī Modī, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, 1926 Volume II, pages 199-202.

which in the beautiful country of Kashmir became a cause of distress to the inhabitants of the land. Of the number of those matters one is that, at the time of collecting the saffron, men used to be impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt, and the people have suffered much distress. We ordered that no man should, by any means, be molested as to gathering the saffron. And as to saffron grown on crown lands, the labourers must be satisfied and receive proper wages. And whatever grows on lands granted in Jagir, let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the Jagirdar that he may gather it as he likes. Another grievance is that in the time of some of the Subadars of Kashmir they used to levy two *dam* for wood (fuel) on each *kharwar* of rice, and during the government of I'tiqad Khan four *dam* for the same purpose were levied on each *kharwar*. Since on this account also the people were much distressed, we ruled that the people should be entirely relieved of this tax, and nothing should be taken on account of wood (fuel). Another grievance is that a village whose rental was more than 400 *kharwar* of *shali*, was obliged to furnish to the authorities of the place two sheep annually. I'tiqad Khan, during his rule, took 66 *dam* in place of each sheep. Since on this account also the people were much annoyed, we gave strict order that it should cease; neither should the sheep be taken nor money in their place; the people shall be held excused from paying this impost. Moreover, I'tiqad Khan, during his incumbency, levied a summary poll-tax of 75 *dam* on each boatman whether a young or an old man or a boy, whilst it was the established custom formerly to levy 60 *dam* on a young man, 12 on an old man, and 36 *dam* on a boy. We ordered that the former custom should be re-established, that the wrong done by I'tiqad Khan be redressed, and that people should not act in accordance with it. Another grievance is that the Subadars, in the fruit season, plalced their own men in each garden, large and small, which appeared to contain good fruit, to watch the fruit for themselves and did not allow the owners of those gardens to use the fruit; hence much loss was caused to these people, so that some of these men have destroyed the fruit trees. We ordered that no Subadar should lay an embargo on the fruit of the orchard or garden of any one. It is proper that noble governors and competent collectors and the officials of this and future times in the province of Kashmir should consider these orders as lasting and enternal, nor should they admit any change or alteration in these regulations. Who-

ever admits any change or alterations, will fall under the curse of God, and the anger of the King.—Written on the 26th (March) Āzar Ilāhī, (or according to Akbar's calendar).

Ahsanullāh Khān planted several gardens to add to the beauty of the country. He also introduced varieties of new fruits and flowers in Kashmīr. He was a talented person and patronized Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī *Sā'ib* of Isfahān, who afterwards became the poet-laureate of Īrān whence he wrote to Zafar Khān—

دُور دستان را بہ احسان یاد کردن ہمّت است

ورنہ ہر نخلے بپاے خُود ثمر می افگند

and received a reward of five thousand rupees from him. Zafar, too, was grateful to Sā'ib for literary advice—

طرزِ یاراں پیشِ احسن بعد ازیں مقبُول نیست

تازہ گُوئیہائے اُو از فیضِ طبع صائب است

Zafar Khān has himself left behind a *Masnavī* called the *Haft Manzil* in praise of Kashmīr, which he presented to Shāh Jahān on his third visit at the picturesque waterfall of Ahrabal, Tahsīl Kulgām. In one place, in his *Masnavī*, Zafar Khān says :—

اِلٰہی تا بُود کشمیر اباد ز گُلزارِ خُراسانم مدہ یاد

بہرکس ہرچہ خواهد بےسخن دہ مرا کشمیر و بُلبل را چمن دہ

[While Kashmīr lasts, O God!
Remind not me of the Garden
Of my Khurāsān.
To each man grant his wish—
To the nightingale the garden
And to me Kashmīr !]

Zafar Khān's two other *Masnavīs* are also known. One is *Jalwa-i-Nāz* and the other is *Maikhāna-i-Rāz*. The reason why the *Jalwa-i-Nāz* is so named is—

از آنِ نامشی نہادم جلوۂ نازِ کہ کردہ دفترِ حُسنِ بُتانِ باز

The *Maikhāna-i-Rāz* has—

بہ شش ماہ ایں نسخہ منظوم گشت بہ میخانہ راز موسوم گشت

The *Ahsan-ul-Hikāyāt*, a collection of thirty-one anecdotes by Hāfiz Muhammad Rizā, was written in Kashmīr during *Ahsan's* régime. Zafar Khān's son, Muhammad Tāhir *Āshnā*, whose title was 'Ināyat Khān, held the office of the Dārūgha-i-Kutub-Khāna or Keeper of the Imperial Library. Āshnā was a poet and also wrote the *Mulakhkhas*, a history of the first thirty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. It was Zafar Khān's patronage of poetry and learning that Abū Tālib *Kalīm* wrote in his *Pādshāh-nāma*—

ظفرخان ز فتح و ظفر شادمان بہ کشمیر از مملکت شد روان

making a reference to Zafar Khān's expedition for the conquest of Tibet in 1046-47 A.H.=1636-37 A.C.

[**Zafar Khan "Ahsan."**—Perhaps a short note on Zafar Khān is needed here. Khwāja Mīrzā Ahsanullāh's *takhallus* was *Ahsan*. He was the son of Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Turbatī (*i.e.* of Turbat-i-Haidarī, a town south of Mashhad in Khurāsān, Īrān). Khwāja Abu'l Hasan was at one time the Adviser of Prince Dāniyāl, and the Dīwān of the Deccan, and later Mīr Bakhshī, and had the title of Rukn-us-Saltanat. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1033 A.H. (1623 A.C.), Ahsanullāh was appointed Governor of Kābul, and received the title of *Zafar Khān* or the 'Lord of Victory' with the *mansab* of 1,500 which was subsequently raised to 2,500.

In the fifth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1041 A.H. (1631 A.C.), he was deputed to Kashmīr as the lieutenant of his father who was nominated to the governorship of Kashmīr. This position, according to the Bānkipur *Catalogue* (Vol. III, p. 117), Ahsanullāh held to the twenty-sixth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, after which he was transferred to Taṭṭah. But Zafar Khān was really the lieutenant of his father for one year, and twice governor of Kashmīr, first in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.C.), for seven years, and the second time in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.C.), for four years as supported by the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā'* of Shāh Nawāz Khān (pp. 757-59).

Ahsanullāh was dwarfish but very keen and quick-witted. His father was a staunch Sunnī, but he himself was a zealous Shī'a. Ahsanullāh married Buzurg Khānam and had a son, Mīrzā Muhammad Tāhir *Āshnā*, who was given the title of *'Ināyat Khān*, as noted above.

Ahsanullāh died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.C.), at Lāhore, and was buried near the grave of his father in Mughulpura. 'Ināyat Khān died in 1081 A.H. (or 1670 A.C.) in Kashmīr. Mīrzā Khurshīd was the brother of Ahsanullāh.]

Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd of Bukhārā came to Kashmīr during Zafar Khān's régime, and gave impetus to the Naqshbandī *tarīq* when the poet Mashrabī wrote—

هست جائے شادمانی ز آنکہ در کشمیریاں
قُطبِ حق، پیرِ خلائق، مُرشدِ دوران رسید
خواجۂ والا گُہر خاوند محمود، آنکہ، فیض
از وجودش ظاہر و باطن بہ مُشتاقان رسید

Ibrāhīm Khān who became afterwards known as 'Alī Mardān Khān was originally an Īrānian. He is said to have come by a treasure at Qandahār, but not willing to surrender it to his master, the Shāh of Īrān, sought Shāh Jahān's protection. 'Alī Mardān was just and generous. So lavishly did he spend his money that even Shāh Jahān was astonished. 'Alī Mardān was thus, no doubt, popularly credited with the possession of the philosophers' stone. As Lawrence[1] notes, it was believed that through this stone he was enabled to build splendid *serāis* on the Pīr Panjāl route to India. Pandit Mahādev was the secretary employed by 'Alī Mardān Khān during his second tenure of office. Pandit Mahādev also profited by his master's generosity considerably.

Besides planting gardens, 'Alī Mardān raised a number of serāis or inns, and also repaired the Hürapōr road. Notwithstanding his tendency to a life of ease, he was generally solicitous of the welfare of the country. The Emperor, too, was no less keenly interested in the material advancement and well-being of the people of Kashmīr. And when a severe famine broke out in the days of Tarbīyat Khān, the Emperor appointed capable officers to organize relief measures. Tarbīyat Khān, being unable to cope with the task, he was removed. Corn was exported from Lāhore, Jullundur, Siālkōt, Kalānaur, and other districts of the Punjāb, to be distributed free among the sufferers. All the queens and princes voluntarily contributed towards the relief fund started for the purpose. During the régime of Lashkar Khān, the last governor under Shāh Jahān, the country, however, enjoyed such a spell of prosperity that a bag of *shālī* or unhusked rice could be had for a fowl.[2]

1. *The Valley of Kashmír*, page 195.
2. *The Tā'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 192.

Tavernier was not, therefore, wrong when he said that Shāh Jahān "reigned not so much as a King over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children."

A galaxy of famous poets.

Both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Kashmīr shone with a galaxy of famous poets like Kalīm,[1] Qudsī,[2] Aujī,[3] Tughrā,[4] Mīr Ilahī,[5] Nadīm,[6] Fasīhī,[7] Fahmī,[8] and Khwāja Mūmin.[9] Their verses are often quoted by lexicographers. Some of the poets were, of course, of Persian origin ; but they loved Kashmīr more than their own native land, and there lived their lives. Zafar Khān,[10] in the preface of his *Dīvān*, particularly mentions the names of Maulānā Haidar Muhammad, Muhammad Muqīm Jauharī, Qāzī Muhammad Qāsim better known as Qāzī-zādah as distinguished poets of his time in Kashmīr. The presence of so many men of culture and learning contributed to the intellectual attainments of this country in literature and *belles lettres*.

Aurangzib 'Alamgir

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr visited Kashmīr only once. He became seriously ill in the summer of 1664 A.C., and came to Kashmīr in the following months to restore his health. Princess Raushan Ārā accompanied the Emperor. Bernier arrived in the Valley early in 1665 A.C. His *Travels* give a graphic account of this royal visit. The Emperor's experience of the journey was not, however, a happy one. The passage of the Chināb river was a scene of confusion. Again, in the Pīr Panjāl Pass, an elephant carrying the ladies stepped back and forced fifteen animals behind him over the precipice. Three or four women were killed. Some elephants rolled down to the bottom of a *khad* or ravine. A number of men were injured rather seriously. Jān Muhammad *Qudsī*, the poet, was not wrong, therefore, when he said :

رهے پیچیدہ تر از مُوے زنگی بہ تُندی چُوں دمِ تیغِ فرنگی

[The road is more tortuous than the curl of a blackmoor's hair; in sharpness it is like the sword of the Firangī.]

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1. Of Hamadān.
2. Of Mashhad.
3. Of Kashmīr.
4. Of Mashhad.
5. Of Asadābād near Hamadān.
6. Of Kashmīr.
7. Of Herāt.
8. Of Kashmīr.
9. Of Kashmīr.
10. The Bānkipur *Catalogue*, Vol. III, page 118.

'Āqil Khān has, as it were, replied to it :

بے رنج مُحال است بہ فردوس رسیدن

ہموارئی رہ گُلشنِ کشمیر ندارد

Nawwāb Zafar Khān *Ahsan* says—

مرا اندیشۂ راہیست جانکاہ کہ آنجا خِضری ہم گُم کُند راہ

بہم پیچیدہ میگردد چُو مکتُوب دریں رہ عُمرِ خضر و صبرِ ایُّوب

The progress to Kashmīr of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr did not obstruct* the necessary business of the state. Attended by all his officers, the decisions of each department were carried from the camp to every corner of the Empire. Expresses stood ready on horseback at every stage : and the imperial mandates were dispatched to the various provinces as soon as they were sealed in the Tent of Audience. The nobles, as was customary in the capital, attended daily the Presence : and appeals were discussed every morning as regularly as when the Emperor remained at Delhi. The petitioners followed the court ; and a small allowance from the public treasury was assigned to them as a compensation for their additional expense in attending the imperial camp. In this manner, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr arrived in Kashmīr.

The beauty, the cool and salubrious air of the country induced 'Ālamgīr to relax his mind for a short time from business. He wandered over the Valley after a variety of pleasure ; and soon recovered that vigour of constitution which his attention to public business as well as his late sickness had greatly impaired. Here Dr. Bernier (on Rs. 300 per month in the service of Dānish-mand Khān, the Emperor's Foreign Minister) attended on 'Ālamgīr and helped him in the restoration of his health. The summer Bernier visited Kashmīr, Fidāī Khān, grandmaster of the artillery, 'Ālamgīr's trusted foster-brother, was stationed as a guard below the pass at Bhimbar until the heat was over and the Emperor returned.

"Aurangzīb, to whom business was amusement, added the most extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire

*Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1772, Vol. III, pages 354-55.

to an unremitting application," wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow* in 1772 A.C., 65 years after Aurangzīb's death. "He made himself minutely acquainted with the revenue paid by every district, with the mode of proceeding in the inferior courts, and even with the character and disposition of several judges. He ordered the register of the rents to be left open for the inspection of all, that the people might distinguish extortion from the just demands of the Crown. He commanded that men versed in the usages of the several courts, in the precepts of the Coran, and in the regulations established by edict, should attend at the public expense, and give their opinion to the poor in matters of litigation. He established a mode of appeal beyond certain sums: and he disgraced judges for an error in judgment and punished them severely for corruption and partiality. His activity kept the great machine of Government in motion through all its members: his penetrating eye followed oppression to its most secret retreats and his stern justice established tranquillity, and secured property over all his extensive dominions."

The number of governors, appointed by Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, was fourteen, of whom Ibrāhīm Khān held the appointment thrice, while Saif Khān was sent twice. It was in the time of Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, that the poet Mīrzā Dārāb *Jūyā*, born in Kashmīr, flourished. In Jūyā's *Dīvān*, the *ghazals* open with—

الٰهی ره نما سوئے خود این مدهوشِ غافل را

ز دردت جامه زیبِ داغ چوں طاؤس کن دل را

In spite of pressure of work and personal attention devoted by the Emperor to all departments of the state, he was earnestly concerned in the welfare of this province. 'Ālamgīr's remark کشمیری درین صوبه نیست که مقرر کنیم [There is no Kashmīrī in this province whom I may appoint] in the *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, page 95, must be a reason for pride to the Kashmīrī coming, as the remark does, from an exacting hard taskmaster of the high standard of 'Ālamgīr. Nothing escaped 'Ālamgīr's vigilant eye. And he did not hesitate to introduce effective measures to improve the condition of the people. Ibrāhīm Khān was twice removed

*Lt.-Colonel Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1772. Vol. III, pages xxvi-vii.

from governorship for backing the Shī'as in sectaria feuds. Similarly, Muzaffar Khān paid dearly for his impc sition of heavy taxes. Hence it cannot be said tha Mughul Sūbadārs had a free hand in Kashmīr. The subject were treated mildly and justly, and the Sūbadārs were, wit the rare exceptions of Muzaffar Khān and Abū Nasr Khān vigorous advocates of justice. Saif Khān caused Khwāj Muhammad Sādiq Naqshbandī to be flogged to death fo inflicting a like punishment on a Hindu official charge with defalcation in state accounts. Saif Khān was th brother-in-law of Shāh Jahān, their wives being sisters He acted as governor twice. Qivām-ud-Dīn Khān i famous for his invention of the *Takhtah Kulāh* or *Kulāh i-Takhtah* 'the Wooden Cap,' presumably on the analog of the *Fool's Cap*, for criminals.

I'timād Khān, Iftikhār Khān, Hifzullāh Khān, Islām Khān and Fāzil Khān, governors one after the other, acted in an impartial manner and did their best in personally dealing out justice, and in looking after the people. Saif Khān, in his second term of office, held the census of the Valley about 1670 A.C. According to Hasan, this census showed the population of Kashmīr to consist of 12,43,033 souls including 90,400 infantry and 4,812 cavalry. No authority is quoted and no details are forthcoming and no comment can, therefore, be offered. Possibly this census may have been on the lines of the census of the Mughul Empire of India during Akbar's reign in 989 A.H.=1581 A.C. The Mughul governors also tried to improve the general appearance of the country and its towns by laying out gardens, erecting mosques, building rest-houses populating villages. A jāgīrdār of the time, Chaudhrī Mahēsh Pandit's garden is mentioned as a model of beauty and taste. These governors relieved the agriculturist class of the heavy taxes imposed by preceding governors. Fāzil Khān is associated with a well-known Madrasah. It was in his time that the Sacred Hair of the Prophet was brought to Kashmīr by Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn Ishbarī. Fāzil Khān recommended Kashmīrīs for *mansabs* and the Emperor approved of his recommendations. Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh was, perhaps, the first of the Kashmīrī Mansabdārs. He rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in 1717 in Farrukh Siyar's time.

Fire, famine, earthquake and flood, each occurring at intervals, inflicted on the people considerable hardships,

including loss of property. In those days, it was difficult adequately to cope with these calamities in the nick of time. Nevertheless, steps were promptly taken to alleviate misery whenever it was possible to do so. After the Kāwdora[1] fire, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr sent Ibrāhīm Khān with urgent and explicit orders to help the people re-build their houses and to furnish a report on the progress of the measures taken. It was only after the houses had been re-built, that an effort was made to re-construct the Jāmi' Masjid, which had also perished in the fire.

Sectarian fights between the Shī'as and Sunnīs were not uncommon in those days. As a matter of fact, it is a mistake to judge the happenings of those times from the present-day point of view. Europe itself was passing through the ordeal of the Reformation. Religious feelings were bitter everywhere. It was particularly so in Kashmīr where Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī's successful propagation of Shī'ite doctrines had proved fruitful. The minds of both Shī'as and Sunnīs were, therefore, in a state of frenzy. Moreover, as fresh converts the Shī'as must have been very zealous, at times, fanatical. The Chaks, who were Shī'as by faith, had lost their domination only recently. The aggrieved minds of the Shī'as looked upon this fact both as personal and religious grievance. It is, therefore, not surprising that riots and disturbances between the Shī'as and the Sunnīs were not unusual.

Regarding external affairs touching Kashmīr, there are several deserving notice. For instance, the Qalmuqs,[2] invaded Tibet Kalān (major). Daldal Namjal, the ruler of Tibet Kalān, himself being unable to defend the country, sought help from the Emperor of Delhi. Consequently, Fidāī Khān was ordered by Ibrāhīm Khān, the then governor, to drive out the Qalmuqs. This was successfully done. But, later, when the ruler of that country rebelled, he was chastised by Saif Khān. Subsequently, he embraced Islam,

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1. Kāwdora is the name of a big *mahalla* or ward near the shrine of Makhdūm Sāhib in Srīnagar.

2. Qalmuq, Qalmaq or Qalmiq is the Turkish name for a Mongol people. In the 16th century, under the name of Oriat (Confederation) they roamed about a vast region in Central Asia between the Altai and Tian-Shan, and the Desert of Gobi and Lake Balkhash and the Caspian. For ferocity they are called قلمقِ بد مخلوق or Qalmuqs of evil creation. The Qalmuqs followed Buddhism in contrast to the Dungans —speaking Chinese, who adopted Islam.

and returned to Tibet where he built a grand mosque. Similarly, the rājā of Rajaurī became a convert to Islam after his defeat, when his kingdom was restored to him in the third tenure of Ibrāhīm Khān's governorship. The rājā of Jammu broke out into open revolt, and was reduced to submission by Hifzullāh Khān who had succeeded Ibrāhīm Khān in 1686 A. C.

'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, passed through Kashmīr about 1667-8 A.C., on his way for a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to one version, he had to hand over his kingdom involuntarily to his son Nawāzish Khān. 'Abdullāh Khān was received and entertained in a royal manner by Mubāriz Khān the governor, the successor of Saif Khān. And when, very much later, Arsalān Khān, 'Abdullāh Khān's nephew, came to Kashmīr for help against his own son, the matter was referred to 'Ālamgīr by Ibrāhīm Khān, the governor of Kashmīr during 1701 to 1706 A.C. On receipt of orders, Ibrāhīm Khān communicated the Emperor's wishes to the fugitive prince, asking him to seek help from the governor of Kābul. As a matter of fact, 'Ālamgīr had the intention of conquering Kāshghar, but he was dissuaded from entering upon the campaign. Kashmīr, this shows, was at that time a strong outpost of the Mughul Empire.

Lalla Rookh.

At the mention of 'Abdullāh Khān of Kāshghar, the reader may not resist the temptation of regaling himself with an intriguing reference to the celebrated poem of Thomas Moore known as *Lalla Rookh* (*Lāla Rukh* or Tulip Cheek), though the hero and the heroine and their parentage and marriage are all purely imaginary. Says Moore ;*

*Thomas Moore (May 1779 A.C.—February 1852) was an Irish poet and musician. In 1798 Moore graduated, and in the next year left for England to keep his terms at the Middle Temple. He was a social success in London. But his social successes involved him in expenses far beyond his means. His publishers advanced him money which relieved him of his debts. In 1814 Moore contracted with the firm of Longmans for 3,000 guineas to supply a metrical romance on an Eastern subject. Moore retired to a cottage in the neighbourhood of Donington Park, where with the help of Lord Moira's library he read himself slowly into familiarity with Eastern scenery and manners. According to Florence Parbury, (the author of *The Emerald Set with Pearls*, vide its *Notes*), " the particulars of the visit of the king of Bucharia to Aurangzib are found in Lt.-Col.

"In the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzebe, Abdalla, King of Lesser Bucharia, a lineal descendant from

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Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1803, Volume III, pages 418-19. I reproduce it below for the information of the reader :—

"An opportunity offered itself to his (Aurangzīb's) magnificence and generosity in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign. Abdalla, king of the Lesser Bucharia, lineally descended from the great Zingis, having abdicated the throne to his son Aliris, advanced into Tibet, in his way to Mecca. He sent a message to Aurangzebe, requesting a permission for himself and his retinue to pass through India. The emperor ordered the governor of Cashmire to receive the royal pilgrim with all imaginable pomp, and to supply him with every article of luxury and convenience at the public expense. The governors of districts were commanded to attend Abdalla from province to province, with all their followers. The troops, in every place through which he was to pass, were directed to pay him all military honours; and in this manner he advanced to Delhi and was received by the Emperor at the gates of the city. Having remained seven months in the capital, he was conducted with the same pomp and magnificence to Sūrat where he embarked for Arabia."

The *Lalla Rookh* was published in 1817. It was an immediate success. Moore's fame speedily became European. "No poem of the time was more translated into foreign languages." But the poets of Moore's own day, who knew and liked Moore, never cared for *Lalla Rookh*. Leigh Hunt condemned it as "too florid in its general style." Moore was an amatory poet and he made successes by writing about love.

The story of "the Feast of Roses at Cashmere" is "most lavishly decorated." "*Lalla Rookh* is a work of very secondary merit and retains its place in literature mainly as an example of an extinct taste," says Stephen Gwynn in *Thomas Moore* (English Men of Letters, 1905, page 90).

"Kashmīr is a dream of loveliness" says Florence Parbury. "The marvel lies in that Moore should have described so clearly and accurately a land he never visited." (*The Emerald Set with Pearls* by Florence Parbury.—Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London.)

"No poem has ever had greater popularity than *Lalla Rookh* for it has been translated into all European and most Eastern languages, while Rubinstein, Schusnann, Felicia David, Sir Sterndale Bennette and many others have composed operas based upon parts of its romance."

"The greatest tribute to Moore's genius was the splendid entertainment given in the apartments of Frederick I, at the visit of the Grand Duke Nicholas in 1822. The different stories were represented in tableaux, vivants, songs and dances and all the characters were impersonated by members of the Royal House and Court."

At the close of the gorgeous pageant, the Empress of Russia who had herself played the part of "Lalla Rookh" exclaimed with a sigh: "Is it then all over? Is there no poet who will impart to others and to future times some notion of the happiness we have enjoyed this evening?"

Upon this Baron de la Motte Fouque promised to attempt it. It was from this grand féte that the translation of *Lalla Rookh* into German by Fouque originated. The French dancer, Jules Joseph Perrot, used *Lalla Rookh*, in 1846, in his shows in London, Paris and Milan.

the Great Zingis, having abdicated the throne in favou of his son, set out on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of th Prophet; and, passing into India through the delightfu valley of Cashmere, rested for a short time at Delhi on hi way. He was entertained by Aurungzebe in a style o magnificent hospitality, worthy alike of the visitor and th host, and was afterwards escorted with the same splendou to Surat, where he embarked for Arabia. During the sta of the Royal Pilgrim at Delhi, a marriage was agreed upo between the Prince, his son, and the youngest daughte of the Emperor, Lalla Rookh*—a Princess described by the

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**The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937, page 439) will accordingly be read with interest :—

We have written about Moore and the background of his *Lalla Rookh*. Now a word about *Lalla Rookh* the book itself.

Lalla Rookh, a series of oriental tales in verse, connected together by a story in prose, by Thomas Moore was published in 1817.

The prose-story relates the journey of *Lalla Rookh*, the daughter of the Emperor Aurungzebe, from Delhi to Cashmere, to be married to the young King of Bucharia. On the way, she and her train are diverted by four tales told by Feramorz, a young Cashmerian poet, with whom she falls in love, and who turns out, on her arrival at her destination, to be the king of Bucharia himself. An element of humour is introduced by the self-important chamberlain, Fadladeen. A series of accidents on the way has thrown him into a bad temper, which he vents in pungent criticisms on the young man's verses (in the style of the 'Edinburgh' reviewers), and he is correspondingly discomfited on discovering the latter's identity. The four tales are as follows :

The Veiled Prophet of Khorasan. The beautiful Zelica, half demented by the loss of Azim, her lover, supposed dead, is lured into the harem of Mokanna, a repulsive impostor who poses as a prophet, on the promise of admission to paradise. Azim, returning from the wars, finds Zelica wedded to Mokanna, and joins the army of the Caliph, on its way to punish the blasphemy of Mokanna. The latter is defeated, throws himself into a vat of corrosive poison, and dies. Zelica, seeking death, puts on his veils, and being mistaken for the prophet, is killed by Azim and dies in his arms.

Paradise and Peri.—A peri, one of 'those beautiful spirits of the air who live on perfumes,' offspring of fallen angels, is promised admission to paradise if she will bring to the gate the gift that is most dear to heaven. She brings first a drop of the blood of a youthful warrior who dies to free India from the tyrant Mahmood of Gazna, but it fails to open the gate. Then the expiring sigh of an Egyptian maiden who dies from grief at the loss of her plague-stricken lover; this is equally unavailing. Lastly, the repentant tear wrung from a criminal by his child's prayer to God, and this opens the gate.

The Fire-Worshippers, a tale of the Ghebers or Persians of the old religion, who maintained their resistance against the conquering Moslems. Hafed, a young Gheber, falls in love with Hinda, daughter of the Emir

poets of her time as more beautiful than Leila, Shirine, Dewildé,* or any of those heroines whose names and loves embellish the songs of Persia and Hindostan. It was intended that the nuptials should be celebrated at Cashmere where the young king, as soon as the cares of the Empire would permit, was to meet, for the first time, his lovely bride, and, after a few months' repose in that enchanting valley, conduct her over the snowy hills into Bucharia.

"The date of Lalla Rookh's departure from Delhi was as splendid as sunshine and pageantry could make it. The bazaars and baths were all covered with the richest tapestry; hundreds of gilded barges upon the Jumna floated with their banners shining in the water; while through the streets groups of beautiful children went strewing the most delicious flowers around, as in that Persian festival called the Scattering of the Roses: till every part of the city was as fragrant as if a caravan of musk from Khoten had passed through it. The Princess, having taken leave of her kind father, who, at parting, hung a cornelian of Yemen round her neck, on which was ascribed a verse from the Koran, and having sent a considerable present to the Fakirs, who kept up the Perpetual Lamp in her sister's tomb, meekly ascended the palankeen prepared for her: and, while Aurangzebe stood to take a last look from his balcony, the procession moved slowly on the road to Lahore.

"Seldom had the Eastern world seen a cavalcade so superb. From the gardens in the suburbs to the Imperial Palace, it was one unbroken line of splendour. The gallant appearance of the Rajahs and Mogul Lords distinguished by those insignia of the Emperor's favour, the feathers of the egret of Cashmere in their turbans, and the small silver-rimmed kettle-drums at the bows of their saddles; the costly armour of their cavaliers, who vied, on this occasion,

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Al Hassan, who has been sent from Arabia to quell this resistance. Hafed scales the rocks on which her bower stands, and wins her love. Presently Hinda is captured by the Ghebers and discovers that her lover is their chief. The Ghebers are betrayed to Al Hassan, and Hafed throws himself on a funeral pyre. Hinda leaps from the boat on which she is being carried back to her father and is drowned.

The Light of the Harem, a story of Nourmahal, the beloved wife of Selim, son of the Great Akbar. The Feast of Roses is being celebrated in the Vale of Cashmere, but Nourmahal has quarrelled with her husband. Namouna, the enchantress, teaches her magic song, which Nourmahal sings, masked at Selim's banquet, and thus wins back his love.

*Dewal Devi.

with the guards of the great Keder Khān,* in the brightness of their silver battle-axes and the massiness of their maces of gold;—the glittering of the gilt pine-apples (a large golden knob) on the tops of the palankeens;—the embroidered trappings of the elephants bearing on their backs small turrets, in the shape of little antique temples, within which the Ladies of Lalla Rookh lay as it were enshrined: the rose coloured veils of the Princess's own sumptuous litter, at the front of which a fair young female slave sat fanning her through the curtains, with feathers of the Argus pheasant's wing;—and the lovely troops of Tartarian and Cashmerian maids of honour, whom the young King had sent to accompany his bride, and who rode on each side of the litter, upon small Arabian horses:—all was brilliant, tasteful, and magnificent, and pleased even the critical and fastidious *Fadladeen* (Fazl-ud-Dīn) Great Nāzir or Chamberlain of the Haram, who was borne in his palankeen immediately after the Princess.

"During the first days of their journey, Lalla Rookh, who had passed all her life within the shadow of the Royal Gardens of Delhi, found enough in the beauty of the scenery through which they passed to interest her mind, and delight her imagination; and when at evening or in the heat of the day, they turned off from the high road to those retired and romantic places which had been selected for her encampments,—sometimes on the banks of a small rivulet, as clear as the waters of the Lake of Pearl; sometimes under the sacred shade of a Banyan tree, from which the view opened upon a glade covered with antelopes; and often in those hidden embowered spots, described by one from the Isles of the West, as "places of melancholy, delight, and safety, where all the company around was wild peacocks and turtle-doves";—she felt a charm in these scenes, so lovely and so new to her, which for a time, made her indifferent to every other amusement. But Lalla Rookh was young, and the young love variety; nor could the conversation of her Ladies and the Great Chamberlain, Fadladeen (the only person, of course, admitted to her pavilion), sufficiently enliven those many vacant hours, which were devoted neither to the pillow nor the palankeen. There was a little Persian slave who sung sweetly to the Vina, and who, now and then, lulled the Princess to sleep

*Khāqān of Turkistān at the end of the eleventh century.

with the ancient ditties of her country, about the loves of Wamak and Ezra, the fair-haired Zal and his mistress Rodahver; not forgetting the combat of Rustam with the terrible white demon. At other times she was amused by those graceful dancing girls of Delhi, who had been permitted by the Brahmins of the Great Pagoda to attend her.....

"It was recollected that, among the attendants sent by the bridegroom, was a young poet of Cashmere, much celebrated throughout the valley for his manner of reciting the Stories of the East, on whom his Royal Master had conferred the privilege of being admitted to the pavilion of the Princess, that he might help to beguile the tediousness of the journey by some of his most agreeable recitals . . .

"For the purpose of relieving the pauses of recitation by music, the young Cashmerian held in his hand a kitar*—such as, in old times the Arab maids of the West used to listen to by moonlight in the gardens of the Alhambra—and having premised, with much humility, that the story he was about to relate was founded on the adventures of that Veiled Prophet of Khorasan, who in the year of the Hegira 163, created such alarm throughout the Eastern Empire . . . .

"They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where Death seemed to share equal honours with Heaven would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already. She was here met by messengers, dispatched from Cashmere, who informed her that the king had arrived in the Valley, and was himself superintending the sumptuous preparations that were then making in the Saloons of the Shalimar for her reception . . . .

"They were now reposing for a time in the rich valley of Hussun Abdaul, which had always been a favourite resting-place of the Emperors in their annual migrations to Cashmere. Here often had the Light of the Faith, Jehan-Guire, been known to wander with his beloved and beautiful Nourmahal.

"About two miles from Hussun Abdaul were those Royal Gardens which had grown beautiful under the care of

*From the Arabian تنبار meaning a guitar or lyre or harp.

so many lovely eyes, and were beautiful still, though those eyes could see them no longer. This place, with its flowers and its holy silence, interrupted only by the dipping of the wings of birds in its marble basins filled with the pure water of those hills, was to Lalla Rookh all her heart could fancy of fragrance, coolness, and almost heavenly tranquillity...

"Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave.
Its temples and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?
Oh! to see it at sunset,—when warm over the lake
Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws,
Like a bride, full of blushes, when lingering to take
A last look of her mirror at night ere she goes!—
When the shrines through the foliage are gleaming
half shown,

And each hallows the hour by some rites of its own.
Here the music of prayer from a minaret swells.
Here the Magian his urn, full of perfume, is swinging,
And here at the altar, a zone of sweet bells
Round the waist of some Indian dancer is ringing.
Or, to see it by moonlight,—when mellowly shines
The light over its palaces, gardens and shrines;
When the waterfall gleams, like a quick fall of stars,
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shining walks where the young people
meet—

Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one
Out of darkness, as if but just born of the Sun.
When the spirit of Fragrance is up with the day,
From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
The young aspen-trees, till they tremble all over.
When the East is as warm as the light of first hopes,
And day with his banner of radiance unfurled
Shines in through the mountainous portal that opes,
Sublime from the valley of bliss to the world!

" But never yet, by night or day,
In dew of spring or summer's ray,
Did the sweet Valley shine so gay,
As now it shines—all love and light,
Visions by day and feasts by night!
A happier smile illumes each brow,
With quicker spread each heart uncloses.
And all is ecstasy,—for now
The Valley hold its Feast of Roses;
The joyous time, when pleasures pour
Profusely round and, in their shower,
Hearts open like the season's rose,—
The flow'ret of a hundred leaves,
(*Gul-i-Sad Barg* or the rose of a hundred leaves)
Expanding while the dew-fall flows,
And every leaf its balm receives.

'Twas when the hour of evening came
Upon the Lake, serene and cool,
When day had hid his sultry flame
Behind the palms of Baramoule,
When maids began to lift their heads,
Refreshed from their embroidered beds,
Where they had slept the sun away,
And waked to moonlight and to play.—

" Of the happiness of the King and Queen of Bucharia, after such a beginning, there can be but little doubt."

Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr did not remain in Hindustān during the second half of his reign. The Deccan engaged his attention. And there he passed away in 1707 A.C., after a long reign extending over a period of fifty years. The emperor's whole stay in Kashmīr was for three months only.

Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, died during the reign of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. The ancestors of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, who were Kashmīrī Brāhmans of the Saprū caste, embraced Islam in this reign.

Nawāzish Khān Rūmī, the governor-elect, was on his way to Kashmīr when he received the news of 'Ālamgīr's death. After a year, Ja'far Khān succeeded Nawāzish Khān Rūmī. Ja'far Khān proved to be a tyrant and a drunkard. He died of hard drinking after having been governor for

one year and three months. Governors and high officials on assumption of office in Kashmīr were welcomed by hereditary singers by grand receptions held in honour of such occasions. This was stopped by 'Ālamgīr. During Ja'far Khān's governorship, Qāzī Haidar, surnamed "Qāzī Khān," a Kashmīrī by birth, who held the important office of the Qāzī-'l-Quzāt or Chief Justice under 'Ālamgīr, passed away. The Qāzī's remains were interred in his own garden in the village of Bachhapōr in the Phāk pargana, on the Ḍal.

The death of 'Ālamgīr was followed by a short and sharp contest for the throne which ended in the death of two of his sons and three of his grandsons in the field. His eldest surviving son Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam was at Jamrūd, near Peshāwar, when on 22nd March, 1707, he heard of his father's death and set out for Āgra, crowning himself as Bahādur Shāh at the bridge of Shāh Daula, 24 miles north of Lāhore. Meantime A'zam Shāh after hastening to his father's camp at Ahmadnagar had ascended the throne on 14th March. But, in their fights, A'zam lost the day and lost his life in June. Kām Bakhsh who had crowned himself at Bījāpur was disposed of some four miles outside Hydarābād, Deccan, on January 13, 1709. Bahādur Shāh then reigned till February 1712 and died on the 27th of that month.

Later Mughuls

At the time of Bahādur Shāh's death all his four sons Jahāndār Shāh, 'Azīm-ush-Shān, Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh were with him at Lāhore. The brothers fought. Ultimately Jahāndār Shāh was victorious. But he gave himself up to pleasure. And in January 1713, therefore, Farrukh Siyar, the son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, enthroned himself and ruled till 1719, when the Sayyid Brothers 'Abdullāh and Husain 'Alī intrigued. They strangled Farrukh Siyar in April 1719. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, a youth of twenty, was set upon the throne, but was a consumptive and therefore was made to give room to his elder brother, Rafī'-ud-Daula, on 4th June, 1719. He lived within the fort almost a prisoner of the Sayyid Brothers when Raushan Akhtar, the son of Jahān Shāh (the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh), was crowned under the title of Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh on 28th September, 1719.

During Muhammad Shāh's time the Sayyid Brothers set up Prince Muhammad Ibrāhīm, a brother of Rafī'-ud-

Darajāt and Rafī'-ud-Daula on 14th October, 1720. A coin was actually struck in Ibrāhīm's name. But he was arrested and carried before Muhammad Shāh who received him royally, and kept him under watch and ward. Nādir Shāh, then, appeared on the scene. His invasion of India naturally weakened Mughul authority. And Delhi experienced a terrible massacre. But Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion was repelled near Manupur, 10 miles north-west of Sarhind, by Prince Ahmad Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, in 1748.

On the death by dropsy of Muhammad Shāh, Prince Ahmad ascended the throne of Delhi on 29th April, 1748, as Mujāhid-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahādur. In 1751 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī demanded and obtained the cession of the Punjāb and Multān from Ahmad Shāh the Mughul ruler of Delhi. The acquisition of the Punjāb enabled the Durrānī to take Kashmīr in 1752 in the course of his third invasion of India.

The governors under Shāh 'Ālam, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's son, had begun to send representatives in their place to rule the country. The practice acquired considerable vogue in later years. Amānat Khān and Musharraf Khān were both representatives of Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh who had been appointed to succeed Nawāzish Khān Rūmī. Other than this, there is very little of importance to chronicle in the brief reign of Shāh ' Ālam (Bahādur Shāh I) which terminated in 1712 A.C.

The only notable incident which took place in Kashmīr at this time was the revolt of Rājā Muzaffar Khān Bamba in 1124 A.H. (1713 A.C.), and his taking possession of Darāva* and Karnāva (modern Karnāh) both fiefs of the Sūbadār of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh Khān, the governor, was unable to reduce him to subjection owing to the death of the Emperor Jahāndār Shāh in 1124 A.H. This task was, however, performed by 'Alī Muhammad Khān in the reign of the next ruler, Farrukh Siyar. The same Sūbadār also punished Abu'l Fath, the zamīndār of Pūnch. But 'Alī

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folios 258-59; *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* folio 234. Darāva is the name of a *pargana* which formed part of the possessions of the rājās of Karnāo, and until the time of Sher Ahmad, the last of the line, the inhabitants seem to have held their lands rent-free on conditions of feudal service. Darāva lies in the valley of the Kishangangā river, a tributary of the Jhelum.

Karnāv or Karnāh is now a tahsīl in the Muzaffarābād district, lying north-west of Kashmīr to the south side of the Kishangangā river.

Muhammad Khān did not prove to be a good governor. He was recalled for levying unjust taxes.

Farrukh Siyar's mother, Sāhiba Niswān, was a Kashmīrian lady. Her brother Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh had the title of Shāista Khān.[1] When Farrukh Siyar's marriage to the daughter of Ajīt Singh of Jodhpur took place in 1715 A.C., Shāista Khān was sent to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur to Delhi. 'Ināyatullāh rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in April, 1717. "He tried to purge the administration of the abuses that had recently crept into it and to restore the regulations and discipline of Aurangzīb's time."[2] This raised him a host of enemies.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī rose to the status of *Haft-hazārī* and ten thousand *sowārs,* with the title of Rukn-ud-Daula I'tiqād Khān Bahādur Farrukh Shāhī, and had the *sarkār* of Morādābād as his *sūba* re-named Rukn-ābād. Muhammad Murād entered employment under Mīr Malik Husain Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh the foster-brother of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. Later, he was attached to the camp of Shāh 'Ālam I. It was in the time of Jahāndār Shāh in 1713 A.C. that his rise began and reached its climax in that of Farrukh Siyar. Murād was second *Mīr Tūzuk* or Marshal of the Empire of Delhi. The emperor said one day to the great nobles in *darbār:* "You have heard, have you not, I'tiqād Khān is related to my exalted mother." Murād became an enemy to the intrigues of the Sayyid Brothers in his loyalty to Farrukh Siyar, and was imprisoned in Sayyid Husain 'Alī's house. On the 12th of Ramazān 1139 A.H. (2nd May, 1717 A.C.), Murād died in Delhi at the age of seventy-two.[3]

Immigration of the Nehrūs.

In Farrukh Siyar's time, Pandit Rāj Kaul, a scholar of Sanskrit and Persian, attracted the notice of the emperor during the royal visit to Kashmīr. At the emperor's instance the family of Rāj Kaul migrated to Delhi about 1716,[4] and

1. William Irvine's *Later Moghals,* Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār's edition, Vol. I, page 144 and page 304.
2. *The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV, page 337.
3. William Irvine's *Later Moghals,* edited by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, Volume I, page 342.
4. *Jawaharlal Nehru—An Autobiography,* John Lane, the Bodley Head, London, Reprinted January, 1941, page 1.

later came to be known as the Nehrū family of Allāhābād and produced Pandit Motī Lāl Nehrū and his son Pandit Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū.

Muhammad Shāh.

Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi in 1719 A.C. A youth of 17, Muhammad Shāh was extremely handsome, large of limb and strong. But his sedentary life of inactivity and sexual excess soon impaired his constitution, and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was only 40. The evil was aggravated by his taking opium, and this drug habit made him weak and emaciated till at last it became impossible for him to move from his palace. As the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muhammad Shāh, says Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār,* a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of *faqīrs* and to hold long converse with them, discussing spiritual questions like an initiate. Though he neglected his public duties, "he was free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty. Nor did he lack consideration for others." He showed courage "when instead of fleeing to Bengāl as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went into Nādir Shāh's captivity in order to save his people and capital from the horrors of violent assault and forcible subjugation to incensed victors."

It cannot be denied that the emperor's personal character up to now had largely accounted for good administration in distant provinces. But Muhammad Shāh and his nobles abandoned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure. Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr had left a completely settled empire at his death, says Colonel Alexander Dow. Its disintegration commenced in the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748 A.C.) who is said to have once thrown an urgent report of an important conspiracy into a barrel of wine as useless bother—

ایں دفترِ بے معنی غرقِ مئے ناب اَولیٰ

Muhammad Shāh did not recover from the effects of his orgy till two days after.

Muhammad Shāh, however, "never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire

The Modern Review of Calcutta, December, 1931, page 611.

outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundation of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhamma Shāh by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be calle the last of the rulers of Bābur's line, as after him the kingshi had nothing but the name left to it." (*Siyar-ul-Muta akhirīn*, 111, 25). Muhammad Shāh died in 1748, havin been on the throne for 29 years.

In Muhammad Shāh's reign, the history of Kashmi presents little else but a record of local riots and internecin struggles. Under him Kashmīr entered upon a new phas of political life in that the Sūbadārs completely abstaine from ruling their provinces in person as already mentioned and deputed trusted agents answerable to them for goo conduct and administration.

Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān Kashmīrī.

Muhammad Shāh invested Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān wit the governorship of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh Khān was Kashmīrī by birth, and was descended from Qāzī Mūs Shahīd who was killed in Ya'qūb Shāh Chak's days. 'Ināya ullāh was originally Mīr 'Ināyatullāh, and later becam known as Mīr 'Inayātullāh Khān. He had six sons of who the more notable were : (*i*) the elder Hidāyatullāh know first as Vazārat Khān, then as Sa'dullāh Khān *Mīr-i-Sāmā* and (*ii*) the younger son was 'Atīatullāh Khān who wa given as title his father's name 'Ināyatullāh Khān. M 'Ināyatullāh is known in Kashmīr as *Yanna Sōr* as he bui the wall or *sōr* of Hazrat Makhdūm's mausoleum, *Yann* being nicknamed from 'Ināyatullāh. His mother, Hāfiz Maryam, taught the ladies of the royal seraglio in th days of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, notably Zīb-un-Nisā. Hāfiz Maryam's mother Jān Begam, the daughter of Mullā Shar Mīr 'Adl, taught the princesses in Shāh Jahān's tim Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr had such great confidence in 'Ināya ullāh's ability that he made him Vazīr-i-A'zam whe Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l Mulk Madār-ul-Mahāmm Ja'far Khā the Prime Minister of the realm, was ill. 'Ināyatullā compiled the *Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*. All signed royal com mands were collected and edited by him under the tit of *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt*. 'Ālamgīr had a high opinion 'Ināyatullāh's literary attainments and was impressed b his diction, style and mode of calligraphy. 'Ināyatullā was handsome, good-natured, grave, and scrupulous honest. He was simple in his habits and loved to m with *fuqarā'* or friars,

'Ināyatullāh[1] himself' seems to have been a conscientious man and selected his *Nā'ibs* or deputies with a view to proper government of the country.[2] His *Nā'ib*, Mīr Ahmad Khān, made honourable amends for the excesses of his predecessors by his good and equitable administration. But trouble arose from a strange quarter.

Mullā 'Abdun Nabī Muhtavī Khān or Mahbūb Khān, who was given the title of *Dīndār Khān* by his followers, had risen on account of his learning to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam of Kashmīr in the time of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. "Muhtavī or Mahbūb Khān Mullā 'Abdun Nabi" is mentioned in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* (Vol. III. page 761) as one of the learned men of the time and as selfish in obtaining his object under the cloak of advancing the cause of Islam. The Mullā was also a big landlord. A case of corruption by Pandit revenue clerks demanding gratification from the agents of Mullā Muhtavī brought forth from him summary orders of ostracism for the corrupt clerical caste. Pandit Majlis Rāi, Sarrāf-i-Pādshāhī or the Royal Cashier, reported these restrictions to Shāhpūr Khān, Mīr Bakhshī of Kashmīr. The Mīr Bakhshī was a Shi'a. It appears that disputes developed. And Pandits and Shi'as joined hands to oppose the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Riots ensued. Mullā Muhtavī Khān was murdered by a faction of the Shi'as. His two younger sons were also put to death.[3]

Mullā Sharaf-ul-Dīn, 'Abdun Nabī's son, stepped into the shoes of his father, and kept up trouble. Mīr Ahmad Khān, the Nā'ib of the Sūbadār Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān, could not control the situation and was consequently replaced. The second *Nā'ib*, 'Abdullāh Khān, also failed, and was replaced by Mūmin Khān Najm-i-Sānī, the third *Nā'ib*, who likewise failed in restraining the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Insurrections were still prevalent. 'Ināyatullāh resigned his post as Sūbadār. The Mughul Viceroy of Lāhore, 'Abdus Samad Khān Ahrārī Saif-ud-Daula Bahādur Dalīr Jang who defeated Bandā Bairāgī, and was the father of Zakarīyā Khān the governor of Lāhore during 1720-26, was appointed to fill it in 1720 A.C. 'Abdus Samad Ahrārī had 'Abdullāh Khān Deh-bīdī (originally from Deh-bīd, a village almost midway between Shīrāz and Isfahān, Īrān) as his Nā'ib.

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 254, also *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* folio 265.
2. Lieutenant Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 442.
3. The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān, Calcutta, 1874, Part II, page 870.

Saif-ud-Daula proceeded from Lāhore with a larg army. He took summary action against Mullā Sharaf-ud Dīn, Shaikh-ul-Islām (the son and successor of Muhtav Khān) who had become the leader of the insurrectio after his father. Saif-ud-Daula put the Mullā to deatl and hanged fifty insurgents. He also removed the restric tions imposed by the former Shaikh-ul-Islām, Mullā Muhtav Khān, against the Pandits who had been forbidden, for time, to use the turban, to ride, to wear the *tilak* or th vermillion mark on the forehead—somewhat paralleling th stricter and much more humiliating restrictions impose on the Jāts and Lohānas of Brāhamanābād, the then capita of Lower Sind, by the Brāhman ruler Chack or Jajj (*History of India as told by its own Historians*—Ellist an Dowson, Vol. I, page 151). This action was so muc esteemed by the Pandits that one of them sang of Saif-ud Daula 'Abdus Samad in Kashmīrī :—

"Haqqa ! āv Samad phutrān zīn,
"Na rūd kunih Sharaf, na rūd kunih Dīn."

[Verily Samad came swiftly, and Sharaf-ud-Dīn was nowhere *Literally*, "Sharaf-ud-Dīn came breaking the saddle, and there re mained neither Sharaf (His Highness) nor Dīn (*i.e.*, nor his zeal for hi faith) anywhere."]*

In 1724 A.C.=1137 A.H. 'Ināyatullāh was re-appointed governor of Kashmīr, third time but died after a few month at Delhi. Aqīdat Khān, the next governor-elect, appointed Mīr Fīrūz-ud-Dīn Nawwāb Abu'l Barakāt Khān Fīrūz Jang *Sūfī*, to give him his full subsequent title, his *Nā'ib* bu he proved a failure. Āghur Khān succeeded 'Aqīdat Khā in 1727 A.C. Āghur came himself to Kashmīr, but began t oppress the people, and sent Abu'l Barakāt, who opposed him, as a prisoner to Delhi. The people became so incensed against Āghur for his oppression that they finally chased hin out. He escaped to Bārāmūla where he received orders o his dismissal. Dil Dilīr Khān Pānīpatī, Fakhr-ud-Daula Bahādur, and 'Atīatullāh known as 'Ināyatullāh Khān the second, the younger son of the first Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān Kashmīrī, succeeded one after the other.

Abu'l Barakāt, who had been removed from the office of the Nā'ib, appeared, on release from Delhi, as the champion of popular cause in times of fires, floods, earthquakes and windstorms and helped them. He rose against the governor, 'Ināyatullāh the second, conspired with the leading

The Kashmiri Pandit by Pandit Anand Kaul Bāmizaī, page 50.

landlords of Pūnch, Muhammad Zamān and Walī Muhammad, and had the governor killed on 16th Shawwāl, 1154 A.H.=1741 A.C., at the hands of Pandit Dayā Rām, their accomplice. The Mughul Nā'ibs or deputies fought either with the neighbouring chiefs and nobles, or with their own master, as was the case of Abu'l Barakāt when he was the Nā'ib himself.

Beginning of the transfer from Mughul to Afghān rule.

Nādīr Shāh's presence in Afghānistān and his subsequent invasion of Hindustān exerted an unfavourable influence on all provinces, particularly Kashmīr, which was not far away from Afghānistān, the home of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, Kābul and Qandahār being included in the Sūbah of Kashmīr under Akbar as already noted before. When Nādir Shāh placed the crown of Hindustān on the head of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor bowed and offered the provinces of his empire west of the river Indus from Kashmīr to Sind. Kashmīr proper, however, does not appear to have been annexed by Nādir Shāh. But the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Mullā Khalīl Marjānpūrī and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* by Pīr Hasan Shāh assert that Fakhr-ud-Daula obtained order of appointment as Sūbadār of Kashmīr in 1152 A.H.=1739 A.C. from Nādir Shāh, and ruled for forty days in Nādir's name and gave currency to Nādir's coin as well. Subsequently, however, Fakhr-ud-Daula, probably on revised orders from Delhi, accepted 'Ināyatullāh Khān the second as the Sūbadār of Muhammad Shāh and left Srīnagar.

Circumstances then combined further to unsettle authority, and caused anarchy to become rampant in Kashmīr. The situation did not improve under Ahmad Shāh who succeeded Muhammad Shāh on the throne of Delhi in 1748 A.C., a year after Nādir Shāh's death.

Such was the condition of Kashmīr when, in 1747 A.C., some of the nobles wrote to Ahmad Shah Durrānī, who had taken the place of Nādir Shāh, to annex Kashmīr. When this letter fell into the hands of Afrāsiyāb, the Mughul proconsul, these nobles broke out into open revolt, and asked Ahmad Shāh, the Mughul emperor of India, to appoint a governor. Consequently, Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh was appointed as such, as a temporary measure, but he was soon driven out by Abu'l Qāsim, the son of Abu'l Barakāt.* In 1752 A.C., when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was at Lāhore preparing

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 287.

for an invasion of Hindustān, Mīr Muqim and Khwāja Zahī Didamarī of Kashmīr craved his assistance. Thereupon Ahmad Shāh Durrānī dispatched 'Abdullāh Khān Īshal Aqāsī with a considerable force. After some ineffectua negotiations, Abu'l Qāsim, the Mughul Nāzim, fought th Afghāns at Gunḍ-Ni'mat (near Shupiyān) for fifteen days His commander-in-chief, Gul Khān Khaibarī, deserte him, whereupon Abu'l Qāsim, the last Mughul governo of Kashmīr, fled and was taken prisoner. The Valley o Kashmīr passed on to the Afghāns.

Summary of the benefits of Mughul Rule.

Before we turn to the Afghāns, we must sum up comments on the Mughuls. The Mughuls were generally solicitous for the welfare of the country and its people. Th visits of emperors to the Valley stimulated its trade an encouraged its industries. The Mughul empire, suggest Mr. W. C. Smith,[1] was allied to the middle class, and durin its most flourishing period it had middle class commerce a a secondary and very important basis of income, its primar basis being land. It appears that copper mines wer worked during Jahāngīr's time in Kashmīr, and th Emperor made a grant of these mines to a private individua to be worked.[2] Jahāngīr is, perhaps, the pioneer i opening up, as it were, the tourist trade of the Valley During the entire period of one hundred and sixty-six years in which Kashmīr was under the Mughuls, there are, ou of 63 governors, only six instances of high-handed treat ment of the Kashmīrīs. According to Colonel Alexande Dow,[3] an Orientalist, and a civil servant under the East India Company in 1772 A.C., whom we quoted before, "th uncommon abilities of most of the Princes with the mild and humane character of all rendered Hindustan th most flourishing Empire in the world during two complete centuries." Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār mentions[4] the following six gifts of the Mughul Empire to India: (1) the uniform administrative type throughout the *Sūbas*: (2) one official language; (3) one uniform system of coinage; (4) an all-India cadre of higher public services, the officers being transferred from province to province every three or four years; (5) the frequent march of large armies from province to province, and (6) deputation of inspecting

1. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderābād, October, 1944, page 362.
2. G. T. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, page 337.
3. *History of Hindostan*, Vol. III, page 23.
4. *The Modern Review* of Calcutta, December, 1931, page 611.

officers from the central capital. To these may be added the fact that the patronage of, and interest in, art shown by Mughul rulers in India is unparalleled in any cultural history of humanity in the world.

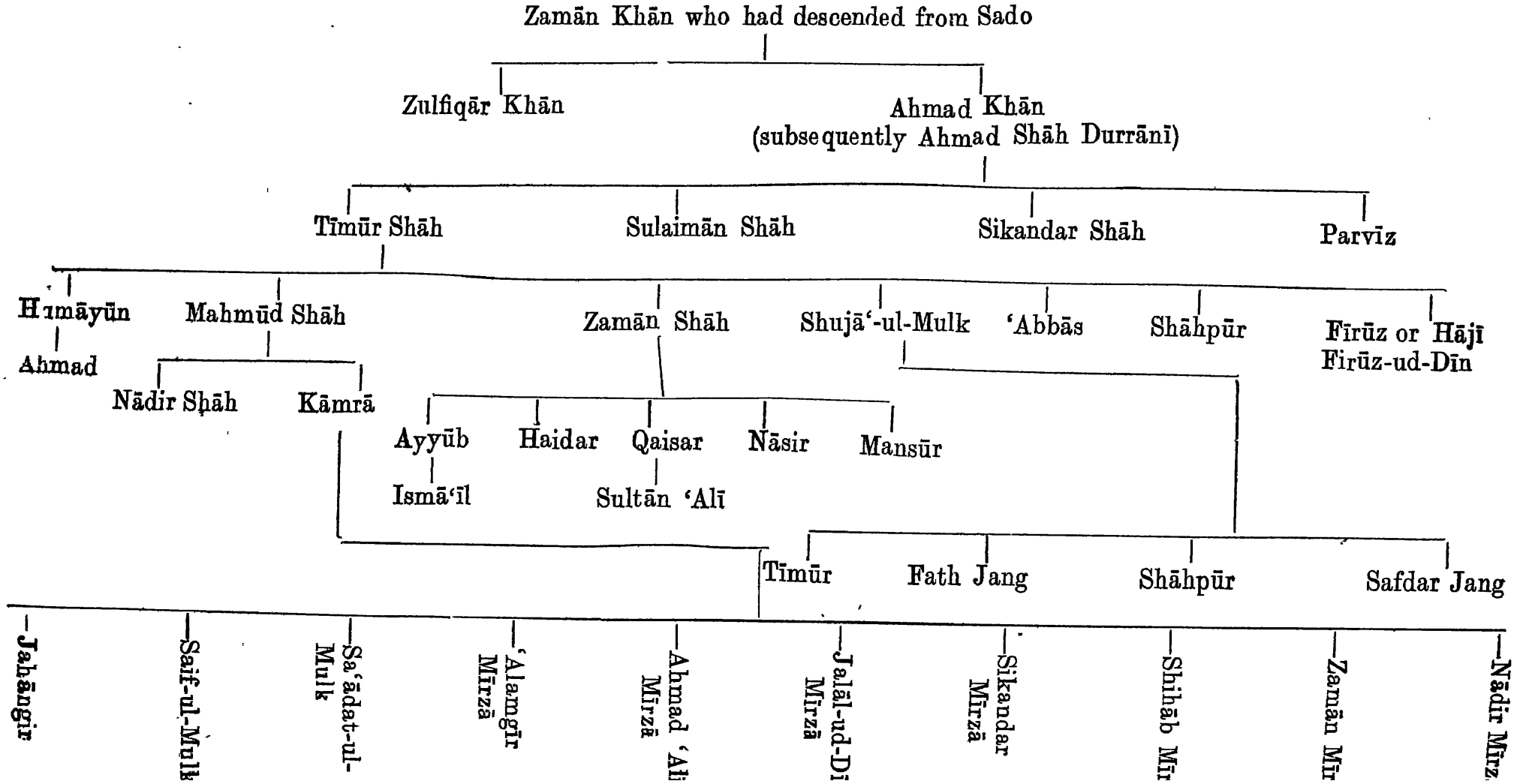
We cannot do better than close this Chapter by a quotation from Dr. Sachchidānanda Sinha[1] the scholarly ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and ex-Minister, Bihār, on the Mughuls in Kashmīr. "Ever since Akbar added Kashmīr to his dominions," says Dr. Sinha, "the Valley cast its spell upon him and his descendants. Kashmīr formed the inspiration of the greatest Moghal Emperors during the years that it was an appanage of the Delhi throne. Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb, each, in turn, made it his summer resort. "Truly," exclaimed Jahangir, "this is the paradise of which priests have prophesied and poets sung." For nearly a century and a half, these four great Emperors came, from far-away Delhi and Agra, in stately progress across the Pir Panjal, with glittering retinues and splendid state, with escorts and audiences, tributes and forced labour, from the dusty glamour of an Indian court to the cool and quiet of a Kashmir summer. And Jahangir, when stricken with his fatal illness, knowing that his hour was near, turned to this one spot of all his wide Indian dominions, and died at Behramgul,[2] almost within sight of his beloved and favourite land. Fourteen summers he had spent in the Kashmir Valley, coming in with the blossoming of the lilac and the wild iris in the spring, and setting out back towards the plains of India when the saffron flowers had bloomed in the autumn."

زعفرانے دیدہ ، باید راہِ ہندوستاں گرفت

1. *Kashmir : "The Playground of Asia"* by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Allahābād, 1943, pages 5-6.

2. Bahrām-Galah is a small village in the Mendhar Tahsīl of Pūnch and has a population of 328. It was Jahāngīr's favourite shooting place. At the bottom of a high mountain, a wall was built for resting a matchlock. And the country people driving the deer down the side of the mountain afforded Jahāngīr excellent sport. A foot soldier drove a deer before him. The soldier's foot slipped. He fell down the mountain and was killed. This so affected Jahāngīr that he left off shooting, and retired to his tent in great concern. It seemed to him as if the angel of death had visited him under the form of this unfortunate man. From that moment he sunk into despair. He proceeded from Bahrām-Galah to Thanna and thence to Rajaurī, commencing his stage about three o'clock in the afternoon as usual. He breathed with the utmost difficulty during the night, and expired on Sunday morning. It was the 28th of Safar A.H. 1037=28th October, 1627 A.C. Jahāngīr was in the sixtieth year of his age and twenty-second of his reign.

THE DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY OF AHMAD SHĀH



CHAPTER VII

KASHMĪR UNDER THE AFGHĀNS

[1752 A.C. TO 1819 A.C.]

Before we present the position in Kashmīr under the Afghāns, it is necessary to know who the invader from among the Afghāns was, his successors, their fights for power in Afghānistān, for Afghān politics naturally had their repurcussion on the course of events in Kashmīr during this period. We did not do this in the case of Mughul rule as the invader came from Āgra, and the broad outline of Mughul history in India is fairly well known to the general reader. In the case of the Afghāns it is not Āgra or Delhī but distant Herāt, Qandahār and Kābul, that affected the destinies of the people in the Valley of Kashmīr. Therefore, a bird's-eye view of the happenings in Afghānistān will enable the reader of *Kashīr* to understand the background of the drama staged in Srīnagar.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who conquered Kashmīr in 1752 A.C. was the son of Muhammad Zamān Khān, an Afghān of the Sadozaī clan of the Popalzaī branch of the Abdālī tribe living in the province of Herāt. Zamān Khān's father 'Abdullāh Khān was the son of Hayāt Sultān. The Sadozaī clan was so called on account of its chief Sado who had obtained certain concessions from Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Īrān in the sixteenth century. Sado's companion was Muhammad. From Muhammad, Hājī Jamāl Khān, the father of Pāinda Khān—whose son Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān later ruled at Kābul—descended. Zamān Khān had migrated to Multān where Ahmad was born. The exact date of Ahmad's birth is however not known, though the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* gives 1722, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives 1724, and therefore 1722-24 may be considered approximate. The Sadozaīs to whom Zamān Khān belonged were—it is said—Shī'as, and hence a surmise that they derived their name from 'Abd-i-'Alī or the Servant of Caliph 'Alī. Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn

Asadābādī, widely known as Afghānī, accordingly spells the name *'Abdālī*. As, however, the Abdālīs later turned strict Sunnīs, the second version is that they were called Abdālī because they were descended from Abdāl, the founder of this clan, who was so called by his own *pīr* Khwāja Abū Ahmad Abdāl Chishtī,[1] a saint. Abdāl had three grandsons called Popal, Bārak, Haloko and Mūsā. Popal had six sons, of whom the third was Bāmī. Bāmī's eldest son was Sado. The two principal clans of the Durrānīs whose government, Mountstuart Elphinstone[2] says, was at all times democratic, were the Popalzaīs and the Bārakzaīs. The Sadozaīs, or the royal race, was one of the branches of the Popalzaīs. The Bāmīzaī in which the *vizārat* was vested was another branch of the same clan. Second in influence to the Popalzaī and greater in extent was the tribe of Bārakzaīs. The elder brother of Ahmad Khān was Zulfiqār Khān. Before the advent of Nādir Shāh, there was trouble in Īrān when Zamān, Zulfiqār and Ahmad returned to Herāt from Multān.

The Afghāns revolted against Nādir Shāh. He defeated them. By way of punishment Nādir removed the Ghilzaīs inhabiting Qandahār to Herāt and forced the Sadozaīs from Herāt to Qandahār. During the execution of this transfer of Afghāns, Zulfiqār and Ahmad were taken prisoners presumably on account of some protest against, or interference in, the orders of Nādir by them. Zulfiqār and Ahmad struck Nādir as promising youths. The elder brother rose to the command of a large clan in 1737 and was in course of time made governor of Herāt, where he lost his life in a fight with the Ghilzaīs. Ahmad was enlisted in the personal staff of Nādir on account of his bright features, his keen intelligence and conspicuous gallantry.

Nādir Shāh was murdered near Mashhad in eastern Irān on the night of 9th June, 1747. In the confusion that ensued, Ahmad Khān seized a major part of the treasury and the famous diamond, the Kūh or Koh-i-Nūr, 'the Mountain of Light,' and hastened to Qandahār. *En route* in October, 1747, the Afghān chiefs elected him their leader and called him Ahmad Shāh. Hājī Jamāl—the father of

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1. *The Wāqi'āt-i-Durrānī* of Munshī 'Abdul Karīm, a contemporary of King Zamān Shāh, translated into Urdu by Mīr Wāris 'Alī Saifī, the Nizāmī Press, Cawnpore, 1292 A.H., page 3.
2. *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London, 1815, page 542.

Pāinda Khān and grandfather of Dūst Muhammad Khān—who was also a candidate, withdrew in favour of Ahmad Shāh. Ahmad Shāh was crowned in the mosque at Qandahār by pouring on his head a measure of wheat which to the Afghāns is symbolic of abundance and prosperity. Ahmad Shāh was thus the first to lay the foundation of the kingdom of Afghānistān. Hājī Jamāl first, and later Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzaī, was appointed Ashraf-ul-Wuzarā or the prime minister.

How Ahmad Shāh Abdālī became 'Durrānī' is explained by the circumstance of his *pīr* Muhammad Sābir Shāh calling him *Durr-i-Daurān*, 'The Pearl of the Age.' But Ahmad Shāh preferred to be styled Durr-i-Durrān, or 'The Pearl of Pearls,' states the *Hayāt-i-Afghānī* of Sardār Muhammad Hayāt Khān (page 129), hence the name Durrānī applied to the Abdālīs. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, however, discards the version about *Durr-i-Daurān* and accepts *Durr-i-Durrān*. Ahmad Shāh was about 25 then.

Ahmad Shāh claimed the provinces that Nādir had wrested from the Emperor Muhammad Shāh as a part of the Durrānī kingdom, which included Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kābul, Hazāra, Peshāwar, Derajāt, Multān and Sind. Ahmad Shāh invaded India ten times; it was the fifth invasion which brought about the defeat of the Marathas at the third battle of Pānīpat in 1761. It was in the course of his third invasion in 1752 that Kashmīr was annexed under the circumstances already narrated at the close of the preceding chapter of *Kashīr*.

In 1757 during his fourth invasion Ahmad Shāh married Tīmūr to Zuhra Begam the daughter of 'Ālamgīr II, and himself married Hazrat Begam the daughter of Muhammad Shāh emperor of Delhī.

Without going into the details of the busy life of Ahmad Shāh here, suffice it to say that he died in October 1772 (1186 A.H.) of complications arising from nasal gangarine. He was highly esteemed by the Afghāns who called him Ahmad Shāh Bābā, respecting him as a saint. His mausoleum at Qandahār is declared a *bast* or a sanctuary where not even criminals can be touched. In the words of Elphinstone, Ahmad Shāh "was himself a divine and an author and was always ambitious of the character of a saint."

Tīmūr Shāh.

Ahmad Shāh was succeeded by his son Tīmūr Shāh, born in December, 1746, at Mashhad in Īrān, when Ahmad Shāh was serving Nādir. Ahmad Shāh's three other sons were: Sulaimān Shāh, Sikandar Shāh and Parvīz. Shāh Valī Khān, the Vazīr, wanted to enthrone Sulaimān who was his son-in-law. The Vazīr was therefore killed at the instance of Tīmūr Shāh. Qāzī Faizullāh was nominated prime minister. And Sardār Pāinda Khān, who was the son of Hājī Jamāl Khān and the chief of the Bārakzaīs, was given the title of Sarfrāz Khān. He came over to the side of Tīmūr having deserted Shāh Valī Khān. Pāinda Khān, as already stated, later becomes famous as the father of Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān. Pāinda Khān really replaced his own brother, Rahīm-dād Khān, whose testy emper did not appeal to the people.

Tīmūr transferred his capital from Qandahār to Kābul as more peaceful, but usually wintered at Peshāwar. Tīmūr invaded India five times. When he was occupied with his fourth invasion, mostly with the Sikhs in the Punjāb, Āzād Khān, the governor, revolted against his authority in Kashmīr. Of this we shall hear later.

Tīmūr Shāh defeated Murād Shāh, king of Bukhārā (Turkistān) who was preparing to invade Afghān territory in December, 1790.

According to Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī,* Tīmūr had three hundred women in his harem and not one of them was Afghān, and that he left 32 sons.

At last Tīmūr Shāh died on 20th May, 1793, and was buried at Kābul which he loved best in the whole of his empire.

Zamān Shāh.

Zamān Shāh with the support of Pāinda Khān Bārakzaī obtained through Tīmūr's favourite queen, succeeded Tīmūr He was about 23 years of age and his empire comprehended Kābul, Ghaznī, Qandahār, Herāt, Khurāsān, Balkh Peshāwar, Kashmīr, Sind, Multān, Bahāwalpur and

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Afghānistān*, translated from Arabic into Urdu b Maulavī Mahmūd 'Alī Khān of Bhopāl, Islāmia Steam Press, Yakl Darwāza, Lāhore, 1342 A.H., pages 60-61.

the Derajāt of Ismā'īl Khān and Ghāzī Khān. Zamān Shāh however had his troubles. Usually they were from his brothers and nephews and from Īrān. The principal brothers were in order: (1) Humāyūn, (2) Mahmūd, (3) Zamān, (4) 'Abbās, (5) Shujā', (6) Shāhpūr and (7) Fīrūz. Then Humāyūn had his son Ahmad. Mahmūd's sons were Nādir Mīrzā and Kāmrān. Zamān had four sons: Haidar, Qaisar, Nāsir and Mansūr.

Āghā Muhammad Khān, the founder of the Kājār dynasty of Īrān, at one time demanded Balkh, but had to give up the idea on account of the Russian invasion of his own country. Zamān Shāh's advances in India were the cause of alarm to the British in India, particularly when he was at Lāhore in 1797. In 1798 he re-visited Lāhore and appointed Ranjīt Singh to be the rājā of Lāhore to the exclusion of unpopular Afghāns, and returned to Herāt to meet the threat of Fath 'Alī Shāh Kājār, the successor of Āghā Muhammad Khān Kājār, and installed Shujā'-ul-Mulk, his own brother, as governor of Herāt.

The policy of Zamān, contrary to that of his predecessors, was to keep the chiefs at his court without consulting them on affairs of state. The chiefs of the Bārakzaīs, of the Qizilbāsh or the Īrānian settlers in Afghānistān, and other notables were accordingly alienated. According to Elphinstone, the source of Zamān's errors was his choice of Rahmatullāh Sadozaī with the title of Vafādār Khān for the office of Vazīr (page 568). And Vafādār used his power against Sarfrāz Khān on the allegation that Sarfrāz Khān was plotting against Zamān and working for Shāh Shujā',

THE BĀRAKZAĪ DYNASTY OF AFGHĀNISTĀN

Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai

Pāinda Khān, on whom Tīmūr Shāh conferred the title of Sarfrāz Khān, had 21 sons and several daughters. According to the *Wāqi'āt-i-Durrānī* they were from several wives. The principal sons are shown as sons of the same mother. According to Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī *alias* Āghā Hasan Jān, Fath Khān was the eldest and Dūst Muhammad Khān the twentieth son.

1. Tīmūr Qulī Khān
2. Asad Khān
3. Fath Khān
4. Muhammad 'Azīm Khān
   - Habībullāh

Jabbār Khān

1. Kuhn Dil
2. Mihr Dil
3. Shīr Dil
4. Pur Dil
5. Rahm Dil

Juma' Khān

Turra-bāz Khān

Islām Khān
etc.

1. 'Abdus Samad
2. Amīr Muhammad
3. Dūst Muhammad
   - Afzal Khān
     - 'Abdur Rahmān Khān
       - Habībullāh Khān
         - [illegible]
       - Nasrullāh Khān
   - Akbar Khān
   - Sher Alī Khān
     - Ya'qūb Khān
     - Ayyūb Khān
   - Sharīf Khān
     - Hāshim Khān

1. Yār Muhammad
2. Pīr Muhammad
3. Sa'īd Muhammad
4. Sultān Muhammad
   - Yahyā Khān
     - Yūsuf Khān
       - Nādir Khān, who became Nādir Shāh
         - Zāhir Shāh, the reigning Amīr of Afghānistān

About the close of 1799, a conspiracy was organized in Kābul by the leading chiefs owing to the insolent behaviour of the Prime Minister, Vafādār Khān. The plot was betrayed. The conspirators, including Sarfrāz Khān, the leader of the Bārakzaīs, were executed. Fath Khān, the eldest of the twenty-one sons of Pāindā Khān, escaped to Khurāsān where he joined Prince Mahmūd, Tīmūr's second son. Mahmūd, on Fath Khān's advice, advanced against Zamān Shāh. Zamān's chief ally Ahmad Khan Nūrzāī was won over with the result that Zamān had to fly for his life. Vafādār Khān was executed. Zamān took shelter with 'Āshiq Khan Shinwārī, a staunch supporter of his, in Āshiq Khān's castle, which is located in Shinwārī area, about 25 miles west of Jalālābād. But 'Āshiq Khān betrayed him. It was in 'Āshiq's castle, Elphinstone says, that Zamān secreted the Koh-i-Nūr in the wall of his apartment whence it was afterwards extracted on Shujā''s accession. Asad Khān, Fath Khān's brother, accompanied by a surgeon, caused the destruction of Zamān's eyes in 1801.

"So fell Zaman Shah, the once dreaded Afghan monarch, whose threatened invasion of Hindostan had for years been a ghastly phantom haunting the Council-Chamber of the British Indian Government," writes John William Kaye, the author of the *History of the War in Afghanistan* (London, 1857, Vol I, page 23). "He survived the loss of his sight nearly half a century and, as the neglected pensioner of Loodianah, to the very few who could remember the awe which his name once inspired, must have presented a curious spectacle of fallen greatness—an illustration of the mutability of human affairs scarcely paralleled in the history of the world. He died at last full of years, empty of honours, his death barely worth a newspaper record or a paragraph in a state paper." Zamān, according to Kaye, came to Ludhiāna, survived his blindness for nearly half a century, and remained a neglected pensioner of the British. But according to Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī, Zamān proceeded to the Amīr of Bukhārā where his beautiful daughter was married to the Amīr. Fath 'Alī Shāh Kājār of Irān received him in Teherān whence Zamān moved to Baghdād whose Vālī at the time was Dā'ūd, and at last died in the Hijāz. But the fact is that Zamān died at Ludhiāna as a British pensioner getting Rs. 4,000 per mensem, and is buried close to his wife under a big dome in Sarhind. Shujā' was over twenty at the blinding of Zamān,

Shujā'-ul-Mulk.

On the fall of Zamān Shāh in 1801, Shujā'-ul-Mulk who was holding his post at Peshāwar, marched on Kābu in September 1801 after having proclaimed himself king o Afghānistān. Fath Khān defeated Shujā.' Mahmūd, th elder brother of Zamān and Shujā,' after seven years o waiting, conflict and misfortune, ascended the throne a Kābul in 1801 A.C. He showed generosity to the arm and to his chiefs. Vazīr Fath Khān, whom we have alread known as the eldest son of Pāinda Khān (Sarfrāz Khān) was given the title of 'Shāh Dūst.' He is the Warwick o Afghānistān or its King-Maker. Sher Muhammad Khān son of Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzaī, was named Mukhtār-ud Daula. Sardār 'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī, called b Kashmīrī historians Alkūzaī and by some 'Alīkūzaī—fathe of Yār Muhammad Khān—who had been confined in th Bālā Hisār of Kābul by Shāh Zamān, was released fron this fortress, and made governor of Kashmīr. Kāmrā Mīrzā, his own son, was sent out to fight Shāh Shujā', wh fled to the fastnesses of the Khybar Pass. Mahmūd's tw rivals, Shāh Shujā' and Prince Qaisar, Zamān's son, wh had lost Herāt which he held during his father's time, wer now out of the way. Mahmūd ruled in peace. There were however, riots twice between Ghilzaīs and Durrānīs bu they were quelled.

Two years and six months after Mahmūd's accessio Shī'a-Sunnī or Qizilbāsh and Afghān clashes at Kābul stirre the country. Mahmūd was indolent and Fath Khān wa absent from the capital trying to track out Shujā'. In difference to the Sunnīs on the part of Mahmūd disappointe them. Fath Khān returned to Kābul to find the situatio out of control. Shujā' was endeavouring to subsist himsel and a few followers by the sale of royal jewels in the Afrīd country, when an express was sent to him to come to Kābu On his arrival the revolution was complete. Mahmūd wa imprisoned in Bālā Hisār, Kābul, and Shujā' was enthrone in the same city on 13th July, 1802. Fath Khān fled. 'Āshi Khān Shinwāri who had betrayed Zamān was executed an thus met the doom he deserved. Shāh Shujā,' in his auto biography* written by him at Ludhiāna in 1826-27, says

*Biographical sketch of Shah Soojah, ex-King of Cabul, written h himself at Loodianah in 1826-27. Translated by the late Lieutena Bennet of Artillery. *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1839.

"Shāh Mahmūd . . . . . after swearing on the Qur'ān he would not again be guilty of treachery, sent some of his principal attendants to request the royal pardon, which we granted and had him conveyed from the outer to the inner fort with all due respect to his rank." Fath Khān likewise sought pardon and was given the same. Shujā' then set out to overawe Kashmīr as 'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī was assuming independence. While Shujā' was so occupied, Fath Khān set on Prince Qaisar to contest his uncle's throne. Shāh Shujā' naturally returned in haste to meet this new danger, and quelled it. On the intercession of Zamān, Qaisar's father and Mukhtār-ud-Daula who had deserted Mahmūd to join Shāh Shujā', the young Prince was pardoned. It was about this time that Elphinstone's mission came to Peshāwar and halted from the 25th of February to the 14th of June, 1809.

Finding things unfavourable in Kābul on a repulse at Nimla by Mahmūd in August 1809, Shāh Shujā' dispatched his harem and his blind brother Zamān Shāh to Rāwalpindī. He made "new efforts to splinter up his broken fortunes." But he met failure after failure. He marched on Peshāwar and took Bālā Hisār or the royal fortress there from the governor of Peshāwar, Muhammad 'Azīm Khān Bārakzaī, but was carried away in 1812 by Jahāndād Khān first to the fort of Peshāwar and afterwards to the Valley of Kashmīr through the bribery of the Sūbadār of Kashmīr, Jahāndād's brother, 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, the son of Mukhtār-ud-Daula. Shujā' appears to have remained in Kashmīr for about a year. "When Shāh Mahmūd heard of the way in which we were treated," writes Shujā,' "the latent feelings of fraternal affection were aroused within him and he immediately sent a force into the Bārakzaī country. After plundering the whole tribe of 'Atā Muhammad Khān, he carried men, women and children into captivity. Finding that this had not the desired effect, *viz.*, our release from bondage, he sent a force to Kashmīr under Fath Khān." 'Atā Muhammad advanced to give him battle. But his own men went over to the Vazīr. When threatened by Fath Khān early in 1813, 'Atā Muhammad implored the assistance of his captive. "Seeing his escape could not be effected without our aid, he came," says Shāh Shujā', "to our place of confinement, bare-headed, with the Qur'ān in one hand, a naked sword in the other, and a rope about his neck, and requested our forgiveness for the sake of the sacred volume." Forgiveness was given,

Fath Khān had asked for Ranjīt Singh's assistance. Mohkam Chand who led the Sikh expedition accordingly advanced on Kashmīr. Fath Khān was invading Kashmīr from another direction. The rebel Nāzim submitted. Shujā' says: "Mohkam Chand, on the part of Ranjīt Singh, informed us that his master was anxious that we should proceed to Lāhore as soon as at liberty, and visit the residence of our seraglio in that city. He also mentioned that his master's fame would be enhanced by our going. According to Fath Khān's petition, we agreed to this and marched towards Lāhore with Mohkam Chand and other Singhs, whilst Fath Khān returned to Shāh Mahmūd in Kābul." Ranjīt Singh, it soon became very clear, coveted the possession of the Koh-i-Nūr diamond.

On the second day of arrival in Lāhore an emissary from Ranjīt demanded the gem in the name of his master. The fugitive monarch asked for time to consider the request. "We then," writes Shāh Shujā,' "experienced privations of the necessaries of life and sentinels were placed over our dwelling. A month passed in this way. Confidential servants of Ranjīt Singh then waited on us, and inquired if we wanted ready cash, and would enter into an agreement and treaty for the gem. We answered in the affirmative. Next day Rām Singh brought 40,000 or 50,000 rupees and asked again for the Koh-i-Nūr which we promised to procure when some treaty was agreed upon. Two days after this Ranjīt Singh came in person. After friendly protestations, he stamped a paper with safflower and swearing by the Granth of Bābā Nānak and his own sword he wrote the following security and compact—That he delivered over the provinces of Kōt Kamālīa, Jhang Siyā and Kalānaur to us and our heirs for ever: also offering assistance in troops and treasure for the purpose of again recovering our throne. We also agreed if we should ever ascend the throne, to consider Ranjīt Singh always in the light of an ally. He then proposed himself that we should exchange turbans, which is, among the Sikhs, a pledge of eternal friendship, and we then gave him the Koh-i-Nūr." According to John William Kaye (Vol. 1, pages 110-1) Ranjīt Singh stripped the wretched monarch of everything that was worth taking, and "even after this," says Shujā "he did not perform one of his promises." As a matter of fact, indignities were heaped on the unfortunate Shāh. Spies were set over him. And guards surrounded his dwelling

"We thought of the proffered friendship of the British Government and hoped for an asylum at Ludhiāna" writes Shujā'. . . . "The members of the seraglio with their attendants, all dressed in the costume of the country, found a safe conveyance to the cantonments of Ludhiāna." But his own escape was yet to be effected. "Seven ranges of guards," continues Shāh Shujā' "were put upon our person, and armed men with lighted torches watched our bed. . . . Several months passed in this manner."

After all, Shujā' foiled Ranjīt's efforts. Disguised as a mendicant, he escaped with two followers into the street, and emerged thence through the main sewer which ran beneath the city wall. Out of Lāhore, instead of proceeding towards Ludhiāna, Shujā' made for Jammu, was joined by some Sikhs discontented with Ranjīt Singh, and reached Kishtwār, the rājā of which offered hospitality. "Tired of an idle life," Shujā' frankly says, "we laid plans for an attack on Kashmīr." The rājā of Kishtwār offered help with men and money. But, in Kaye's words, it was not written in Shāh Shujā"s book of life that his enterprises should result in anything but failure. His attack on Kashmīr closed in defeat and disaster. He himself says: "We were only three *kōs* from 'Azīm Khān's camp with the picturesque city of Kashmīr (*viz.*, Srīnagar), full in view when the snow began again to fall, and the storm continued with violence without intermission, for two days. Our Hindustānīs were benumbed with a cold unfelt in their sultry regions, the road to our rear was blocked up with snow and the supplies still far distant. For three days our troops were almost famished. Many Hindustānīs died. We could not advance. And retreat was hazardous. Many lost their hands and feet from being frost-bitten, before we determined to retreat." At the earnest request of the rājā of Kishtwār, Shujā' remained during nine months beneath his host's hospitable roof. Then he marched through Kulū, crossed the Sutlej for a journey to Ludhiāna and joined his family in the month of September 1816. He spent two years of quiet. The Durrānī empire was rent by intestine convulsions. The Bārkzaī Sardārs were dominant at Kābul. Shāh Mahmūd and other princes threatened his domination. In the meantime, 'Azīm Khān invited Shāh Shujā' to re-assert his claim to the throne of Kābul. Shujā', weary of repose, and, as Kaye remarks, unwarned by past experience, flung

himself into this new enterprise, only to add another that long list of failures which it took nearly a quarter of century more to render complete.

While Shāh Shujā' was in Ludhiāna, Fath Khān ha set out to meet the Kājār invasion from the west Afghānistān. While engaged on this expedition, the fooli behaviour of Dūst Muhammad Khān, Fath Khān's young brother, in Prince Kāmrān's palace by tearing the jewell waist-band from the person of Taqīya Begam, Prin Kāmrān's sister, drew an oath from him to avenge th outrage. Dūst Muhammad fled to Kashmīr to his broth 'Azīm Khān for safety, and Kāmrān wreaked vengeance Fath Khān by first blinding him and then hacking him pieces. Shāh Shujā' does not allude to this outrage. H merely says that Fath Khān grew ambitious and want to take the reins of government into his own hands, wh Prince Kāmrān ended the minister's life. Dūst Muhamm resolved to avenge his father's murder. 'Azīm did n agree upon the plan, nor did he undertake its executi but gave three to four lakhs of rupees to defray the charg of the expedition. Prince Jahāngīr, the young and beautif son of Kāmrān, was the nominal ruler of Kābul at this tim But the actual administration of affairs was in the hands 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, ex-governor of Kashmī who had instigated Kāmrān to kill Fath Khān. Dū Muhammad Khān advanced on Kābul and encompassed t death of 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, and made himse master of Kābul though he put Prince Sultān 'Alī, one the sons of Tīmūr, nominally on the throne. At th Mahmūd and Kāmrān marched down from Herāt ar 'Azīm Khān came from Kashmīr. Shāh Shujā' in 1818 w again invited from Ludhiāna by 'Azīm Khān, saying that Fath Khān's relations swore to restore him and that 'Azī Khān would march to Peshāwar to receive him and he him with all the troops and treasury of Kashmīr. By stratagem Mahmūd and Kāmrān were made to flee. Shuj was balked of the crown. Dūst Muhammad Khān retain Kābul and Ghaznī and gave away the other provinces his brothers. At this stage, we close the connexion betwe Kābul and Kashmīr in 1819 when Sikhs conquer Kashmīr

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The Afghān's bad start in Kashmīr.

The Afghān's made a bad start in Kashmīr. 'Abdull

Khān Īshak Aqāsī,[1] the Afghān governor, ruled Kashmīr for six months, but his exactions led no less than eighty big merchants to return to their native towns in India. Trade was much affected. People of the upper classes suffered.[2] Before his departure from Kashmīr, 'Abdullāh Khān appointed Sukh Jīwan Mal administrator, A'zam Khān,[3] paymaster of the Afghān forces in Kashmīr, and Khwāja 'Abdullāh *alias* Khwāja Kījak[3] (distortion of Kūchak)[4] the administrator's *Nā'ib* or deputy. He also made Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe Sukh Jīwan's adviser. On his return to Kābul, 'Abdullāh Khān presented his master with a crore of rupees which he had wrung from the exhausted people of Kashmīr. He also took to Kābul Abu'l Qāsim Khān Sāfī, the former Mughul Nā'ib, Mīr Fīrūz-ud-Dīn Nawwāb Abu'l Barakāt Khān Fīrūz Jang Sūfī's son, to whom Ahmad Shāh Durrānī showed considerable favour.

On the departure of 'Abdullāh Khān Īshak Aqāsī from Kashmīr, the country was ruled by Sukh Jīwan as *Nāzim* or administrator. Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe acted as chief adviser to the Nāzim. It is unfortunate that, under Afghān rule, several of the total of fourteen governors tried to sever their connexion with Kābul, and to establish themselves as independent rulers of the country because of the preoccupations of Afghān rulers in Īrānian or Indian campaigns, or internecine struggles for the throne of Afghānistān. Some of these *Nāzims* enjoyed a brief spell of independence but were, at last, reduced to subjection. Sukh Jīwan was the first to assert his independence with the aid of Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe a Kashmīrī notable. The reason, it is said, was a heavy financial demand by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī for his campaigns which Sukh Jīwan felt could not be met with as 'Abdullāh Khān had already drained off from the Valley as large a sum as one crore of rupees. Khwājā Kījak,[5] Malik Hasan Khān Īrānī, A'zam Khān and Mīrzā Khān opposed him, but were defeated at Bārāmūla by Sukh Jīwan who established touch with 'Ālamgīr II at Delhi. Sukh Jīwan next

1. Shāhghāsī, a Mongolian rank, presumably introduced into Central Asian courts from the descendants of Chingīz Khān, means Lord Chamberlain.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-ī-Hasan*, folio 305.
3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 292.
4. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 305.
5. *Ibid.*, folio 306.

repelled the attack led by 'Abdullāh Khān Īshak Aqāsī. Sukh Jīwan was tempted to assert independence of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on account of his campaigns in the Punjāb and the subjugation of the Marathas in the third battle of Pānīpat that took place in 1759-61.

A severe famine engaged Sukh Jīwan's attention for some time. Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe proved himself very capable in alleviating the miseries of the famine-stricken people. He prevented many deaths from starvation by advancing loans of seed grains. These loans were only realized in full as late as 1250 A.H. (1834 A.C.).[2]

Finding the Punjāb in a disturbed condition, Sukh Jīwan Mal attempted[3] the conquest of Siālkōt, Bhimbar and Akhnūr.[4] But he suffered a heavy defeat at the hand of Yār Khān, governor of Siālkōt, owing chiefly to the jealousy of Ranjīt Dev, the rājā of Jammu.

Sukh Jīwan quarrelled with Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe on account of the machinations of Mīr Muqīm a notable, drove him to Pūnch, wreaked vengeance upon his kinsmen and appointed Mīr Muqīm himself in his place. But Sukh Jīwan also suffered. The reason is that Sukh Jīwan Mal had a rival in Rājā Ranjīt Dev who was induced by Shāh Valī Khān, the Durranī prime minister, to come to Lāhore and guide an expedition to recover Kashmīr. The Afghān troops numbering about 3,000 supplemented by a contingent of Ranjīt Dev were placed under the command of Nūr ud-Dīn Khān Bāmīzaī. This small expedition, led in June failed as all the passes leading into Kashmīr were strongly guarded, and it was found difficult to cross the flooded rivers and swollen streams. The second expedition organized in October 1762 A.C. on a larger scale achieved complete success. The Durrānī army entered Kashmīr by the Toshā Maidān. Sukh Jīwan Mal came to oppose the invaders at the head of 50,000 troops but, just at the time of battle he was deserted by his commander-in-chief Bakht Mal. Sukh Jīwan Mal was, therefore, easily defeated and captured after he had governed for eight years and four months. He was immediately blinded by a lancet and was sent to

1. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 306.
2. *Ibid.*, folio 306.
3. *Ibid.*, folio 307, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 294.
4. Akhnūr, on the Chināb, is 18 miles from Jammu. Its present population is 3,398.

Lāhore where Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was then halting. Sukh Jīwan was brought in chains before Ahmad Shāh who caused him to be trampled to death. The severity of this punishment is understandable when we remember that Sukh Jīwan revolted against Afghānistān despite repeated warnings, having kept on defying his master for about nine years. Later, he had entered into conspiracy with 'Ālamgīr II to restore nominal Mughul rule in Kashmīr and to seek permission to strike his own coin, and resumed all *jāgīrs* of mansabdārs. 'Ālamgīr had conferred the title of Rājā on him.

Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal was a Khatrī, born and educated at Kābul. His family traced its origin to Bherā in Khushāb, Punjāb. He took service under Shāh Valī Khān the vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, and rose to the position of governor of Kashmīr, having once previously been commissioned to realize tribute from Mu'īn-ul-Mulk the sūbadār of the Punjāb. In the beginning of his régime Sukh Jīwan Mal appeared to be a good governor. In fact, he showed great consideration to Muslims. The author of the *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, Sukh Jīwan's contemporary, writes about him:

مُشارٌالیہ جوانِ خُوشرو، مُتصف بہ اوصافِ شائستہ، قریبِ اِسلام بُود- جمیع مزاراتِ بزرگان و باغاتِ کشمیر را ترمیم نمود- و ہر روز بعد فراغ از دیوان دو صد کس مُسلمین را بروئے خُود الوانِ اطعمہ میخوراند- و در ہر ماہے دوازدہم و یازدہم طعام نیاز پُختہ بہ مردُم تقسیم می نمود- وارد و صادر را چہ درویش و چہ غیرِ آن، در خورِ حالِ ہرکس مراعاتی می کرد- و در ہر ہفتہ یکبارہ مشاعرہ مقرر کردہ بود- جمیع شُعراے کشمیر حاضر می شُدند- در آخرِ مجلس شیلانی میکشید- و پنج کس از شُعرائے نامی را کہ با ہر یکے ازینہا دہ دہ کس از مُستعدان کُمکی مُعیّن کردہ بود امر فرمود کہ تاریخ کشمیر از اِبتدای آبادی تا زمانِ اُو تحریر نمایند- سر حلقۂ آن پنج کس محمد توفیق بُود کہ توفیق تخلص میکند- و نامِ اصلیٔ اُو لالہ جُو است بزبان کشمیر- امروز در موزونان کشمیر نظیر ندارد-

—مطبوعہ نولکشور- کانپور- ۱۸۷۱ء- صفحہ ۱۱۵

["He was a handsome youth, possessed of good qualities and inclined towards Islam. After finishing court business, he fed two hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day. On the 11th and 12th of every month, he got sacramental food cooked and distributed among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or not. Once in every week he held a poetical conversazione. It was attended by all the well-known poets. At the end of it he gave a dinner. He engaged five (seven ?) of the best scholars to complete a history of Kashmīr from the earliest habitation to his own time. Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufīq with *Taufīq* as his *nom de plume*, and was known as Lālajū in Kashmīrī. He is a poet unrivalled in Kashmīr today"].

Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal appears to have been the forerunner of another great Khatrī, His Excellency the late Mahārājā Sir Krishn Prashād Bahādur, Madār-ul-Mahāmm of Hydarābād, Deccan, in his love of letters and culture and refined taste. After his quarrel with Abu'l Hasan Bāṇḍe, Sukh Jīwan also replaced Mīr Muqīm by Pandit Mahānand Dar at whose incitement he became an oppressor, and subjected Muslims to considerable hardships, forbade even the call[1] to prayer and imposed various other restrictions upon them. Before his tragic death, he was blinded when he composed the following verses so full of pathos:

چشم از وضع جهان پوشیده بہ سر بسر احوالِ ان تا دیده بہ
هرکہ چُوں من داشت جا بر فرقِ گُل عاقبت در خاک و خُون غلطیده بہ
چند روزے خُود تماشا کرده ام زین چمن گُلهائے عبرت چیده بہ
گر دهی شیرش، دهد زهرت عوض زین سیہ مارِ جهان ترسیده بہ
باز اگر چشمِ جهان بینم دهند چُون گدایان در بدر گردیده بہ

هر چند گُفتم نفسِ دنی را باید نہ کردن تا کردنی را
این نفسِ سرکش نشنید ازمن تا دید آخر تا دیدنی را

En passant it is interesting to observe that Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had, at one time, offered the governorship of Kashmīr to Mughlānī Begam, the governor of Lāhore during 1754-1756.[2] Rājā Sukh Jīwan promised her annual

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 308.

2. *Later Mughal History of the Panjab* by Dr. Harī Rām Gupta, Lāhore, pages 144-5.

tribute. This prevented her from accepting the offer of the courtiers of Kashmīr who conspired against Sukh Jīwan. The promised tribute never reached Mughlānī Begam from either side.

The re-assertion of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's sovereignty over Kashmīr is expressed in this couplet:

کشمیر گرفت بارِ دیگر سُلطانِ احمد بزورِ شمشیر

فرمُود زبانِ تیغ تاریخ اُو فتح نُمود باز کشمیر

Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān Muslih-ud-Daula Bāmizaī was appointed governor in succession to Rājā Sukh Jīwan. He ruled Kashmīr for some time,[1] and endeavoured to restore the exhausted country. The people were, on the whole, happy and prosperous under him. His successor Buland Khān remitted unjust taxes,[2] treated Hindus and Muslims alike.[3] In 1765 Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān Bāmizaī was again appointed governor. Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh and Pandit Kailāsh Dar were his councillors, the latter being responsible for the revenue of the country. Mīr Muqīm induced Nūr-ud-Dīn to demand daily payments of revenue from Pandit Kailāsh Dar who, however, encompassed[4] the death of his antagonist through an accomplice, Hakīm Mīr. When the secret became known, Nūr-ud-Dīn made no attempt to bring the culprit to justice. It was probably due to this neglect that he anticipated orders of his removal. Leaving his nephew Jān Muhammad Khān in his place, Nūr-ud-Dīn proceeded to plead his case at Kābul. Meanwhile, La'l Khān Khatak displaced Jān Muhammad Khān, and began a career of terrorism and oppression. Khurram Khān was dispatched from Kābul to fill Nūr-ud-Dīn's place, but his entry was resisted by La'l Khān Khatak who was defeated, and retired to the fort at Biru situated to the west of Srīnagar, near Paṭan.

Faqīrullāh, Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh's son, who was seeking an opportunity to avenge his father's murder, now made his appearance at Sopōr with the army of Sultān Mahmūd

1. There is a difference of opinion about the duration of his first régime. Lt. Newall (*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 447) states it to be 8 years, the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* reduces it to only three months. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl* and Dīwan Kirpā Rām's *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* give two years.
2. Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 447.
3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, MS., folio 298.
4. The *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, page 234, *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 298.

Bamba. La'l Khān Khatak opposed him but, on being defeated again, retired to his fort with the loss of an eye. Faqīrullāh, therefore, suddenly found himself in the governor's seat in 1767 A.C. His allies among the Bambas oppressed the people. Kashmīr knew no authority for a period of eleven months. It is indeed strange how Ahmad Shāh Durrānī could allow such a state of affairs. At last, in 1769 A.C., Nūr-ud-Dīn was, for the third time, appointed governor, as no other person was considered capable of enforcing order in the country. Faqīrullāh sought refuge with the ruler of Muzaffarābād after an unsuccessful engagement against Nūr-ud-Dīn near the village of Gaurīpōr (or Gandīpōr, population 212) in Tahsīl Pulwāma. Faqīrullāh was intending further resistance when he was seized with a severe malady due to excessive drinking and died at Shādipōr. Nūr-ud-Dīn ruled for two years, and suppressed the malcontents with a strong hand.

Pandit Kailāsh Dar had induced his patron, Khurram Khān, to try for the sūbadārship of Kashmīr during his stay at Kābul. In this project he, at last, succeeded in 1770 A.C., and relieved Nūr-ud-Dīn of the charge. Khurram Khān showed inability to rule, and when he displayed timidity also, Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher Qizilbāsh, his commander-in-chief, drove him out, and installed himself as governor. Rather than seeking help from some outside prince in a future contingency, Jawān Sher organized the Hānjīs or boatmen, a sturdy class of people capable of serving his purpose. Amīr Mohammad Khān Jawān Sher built the fort of Sher-garhī,[1] till recently the residence of the Mahārājā Bahādur of Kashmīr, and also the bridge known as Amīrā Kadal. *Kadal* in Kashmīrī means a bridge. The re-construction of a building on the island called Sona Lānk, and the Amīrābād garden are also this governor's memorials.[2] But he committed vandalism in pulling down the royal palaces and other buildings including Akbar's Darshanī Bāgh and the Jharōkah-i-Shāhī on the Dal, which the Mughul emperors and their nobles had built.

1. Shergarhī is re-named Narsinghgarh by Mahārājā Harī Singh. Amīra Kadal, on re-construction, was called "Pratāp Kadal," but the people continue the old name. The same is the case with Shergarhī. It remains Shergarhī in popular parlance.

2. Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 448. The *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, page 237.

The death of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on 13th April, 1772, A.C., emboldened Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher actually to set himself up as an independent ruler. And he was in power for six years. He was cruel both to Hindus and to Muslims, and avenged the murder of Mīr Muqīm by killing Pandit Kailāsh Dar. His rule thenceforth became notorious for oppression and high-handedness, due to his Peshkār or Chief Secretary, Mīr Fāzil Khān. Srīnagar at this time suffered very much owing to a flood in the Jhelum.

At last in 1776 A.C., Tīmūr Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's son, appointed Hājī Karīmdād Khān Bāmīzaī, to the governorship of Kashmīr. The Hājī hailed from Qandahār. He had taken part in the battle of Pānīpat by leading his cavalry. After defeating Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher, the Hājī sent him in chains to Kābul, where he remained in prison for a considerable time, but was, at last, pardoned by Tīmūr Shāh.

"Amir Khan, a Persian, one of the late governors of Kashmir, erected a fortified palace on the eastern side of the lake" (the Ḍal), wrote George Forster* in 1783. "He used to pass much of his time in this retreat, which was curiously adapted to the enjoyment of the various species of Asiatic luxury; and he is still spoken of in terms of affection and regret; for like them, he was gay, voluptuous, and much addicted to the pleasures of the table. There is not a boatman or his wife that does not speak of this Khan with rapture and ascribe to him a once abundant livelihood. The governor, like many of his predecessors, trusting in the natural strength of his province, and its distance from the capital, rebelled against his master (Timur Shah, the reigning emperor of the Afghans). The force sent against him was small and ill-appointed, and might have been easily repelled by a few resolute men stationed in the passes. But in the hour of need, he was abandoned by the pusillanimous fickle Kashmirians who reconciled their conduct to the Persian, by urging, that if he had remained in Kashmir, he would have converted them all to the faith of Ali and cut them off from the hope of salvation." Amīr Jawān Sher was a Qizilbāsh, born and brought up in Afghānistān.

Hājī Karīmdād began his régime by reducing to subjection Murād Khān, the rājā of Skārdu, from whom he

*Journey, Vol. II, pages 15-16.

exacted tribute and demanded hostages. For this achievement, Tīmūr Shāh conferred upon him the title of Shujā'-ul-Mulk. Next, Karīmdād defeated Ranjīt Dev, the rājā of Jammū, who had invaded Kashmīr with an army of 30,000 strong. He further directed his forces against Mahmūd Khān, the chief of Muzaffarābād, who had hampered him in his expedition against Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher. In this operation, Karīmdād had to suffer considerable chagrin owing to the treachery of Fath Khān, the chief of Kathāī (now in Tahsīl Uṛī), who led Tār Qulī Khān and his army into a close defile, where he despoiled them of all their weapons and equipment. Tār Qulī was at once put to death on his return. In 1195 A.H. (1780 A.C.), Karīmdād Khān himself conducted an army against Mahmūd Khān, but was beaten back by Bahādur Khān, son of Bira Khān Kakar. Next year, he was more fortunate in conquering Kishtwār.

Hājī Karīmdād was rather heartless and killed alike Hindus and Muslims on provocation. His exactions, through Aslam Harkāra[1] his unscrupulous tax-collector, exceeded even those of the notorious I'tīqād Khān, the Mughul sūbadār, and compelled many to leave the country. *Zari-i-Niyāz*, a tax on mansabdārs and jāgīrdārs, was exacted from officials and landlords, *Zar-i-Ashkhās*, another tax, from merchants and bankers, *Zar-i-Hubūb* a tax on grain (*hubūb*, of which the singular is *habb*, means grain) from farmers. Certain Pandits who were concerned in a conspiracy with the Bambas against Karīmdād were exposed to suffocation by smoke. For liberating them Karīmdād realized a large indemnity called *Zar-i-Dūd*. *Dūd* means smoke. He was advised by Dilārām Qulī to extort *dāgh-shāl*,[2] an anna per rupee on the price of every piece of shawl from the shawl weavers. His good deeds consisted in the repairing of the roof of the Jāmi' Masjid from out of the rents of the mosque waqf, and in visiting the tombs of saints. He avenged the murder of Khwāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī, the *Sajjāda-nashīn* of the Khānqāh-i-Naqshbandiyya (situated in the Khwāja Bāzār of Srīnagar), by executing Anwar Malik Shāhābādī and his accomplices who had killed the Khwāja. The Khwāja was murdered during the time of Amīr Jawān Sher who was a Shī'a. Karīmdād treated the Shī'as harshly

1. *Harkāra* literally means a messenger or a process-server.
2. The *Dāgh-shāl*, or shawl marking, has also been the name of the State department controlling shawl trade.

and devastated Amīrābād founded by Amīr Jawān Sher, on the Ḍal, near the Nandpōr village in the Mīr Bahrī *pargana*. Under Karīmdād's régime, the country suffered from earthquakes for three months at intervals, and many men were rendered homeless. He died in 1197 A.H. (1783 A.C.), after a term of office of seven years. His son, Āzād Khān, being away on an expedition, his death was kept a secret till the latter's arrival.

Āzād Khān succeeded his father, Hājī Karīmdād Khān, in 1783 A.C. He was "capable and displayed remarkable energy in establishing his authority." "Azad Khan is eighteen years of age," wrote George Forster[1] in 1783. "He has few of the vices of youth. He is not addicted to the pleasures of the harem nor to wine. He does not even smoke the hookah. But he is ferocious and bad tempered." It is for his bad temper and ferociousness that he is called the Nādir Shāh of Kashmīr. He was capricious in that, while he dressed his slaves and followers magnificently, he himself wore very simple clothes. He frequently went out hunting.

Āzād appointed Dilārām Qulī as his Peshkār or Chief Secretary. He employed three thousand Sikhs, and reorganized his army. He turned his attention to extend his influence among the neighbouring chiefs.[2] The rājā of Kishtwār was the first to be made to submit. Rustam Khān of Pūnch, being unable to withstand him, abandoned the city, which was pillaged for a week. But Rustam Khān subsequently appeased him by offering rich presents, and later Rustam's daughter was married to Āzād. Subsequently a son from this marriage was named Fath Jang Khān. The rājā of Rajaurī was also reduced to submission. Āzād Khān tried but failed to make a canal to irrigate the Māyasum plain then outside Srīnagar proper. He commandeered the services of the village-folk of Mar-rāj and Kam-rāj for that purpose, but could not complete the work.

Āzād Khān wished to free himself from his allegiance to Tīmūr Shāh who was occupied with his fourth invasion of India in 1785. Tīmūr, however, dispatched a state notable Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī entitled Kifāyat Khān Nusrat to-

1. *Journey*, pages 30-31.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folios 309-10, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Ḥasan*, folio 322.

exact tribute from him. Kifāyat Khān returned with three lakhs of rupees,[1] but his mission was not altogether a success. Tīmūr Shāh then deputed Āzād Khān's elder brothers, Murtazā Khān and Zamān Khān, to chastize Āzād Khān. They were, however, defeated after three days' fighting, and were prevented by famine and cholera from making another attempt. Consequently, Āzād Khān continued his career of independence. Āzād Khān's cousin Pahlwān Khān and others made an unsuccessful attempt upon his life, after which they broke out into rebellion, but were, at last, seized and done to death.

During Āzād Khān's régime, the country suffered from a frightful famine. Even salt could not be had at Rs. 4 per seer. A series of earthquake shocks added to the people's misfortunes. They complained to Tīmūr Shāh earnestly entreating him to act promptly for their relief. Elphinstone puts this event during the interval between Tīmūr's expeditions to Sind in 1786 and against Bahāwal Khān of Bahāwalpur in 1788. Saif-ud-Daula Madad Khān Durrānī and Pāinda Khān Bārakzaī came with fifty thousand horse and foot.[2] From Muzaffarābād one detachment under Pāinda Khān was dispatched by way of Bārāmūla, where he engaged Āzād Khān. Madad Khān Durrānī himself advanced with the other by way of Karnāh, and effected his entry into Srīnagar. Āzād Khān, thereupon, fell back on the Khushīpōr Karēwah adjacent to Zaina-kōṭ and Hākursar Lake, where he was deserted by his chiefs. Reduced to hard straits, he fled to Pūnch. When hemmed in he shot himself to death. He was only 27 years of age then. "Though he grievously oppressed the people, the extravagant mode of life of Azad Khan," says Baron Hügel,[3] caused the money collected from the revenue and taxes to circulate again into the hands of the natives indirectly, who derived also immense profits by the increased exportation of their manufactures."

Saif-ud-Daula Madad Khān Durrānī then ruled for nine months—likewise badly. A Kashmīrī Pandit poignantly put the situation in half the line—

ظلم آزاد را رسید مدد

(Madad out-Heroded Āzād)

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 323.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl* gives the strength of the punitive army as 4,000 horse and foot, folio 311.
3. *Travels*, page 11.

Before he could restore order and tranquility, he was relieved by Mīr Dād Khān. This nobleman ruled for seven months and imposed unjust taxes. He reduced Mīr Ja'far Khān of Kam-rāj to submission. Mīr Dād died in 1788 A.C.

Juma' Khān Durrānī Halokozaī was the next important governor who held office for four years. The *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh* of Qāzī Azīz-ud-Dīn, the Muftī-i-A'zam, Kashmīr, notes that Juma' Khān left Kābul on 27th Sha'bān 1202 (1787 A.C.) for Pakhlī, whence he dispatched his nephew in advance. Juma' Khān himself entered Kashmīr in Ramazān. He set Mīr Ja'far Kanṭh free from his prison. Munshī Bhawānī Dās Kāchru, a poet of note, supplied Juma' Khān with a beautiful monogram for his seal:

چُو حق تقسیمِ رُوز نیک و بد کرد مُحمّد جُمعه را مخصوصِ خُود کرد

Hasan 'Alī Khān Bamu of Kam-rāj, Rustam 'Alī Khān of Pūnch, Karamullāh Khān of Rajaurī all showed signs of restiveness and were successfully defeated. Juma' Khān's chief sin lies in realizing, through contracts, the dues pertaining to the offices of the Qāzī and the Judge. Under his order the Shī'as were prohibited from observing their "passion week." The parts of the city known as Khānayār* and Rainawārī suffered from a heavy flood caused by the Qāzīzāda Dam, now called Sadd-i-Qāzīzāda or the Suthu, giving way to heavy rush of water. Juma' Khān Halokozaī died of dysentery in 1793, and was buried in the compound of the tomb of Sayyid Qamr-ud-Dīn Khwārizmī (who died in 907 A.H.=1501 A.C. in the precincts of Shergaṛhī). Later, however, his body was removed to Qandahār.

Rahmatullāh held the governorship temporarily till the arrival of Mīr Hazār Khān in 1792 A.C. In Hazār's tenure Tīmūr Shāh passed away on 18th May, 1793, at Kābul when he was preparing to invade India for the sixth time. Zamān Shāh, the next ruler, confirmed Mīr Hazār Khān in his post.

Mīr Hazār Khān, however, set himself up as an independent governor, and imprisoned his father Mīrzā Khān who had been deputed from Kābul to advise him to desist from declaring independence. Mīr Hazār was hard upon the Shī'as and the Hindus and imposed *jizya* on the latter.

*Khāna-yār, literally, means the ward or mahalla of the Khāns.

Ahmad Khān Shahinak-bāshī, the general, and Rahmatullāh Khān were appointed by Zamān Shāh to chastize him. It is apparently to this event that Elphinstone refers when he says that the remaining months of 1793 and part of 1794 were occupied in reducing Kashmīr (page 566). A number of Mīr Hazār's nobles having deserted him, he took sanctuary in the Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā, but was subsequently enticed out and imprisoned. His régime extended over a period of one year and two months.

In 1794 A.C. Rahmatullāh Khān ruled for four months, but was recalled for quarrelling with Ahmad Khān Shahinak-bāshī. Kifāyat Khān succeeded him in 1794. Kifāyat was a generous, well-meaning person. During his brief stay of one year, the Sunnī-Shī'a quarrels were stopped. He suppressed a rebellion of the Bambas in Kam-rāj. He is associated with a garden in Khānayār. A serious quarrel among his nobles, however, led to his dismissal in 1795. Arsalān Khān was next invested with the governorship of Kashmīr. Following the practice of the later sūbadārs under the Mughuls, he sent Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher to rule in his place. Some of Muhammad Khān's relatives, who were officers of a body of the Jawān Sher tribesmen, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the Shergarhī fort. A compromise being arrived at, Muhammad Khān shared his authority with them. Soon after this, Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula, the son of Shāh Valī Khān, the prime minister of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, having been directed from Kābul, arrived in Kashmīr. He took all the contending parties with him to Kābul. This Mukhtār-ud-Daula subsequently became the prime minister of Zamān Shāh.

'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī filled the vacant post of governor in 1795 A.C. He ruled the country for about eleven years. For the first three years of his régime, the country was governed by one or other of his brothers who it seems, performed their duties sincerely and conscientiously In 1213 A.H. (1798 A.C.) on returning from Kābul, he systematically began to strengthen himself and entertain ambitious designs, apparently when he saw that government in Kābul was changing hands rapidly. He first managed to free the capital from the presence of the chiefs and nobles likely to be inimical to him. Next, he appointed men of humble origin to higher posts. He also enlisted an army of thirty thousand men, and entered into alliance with the

neighbouring chiefs. It was in this connexion that he married the daughter of Fath Khān Bamba, the chief of Muzaffarābād. He ruled the country mildly and justly.

'Abdullāh Khān quarrelled in 1800 A.C. with his Dīwān, Har Dās who was a protégé of Dīwan Nand Rām. Nand Rām was the favourite of Rahmat Khān with the title of "Vafādār Khān" conferred by Zamān Shāh, and was the prime minister at Kābul. Nand Rām rose to be a minister at Kābul in the time of Zamān Shāh and hence gave an occasion to his own people to say.

سیم از معبُود ' ضرب از نند رام

Nand Rām's position so emboldened the Kashmīrī Pandit as to say, even though secretly, in national pride—

سّکه زد در مُلکِ کابل نند رام اے مُسلمانان بخوانید رام ! رام !

'Abdullāh Khān's quarrel consequently resulted in his recall, and finally in his imprisonment in the Bālā Hisār at Kābul. Before leaving Kashmīr, he set up his brother, 'Atā Muhammad Khān, in his place and secretly wrote to him as well as to the chief of Muzaffarābād to hold the country for him, and resist the new governor. The vazīr of Kābul, Vafādār Khān, appointed as governor 'Abdullāh Khān's brother, Vakīl Khān, who was then in Kashmīr, and sent Mullā Ahmad Khān to execute his orders. 'Atā Muhammad Khān first killed Vakīl Khān, and then defeated and captured Mullā Ahmad Khān.

In 1261 A.H. (1801 A.C.) Zamān Shāh was seized and blinded, and his brother Mahmūd Shāh, ruler of Herāt, was declared king of Afghānistān. These circumstances encouraged the insurgents all the more. Further, 'Abdullāh Khān conspired, and escaped to Kashmīr with Jān Nisār 'Alī Khān, the commandant of Bālā Hisār at Peshāwar whom he presented with a lakh of rupees. He then attended to his affairs in Kashmīr, built a fort in the pargana of Biru, and finally withheld the tribute, thereby proclaiming his independence. G. T. Vigne's reference to the working of copper mines in Kashmīr during 'Abdullāh Khān's time may explain the latter's affluence.

At this stage, Kābul was undergoing a change of rulers. Mahmūd Shāh who deposed Zamān Shāh was himself deposed

by Zamān's brother Shujā'-ul-Mulk.[1] Shujā' in 1806 A.C. dispatched Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula to bring Kashmīr to subjection. Sher Muhammad Khān arrived at Muzaffarābād and pretended negotiations chiefly with the object of taking his adversary unawares. After receiving reinforcements from the neighbouring rājās, he made a sudden attack on 'Abdullāh Khān's army which retreated, but offered battle at the village Doāb-gāh below Sopōr at the junction of the Pohur and the Jhelum, whence he fled to his fort at Biru. 'Atā Muhammad Khān, son of Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān, was ordered to besiege that fort. During this siege, in 1807 A.C., 'Abdullāh Khān died. As Elphinstone says, 'Abdullāh Khān was a man of good talents and great courage. He was liked by both Afghāns and Kashmīrīs. "He is commended for his love of justice and his skill in administrating it, for his liberality his affable manners, and his princely magnificence. He was also a great encourager of learning and poetry. Perhaps no Durrāni has left a character so generally admired" (pp. 595-96). Elphinstone's mission to Kābul arrived at Peshāwar on the 25th of February, 1809, and left Peshāwar on the 14th of June.

In 1809 Kābul was again a scene of strife and struggle between various claimants to the throne. Mahmūd Shā was set free, whilst Prince Qaisar, Zamān's son, and Prince Kāmrān, Mahmūd's son, waged wars against each other. In these internecine struggles, Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula son of Shāh Valī Khān, vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, was killed, and Shujā'-ul-Mulk was defeated by 'Azīm Khān and took asylum under Ranjit Singh.

Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula, before being killed, had left Kashmīr after a sojourn of five months appointing his son[2] 'Atā Muhammad Khān as his Nā' with the sanction of Shāh Shujā'. The year of his installation, *viz.* 1221 A.H. (1806 A.C.), is obtained from the chronogram *Afzāl-i-Rahmānī*.

'Atā Muhammad Khān's excellent régime is like a large oasis in the desert patches of the Afghān sovereignty

1. Zamān Shāh and Shujā'-ul-Mulk were from the same mother a lady of the Yūsufzaī tribe.

2. Lt. Newall writes that this governor was the son of the late governor 'Abdullāh Khān on page 452, while on page 450 he calls him brother of the same person.—*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854.

Kashmīr. The people prospered under him. Considerable advance took place generally. In one year during his rule, one crore of rupees accrued to the treasury owing to the revival of trade. The revenue from other sources also doubled. Many persons came by hidden treasures which they were allowed to keep. Most of the important suits were dealt with personally by him, and in the case of disputed succession, he allocated the share of each claimant. In public and private life, he observed simplicity, and showed due deference to men of learning and piety. His structures at Charār Sharīf are still there.

About 1810 Nidhān Singh Atha,[1] disgusted with Ranjīt Singh, quitted the Punjāb, and entered the service of 'Atā Muhammad Khān.

In 1810 'Atā Muhammad Khān declared his independence because Shāh Shujā' and Shāh Mahmūd in turn sent expeditions against him. 'Atā struck coin in the name of the saint Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī with a very appropriate legend on it which the reader of *Kashīr* must have seen on page 101. Akram Khān, Atā's successor-designate, and Afzal Khān were dispatched by Shāh Shujā'-ul-Mulk to divest him of his authority, and to reduce him to submission. They were severely defeated at Shāhdara,[2] in the Rajaurī Tahsīl. And 'Atā Muhammad returned to his capital in triumph. He now built fortifications at Sopōr, Bārāmūla, at the summit of the Kūh-i-Mārān, and constructed several smaller forts and bastions in other strategic localities from Muzaffarābād onwards. He also laid stores of ammunition against future emergency. Through Dīwān Nand Rām and his own brother Jahāndād Khān, he played the stratagem of inviting Shujā'-ul-Mulk from Talamba, a town 60 miles north-east of Multān, in the Punjāb, on the confluence of the Rāvī and the Chināb. Here Shujā' was halting having been ousted from Afghānistān by Mahmūd Shāh—the second son of Tīmūr Shāh. Shujā' came to Kashmīr with Hasan Khān and Mullā Hidāyatullāh. 'Atā Muhammad confined the ex-king Shujā' in the Kūh-i-Māran (Harīparbat) fort, and dispatched his brother Jahāndād Khān to take possession of the Attock fort.

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1. Hügel's *Travels*, page 369.
2. Shāhdara is a village with a population of 773 at the census of 1941.

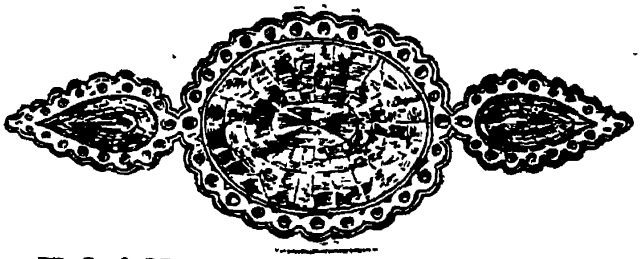
How Ranjīt Singh was interested in Kashmīr.

Fath Khān, the vazīr of Shāh Mahmūd, resolved to punish the governors of Attock and Kashmīr for the assistance they had given to Zamān Shāh and Shāh Shujā'. In this manner, from the proximity of the territories, Fath Khān and Ranjīt Singh were brought into close communication. In 1813 they entered into an agreement. By this agreement it was stipulated that Ranjīt Singh, in consideration of a share of the plunder—a present of eight lakhs—and some prospective advantages, would not only allow Fath Khān a free passage through his territories but furnish him with an auxiliary force of 12,000 Sikhs. "As both parties were adepts in fraud," says Henry Beveridge in *A Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. III, p. 227), "each endeavoured to turn the agreement to his own sole advantage." Fath Khān, having recovered Kashmīr, refused to share the plunder alleging that the Sikhs had not assisted him according to promise. And Ranjīt Singh, by means of an intrigue, made himself master of Attock, and refused to part with it. It appears that, though Fath Khān wanted Ranjīt to observe benevolent neutrality, he did not like Ranjīt's army entering the Valley. Fath Khān, therefore, hurried into Kashmīr ahead of Ranjīt's troops led by Mohkam Chand. But Mohkam too reached by a short cut. Fath Khān refused to reward the Sikhs because they did no fighting. The chief gain to the Sikhs was the securing of the person of Shāh Shujā.'

For the broad details of this affair let us refer to Ranjīt Singh's historian Kanhayyā Lāl, the author of the *Zafar nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*,* who writes:—"At this time Fath Khān, who governed the district of Peshāwar on behalf of the sovereign of Afghānistān, sent an envoy with presents to Ranjīt Singh to inform him that 'Atā Muhammad, governor of Kashmīr, had cast off his allegiance to the then ruler of Afghānistān (Mahmūd Shāh), and had been joined by the fugitive Shāh Shujā' who hoped to recover his throne by his aid: but that the governor of Kashmīr might at once be reduced to obedience if the forces of Ranjīt Singh were to co-operate with those of Fath Khān and invade Kashmīr. Accordingly Ranjīt Singh ordered his commander-in-chief Dīwan Mohkam Chand to march at once to Kashmīr

*Mr. E. Rehatsek's English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, November 1887, pages 339-40.

and when the latter reached the frontier, Fath Khān likewise arrived from the direction of Peshāwar. However, when they crossed the Pīr Panjāl they found that all the chiefs and rājās of the mountains had become unfriendly, and being unwilling to meet them had gone out of their way. When the united forces reached Hürapōr, the first point across the pass in the Kashmīr Valley, they first met with resistance at Ballapōr near Shupiān, but defeated 'Atā Muhammad, who thereupon retreated to the fort of Shergaṛhī which they beleaguered, and took it only after they had occupied Śrīnagar and established an Afghān administration. When the fort of Shergaṛhī was taken, both 'Atā Muhammad and Shāh Shujā' became prisoners, and Fath Khān, who hated them mortally, believed he had them in his grasp, but was disappointed by Mohkam Chand, who took them under his protection." But according to the *Tarīkh Sultānī* pp. 233-35) Fath Khān surrendered Shāh Shujā' to (Mohkam Chand. Kanhayyā Lāl continues: "The Afghān general immediately dispatched a courier to Ranjīt Singh, with a request to order both these exalted prisoners to be given up to him. The question, however, being a knotty one the Mahārājā did not wish to decide it hastily. And whilst Ranjīt was considering what answer to send, a messenger arrived from Talamba with presents from Shāh (or Wafā) Begam, the spouse of Shāh Shujā,' who had taken up her residence in that town. The lady expressed her anxiety and requested the Mahārājā not to surrender Shāh Shujā' to his enemy, Fath Khān, but to receive him at the court of Lāhore, in which case she promised to present Ranjīt Singh with the famous diamond, Kūh or Koh-i-Nūr, which she described as a gem of priceless value, and indeed a "Mountain of Light."



The Kūh-i-Nūr or the "Mountain of Light."

[The diamond Koh-i-Nūr weighing 900 *ratīs*, or 787½ carats, was found in the dominion of Golkanda at a place called Kollur on the Krishna river about 1656, and was presented in an uncut state by Mīr Jumla to Shāh Jahān. When Tavernier handled this diamond in Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's treasury in 1665, it weighed 319½ *ratīs* or 269 $^{9}/_{16}$ carats, having been reduced to this size by a Venetian

impostor named Hortensio Borgio, it is said, by wasteful grindin instead of cleaning. When in British possession, the Koh-i-Nūr wa re-cut at Amsterdam reducing the weight to 106⅛ carats.

The diamond was on the famous peacock throne which Shā Jahān constructed. When Nādir Shāh after his conquest of Delhi took possession of the throne, and broke it up, the Koh-i-Nūr coul not be found. At last, however, the discovery was made through woman of the harem of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh tha he had concealed it in his turban. Accordingly, Nādir Shāh on day politely offered him brotherhood by the usual ceremony exchanging turbans on such an occasion, which the emperor coul not refuse. Thus the diamond fell into the possession of Nādir Shā who gave it this name in 1739. When Shāh Zamān, who ha obtained it, was a fugitive, he concealed the diamond in the chin of a wall, but Shāh Shujā' who had recovered it, was compelle to give it to Ranjīt Singh or Ranjīt seized it as the price hospitality. In the end, the Koh-i-Nūr came into the possessio of the East India Company in 1849 who presented it to Her Majest the Queen of England when it adorned the British Crown.

The original setting with models of the stones, as then worn, in the Jewel House, London. The Koh-i-Nūr is however, in Quee Elizabeth's crown at present.

The gem was valued at £140,000.

It is on account of the Koh-i-Nūr and other diamonds that t word 'Golconda' has come to be a synonym in the English langua for "fabulous wealth," as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* a Murray's *A New English Dictionary* have it, an illustration bei —To the lover of poetry 'Paracelsus' will always be a Golconda.]

"The Mahārājā, delighted with the offer, willing granted the request of Shāh Begam. Meanwhile a lett arrived from 'Atā Muhammad, who likewise prayed not be surrendered to Fath Khān. He further desired to pla his services entirely at the disposal of the Mahārājā, a offered him the fort of Attock, which was yet held Jahāndād Khān, the commandant whom he had hims appointed to it. Hereon the Mahārājā sent a ve complimentary letter to Dīwan Mohkam Chand thanki him for what he had done, enjoining him to crush Fath Kh altogether if he should offer further resistance, and then bring Shāh Shujā' to Lāhore with all due honour, to tre 'Atā Muhammad with the greatest consideration, and make arrangements with him for taking possession of Attoc all of which the Dīwān undertook to effect.

"In due course of time the commander-in-chief, Dīw Mohkam Chand, arrived with the army in Lāhore, bringi also Shāh Shujā' who met with a friendly reception, a

obtained a provision for his maintenance. Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-Dīn having been dispatched with troops to take possession of Attock, was received with demonstrations of submission by Jahāndād Khān, who at once yielded, and a Sikh garrison having been quartered therein, its works were likewise repaired. The Mahārājā was so pleased with this successful transaction that he made 'Atā Muhammad a present of a lakh of rupees and a dress of honour. Ranjīt Singh now bethought himself of the Koh-i-Nūr, promised by Shāh (or Wafā) Begam spouse of Shāh Shujā,' and desired to obtain possession of it. She had indeed joined her husband, but the "Mountain of Light" was not forthcoming until the supplies were stopped, whereon Shāh Shujā' at last surrendered it. This happy event Ranjīt Singh celebrated with a great banquet.

"The carousals of the Mahārājā had not yet come to an end when a courier arrived with the information that Fath Khān was besieging the fort of Attock, and that the garrison, being in great distress for food, expected reinforcements. Accordingly Dīwan Mohkam Chand and Ghāzī Khān were immediately dispatched at the head of numerous troops, and reached Attock by forced marches. The Sikhs found that the whole surrounding population sympathized with the besiegers, but it being the hot season, and almost unbearable to the Afghāns, accustomed to their cold mountain climate, they were defeated in the first engagement, chiefly because they suffered from burning thirst, which many hastened to quench in the river even during the battle. The siege having been abandoned, Mohkam Chand entered the fort without meeting an enemy, and after having abundantly provided the famishing garrison with food, returned with all the booty he had gained to Lāhore, where the Mahārājā overwhelmed him with honours. Having made a vow to perform a pilgrimage to Jwālāmukhī in the lower Himālayas after the prosperous termination of the Afghān campaign, the Mahārājā now hastened to fulfil it. After performing his adorations to the goddess, replenishing her treasury, and spending large sums in alms, the Mahārājā determined to surprise the ruler of Kashmīr, who was his enemy, and enrolling all the mountain chiefs to aid him with their forces, began the march. But it was autumn. The cold weather had set in. On arriving near the Pīr Panjāl Pass, it was found to be blocked up with snow. Therefore Ranjīt Singh marched back to Lāhore. It had

been reported to the Mahārājā that Shāh Shujā' possessed a great deal of jewellery and precious stones, which he might be induced to part with, and messengers were at once sent with offers to purchase them, but he replied that, being a poor exile, he had nothing for sale and had already given away the priceless Koh-i-Nūr. All excuses were, however, of no avail, and he was forcibly deprived of all his precious stones, which dastardly act exasperated and perhaps also frightened him, so that he planned and executed the flight of his harem." The author, however, adds that after his harem had escaped, "Shāh Shujā' was imprisoned, but succeeded in making, during the night, a hole in the wall of the room where he had been confined, and escaping from it walked on foot and in disguise to the British frontier, where he made himself known, and met with a kind reception."

It is a serious blot on Ranjīt's character that he should have behaved in this shabby manner towards Shāh Shujā', whose elder brother Shāh Zamān had appointed him ruler of Lāhore in preference to an Afghān governor. Moreover, Shāh Shujā' was an invited guest, once a ruler, now in distress, under his own wing and shelter and maintenance, and had already robbed him of the "Mountain of Light!"

Vazīr Fath Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī was ruling Kashmīr under orders of Mahmūd Shāh for some months. Fath Muhammad Khān, Dūst Muhammad Khān and Yār Muhammad Khān and 'Azīm Khān and several others were brothers as already noted. Fath Muhammad left his brother Sardār 'Azīm Khān in his place. He himself returned to Kābul. Thence he led a huge army to dispute the possession of Attock, but returned defeated.

In 1813 Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān assumed charge of governorship. He allowed Pandit Sahaj Rām to continue in the post of Dīwān, and at the same time appointed Dīwān Hīra Dās as *Sāhib-i-Kār* or administrator.

نواب عظیم خان



Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, Governor of Kashmīr from 1813 to 1819, who repelled Maharājā Ranjit Singh's invasion of Kashmīr in 1814.

In 1814 Ranjīt Singh invaded Kashmīr with 10,000 Sikhs to realize the second instalment of eight lakhs of rupees which had been promised him by Vazīr Fath Khān. Ranjīt Singh himself stayed at Pūnch, while his army reached the village Salh by unfrequented paths. Another detachment reached Rayār (15 miles from Baḍgām) by way of Tosha Maidān, which is ten miles south-east of Gulmarg, and is one of the most beautiful *marghs* or meadows of Kashmīr. At first a detachment of the Afghān force was repulsed. The town of Shupiān was attacked. But the assault failed. The Sikhs retired to the mountain passes. 'Azīm Khān proved himself equal to the occasion, and confronted the main army. The Sikhs were considerably hampered by adverse conditions caused by heavy rain and intense cold, and Hügel adds, want of supplies. On receiving information that his Hürapōr army had perished to the last man, Ranjīt Singh himself had to flee almost

alone to Mandī on 30th July, 1814, after the complete loss of his baggage, and a great portion of his army. 'Abdullāl Khān pursued him up to the Kotlī pass in the Mīrpur district, and returned with much booty which included Ranjīt Singh's favourite horse, the Lailī.[1] Ranjīt Singh's departure unnerved the Sikh army which retreated after fighting for eight days.

[The historical importance of the Tosha Maidān route[2] is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for expeditions aiming at the invasion of Kashmīr. Mahmūd of Ghazna, in 1021 A.C., invaded Kashmīr when Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī accompanied him. Mahmūd failed. Ranjīt too failed in this, his first invasion of Kashmīr. Hiüen Tsang visited Pūnch by the Tosha Maidān route about 633 A.C.]

Let us hear this campaign from Kanhayyā Lāl, the author of the *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*.[3] "Ranjīt Singh's desire of subjugating Kashmīr having again become dominant, he determined to attack Muhammad 'Azīm, the Afghān governor of the Valley, and went against him in Samat 1871 (A.C. 1814) with numerous rājās of the mountains, accompanied by their forces. He remained for some time at Siālkōt, till he was joined by his allies, and then marched into the mountains where also 'Az Khān, the chief of Rajaurī, came to meet him, paid him homage and tribute. Then Ranjīt Singh went on to Dera Bahrām, *i.e.*, Bahrām Gala, near the Pīr Panjāl Pass, where he encountered a force of the enemy but routed it, whereon it took refuge

1. "The Maharaja let me know that this horse (Lailī) had cost him 60 lakhs of rupees and 12,000 soldiers, having been the occasion of several wars. It was the property of Yar Mohammad Khan of Peshawar and Ranjit Singh made the delivery of the animal to him one of the conditions of peace. The cunning Mohammedan, however, who considered this article humiliating to him, evaded it several times by sending another horse under the name of Laili, and it was owing to a plan devised by General Ventura that it was eventually obtained."—Baron Hügel's *Travels*, London, 1185, page 333.

Moorcroft, when he met Ranjīt on 8th May, 1920, at Lāhore, saw such a large body of horses as money alone could not buy. The Mahārājā had obtained from Fath Khān and his brothers of Bukhāra, as presents and by purchase, some of the horses of his stud.—The *Journal of the Panjāb University Historical Society*, April 1933, page 90.

Ranjīt's passion for horses amounts almost to insanity, wrote W. G. Osborn in 1840 (page 91).

2. Dr. Stein's *Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, page 81.

3. The *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 17, January 1888, page 18, English translation by E. Rehatsek.

in the fort, which was besieged and surrendered. Then he continued his progress to Pūnch, where he halted several days and sent an envoy to Muhammad 'Azīm, requiring him to submit. The latter replied that he was not subject to the Mahārājā, but to the Shāh of Kābul, who had entrusted him with the government of Kashmīr, which he was prepared to defend. Ranjīt Singh now determined immediately to attack him. Crossing the Pīr Panjāl range, Ranjīt marched to Hürapōr, were he found numerous Afghān and Kashmīrī forces collected, and gave them battle. During the fight, so violent a fall of rain took place that it caused an inundation, and, the cold being very intense, disheartened the Punjābīs so much, that they were defeated; three of their high officers being killed, namely, Gurū Singh, Mahesha Singh, and Dāsa Singh. Whilst the battle was yet raging, the treacherous 'Az Khān, who had joined the forces of Ranjīt Singh only on compulsion, informed him that most of the troops left by him at Hürapōr had been slain or captured. This news was false. But it was believed by the Sikhs to be true. And Ranjīt forthwith retreated in great haste to Bhimbar on the frontier of Kashmīr. But on ascertaining that 'Az Khān had made a mendacious statement, he desired immediately to return and subdue Muhammad 'Azīm. The sardārs of his court, however, made strong representations to the contrary, boldly giving him the advice to retreat with his forces to Lāhore which he was ultimately compelled to adopt. They also suggested that in Lāhore preparations might be made for renewing the campaign if necessary, but that meanwhile the Mahārājā ought to send to the Afghān governor of Kashmīr a conciliatory letter, mixed notwithstanding with threats, counselling him to abandon the siege of Hürapōr, and to allow the Sikh garrison to depart. This Ranjīt Singh did, and was in a short time joined by the garrison of Hürapōr, which had capitulated, and brought a friendly reply from Muhammad 'Azīm. The march back to Lāhore now began immediately, but Dīwān Mohkam Chand, who had already fallen sick in Kashmīr, expired on arriving in the capital of the Punjāb. His loss was much deplored by Ranjīt Singh, who appointed his two sons Rām Dyāl and Motī Rām to succeed him as Dīwāns, and put them in charge of various military expeditions."

Colonel D. Ochterlony,* Agent, Governor-General,

Punjab Government Records, 1911, Vol. 2, pages 390.

"Loodeana," reports Ranjīt Singh's rout to Mr. J. Adam, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, on 13th of August, 1814, in the following dispatch:—

"I have this instant received intelligence that Runjeet's Army, which had advanced beyond Peer Punjal, had been encountered and defeated with considerable loss by the Nāzim's troops. Runjeet had in consequence ordered their retreat which was conducted so irregularly and in such disorder as to become a disagreeable flight which all his personal exertions could not prevent, and at the date of the letter (28th July), the Kashmerean army and Rohulla Khan, the Poonch Rajah, were pursuing.

"It is probable this, with the distress experienced, will induce Runjeet to abandon his enterprise, and if he succeeds in effecting a decent retreat I am inclined to think he will owe it in some degree to his regular battalions but more to the mismanagement of the enemy opposed to him."

After this victory, 'Azīm Khān naturally called to account those leading Pandits whom he considered solely responsible for inducing Ranjīt Singh to undertake the invasion of Kashmīr. Many Muslims also suffered with the Pandits for their complicity both losing their estates, which were, however, on investigation, afterwards restored. The native soldiery was also dismissed by 'Azīm. At this time, the inhabitants of Kashmīr suffered from a famine, which claimed a heavy toll of human lives.

Shujā'-ul-Mulk, having freed himself from the grip of Vazīr Fath Khān, found himself involved in trouble with Ranjīt Singh, who took from him the Koh-i-Nūr diamond and other precious stones. Afterwards, Shujā'-ul-Mulk betook himself to British territory and resided at Ludhiāna, whence he proceeded to Kishtwār, and made an abortive attempt or two to conquer Kashmīr. At last, after obtaining help from Lord Auckland, he re-captured Kābul and Qandahār, but was assassinated after a brief reign of two years.

'Azīm Khān had entrusted the task of collecting the revenue to three Pandits, namely, Bīrbal Dar, Mīrzā Pandit, and Sukh Rām. The first-named had an amount of one lakh outstanding against him. When called upon to pay it, he addressed 'Azīm Khān impertinently. But the latter

granted him a respite to pay the arrears on Mīrzā Pandit offering himself as surety. Pandit Bīrbal Dar utilized the respite in fleeing from the country. Bīrbal's flight, in mid-winter in 1818-19, across the snow-covered mountains, it is said, was made possible on account of the support of Malik Nāmdār and Malik Kāmdār of Kulgām.[1] The influence of Rājā Dhyān Singh, the brother of Gulāb Singh, procured Bīrbal Dar an easy admittance to Ranjīt Singh's court. Pandit Vasa Kāk, the director of communications, conducted Bīrbal's wife to a place of safety. But those who had aided Bīrbal Dar in his flight were traitorously betrayed by his own son-in-law, Pandit Tilok Chand. Naturally 'Azīm Khān was hard upon them.

Bīrbal's wife, Kud Māl Ded, put an end to her life.[2]

In 1819 A.C. Vazīr Fath Khān, whose eyes had been put out by Shāh Kāmrān (son of Mahmūd and grandson of Tīmūr Shāh) ruler of Herāt, sent for 'Azīm Khān from Kashmīr to assist him in carrying out his ministerial duties and to fight Kāmrān. 'Azīm Khān sent all his property with Sahaj Rām to Kābul. He handed over the governorship to his brother Jabbār Khān and started for Kābul.

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1. *Inside Kashmir*, page 177.

2. In Kashmīr people still speak of Bīrbal's wife having killed herself by swallowing a piece of diamond, some actually assert by licking *almās*. K.B. Miyān Afzal Husain, M.Sc. (Panjab), M.A. (Cantab), Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, drew my attention to the untenability of this theory. On referring the matter to Dr. S. D. Muzaffar, M.Sc. (Panjāb), Ph.D. (Cambridge), Professor of Chemistry, the Panjab College of Engineering and Technology, Mughulpura, Lāhore, I am grateful to him for an expression of opinion on the matter in his letter dated 5th June, 1942. This opinion is as follows :—" You have asked my opinion whether anyone can die of eating a precious stone. The position regarding this question is, that, medically speaking, none of the precious stones acts as a poison in the same sense as arsenic, oxide or opium, etc. They have nothing in them to upset the various chemical processes going on in the body and especially the blood of a person. But if they are powdered in such a manner that they have sharp edges, then their action is the same as that of swallowing chips of glass with sharp edges, which cut the body tissues, and dig into them causing permanent sores which may lead to internal blood poisoning. It is well known that glass powder acts in this manner, and people have been killed by putting glass powder in their food. Therefore, you are quite right if you assume that the lady in question ate a precious stone which was presumably polished and did not have very sharp edges. But if the same stone was powdered and eaten, it could act as a poison." A well-known scholarly Hakīm of Lāhore also felt doubtful of the truth of dying by swallowing a diamond.

A large portion of Afghān troops was also dispatched to Qandahār to beat Kāmrān.

Jabbār Khān was the last of the Afghān governors. Several of these governors displayed a strange propensity towards persecution and high-handedness, which finally put an end to their rule. Contrary to his predecessors, Jabbār Khān was, however, extremely mild and just, but was ordained to rule for four months only !

It has already been stated how Pandit Bīrbal Dar had gone to Ranjīt Singh's court. When the Pandit heard of 'Azīm Khān's departure for Kābul, he urged Ranjīt Singh to attack Kashmīr. Remembering his previous failure, Ranjīt Singh dreaded the suggested step. At last, Bīrbal Dar held himself responsible for all consequent loss in case of failure. As a guarantee, the Pandit surrendered his son Rāj Kāk Dar, who subsequently held a high administrative post during Sikh rule in Kashmīr, as hostage to the 'Lion of the Punjāb.' The Mahārājā then agreed to follow Bīrbal's advice, knowing that a large part of the Afghān army of Kashmīr was fighting in Qandahār against Shāh Kāmrān of Herāt.

An army of thirty thousand Sikhs led by experienced generals like Sardārs Harī Singh Nalwa, Jawālā Singh, Hukam Singh, Rājā Gulāb Singh and Dīwan Misr Chand accordingly invaded Kashmīr. The main body was led to Thanna, and a detachment was conducted by way of the Darhāl pass. Jabbār Khān arrived with his army at Hürapōr, and also sent a detachment to Pīr Panjāl (Pantsāl) to guard the road. The Afghāns repulsed the invaders, and mastered two guns. But they did not improve their success. The rallied Sikhs again attacked the Afghāns, and, in the words of Captain Cunningham, won an almost bloodless victory. Owing to superiority of numbers on the side of the Sikhs, Jabbār Khān's soldiers lost heart. Their leader himself, however, fought desperately. Jabbār Khān, sustained, it is said, eighteen wounds, and was picked from the battlefield by his adjutant who ordered immediate retreat. It was after many days that Jabbār recovered consciousness. Later on, taking his precious property with him, he started for Kābul by way of Bārāmūla, thus leaving the Sikhs in complete possession of Kashmīr.

The two factors that helped Ranjīt Singh in the conquest of Kashmīr in 1819 were the acquisition by

him of immense booty from the fall of the fort of Multān in 1818, and the withdrawal of almost all the veteran Afghān troops from the Valley to beyond the Indus in the internecine war of Afghānistān. Raw levies left in the Valley were no match against the re-organized Sikh army well provided by the loot of Multān.

Lāhore was illuminated for three days in honour of the event. But strange to say, Ranjīt Singh himself did not enter Kashmīr on account of a superstitious dread.

The version of this victory by the author of the *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh* would bear repetition and is reproduced below : "Information having arrived from Kābul that Fath Khān, the vazīr of Mahmūd Shāh, had fallen into disgrace and been deprived of sight by the Shāhzāda Kāmrān, Governor of Herāt, and that a civil war was raging in Afghānistān, the Mahārājā considered this a good opportunity for conquering both Peshāwar and Kashmīr, the more so as the latter province was now governed by Jabbār Khān, whom Muhammad 'Azīm had left as his Nā'ib, or lieutenant, when he returned to Afghānistān. Ranjīt Singh accordingly marched in the direction of Peshāwar. In a short time he crossed the Rāvī, the Chināb, and the Jhelum. But when he reached the banks of the Indus, he found no boats. Crossing it without any, in an almost miraculous manner, on horseback, with his army, he safely reached the opposite bank, conquered the fort of Khairābād and then the fort of Jahāngīr, whereon Fīrūz Khān, the chief of the Khatak tribe of Afghāns humbly came to pay him homage. When Yār Muhammad, the governor of Peshāwar, heard of the approach of Ranjīt Singh, he forthwith retired to the Yūsufzaī mountains. The Mahārājā took possession of the fort, appointed Jahāndād Khān commandant of it, and departed again after a sojourn of only three days. Whilst encamped near Attock, Ranjīt Singh received the offer of a *nazarāna* of a lakh of rupees from Yār Muhammad, who also promised annually to pay a similar sum on condition of being re-installed governor of Peshāwar, and the Mahārājā consented. Meanwhile news arrived that Yār Muhammad had by the aid of Dūst Muhammad nevertheless attacked Jahāndād Khān, and expelled him from Peshāwar, of which they took possession. The Mahārājā at once dispatched his son, Kharak Singh, with ten thousand men to reduce the two invaders, but the blow aimed at them was avoided by the arrival of the promised

and long delayed *nazarāna*, and a profession of allegia on the part of Yār Muhammad. Having terminated t affair to his satisfaction, the Mahārājā returned to Lāh with the money he had obtained. But as his heart was b on the conquest of Kashmīr he could not rest long.

"The army having been got ready in St. 1876 (A.C. 18 it happened at the same time that Jabbār Khān, who w at that time Governor of Kashmīr, had not only dismis but also disgraced and reduced to penury his Dīwān, Pan Bīrbar by name. On this the latter hastened to Lāhc breathing vengeance, and urged Ranjīt Singh to subjug Kashmīr. The Mahārājā consented to the proposal b apprehended that he would be disappointed in the enterpri as on a former occasion, unless he could obtain the certair of being supported by all the chiefs of the country. Acco ingly the said Dīwān sent letters to the Rājās, inviting th to make profession of loyalty to Ranjīt Singh, and in short time received satisfactory replies from mar Even 'Az Khān of Bhimbar, who had been an adversa now promised to support Ranjīt Singh, as well as the ch of Rajaurī and the commandant of Pūnch, wherefore t army at once began its march. Devīchand received ord to hasten to the town of Rajaurī and there to await t arrival of the Mahārājā at the foot of the Himālayas, b meanwhile to carry on intercourse with the mounta chiefs, and to make sure of their allegiance. Ranjīt Sin went from Lāhore first to Amritsar, where he perform his devotions in the temple of Rāmdās, distributed abunda alms among the holy men of that locality, and then quick marched to Kashmīr. Here he met with a friendly rece tion, because he was accompanied by the fugitive Dīwā He nevertheless thought it convenient not to advance furth after reaching Bhimbar.

"Having for some time remained in that pleasa town and concentrated his forces, Ranjīt Singh ordere Prince Kharak Singh, with Devīchand for his lieutenan to advance. They marched with friendly chieftains till the reached the Pīr Panjāl range of the Himālayas, where the encountered the enemy, and an action of several day duration ensued in which the Sikhs were victorious. Havin thus defeated the united Afghān and Kashmīr forces, the continued their journey with the intention of conquerin Srīnagar likewise. Samad Khān and Mihrdil Khān, th two principal Afghān officers of Jabbār Khān, the Governc of Kashmīr, anxious to impede the further progress of th

Sikhs, attacked them, but were again routed, and Mihrdil was slain. Jabbār Khan now took refuge in the fort of Shergarh. At this Ranjīt Singh's army meeting with no further opposition, at once entered the city of Srīnagar. After having regulated the administration, the Mahārājā intended to attack Jabbār Khān, who had shut himself up in the fort of Shergarh, and found that he had evacuated it, but left all his wealth behind, which pleased Ranjīt Singh greatly. Having thus conquered Kashmīr, the Mahārājā appointed Dīwān Devīchand to be Governor of it, spent a couple of weeks at Rajaurī, then took the fort of 'Azīmgarh with its Kashmīrī garrison by a single assault and marched back to Amritsar, where he made large presents to the temple of Rāmdās and distributed alms. Lastly the Mahārājā returned to Lāhore, where he bestowed robes of honour and other rewards upon his officers and troops, ordered general rejoicings to celebrate the victory, and dispensed hospitalities in royal fashion."*

The date of the Sikh conquest of Kashmīr is contained in their war-cry, the letters of which correspond to the Bikramī year 1876 or 1819 A.C.

بولو جی واہ گرُو جی کا خالصہ - بولو جی واہ گرُو جی کی فتح

The end of Muslim rule in the Valley of Kashmīr.

So ends Muslim rule in Kashmīr. It began with the conversion of Riñchana in 1320 A.C. The Shāh Mīrīs, the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr or Shāh Mīrzā, ruled from 1339 A.C. to 1555 A.C. The Chaks succeeded them, and ruled till 1586 when Akbar conquered Kashmīr. The Afghāns came in 1752 A.C., and their rule closed in 1819 A.C. From A.C. 1320 to 1819 it is 499 according to the solar calculation. And from A.H. 720 to 1235, it is 515 according to the lunar computation. Thus Muslim sovereignty continued in Kashmīr for nearly 500 years.

The Afghān who applied the lancet to the eyes of Humāyūn the eldest son of Tīmūr Shāh, and who applied it to those of Zamān Shāh and yet to those of Vazīr Fath Khān applied it also to the relation between Kābul and Kashmīr. Had the Afghān sūbadār followed the

*The *Indian Antiquary*, Volume 17, January 1888, pages 19—21, E. Rehatsek's English translation.

example of the Governor-General of India in his attitu to changes of government in Britain, and been indiffere to changes of Whigs and Tories or Liberals and Conservativ or Unionists and Labourites, he may not have ruined l own line and ruined the relationship between Kābul a Kashmīr. The fights of Qaisar and Kāmrān for pow brought about powerlessness to the Durranīs. T stupidity of the Afghān, his greed and his exactio are responsible for this loss to him. His poplar, his palac his *pulāo* or pilaff, his patronage of the Pandit's abili and the impetus he gave to *pashmīna* (shawl or woolle fabric), and the effect his contact had on Indian dress a all forgotten. But his intolerance and extortion are sti on the lips of those whose ancestors suffered at his hanc and who, therefore, say:

پُرسیدم از خرابئے گُلشن ز باغبان
افغان کشید و گُفت کہ افغاں خراب کرد

The only defence of the Afghān suggested is his quic disposal of state affairs which, after the soft Mughu looked rather rough and ready.

As Muslim rule closes in Kashmīr, it is appropriat here, to proceed to discuss the cultural value of the impac of Muslim State and Society in Kashmīr. We shall trea the subject as an exposition of Muslim Polity in Kashmī The following three chapters, *viz.* VIII, IX and X wil therefore, deal with that subject under three different head The thread of the continuity of political history will b resumed in Chapter XI with 'Kashmīr under the Sikhs.'

Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī alias *Āghā Hasan Jān.*

A picturesque figure forces itself on our attention her and we digress a little.

Rāmnāth alias Pandit Mohan Lāl, born in 1812 A.C. of an offshoot of the Zutshī's who had migrated to Delhi was a remarkable man. Mohan's father was Rāi Brahm Nāth whose father Pandit Manī Rām held a high rank a

the Mughul court in the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam II (1759-1806), the son of ʿĀlamgīr II.*

Mohan Lāl was taught Urdu and Persian at home. He joined the English class opened in 1829 at the Persian College at Delhi that was founded in 1792 during Mughul rule. In 1829 this college acquired a large accession of income by the munificent gift of Rs. 1,70,000 from Nawwāb I'timād-ud-Daula, formerly minister at Lucknow, buried in the premises of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. The English class later developed into the Delhi English College. Mohan Lāl studied here for three years. In 1831, when about 19, he went to Bukhārā as the Persian interpreter to Sir Alexander Burnes on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per annum. The earliest classmate of Mohan was Shahāmat ʿĀlī, later the author of *An Historical Account of the Sikhs and Afghans*, who was Persian Secretary with the Mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Claud M. Wade, C.B., to Peshāwar in 1839. Shahāmat ʿAlī accompanied Sir Claud in the military expedition on which he was sent to conduct Shāhzāda Tīmūr, the eldest son of Shāh Shujāʿ-ul-Mulk, with the Sikh auxiliary force, by the Khaibar Pass to Kābul.

Mohan Lāl was probably the first Kashmīrī Pandit to receive English education, and probably the first Indian to educate his daughter in England.

After Central Asia, Mohan Lāl visited Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and Germany.

Shāh Kāmrān of Herāt was delighted with his Persian. Mīrzā ʿAbbās of Īrān created him, at the age of 20, a Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun. Shāh Shujāʿ-ul-Mulk, king of Afghānistān, granted him an Order of the Durrānī Empire. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh presented him with Rs. 500 and a robe of honour. The Mughul Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shāh conferred upon him a *khilʿat* with some jewels on a turban which His Majesty tied with his own hands. Mohan Lāl was well received in England and other countries of Europe. Queen Victoria invited him to a royal ball. Frederick William IV of Prussia entertained him at a dinner.

**Life and Work of Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī* 1812—1877 by Dr. Harī Rām Gupta, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT., formerly Lecturer, Forman Christian College, Lahore, now Principal, Vaish Degree College, Bhiwānī, District Hisār, Punjāb. Minerva Book Shop, Anārkalī, Lahore, 1943. The above note is based mostly on this book.

Mohan Lāl published a journal of his tour on his retu from Central Asia in 1834. Twelve years later, this wo was re-published with the addition of his travels in Europ At this same time, he published his life of Dūst Muhamma Khān, the Amīr of Kābul, in two volumes. His style English received a very favourable comment from the edit of the now defunct *Englishman* of Calcutta.

Mohan Lāl retired at 32 on a pension of £1,000 p annum.

Nawwāb Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khān (1833-1884), rul of the Lohāru State near Delhi, whose pen-name was '*Alā* calls Mohan Lāl, in a Persian poem, Āghā Hasan Jān. Pand Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū* says, that 'Mohanlal became a Musli and in Īrān married a girl of the royal family, hence hi title of Mīrzā. Dr. Harī Rām Gupta says that a grandso of Mohan Lāl is Āghā Hydar Hasan of Hydarābād (Deccan who states that Mohan Lāl kept a diary from 1831 till hi death though strangely enough Dr. Gupta omits to mentio the fact of Mohan Lāl's conversion to Islam. Mohan Lā had in all seventeen wives. Wherever he went he manage to take a new wife. In his later days "he was swep away by the love of wine and women."

At Ludhiāna Mohan Lāl built for the Shī'as what i known as Āghā Hasan Jān's *Imāmbāṛa*. Close by it there runs a road bearing his name. Mohan Lāl died in 187 at the age of 65, and was buried in Delhi in his garden calle the Lāl Bāgh, near Āzādpur on the Delhi-Pānīpat road There is no tomb, but only a platform, said to contain the bodies of Mohan Lāl or Āghā Hasan Jān and his favourite wife Hydarī Begam whom Mohan Lāl obtained by implicating some male members of the Begam's family during the confusion of the Indian Revolt. The platform is in a dilapidated condition. The garden no longer belongs to Mohan Lāl's family.

The fascinating personality of Mohan Lāl gives us "intimate and revealing glimpses of the early days of British rule in North India, of the Punjāb under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, of the British campaigns through Sind and in Afghānistān, of the disasters in Kābul and of the prevailing conditions in Central Asia in the thirties of the nineteenth

*Jawahar Lal Nehru—*An Autobiography*—London; Reprinted January 1941, page 14.

century." Welcoming risk and danger and facing death often enough, Mohan Lāl, in the words of Pandit Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū, "was yet a lover of pleasure and the soft ways of life—a politician and scholar, with something of the poet and the artist in him, which peeps out continually from his *Memoirs* and *Travels*."

Major B. D. Basu,* however, reproduces John William Kaye's following remark: "The Moonshee (Mohan Lāl) seems to have been endowed with a genius for traitor-making the lustre of which remained undimmed to the very end of the war" (*History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, revised edition, London, 1857, p. 459). The Major adds that the English found in Mohan Lāl "a tool ready at hand to give effect to their nefarious scheme" in creating trouble in Afghānistān.

PDF created by Rajeshkumar Gambhava

* *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, second edition, Calcutta, 1931, p. 819.

IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN POLITICS AND CULTURE IN THE WORLD

DURING THE PERIOD OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMĪR FROM 1320 A.C. or 720 A.H. to 1819 A.C. or 1235 A.H.

Date A.C.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1320			Conversion of Rīnchen or Riñcana to Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shāh. Rīnchen becomes Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn—the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr.
1323			
1324	'Usmān I rules in Turkey. Mulūk-ut-Tawā'if (Petty Kings) ruling in Spain 1037—1466. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Kurt rules at Herāt. Sultān Nāsir rules over Egypt. Edward II rules in England. Robert I rules in Scotland. Charles IV rules in France. Ludwig of Bavaria rules in a part of Germany.	Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh rules in Delhi. Death of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Abū 'Alī Qalandar of 'Irāq at Pānīpat-Karnāl, Punjāb. Death at Delhi of Abu'l Hasan Yamīn-ud-Dīn known as Amīr Khusrav.	Commencement of the Kashmīrī Era which continued till the advent of Mughul rule in the Valley. The First Muslim Mosque in Kashmīr known as the Rīnchen or Rintan Mosque. Death of Rīnchen or Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1325	Ismā'īl of Granada assassinated.	Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh crushed to death under the wooden pavilion on the Jumna at Delhi. Muhammad Tughluq ascends the throne. Death of Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliyā at Delhi. The Jāmi' Masjid at Cambay constructed.	
1326	Pope John XXII issues bull against the practice of magic.	Transfer of Muhammad Tughluq's capital from Delhi to Devagirī, re-named Daulatābād. Death of Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn Hasanī Sijzī (or Sijistānī) known as Mīr Hasan Dihlavī or the Sa'dī of India at Daulatābād in the Deccan.	Death of Bulbul Shāh in 727 A.H. Chaos in Kashmīr.
1328	Ibn Taimiyya, the forerunner of Wahhābism dies in captivity at Damascus.		
1330	Invention of gunpowder.		

1332	Walī-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn born in Tunis on 1st Ramazān, 732 A.H.		
1333	Public medico-botanical garden at Venice.	Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Battūtah, the traveller, visits India.	
1334	Death of Shaikh Safīy-ud-Dīn (of Ardabīl) after whom the Safavī dynasty of Īrān is named.	Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ahsan Shāh rules as independent Sultān of Madura. Muslims seized Anegundi, the old capital of the principality that afterwards expanded into the kingdom of Vijayanagar.	
1335	Ashikaga Shogunate begins in Japan.		Birth of Lalla 'Ārifa, in 735 A.H. (approximate).
1336	Tīmūr (signifying in Turkish 'Iron') born at Kash or Shahr-i-Sabz (the Green City) in Transoxiana.	Foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the south, also of the city of Vijayanagar.	
1337	Giotto, the artist of Florence, Italy, died.	Muhammad Tughluq sends an army to invade China but meets with a serious disaster.	
1339	*The Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb* of Hamdullāh Mustaufī (740 A.H.)		Accession of Shāh Mīr. Suicide of Koṭā Rānī.
1342	Death of the poet Khwājū of Kirmān. Abu'l Fidā becomes Prince of Hamah in Syria.	Ibn Battūtah leaves the service of Muhammad Tughluq and proceeds to China.	Death of Shāh Mīr. Accession of Sultān Jamshīd.

Date.	*The World excluding India.*	*India excluding Kashmīr.*	*Kashmīr*
1343			Accession of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.
1344	Cities of southern and south-western Germany form the Swabian League.	Muhammad Tughluq receives the diploma of investiture from the Khalīfa of Egypt, Al Hākim III. Poet Badr-ud-Dīn known as Badr-i-Chāch from his native city of Chāch (Shāsh) or Tāshqand goes on a mission from Delhi to Daulatābād.	Death of Sultān Jamshīd on his deposition in 745 A.H.
1345	Abu'l Fidā, the author of the geographical work *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* and the Universal History *Ta'rīkh-i-Mukhtasar*, dies. First apothecary shop in London.		
1346	The Turks take the Morea. Cannon used at the Battle of Crecy.		
1347	Calais taken by Edward III of England. Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, founded. William Ockham or Occam, the English critic of Catholicism, died.	Zafar Khān Bahman Shāh founds the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan.	
1348	Terrible pestilence in London. Board of Health and Quarantine	Muhammad Tughluq besieges Girnār near Junagadh in Kāthiāwār.	

1349	Order of the Garter instituted in England.	Capture of Girnār near Junāgaṛh by Muhammad Tughluq.	Severe famine in Kashmīr, due to untimely rain. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's generous measures save people from starvation.
1351	The Statute of Labourers regulating prices and wages passed in England.	Death of Muhammad Tughluq and accession of Fīrūz Tughluq.	The poet Amritdatta flourishes.
1352	Corpus Christie College, Cambridge, founded.	Ilyās Shāh unites the two Bengāl principalities.	
1354			Death of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. Accession of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn.
1355		Fīrūz Tughluq cuts a canal from the Sutlaj to Jhajjar and later another canal from the Jumna to Hānsī-Hisār. Free hospitals for the poor by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. Death of Ziyā-ud-Dīn Barnī, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which is a complement of the *Tabaqāt i-Nāsirī*, in 758 A.H. Ibn Battūtah finishes his *Travels* on 13th December, 1355.	
1359			Kashmīr starts on a career of foreign conquests, namely, those of the Punjāb, Sind, Kābul, Qandahār and Tibet.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1360	Treaty of Bretigny between England and France.	Accession of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak in Madura.	
1361	The Turks enter Thrace and take Adrianople.	Capture of Kāngṛa or Nagarkōṭ by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhī.	Udakpati, the Rāja of Nagarkōṭ (Kāngṛa), submits to Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn after his marauding expedition round Delhī.
1364	'Allāma Taqīy-ud-Dīn Maqrīzī born at Cairo. Murād I of Turkey defeats King of Hungary and Poland and Princes of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia on the banks of the river Maritza in Turkey flowing into the Ægean Sea.		
1367	Tīmūr assumed the title of the Great Khān.	Completion of the great mosque at Gulbarga.	
1368	Ibn-Yamīn, the poet, dies. The Mongol (Yuan) dynasty of China fell and the Ming dynasty succeeded and continued till 1644.		
1370	Gregory XI proscribed Wycliffe's doctrines. John of Arderne, an English surgeon, writes a surgical treatise.		
1372		'Alā'-ud-Dīn Sikandar Shāh rules as the last Sultān of Madura.	The first visit of Shāh Hamadān. Mīr Muhammad born to Shāh

			Madrasahs established throughout the Valley for the teaching of the Qur'ān and the imparting of Muslim learning.
1373			Death of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn in 775 A.H.
1374	Petrarch, the Italian poet, died.		Accession of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn.
1377	Rome again the seat of the Pope on the return of Pope Gregory XI.	Extinction of the Muslim dynasty in Madura by Bukka I of Vijayanagar. Atala Masjid of Jaunpur commenced.	Birth of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the patron-saint of Kashmīr in 779 A.H. at Kaimūh village in the Advīn Pargana. Kaimūh is two miles to the west of Bijbihāra, which is 28 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar.
1378	The Great Schism. Urban VI in Rome, Clement VII at Avignon.	Ibn Battūtah dies.	
1379	Ibn Khaldūn, the Arab historian, proceeds from Spain to Tunis to collect material for his *History*.		The second visit of Shāh Hamadān.
1380	First invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr.	Kabīr, the Muslim poet and mystic, born at Benāres.	
1381	Poll-tax imposed: Peasant's Revolt in England. Wat Tyler murdered in the presence of King Richard II of England.		Flood in Kashmīr.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1383	Moscow burnt.		The third visit of Shāh Hamadān.
1384	Second invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr.		Death of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān in 786 A.H. at Khatlān in Turkistān. He had already introduced industries, spread Islam by his persuasiveness in Kashmīr, and given impetus to Muslim learning in the Valley, himself having lived by sewing caps.
	Ibn Khaldūn appointed Chief Judge at Cairo to administer justice according to the Mālikī Law.		
	Death of Shāh Shujā' of Īrān, the patron of Hāfiz, the poet.		
	Death of Wycliffe.		
1387	Tīmūr's first entry into Shīrāz. The legendary interview between Tīmūr and the poet Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn *Hāfiz*.		
1388	Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn Naqshband, founder of the Naqshbandī order of Dervishes, born in 718 A.H.= 1318 A.C., dies.	Death of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq of Delhī.	
1389	Death of Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn *Hāfiz* of Shīrāz.		Accession of Sultān Sikandar in 791 A.H.
1392	Third and last invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr.	Dilāwar Khān, governor of Mālwa.	
1393	Tīmūr occupies Baghdād.		Visit in 796 A.H. of Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī, son of Shāh Hamadān

1394	Tīmūr returns to 'Irāq.	Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān founds the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur.	
1395	Tīmūr's invasion of Russia goes as far as Moscow.	Convocation of Buddhist priests in Ceylon.	Sikandar's invasion of North-West India. Erection of the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā or the *Chilla-khāna* of Shāh Hamadān by Sultān Sikandar in 798 A.H.
1397	Tīmūr confers the kingdom of Khurāsān on his son Shāh Rukh. Pīr Muhammād, son of Amīr Tīmūr captures Uch.	Muzaffar Shāh founds the kingdom of Gujrāt.	
1398	John Huss, Rector of the University of Prague, preaches Wycliffism.	Invasion of India by Tīmūr: Sack of Delhī.	Sikandar proceeds to Bārāmūla to meet Tīmūr. The meeting, however, does not take place. Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar commenced by Sultān Sikandar. Persecution of Hindus in Kashmīr by Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa, prime minister or Regent during the minority of Sultān Sikandar. Abolition of *suttee* in Kashmīr. Establishment of the great college opposite to the Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1399	Tīmūr lays the foundation-stone of his magnificent Jāmi' Masjid at Samarqand.		
1400	Tīmūr captures Aleppo and Damascus. Ibn Khaldūn accompanies the ruler of Egypt to Syria on a campaign against Tīmūr. Ibn Khaldūn is taken prisoner but soon released. Chaucer dies.		
1401	Persecution of Lollards who were burnt alive in England. Sack of Baghdād by Tīmūr.	Husain 'Amīd Shāh Dā'ūd, commonly known as Dilāwar Khān, founds the Ghūrī dynasty of Mālwa.	Birth of Prince Shāh-rukh or Shāhī Khān, afterwards Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, in 804 A.H. Completion of the great Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar by Sultān Sikandar.
1402	Tīmūr writes a letter to Charles VI of France on 1st August 1402 on receipt of a letter from the latter through a Franciscan friar named Francois Ssathru stating		

that Tīmūr was glad that King Charles was giving a severe hiding to their common enemy Sultān Bāyazīd against whom Sigismond of Hungary was fighting and to whose help Charles had sent an army (805 A.H.).

This letter is preserved in Les Archives Nationales, Paris.

Tīmūr captures the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd called Yildirum (the Thunderbolt) after the Battle of Ankara or Angora.

1403 Sultān Bāyazīd dies in captivity.

1404-1447 The Mosque of Gauhar Shād Āghā wife of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr, builds the noblest mosque in Central Asia (Mashhad) the crowning architectural achievement of the Mongols.

1405 Death of Tīmūr at the age of 71 (lunar years) after 36 years' reign.

1406 Ibn Khaldūn dies at the age of 78 on 26th Ramazān, 808 A.H., at Cairo.

Alp Khān, known as Hushang Shāh Ghūrī of Mālwa, ascends the throne on the death of Dilāwar Khān and builds Shādīābād (The City of Joy) known as Māṇḍū.

The Chinese eunuch Tcheng Hono visits Ceylon for the purpose of removing the tooth-relic but is plundered.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr.
1407	France laid under an interdict by the Pope.	Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī builds an Observatory near Daulatābād.	
1408		Atala Masjid of Jaunpur completed.	
1411		Rāmānanda the great Vaishnava reformer.	
1413			Death of Sultān Sikandar in 816 A.H. Accession of Sultān 'Alī Shāh.
1414	The poet Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Nūr-ud-Dīn *Jāmī* born in Jām (near Herāt) in Khurāsān.	Khizr Khān ascends the throne of Delhī and founds the Sayyid dynasty.	
1415	John Huss burnt alive for preaching Wycliffism. Wood engraving introduced into the West.		
1416			Death of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn (Sūhabhaṭṭa).
1417	End of the Great Schism. Martin V, Pope.	The Assamese conquer North Eastern Bengāl.	'Alī Kadal over the Jhelum built by Sultān 'Alī Shāh.
1420	Pope Martin V preaches a crusade against the followers of John Huss of Prague.	Kabīr died.	Death of Sultān 'Alī Shāh in 823 A.H. Accession of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. (Baḍ Shāh).
1422		Death of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz said to have been born in 1321	Baḍ Shāh's visit to the Çarada Temple.

1424	The *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.	Ahmad Shāh of Gujrāt builds the Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadābād which town is later formally founded in 1431.	Kashmīr acquires fame in arts and crafts. The Royal University of Nau Shahr founded during his reign. Punjāb and Tibet re-conquered.
1425	Insane Asylum at Saragossa, Spain.		
1426	University of Louvain, Belgium, founded.		Zaina Kadal bridge over the Jhelum built by the Sultān.
1427	Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawwānī, the author of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, born in the village of Dawwān in the province of Fars in Īrān.	Ahmadnagar founded by Ahmad I of Gujrāt. Jām Sikandar rules in Sind.	The poet Uttā Soma flourishes under the patronage of Baḍ Shāh.
1429	Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.	Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī transfers his capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar.	"Sona Lank" built by Baḍ Shāh in the Ḍal lake (approximate).
1431	Joan of Arc burnt at Rouen, France. Renaissance architecture. Francois Villon, robber, assassin, vagabond and lyrical poet of France, born.	Ahmadābād founded.	
1432		Sultān Hushang Shāh of Mālwa dies at Māṇḍū and Ghaznī Khān ascends the throne at Māṇḍū.	
1433		Rānā Kumbha ascends the throne of Chitor.	
1435		Chānd Mīnār in Daulatābād citadel constructed.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1436	Francisco Ximines (1436-1517), a Spanish statesman and Cardinal who, after being Queen Isabella's confessor, became Archbishop of Toledo, Provisional Regent of Castile and Cardinal and Inquisitor-General in 1507, and printed the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.	Mahmūd ascends the throne of Māṇḍū, and founds the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa.	
1438			Death in 842 A.H. of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī, the Patron Saint of Kashmīr.
1439	William Byngham erects "God's House" at Cambridge for the training of grammar school masters.		Zaina-nagar or Nau Shahr founded by Bad Shāh, near Srīnagar.
1442	'Allāma Maqrīzī dies.		
1443		'Abdur Razzāq of Herāt arrives at Vijayanagar as the ambassador of Sultān Shāh Rukh of Samarqand.	The Zaina Lānk Palace built in the Wulur Lake by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1444	The truce of Tours.		The Tomb and Mosque of Sayyid Muhammad Madanī, a foreign envoy, were built in Srīnagar in 848 A.H.

1445	Discovery of Cape Verde by the Portuguese. Jalāl-ud-Dīn-as-Suyūtī, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-ul-Khulafā*, born at Suyūt in Upper Egypt.	Kūshk Mahall—the seven-storeyed palace—ordered to be built at Chanderī near Lalitpur (U.P.)	*Mahābhārata* translated into Persian by Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī under the orders of Baḍ Shāh (approximate). Death of Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh in Srīnagar in 849 A.H.
1446	First printed books—Coster in Haarlem.	Mosque and Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattrī at Sarkhej, near Ahmadābād, commenced by Muhammad Shāh of Gujrāt, and finished five years later by Qutb-ud-Dīn.	Jonarājā, the poet and historian, flourishes under Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1450	The whole of Normandy passed over to the French. Cardinal Cusanus suggests timing the pulse and weighing blood and urine. University of Barcelona in Spain founded.	Buhlūl Lodī ascends the throne of Delhī and founds the Lodī dynasty, the first Afghān empire. Kabīr, a *Khalīfa* of Shaikh Taqī Suhrawardī and later of Shaikh Bhīka Chishtī and the pupil of Rāmānand, in Hindi poetry and Hindu mysticism, flourishes.	Death of Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī at Khatlān in Turkistān.
1452			Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's Dogrā Queen of Jammu—his second wife—died in 856 A.H., having given birth to four sons, one of whom died early. Bahrām fights his father Baḍ Shāh in 856 A.H.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1453	Constantinople taken by the Turks under Muhammad II, which ended the Eastern Roman Empire. It was re-named Istanboul. University of Glasgow founded.		
1454	Death of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī of Yazd.	The Jāmi' Masjid of Māṇḍū commenced by Hushang Shāh was completed by Mahmūd Khaljī.	
1455	War of the Roses.		Death of Çriyabhaṭṭa, the Superintendent of the Courts of Justice of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1456	Greece subjected to the Turks.		
1457	The first newspaper in the world was printed in Nuremberg (Bavaria, Germany).		
1458		The Jāmi' Masjid of Jaunpur built.	
1459		Accession of Sultān Mahmūd Begarha to the throne of Gujrāt.	Death of the historian Pandit Jonarāja.
1460			Famine in Kashmīr. Sopōr bridge over the Jhelum built by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn

1461	Ottomans take Trebizond. Edward IV deposes ' Henry VI (England).	Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn known as Nanda of Sind routs the army of Shāh Beg of Qandahār.	
1464			Construction of the Zaina-dab in Nau Shahr, near Srīnagar.
1465	Casablanca, a seaport on its Atlantic coast and second town of Morocco, founded by the Portuguese on the site of the ancient Anfā which they destroyed was the meeting place of the late President Roosevelt of U. S. A. and Premier Winston Churchill of England in 1943.		Firearms first introduced into Kashmīr.
1466			Death of Bad Shāh's Queen Baihaqī Begam. Conflagration at Sopōr.
1467	The Venetians and the Florentines at war, for six weeks the respective armies were within walking distance of each other.		
1468	Īrān conquered by Turkomāns.	Rānā Kūmbha of Chitor is stabbed to death by his son Uda.	
1469		Bābā Nānak, the founder of Sikhism, born at Talwandī re-named, according to a statement, by Ranjīt Singh as Nankāna Sāhib, now in the Shaikhūpur district of the West Punjāb.	Crops spoilt by excessive rain. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn took active measures for counteracting famine.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1470			Death of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in 874 A.H. Accession of Sultān Haidar Shāh in 874 A.H.
1471	Printing introduced by Caxton into England. Michael Angelo born.		Death of Ādam Khān, eldest son of Baḍ Shāh, in a fight with Mughuls at Jammu in 1472 A.C.
1472		Madrasa (or college) of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān at Bīdar, Deccan.	Accession of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 877 A.H.
1473	The Polish astronomer, Nicolaus Koppernigk or Copernicus, born at Thorn in Poland.		
1474			
1475	Edward IV of England invades France.	Khondmīr, the historian, born at Herāt.	
1476	Jāmī's *Nafahāt'l Uns* (Breaths of Fellowship) written.	Buhlūl Lodī annexes Jaunpur.	Encouragement of music by Hasan Shāh.
1477			Prince Muhammad Shāh born in 882 A.H.
1479	First edition of Avicenna printed.		Sultān Hasan Shāh builds the bridge over the Jhelum at

1480	Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow, throws off the Mongol allegiance. Inquisition established in Spain. Dancing in Italy.		Great fire destroys half of Srīnagar including the Jāmi' Masjid and the Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā. Sultān Hasan Shāh re-builds the Mosque and the Khānqāh.
1481	Death of Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey while preparing for the conquest of Italy. Bāyazīd II, Turkish Sultān (to 1512).	Execution of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān.	
1483	Richad III deposes Edward V of England. The *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* by Maulānā Jāmī composed in his 70th year. Raphael born. Use made of the compass and the Sextant. Cervante's *Don Quixote* Part I written. Martin Luther born in November.	Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābur born in Farghāna, Russian Turkistān now called Kirghīzia.	Expedition to conquer Baltistān and Ladākh dispatched by the Minister Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī in the reign of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 888 A.H.
1484	The *Lailā-wa-Mujnūn* composed by Maulānā Jāmī.		Death of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 889 A.H. Muhammad Shāh a child. Sayyid Muhammad Amīn *Awaisī*, the poet, is killed in a skirmish in 889 A.H., and is buried near Bulbul Lānkar.
1485	Richard III slain at Bosworth Field in England.	Nimai who became Chaitanya (or Awakened) the founder of Vaishnavism born at Nudea (Navādvīp), Bengāl.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1486	Diaz goes round the Cape of Good Hope.	The Mahākālī gateway of the Narnāla Fort, near Akot in District Akola, Berar, Central Provinces, was erected by Shihāb-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh.	Fath Shāh ascends the throne of Kashmīr in 892 A.H.
1487 } 1527 }	The *Tazkira-tush-Shu'arā'* (Memoirs of Poets) written by Amīr Daulat Shāh Samarqandī (1487). The *Bahāristān* (Spring Land) of Jāmī composed (1487).		Arrival of Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī in Kashmīr. Chaks converted to Shī'ism.
1490 } 1512 }	The *Majālisu'n Nafā'is* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr *Nawā'ī* written (1490).	Rise of the Ahmadnagar, Bījāpur, Gòlkanda, Bīdar and Berār kingdoms.	
1491 } 1492 }	Fall of Granada. The termination of the struggle of 800 years between the Moors and Christians of Spain is celebrated throughout Christendom. Henry VII of England rang the bells of old St. Paul in London in joy.	The great Oriya poet, Dīn Krishna Dās, author of the *Rassakalola* flourished about this time.	
1492	Discovery of America by Columbus, who sees tobacco smoked for the first time in Antilles or the West Indies. Death of Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī* at Herāt. Three months after the fall of		

	the alternative of conversion or exile, and about 150,000 leave the country for different parts of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.		
1493	Appearance of syphlis in Europe.		Muhammad Shāh becomes Sultān second time in 898 A.H. at the age of 16. Birth of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in 900 A.H.
1494	Aberdeen University founded. Death of Amīr Daulat Shāh of Samarqand, the author of the *Tazkiratush Shu'arā'* or *Memoirs of Poets.* The *Akhlāq-i-Muhsinī* by Husain-i-Kāshifi, the 'Preacher.'	The *Bābur-nāma* begins.	
1496	Charles VIII of France invades Italy.		
1497	Passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope discovered by Vasco da Gama, who left Lisbon on 8th July 1497. Jesus College, Cambridge, founded.		

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1498	Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck finally quelled in England.	Vasco da Gama, whose pilot from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of Southern India, was an Arab, landed at Calicut on 20th May, 1498. A Moorish Muslim merchant from Tangier (or Tunis) introduced da Gama to the Zamorin's court, and acted as an intermediary between the Portuguese, who knew no Indian language, and the people of Malabār who knew no Western language.	
1499 } 1502 }	Muslims persecuted and finally expelled from Spain after the alternative of conversion or exile had been offered to them.		
1499	Switzerland becomes an independent republic. Maps of the world. Ismā'īl Safavī founds the Safavī Dynasty of Īrān after expelling the Turkomāns.	Budhan, a Brāhman of Kutain (near Lucknow), asserted that Hinduism and Islam were both equally acceptable to God, if acted upon with sincerity.	Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt born at Tāshqand, Turkistān, Central Asia. Earthquake in Kashmīr.

	The Island of St. Helena discovered by the Portuguese.		
1500		Rise of Burmese literature.	
1502, 1514, 1524	Peasants' Wars in Germany.		
1502	Cardinal Ximines de Cisneros (1436-1517) burnt the Muslim Library of Granada in the Square of Sivaramla, Spain.	Mahmūd Langāh rules Multān.	
1503	Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawānī, the author of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, died.	Sikandar Lodī fixes his capital at Āgra.	
1504	Bābur expelled by Shaibānī Khān from Farghāna. Bābur conquers Kābul.	Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpurī, born in 1443, announces his claim to the office of the Mahdī. Later, his death.	
	Bābur's mother Qutlugh Nigār Khānam dies.	Death of Qāsim Barīd at Bīdar.	
	Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, author of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* (Lights of Canopus) dies.	Earthquake in India and Īrān.	Sultān Fath Shāh builds Fath Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum. Pandit Çrīvara sanskritizes Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh.
1505	Christ College at Cambridge founded.		Fath Shāh regains the throne of Kashmīr in 911 A.H.

Date	*The World excluding India.*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1506		Portuguese arrive at Colombo. Portuguese defeated at Chaul by Egyptians and the ruler of Gujrāt.	
1507		Albuquerque at Goa.	
1509	Accession of Henry VIII of England.	The Jāmi' Masjid at Chāmpānīr completed by Sultān Mahmūd Begarha. Defeat of Egyptians and the ruler of Gujrāt by Almeida.	
1509-27		Rānā Sāngā reigns at Chitor.	
1510		The Portuguese under Noronha, a nephew of Albuquerque, capture Goa Fort from Mīr 'Alī.	
1512	Sultān Salīm of Turkey, who rules to 1520, becomes Khalīfa.		
1513	Macchiavelli, suspected of treason, leaves Florence and composes *The Prince*, which he dedicates to Lorenzo de Medici in the	Albuquerque's attempt on Aden.	Death of Sultān Fath Shāh's chief minister, Mūsā Rīna or Raina.

1514			Muhammad Shāh regains throne third time in 920 A.H. Bābūr visits the tomb of Shāh Hamadān in 920 A.H. at Khatlān in Turkistān, after 134 lunar years of Shāh Hamadān's death.
1515			Sultān Fath Shāh third and last time regains throne in 921 A.H. Muhammad Shāh fourth time ruler of Kashmīr in 922 A.H.
1516	Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (Nowhere) published in Latin. Corpus College, Oxford, founded.	Soares' attempt on Aden.	
1517	Sultān Salīm of Turkey annexes Egypt. He also takes Aleppo. Luther propounds his theses at Wittenberg. He also translates the Bible.	Ibrāhīm Lodī ascends the throne.	
1518		Kabīr dies at the age of 60 at Maghar (in the District of Bastī) about 15 miles from Gorakhpur, United Provinces, the shrine being in charge of Muslim Kabīr-panthīs having been built by Bijlī Khān, adevotee of Kabīr.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1519	The poet Bābā Fughānī of Shīrāz dies.		
	Magellan's expedition started to sail round the world.		Death of Fath Shāh in exile in 925 A.H., but his dead body is brought to Kashmīr for burial.
	Cortez from Spain conquers Mexico City.		
1520	Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent (to 1566) ruled from Baghdād to Hungary.	Battle of Rāichūr (Deccan).	Sikandar Shāh, son of Fath Shāh, revolts against Muhammad Shāh.
	Height of Ottoman Power, 1520–1566.		
	Death of Raphael.		
	Ignatius Loyola wounded at Pampeluna.		
1521	Luther ex-communicated by the Diet at Worms.	Shāh Beg Arghūn conquers Sind.	Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* born.
	Magellan discovers the Philippines.		
1522	Gulbadan Begam, the authoress of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, born at Kābul.		
1523		Khondmīr's *Habīb-us-Siyar* written.	
1526	Turks occupy Buda.	Bābūr wins the battle of Pānīpat,	Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāq

		of India, and enters Āgra on May 10, 1526. Fall of the Bahmanī Kingdom of the Deccan. Barā Sonā Masjid (Great Golden Mosque) at Gaur, Bengal, completed by Nusrat Shāh.	
1527	War with the Pope. Germans storm Rome. Death of Macchiavelli.	Chaitanya died at the age of 42. Invasion of Ava by the Shāns.	
1528			Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh I rules in 934 A.H.
1529	Sulaimān of Turkey besieged Vienna. Sweating sickness spreads over Europe. The State Bank of Naples, Italy, the oldest Bank, established.	The *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* written by Bābūr. The *Bābur-nāma* ends. Battle of Ghāgra. Conquest of Bengal.	Sultān Nādir Shāh, better known as Nāzuk Shāh, rules for the first time, in 935 A.H.
1530	Persecution of Protestants begins in France. Henry VIII of England begins quarrelling with the Papacy.	Bābūr dies in his 48th year on December 26, 1530, and Humāyūn ascends the throne. Krisnadeva of Vijayanagar dies. Bahādur Shāh annexes Mālwā. Bakshu, a singer, flourishes at the court of Bahādur Shāh. Goa becomes the Portuguese head-	Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascends the throne fifth time in 936 A.H. and continues for seven years.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr.
1531	The Royal Printing Press established in France.		Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt invades first Ladākh, then Kashmīr, and then Tibet Proper on behalf of Sultān Sa'īd Khān.
1532	Robert Stephens prints his Latin Bible.		
1533	Montaigne, the first of European essayists, born in France.		
1534	The Pope's authority in England abolished. Jesuit Order founded.	Bassein ceded to the Portuguese.	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt returns to Ladākh from his expedition against Tibet Proper.
1535	Sir Thomas More beheaded in England.	Second sack of Chitor. Sher Khān Sūr defeats Humāyūn at Chaunsa.	
1536	Henry VIII of England executes his Queen Anne Boleyn, on a charge of infidelity. The Inquisition is introduced by the Portuguese Church. Wales is united to England in matters of law. The first Poor Law forbids begging in England.		

1537		Bahādur of Gujrāt is drowned at Diu.	Death of Sultān Muhammad Shāh in 943 A.H. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn II rules.
1538	Death of Al-Mutawakkil, the last of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs.		Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh I succeeded Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn II in 944 A.H.
1539	The Society of Jesus founded. Dissolution of the greater monasteries in England. The 'Ardabīl Mosque Carpet woven at Kāshān, Īrān.	Bābā Nānak dies at Kartārpur, now known as Deṛa Bābā Nānak, District Gurdāspur, West Punjāb. A Khatrī, Lehna by name, becomes a devoted disciple of Gurū Nānak, and is called Gurū Angad, improves the Gurmukhī script and compiles the first memoirs of Gurū Nānak in that script. Extinction of the Pegū Kingdom. Sher Shāh Sūr captures Rohtāsgarh Fort in Bihār.	Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh II succeeds Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh I in 945 A.H. Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt becomes an adherent of Humāyūn.
1540	Cromwell, Lord Essex, beheaded. Portuguese settle at Macao in China, 38 miles from Hong-Kong. St. Francis Xavier preaches Christianity in Japan.	Battle of the Ganges; flight of Humāyūn.	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt conquers Kashmīr on the invitation of a faction of Kashmīrī nobles, and acts as Humāyūn's governor but sets up Nāzuk Shāh as the Sultān of Kashmīr in 946 A.H.
1541		Marriage of Humāyūn and Hamīda Bānu Begam	The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* ends with the year 948 A.H. =1541 A.C.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1542	Queen Catherine Howard beheaded by Henry VIII of England. Portuguese reath Japan.	Akbar born at Amarkot. Sher Khān Sūr ascends the throne. Francis Xavier lands at Goa.	
1543	Death of Copernicus. The first Protestant is burnt in Spain.	Sher Shāh Sūr builds the fortress of Rohtās (in the Jhelum district of the Punjāb) to hold Gakhars in check.	
1544	Beginning of the Sharīfs of Morocco. Humāyūn at the court of Shāh Tahmāsap Safavī.	Dādu, poet and reformer, born in Ahmadābād (Gujrāt) preaches against idol worship.	Death of Kājī Chak in 951 A.H.
1545	The Council of Trent (to 1563) assembled to put the Church in order.	Death of Sher Shāh Sūr. Islām (Salīm) Shāh Sūr reigns.	Naghz Beg revives shawl-weaving in Kashmīr (approximate).
1546	Death of Martin Luther. Trinity College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VIII.	Salīmgarh at Delhī first built by Salīm Shāh Sūr. Circumcision of Akbar.	
1547	Cervantes born. Death of Henry VIII of England.	Tulsī Dās commences his *Rāmāyaṇa*. Chānd Sultāna of Ahmadnagar born.	Use of tea introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt (approximate). Mīrzā Haidar invades Kishtwār during the time of its ruler, Rājā Rāi Singh.
1548	Rebellion in Peru. Jena University founded in		

1549	First Jesuit mission arrived in South America.	The *Malik-i-Maidān* gun cast at Bījāpur.	
1551	Anatomical theatres at Paris and Montpellier.	Prince Hindāl killed in a skirmish.	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt killed at Khānpur on the Mughul road to Srīnagar. Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh II, ascends the throne in 958 A.H.
1552	Somerset beheaded in England.	Saint Francis Xavier dies.	
1553	Rabelais, the writer, died. Death of Edward VI of England. Michael Servitus burnt for 'the crime of honest thought.'	Death of Islām (Salīm) Shāh Sūr.	Severe earthquake.
1554	Queen Mary of England persecutes the Protestants. Russia annexes Astrakhan. First tobaceo seeds arrive in France form Brazil.		Sultān Habīb Shāh, the last of the line of Shāh Mīr, is crowned in 961 A.H. Habba Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum built by Sultān Habīb Shāh. Shāh Mīrīs close their rule with the dethronement of Sultān Habīb Shāh in 962 A.H.
1555	Diet of Augsburg.	Defeat of Sikandar Sūr at Sirhind. Humāyūn resumes sway. Portuguese war in Ceylon.	Ghāzī Chak, the first ruler of the Chak line, ascends the throne in 962 A.H.
1555-56	Ridley, Latimer and Cranmer		Khwāja Habībullāh Nau Shahrī, poet, born.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1556	Death of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.	Humāyūn dies. Akbar succeeds to the throne. Defeat of Hemu at Pānīpat.	
1557			Ārām Kashmīrī wrote his history called the *Tuhfat-us-Sādāt* for Sayyid Mubārak Bukhārī, the head of the powerful order of the Bukhārī Sayyids of Gujarāt, Western India.
1558	Tobacco brought from America for the first time.		
1560-62		Subjugation of Jaunpur, Mālwā, and Khāndesh by Akbar.	
1560	Tobacco plant introduced into Holland from France. England adopts the smoking habit.	Dismissal of Bairam Khān by Akbar. Akbar grants religious freedom throughout his empire. Inquisition established by the Portuguese at Goa.	
1561	Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, born. The Merchant Taylors School founded in London.		
1562	Witchcraft made a capital offence in England.	Marriage of Akbar to Jaipur princess. Tān Sain, musician and singer,	'Allāmah 'Abdul Hakīm, the future pupil of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, born at Siālkot, Punjāb (approxi-

1563	End of the Council of Trent and the reform of the Catholic Church.	Husain Shāh Chak rules.
1564	Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Shakespeare born. Galileo born. Calvin dies.	Abolition of the *Jizya* by Akbar. Conquest of Gondwāna by Akbar.
1565	*Parker's Advertisements* for the repression of Puritanism in England issued by the archbishop.	Battle of Talikota: Vijayanagar empire destroyed. Decline of Portuguese trade at Goa.
1566	Death of Sulaimān the Magnificent of Turkey. The Royal Exchange founded by Gresham in London.	Āgra Fort commenced by Akbar on the site of an older one, constructed by Salīm Shāh Sūr, the son of Sher Shāh Sūr.
1567	Revolt of the Netherlands. Rugby School founded. Church of England founded.	Faizī presented at Akbar's court. Fall of Chitor. Akbar re-builds the Dargāh of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī (b. 1143 A.C., *d.* 1233 A.C.) at Ajmer and issues the first *farmān* for its upkeep by assigning certain villages.
1568	Mary Stuart, mother of James I of England, escapes from Scotland to England.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1569		Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) born. Orders given for building Fathpur Sīkrī.	
1570	Arabia is reduced by Sinān Pāshā for the Sultān of Turkey who is prayed for in Mecca. Re-construction of the Ka'ba by Sultān Salim II. The Pope excommunicates Queen Elizabeth of England.	Humāyūn's tomb at Delhī completed. Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Firishta, the historian, born. Jodhpur was conferred by Akbar on Rāi Singh of Bīkāner. Prince Murād, second son of Akbar, born at Sīkrī. Shaikh Salīm Chishtī dies.	Abdication of Sultān Husain Shāh Chak in 978 A.H. 'Alī Shāh Chak ascends the throne. A great famine. Embassy from Akbar to the court of Sultān 'Alī Shāh Chak.
1571	Cyprus taken by Turkey from the Venetians. Birth of Kepler, the German astrologer, the pupil of Tycho Brahe the Dane (1546—1601), who was the first in Europe to have attempted to measure the distance between the earth and the sun.		
1572	Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The revolt of the Dutch from Spain.	Tulsī Dās' *Rāmāyaṇa* completed.	First invasion of Kishtwār by 'Alī Shāh Chak. Ya'qūb Khān Chak, grandson of 'Alī Shāh, married to Shankar Devī (later called Fath Khātūn)

1573	Nobunaga ends the Ashikaga Shogunate in Japan.		
1574		Amardās, the third Sikh Gurū, died and was succeeded by his son-in-law Gurū Rām Dās who enjoyed Akbar's patronage. Gurū Rām Dās founded the city of Amritsar and constructed the temple of Har-mandir in the centre of the large tank. Abu'l Fazl introduced at Akbar's court. 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī presented at the court of Akbar.	Second invasion of Kishtwār by 'Alī Shāh Chak.
1575	The use of tobacco forbidden in the churches of Spanish America.	Gulbadan Begam and Salīma Sultāna *Makhfī* proceed to the Hajj.	Sultān Nāzuk Shāh or Nādir Shāh's sons Haidar and Salīm attempt an invasion of Kashmīr to recover the throne for the Shāh Mīrīs. Death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in 984 A.H.
1576	The head Lāma of the chief monastery of Lhassa is made Grand Lāma of Tibet.	Dā'ūd Khān Kararānī, the last ruler of Bengāl, subjugated by Akbar.	Famine due to untimely snowfall.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1577	Ivan IV (the Terrible) took the title of Tsar of Russia.	Comet. Gurū Rām Dās obtains a grant of the site of the Pool at Chak, supposed to have been the favourite resort of Gurū Nānak, from the Emperor Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 *Akbarī* to the Zamīndārs of Tung who owned the land. The place was known as Rāmdāspur or Gurū kā Chak.—*The Transformation of Sikhism* by Sir Gokul Chand Nārang, 1912, page 25. But the *Tawārīkh-i-Kkālsa* says it was a *jāgīr* conferred by Akbar on the Gurū.	
1579	North's Translation of Plutarch's *Lives*.	Akbar's Debates on religion (1578-1579). Thomas Stevens, first Englishman, in India.	Death of 'Alī Shāh Chak in 987 A.H. Yūsuf Shāh Chak. Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī. Lohur Shāh Chak.
1580	Portugal united to Spain by conquest on the death of Henry I of Portugal. Montaigne the French essayist's first two books of essays appear.	Formation of the 12 Sūbahs (provinces) by Akbar. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh *Ma'ānī* (*b.* 1550, *d.* 1611), who begins to rule Golkunda, is possib-	Yūsuf Shāh Chak again ascends the throne in 988 A.H.

1581	The first arrival of tobacco in Turkey and Poland (approximate).	Birth at Gujrāt, in the West Punjāb, of Shāh Daulah, whose *Chūhās* (or dwarf-headed mendicants) roam about the Punjāb.	
		Gurū Arjun Dev compiles the Ādī Granth (1581—1606).	
		Amritsar, called Chak under Muslim rule, becomes the Holy City of the Sikhs when the fourth Gurū Rām Dās dug a large *talāo* or tank, and called it Amrita Sara. It was called by the Hindus Rāmdāspura—Baron Charles Hügel's *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, 1845, page 391.	
		First Jesuit Mission at the court of Akbar.	
1582	Death of Nobunaga of Japan.	Dīn-i-Ilāhī proclaimed by Akbar.	
	Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages.		
1583	Galileo discovers the principle of the pendulum.		Habba Khātūn, queen of Yūsuf Shāh Chak, builds the bridge over the Jhelum at Pāndachhuk.
	Edinburgh University founded.		
	Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Virginia.		

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1584		Akbar establishes the Ilāhī era. Death of Daswanth, the artist.	
1585		Arrangements for the conquest of Kashmīr by Akbar.	Murder of Qāzī-'l-Qūzāt Sayyid Mūsā by Ya'qūb Shāh Chak. Deputation of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* and Bābā Dā'ūd *Khākī* to the court of Akbar for intervention to save the Sunnīs. Yūsuf Shāh goes over to Bhagwāndās. Ya'qūb Shāh succeeds his father for a few months.
1586	Babington (England) Plot. Battle of Zutphen in Holland.		End of Chak rule after 31 years by the annexation of Kashmīr to the Mughul empire by Akbar on 1st Zīqa'd, 994 A.H. or 4th October, 1586.
1587	Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Īrān begins at the age of seventeen his reign of 42 years (1587—1629), during which he develops the material resources of the country, extends his rule along the Persian Gulf and the Afghān Frontier, recovers territory from		

1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada by England. Death of the Īrānian poet, Muhtasham Kāshānī. Dr. Timothy Bright invents shorthand.	Murtazā Nizām of Ahmadnagar succeeded by his son Mīran Husain.	Death of Ya'qūb Shāh Chak at Kishtwār, in exile.
1589	The Academy of Kieve, the first educational institution, founded in Russia.	Death of Todar Mal and Bhagwān Dās.	First visit of Akbar to Kashmīr. Faizī accompanies Akbar and composes the *Qasīda* on Kashmīr. Also 'Urfī Shīrāzī.
1590	Isfahān made the capital of Īrān.	Second Jesuit Mission at the court of Akbar.	
1591	Queen Elizabeth founds Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.	Conquest of Sind by Akbar. Chār Mīnār built at Hydarābād (Deccan). The poet 'Urfī Shīrāzī dies in India in 919 A.H.	Death of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, ex-Pādshāh of Kashmīr in 999 A.H. or 1591 A.C.
1592	Falkland Isles discovered by Davis. The remains of Pompeii discovered. Francis Bacon's *The Praise of Knowledge.* Comenius, the educator, born. The Portuguese build a fort at Mombasa. Montaigne, the French essayist, died.		Second visit of Akbar. Nizām-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* accompanies Akbar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1593		Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* ends. Shaikh Mubārak dies.	
1594	Tintoretto, the Venetian artist, dies.	Subjugation of Qandahār and Balūchistān by Akbar.	Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* dies. Akbar asks Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī to re-write the *Bahr-ul-Asmār* of Mullā Ahmad Shāhābādī's translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.
1595	Drake and Hawkins lead the last expedition to the West Indies.	Chānd Bībī successfully defends Ahmadnagar against the Mughuls. Faizī dies. Badāyūnī's *History* ends.	
1596	The British capture Cadiz from the Spaniards. The French philosopher, René Descartes, born at La Haye, Touraine, France.	Annexation of Berār. Publication of Abu'l Fazl's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.	Famine in Kashmīr. The wall around the Hari-parbat. Fort built ostensibly as a relief measure.
1597	Bodley bequeaths his library to Oxford University. Francis Bacon's *Essays* (1597—1623).		Third visit of Akbar. Laying of foundation of Nāgar-nagar fort on the Harī-parbat.
1598	Philip III banished the still remaining Moors from Spain. Irreparable damage to the country		

1598	Death of Hideyoshi of Japan. Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) arrested for debt. The first Jewish synagogue in Amsterdam, Holland.		
1599	The Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow established. Velazquez, the Spanish painter, born.	Capture of Ahmadnagar.	Death of Prince Murād in India.
1600	Iyeyasu founds the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan.	Capture of 'Alīgarh. Occupation of Burhānpur. English East India Company formed. Anārkalī's tomb built by Jahāngīr in Lāhore.	Rebellion of Prince Salīm in India.
1601	Shintoism revived in Japan.	The *Akbar-nāmah* of Abu'l Fazl ends with the account of Akbar's fortieth year of reign.	
1602	Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* Harvey becomes M.D. at	Murder of Abu'l Fazl. Gulbadan Begam dies.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth. Accession of James I of England.	Murder of Chānd Bībī. Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Billāh Bīrang dies at the age of 41, at Dilhī in 1012 A. H.	Akbar and Salīm reconciled by Salīma Begam. Famine due to untimely rains. Grain imported from the Punjāb by Akbar's order. Cholera raged for 40 days.
1604	At the Hampton Court Conference, James I of England agrees to the revision of the Bible.	The Sultān of Ahmadnagar grants Poona to Mālojī, the grandfather of Shivājī, in 1604. Tobacco introduced into the Mughul empire having just been brought by Portuguese traders at Bījāpur.	Death of Prince Dānyāl in India. Prince Salīm arrested at Āgra.
1605	Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.* Cervantes' *Don Quixote* Part I. James I of England renews his earnest appeal to Sultān Ahmad of Turkey for the release of Sir Thomas Sherley languishing in prison in Istanboul for three years. Gunpowder plot to frighten James I.	Nyaung Ram Meng, king of Burmā, died. Jahāngīr succeeds to the throne on the death of Akbar. 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Umar al-Makkī al-Āsafī Ulūgh Khānī, generally known as Hājī ad-Dabīr, wrote *The Arabic History of Gujarāt,* Western India.	Akbar's death. Jahāngīr's rule begins.
1606	Virginia Company founded by the English.	Gurū Arjun disappears in the Rāvī having offended Jahāngīr by his	

			Death in Srīnagar of the poet, *Mazharī*, who wrote in Persian (approximate).
1608	Milton born. Saint François de Sales publishes his *Vie Dévote.*		
1609	Independence of Holland. Microscope invented.	Hawkins at Āgra.	
1609	Logarithms invented. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* published without his sanction.	Mullā Wajhī, the author of the *Sab Ras*, who wrote, in twelve days, his *masnavī* entitled *Qutb-i-Mushtarī*, the love-story of Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkunda and a girl of Bengāl.	
1610	Final expulsion of the Moors from Spain.		
1611	Baronets first created in England.	Death of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golkunda, probably the first literary writer of Urdu, as already noted in the events of 1580.	Jahāngīr marries Nūr Jahān in Hindustān. Death of Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī *Zarrīn Qalam* (The Golden Pen), Akbar's court calligraphist.
1612	Danish East India Company founded.		Stone basin of the Vēr-nāg Spring built by Jahāngīr.
1613	Prohibition of tobacco in Russia.	British Factory established at Sūrat by permission of Jahāngīr.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1614	The City of New York, U.S.A., was sold to Dutch settlers for about 24 dollars by Manhattan Indians. Raleigh's *History of the World.* The Addled Parliament of England.		
1615	Cervantes' *Don Quixote* Part II. appears.	Sir Thomas Roe's embassy from James I to the Mughuls. Udaipur conquered by Prince Khurram, afterwards Shāh Jahān.	Birth of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* (approximate). Akhun Rahnumā Kashmīrī revives carpet-weaving on his return from the Hajj *via* Central Asia.
1616	Shakespeare and Cervantes die. The *Ta'rīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī* composed by Sikandar Munshī. Smoking introduced into Switzerland.	Bubonic plague breaks out in parts of Northern India. The poet *Zuhūrī* of Turshīz (situated to the west of Mashhad and the north of Turbat-i-Hydarī, in Khurāsān) dies in an affray in the Deccan.	
1617		The Dutch commenced trade in India near Sūrat, and established a factory at Ahmadābād.	Raī's-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chādura writes his *History of Kashmīr.*
1618	The Thirty Years' War begins between the Evangelic Union under the Elector Palatine and the Catholic League under the		Dilāwar Khān, Governor of Kashmīr.

1619			Jahāngīr visits Kashmīr. Laying out of the Shālāmār Bāgh. Jahāngīr's inscription at Ver-nāg. Prince Khurram leaves Kashmīr to command the Imperial Forces against Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar. Fire in Srīnagar. Jāmi' Masjid re-built second time.
1620	Bacon's *Novum Organum* declares experience the starting point and induction the true method of knowledge. First Negro slaves landed at Jamestown in Virginia by a Dutch ship.		Kishtwār annexed by Dilāwar Khān. Kāngṛa annexed to the Mughul empire.
1621			Nūr Jahān's mother, 'Ismat Begam, dies.
1622	The poet and theologian, Bahā-ud-Dīn Āmulī, dies. *The London Weekly News* published.	Rebellion of Prince Khurram. Death of Prince Khusrav.	I'timād-ud-Daulah dies. Prince Khusrav dies. Nūr Jahān's Patthar or Nau or Shāhī Masjid built in Srīnagar under the supervision of Malik Haidar of Chāḍura.
1623	The Dutch massacre English traders at Amboyana in Malaya.		
1624	War between England and Spain.	Tulsī Dās dies at Benāres.	Rūp Bhawānī, Kashmīrī poetess, is born.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1625	Charles I of England reigns.	Dutch factory at Chinsura, Bengāl.	Jahāngīr leaves Kashmīr for Lāhore.
1626	Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) died.	Ghawwāsī of Golkunda writes, in the Dakkanī Urdu, the first work of fiction entitled *Saif-ul-Mulūk Shahzāda Misr and Badī'-ul-Jamāl Shahzādī Hasīn*; the second work of fiction, the *Tūtī-nāma*, being written in 1639, both *masnavīs*.	
	Madame de Sèvignè, the queen of letter-writers, born.	Prince Parvīz dies.	
		Death of Malik Ambar.	
		'Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān dies at Delhi.	
1627	Death of Hakīm Sharaf-ud-Dīn Hasan *Shifāī*, court-physician of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, and a well-known poet.	Shāh Jahān succeeds Jahāngīr.	Jahāngīr orders the construction of the cascade at Vērnāg.
		Sivājī born.	
		Ibrāhīm Rauza built at Bījāpur.	Jahāngīr leaves Lāhore for Kashmīr in March 1627.
		Death of the poet *Tālib* Amulī.	Jahāngīr dies at Bhimbar in October 1627, on his way back from Kashmīr.
1628	The English *Petition of Right*.	The tomb of Jahāngīr at Shāhdara built by Shāh Jahān.	Enthronement of Shāh Jahān.
1630	Gustavus-Adolphus of Sweden invades Germany.	Rājā Hirde Shāh, the Gond ruler, makes Rāmnagar (near Mandla, Central Provinces), his capital and builds his palace.	The author of the *Dabistān* meets Āzar Kaiwāu in Kashmīr.
			Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, was born

		Death of Mumtāz Mahall at Burhānpur on the Tāptī, Central Provinces.	Dāra Shukūh's bridge over the Jhelum at Bijbihārā.
1631		Building of the Tāj Mahall begun.	Shāh Jahān visits the Valley.
1632	Gustavus-Adolphus killed at the battle of Lützen, in Saxony, Germany.	Huglī taken from the Portuguese.	Chashma-i-Shāhī Garden laid out.
	The philosopher, Spinoza, born.		
		Zīnat-un-Nisā' Begam born at Aurangābād (Deccan).	Nashāt Bāgh laid out.
1634	Cardinal Richelieu founds the Acadèmie Francaise.		
	Wallenstein, German soldier and statesman, is murdered.		
	Lully, the musician, born.		Nasīm Bāgh laid out.
1635		First consignment of pepper sent from Cochin by the English to England.	Bridge on the Jhelum at Pāmpōr.
1638	Japan closed to Christianity and the West until 1865.	Building of the Lāl Qala' of Delhī commenced by Shāh Jahān.	
	The Turks defeat the Īrānians and take the city of Baghdād.	The Assamese invaded Bengāl but were repulsed by Islām Khān.	
		Zīb-un-Nisā' Begam born at Daulatābād, Deccan.	
		The Rāvī Canal completed.	The author of the *Dabistān* meets
1639		Jahān Ārā completes the *Mūnis-ul-Arwāh*, the life of Khwāja Mu'īn-	Sūfī Mullā Ismā'īl Isfahānī in Kashmīr.

Date	The World including India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
		The Safīnat-ul-Auliyā of Prince Dārā Shukūh in 1049 A. H.	
1640	Charles I of England summons the Long Parliament.	Death of the poet, Jalāl *Asīr*. The English occupy Huglī.	The Achabal Spring Garden laid out. Bāgh-i-Ilāhī laid out near Bachhapōr which is further up Nasīm.
1641	The first attempt at Parliamentary reporting was made.	Hakīm 'Ilm-ud-Dīn of Chiniōṭ, who became Nawwāb Wazīr Khān and ruler of Lāhore in the time of Shāh Jahān, completed the Wazīr Khān's Masjid at Lāhore in 1051 A.H.=1641 A.C. Gurū Hargobind, who was the first Sikh Gurū to enter upon a military career, dies.	
1642	Galileo died. Newton born.	*The Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā* of Prince Dārā Shukuh in 1052 A. H.	
1643	Barometer invented. Lewis XIV of France began his reign of 72 years.	Tāj Mahall completed.	Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* at Mashhad in Īrān (probable).
1644	Ming Empire succumbs to the rebel Li. Wu San-Kwei opens China to the Manchūs. The Manchūs establish themselves		

1645			Nūr Jahān dies. Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* composes the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (probable).
1647	Death of the poet, *Qudsī* of Mashhad, in Īrān.		Prince Dārā Shukūh writes his *Risālah-i-Haqq-numā* in 1646 while in Kashmīr.
1648	Milton's *Letter on Education.* The first newspaper advertisement appeared.	Transfer of the capital from Āgra, to Delhī (Shāhjahānābād). Lāl Qala' of Delhī completed. Jāmi' Masjid of Jahān Rāi *or* Ārā Begam, at Āgra, completed. Completion of new Delhī and the Jamuna Canal.	
1649	Air Pump invented. Cromwell Protector (till 1658). Execution of Charles I of England.	The Jāmi' Masjid at Delhī built. Nādir-uz-Zamān Hāmid Lāhorī, the engineer-builder of the Tāj Mahall, dies. Maunucci, the Venetian physician, arrives at Āgra.	Hammām (bath) and Masjid for his tutor, Akhūn Mullā Shāh, built by Dārā Shukūh at Srīnagar.
1650	Death of the French philosopher, René Descartes, at Stockholm, Sweden, where he had gone on invitation from Queen Christina of Swden.		
1651	The English acquire St. Helena. Hobbes' *Leviathen*	English factory at Huglī founded.	Death of Abū Tālib *Kalīm*, the poet.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1654		*The Majma'-ul-Bahrain* of Prince Dārā Shukūh.	The author of the *Dabistān* is attacked by a disease.
1655	China checks the advance of Russia south of the Amur.		
1656	The philosopher, Spinoza, was summoned before the elders of the synagogue on a charge of heresy and excommunicated. Muhammad Kiuprili, Grand Vazīr of Turkey under Muhammad IV (1648—87).	Gōl Gumbaz built at Bījāpur.	
1657	Cinchona, [after the name of the Peruvian Viceroy of Spain, Del Chinchon, about 1640 A.C.], first introduced into Calcutta during the malaria epidemic of 1657. Cromwell founds the Durham University which is suppressed at the Restoration and revived in 1837. The first shipping paper was published.	Aurangābād in the Deccan named as such.	
1658	Cromwell died.	Aurangzīb deposes Shāh Jahān	

1659	The French dramatist Molière's first masterpiece.	Sivājī murders Afzal Khān. Bernier arrives in India. Dārā Shukūh executed.	'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōṭ, the pupil of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, dies. Severe earthquake.
1660	Royal Society of England founded. Daniel Defoe born.		
1661	Ahmad Kiuprili succeeds his father as Grand Vazīr of Turkey. Turks invade Transylvania. K'ang Hsi commences reign in China.		
1662	Descartes' *L'Homme*, his first treatise on physiology, published. Death of Pascal, French writer.	Acquisition of Bombay by the English from Portugal.	
1663	First hospital in American colonies (Long Island, New York). Milton finishes his *Paradise Lost.*	Mīr Jumla dies before reaching Dacca.	
1664	New York captured by the English. French East India Company established.	Sivājī loots Sūrat.	
1665	The Great Plague in England. Newton announces the Law of Gravitation.	Sivājī surrenders to Aurangzīb. Tavernier in India.	Aurangzīb visits Kashmīr. Bernier comes to the Valley in the service of Nawwāb Dānishmand Khān.
1666	The *Raskol* (Great Schism) in the Russian Church.		Naukadal (new bridge) over the Jhelum built.
1668	England, Holland and Sweden form the Triple Alliance.	Walī Dakhanī, the Chaucer of Urdu poetry, born at Aurangābād Deccan.	Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, dies.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1669	The Turks captured Crete from the Venetians after 20 years' war.	Jāt rebellion near Mathurā.	
1670	The poet Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad *Sā'ib* (born at Tabrīz) dies at Isfahān.	Princess Raushan Rāi Begam commonly known as Raushan Ārā dies.	Safā Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum built.
			Lachhman Dās, known as Banda Bairāgī, born at the village Golad (Mendhar Tahsīl, Pūnch State, Kashmīr).
		Buddha Singh, son of Bahār Mal, and great-great grandfather of Ranjīt Singh, adopts the Sikh religion.	
1671	[illegible] *Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.		Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*, the well-known philosopher-poet of Kashmīr, and the author of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* dies.
1672	Peter 1, called the Great, born in Moscow on May 30th.	Satnāmī insurrection in Mewāt.	
1673	Death of Molière, the French dramatist.		
	St. Helena was recovered from the Dutch by Captain Munden		

1674	Death of Milton. New Amsterdam finally becomes British and is re-named New York, U.S.A.	The Jāmī' or Shāhī Masjid, Lāhore, built by Aurangzīb. Sivājī enthroned as independent rājā. Pondicherry founded by François Martin.	
1675	The Royal Observatory at Greenwich. Dryden's *Aurangzebe* produced.	Sikh Gurū Tegh Bahādur killed by a Sikh.	Fire in Srīnagar. The Jāmī' Masjid re-built third time.
1676	Death of the Turkish Grand Vazīr, Ahmad Kiuprilī. Mustāfā Kiuprilī, his brother, succeeds in the office.		
1676	Leibnitz, the philosopher, visits Spinoza.	Gurū Govind Singh born.	
1679	Habeas Corpus Act in England.	Aurangzīb attacks Bījāpur. Re-imposition of the *jizya*.	
1680	Mullā Muhsin *Faiz*, poet, philosopher, and theologian of Kāshān, dies.	Death of Sivājī. Qāzī Mahmūd *Bahrī*, one of the earliest poets of Urdu, born in Gogī village in the Deccan (approximate).	
1682	The Rye House Plot. Peter the Great of Russia (to January 1725).	Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay.	Continuous rain for one month spoils crops.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1683	The last Turkish attack on Vienna defeated by John III of Ploand.		Farrukh Siyar born of his Kashmīrī mother.
1684	Bishop George Berkeley born.		
1685	Bach and Handel, the musicians, were born. John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government.*	Aurangzīb drives out the English from Bengāl. Fall of Bījāpur. Fall of Golkunda. Pondicherry was established by the French. Bombay was constituted a presidency, and made supreme over all the East India Company's establishments in India.	Sunnīs and Shī'as quarrel.
1686			Khwāja 'Abdur Rahīm Shaikhmān who died in Srīnagar in 1786 was born in Tāshqand.
1687	Newton's *Principia* published. Deposition of Muhammad IV and accession of Sulaimān II of Turkey.		
1688	Revolution in England. Flight of James II. William of Orange enters London in December.	Execution of Rājā Sambhājī.	
1689	Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China.	Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān *Ārzū* born. Shāh 'Abdul Latīf of Bhīt (Hydarābād, Sind), whose poetry is a classic of the Sindi language, was born in 1689 and died in	

1690	Presbyterianism established in the national Church of Scotland. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* published.	Establishment of Fort William at Calcutta. Embassy from Istanboul arrives at the court of Aurangzīb. Job Charnock dies.	Hifzullāh Khān hands over charge to Muzaffar Khān as Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1693	Locke's *Thoughts on Education.* The printing press in New York.		
1694	Bank of England incorporated. Voltaire born. First modern University of Halle founded in Germany.		
1695	Henry Purcell, the musician, died. Death of La Fontaine, the greatest French poet of the 17th century.	Gurū Gobind Singh founds the Khālsa (from the Persian word *Khālisa*) i.e., chosen or *elect* of God.	
1696	English "Assassination Plot" discovered.	Shāh Daulah of Gujrāt (Punjāb) dies at the age of 115. The Jāmi' Masjid of Sira, Tumkur district of Mysore State, was made of hewn stone.	
1697	George Sale, the first English translator of the Qur'ān, born.	Sayyid Mīrān Hāshimī, a court-poet of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur, died.	
1698	New English East India Company (General Society) incorporated.	Mughuls besiege Satārā.	Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn Ishbarī or Ashawarī Kashmīrī brought the sacred hair of the Prophet from Bijāpur. This led to the construction of the Ziyārat (shrine) at Hazrat-bal, Srīnagar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1699	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded.	Shams-ud-Dīn Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān *Mazhar*, poet of Delhī, born.	
1701	War of the Spanish Succession.		
1703	Leningrad founded by Peter 1, and called St. Petersburg, renamed Petrograd in August 1914, and given its present name on January 26, 1924.		
1704		Hassān-ul-Hind Mīr Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, a well-known author, born.	
1705	Moscow University founded by Peter the Great.		
1706		Death of Walī-ullāh *Walī* Dakhanī (1118 A.H.) at Ahmadābād.	
1707	Russia takes Kamaskatka. Fielding born.	Death of Aurangzīb at Ahmadnagar.	Jalāl Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1708	Influenza in Europe. Permanent Union of the two English East India Companies.	Gurū Govind Singh who had gone to the Deccan on the invitation and in the service of Aurangzīb died at Nānded, Deccan, of wounds inflicted by two Pathāns whose father was killed by the Gurū.	

1709	Russian prisoners first sent to Siberia.	Death of Prince Kām Bakhsh.	
1710		Anglo-Arabic College, Delhī, founded by Nawwāb Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang, Father of Āsaf Jāh I, the founder of the Āsaf Jāhī dynasty of the Deccan.	
1711	Pope's *Essay on Criticism.* Addison and Steele edit the *Spectator.* David Hume, English philosopher, born. Death of Boileau, the French critic. The Father of Russian science as well as the Founder of Russian Literature, Michael Lomonosov, born in the village Denisovka, now Lomonosov, Archangel Gubernia. His death occurred on April 15, 1765.		Madrasa Sayyid Mansūr established.
1713	Peace of Utrecht. Frederick the Great of Prussia born.		Accession of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1714	Accession of the House of Hanover in England on the death of Queen Anne. Tripoli becomes independent of Istanboul.	Bālāji Vishwānāth Peshwā.	
1715	The Morea re-taken by the Turks. Death of Louis the Fourteenth of France.	Bandā Bairāgī put to death.	
1718	The Battle of Cape Passero in Sicily. Voltaire's tragedy *(Œdipe.)*	Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' *Saudā*, Urdu poet, born at Delhī.	
1719	Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.* The Westminster Hospital founded.	Khwāja Mīr *Dard*, poet of Delhī, born.	Murder of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.
1720	The Duke of Savoy becomes king of Sardinia. Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb born in Najd.	Nizām-ul-Mulk becomes Prime Minister of Delhī. Muhammad Mīr *Sūz*, poet of Delhī, born. Death of the poet *Bedil* in 1133 A.H.	Accession of Emperor Muhammad Shāh. Rūp Bhawānī, Kashmīrī poetess, dies 1720.
1721	Peter the Great declared Emperor of Russia.	The Delhī Mughul ruler re-took Ajmer from the Rāthor Rājpūts who had seized it in 1719.	
1722	The Safavī dynasty of Īrān collapses. Famine in Isfahān. Ostend East India Company set up	The Shahīdganj Mosque, Lāhore, erected.	

1723	Adam Smith, English Economist born.		
1724	The South Sea Bubble. German Philosopher, Kant, born at Königsburg in Prussia. Compulsory education of both sexes in Saxony.	Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk established in the Deccan. Muhammad Taqī *Mīr*, poet, born.	**Famine due to excessive rain.**
1725	Expulsion of Christians from Japan. Behring, a Dane, discovers the Behring Straits. Death of Peter the Great of Russia.		
1726		Dūst Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī, an officer of the guard in the service of Aurangzīb, after thirty years' labour, made himself independent in Mālwa, and founded the State of Bhopāl, died.	
1728	Oliver Goldsmith born.		
1729	Nādir Qulī aids the deposed Shāh of Īrān and defeats the Afghāns.		
1730	Field Marshall Alexander Suvorov, a Russian soldier, strategist and tactician, born on November 24.		

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1731	The first French newspaper *Gazette de France* published in Paris.		
1732	Nādir deposes Tahmāsp, the Shāh of Īrān, on the ground of incompetence and sets up his infant son, 'Abbās III.	Hājī Muhammad Muhsin, the great philanthropist, born at Huglī, near Calcutta, Bengāl. 'Allāmah Sayyid Murtazā Bilgrāmī, known in Arabia and Egypt as Zubaidī (on account of his long residence in Zubaid, Yemen) born in 1145 A.H.	Earthquake and Flood.
1733	Death at Birstal (near Leeds) of Dr. Joseph Priestely who discovered oxygen.		Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā*, poet, born.
1734	George Sale's *English Translation of the Qur'ān* appeared. Shaikh 'Alī *Hazīn* born in 1692 at Isfahān leaves for India.	Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry.	Khwāja Muhammad A'zam *Mustaghnī* Kaul (?) Didamarī wrote his *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* or his History of Kashmīr called also the *Ta'rīkh-i- A'zamī* in Persian.
1735	End of the war between Turkey and Nādir Shāh of Īrān.		
1736	Ch'ien Lung becomes Chinese Emperor.	Mīr Hasan, poet, born in Delhī (approximate).	
1736-7	Nādir proclaimed Shāh of Īrān, and lays the foundations of Bushire	The Persian Translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh Walīullāh of Delhī (1737-8 A.C.)	

1738	Nādir Shāh captures Qandahār and Kābul.	Nādir Shāh's sack of Delhī.	Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm of Kashmīr arrives at Shāhjahānābād (Delhī)
1739	Beginnings of the Methodist Movement in England.	Bālāji Rāo Peshwā.	
1740	'Abdul Wahhāb of Najd commences his Puritan Movement. Nādir Shāh conquers Bukhārā and Khīvā. Leipzig acquires fame as the literary capital of Germany. Voltaire's *Mahomet.*	Anwar-ud-Dīn, Nawwāb of Karnātic. Sa'ādat Khān Nawwāb Vazīr of Oudh. 'Alī Vardī Khān Nawwāb of Bengāl. *Nazīr* Akbarābādī born.	
1741	Linnaeus' botanical garden at Upsala, Sweden. *An historical and critical account of the Theatres of Europe* by M. Riccobon of the Italian Theatres at Paris.	Husain Dūst Khān known as Chandā Sāhib captured by the Marathas. Nānā Farnavīs born at Satārā.	
1745	Jacobite Revolt in England. Field Marshall Mikhail Kutusov of Russia, who defeated Napoleon in 1812, was born on September 16th.	Rise of the Rohillas. Wars of the Karnātic begin. Begam Samrū born.	10,000 houses swept away by flood.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1746	The Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, born.	Mīrzā Muhammad, subsequently known as Sirāj-ud-Daula, was married at Murshidābād, Bengāl.	
	Francisco Goya, the Spanish painter, born.	Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz of Delhi born in 1139 A. H.	
	Princeton University, U. S. A., founded.	Haibat Jang, father of Sirāj-ud-Daula, killed by an Afghān.	Death of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh of Delhī.
			Accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh of Delhī.
1747	On the assassination of Nādir, his cavalry-general, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, founds the kingdom of modern Afghānistān.		
1748	Excavation of Pompeii begins. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's first invasion of the Punjāb.	
		Death of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh.	
		Insurrection of the Wahhābīs.	
1749	Goethe born. A.G. Werner, the geologist, born.	Anwar-ud-Dīn killed by Chandā Sāhib at Ambūr.	Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a scholar and poet, born in 1163 A.H.
		Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn of Delhī died at the age of 70 in 1163 A. H.	
1750	Voltaire leaves for Berlin on the invitation of Frederick the	Muzaffar Jang succeeds Nāsir Jang.	
		Rāmā Bhāi stirs up rising against the	

		Ghulām Hamadānī *Mus-hafī*, poet of Delhī, born at Amroha, U.P.	
1751	The Pennsylvania Hospital founded at Philadelphia, U.S.A.	Salābat Jang succeeds Muzaffar Jang.	
		The Sunehrī (golden) Masjid of Delhī built by Farīd Khān.	
		Clive's defence of Arcot.	
1752	Madame Frances D'Arblay, better known as Fanny Burney, English novelist and diarist, born.	Abu'l Fath, Tīpū Sultān, born of Haidar 'Alī and Fātima on Saturday. Named Tīpū after the Saint Tīpū Mastān Valī.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī conquers Kashmīr.
		'Alī Vardī Khān cedes Orissa and pays *chauth* for Bengāl to the Marathās.	End of Mughul rule in the Valley.
		Chandā Sāhib killed by Tanjoreans.	Famine due to excessive rain.
1754	Recall of Dupleix to France.	Ghāzī-ud-Dīn deposes the Emperor Ahmad Shāh.	Sukh Jīwan Mal, Sūbadār of Kashmīr, a patron of literary men.
	King's College (later, Columbia University) founded at New York, U.S.A.	Accession of Alamgīr II.	
		Nawāb Shujā'-ud-Daulah becomes ruler of Oudh.	
1755	Kant's *Theory of the Heavens.*	Sa'ādat Yār Khān *Rangīn*, Urdu poet, born.	
	Moscow State University founded on the initiative of the Russian scientist, Michael Lomonosov, whose name it bears.		

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1756	Mozart, the musician, born.	Supposed year of the so-called Black Hole of Calcutta. Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān *Ārzu* died.	
1756-63	Seven Years' War between Austria and Prussia and their respective Allies.		
1757	Pitt's ministry formed in England.	The Battle of Plassey. Conquest of India by the British begins under Clive.	'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq* begins his versified history of Kashmīr (approximate).
1758	Noah Webster, the lexicographer, born.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī sacks Delhī.	
1759	Canada lost. Battle of Quebec.	Ghāzī-ud-Dīn murders 'ĀlamgīrII. Forde captures Masulipatam.	
1759-1806	The British Museum in London and the world's biggest library established in 1759.	Shāh 'Ālam is titular king of Delhī.	
1760	George III of England. Voltaire's *Tancréde.*	Salābat Jang, hemmed in at Udayagirī, cedes large territory to Marathas. Battle of Wandiwāsh.	
1761	First Treaty between Turkey and Prussia. Resignation of Pitt.	Capture of Bussy. English take Pondicherry. Defeat of the Marathas at Pānipat	

1761	Rousseau's famous novel, *La Nouvelle Heloisc*, wherein he illustrates the superiority of feeling to intellect. J.G. Lehman, a German miner, and one of the founders of the Science of Geology, appointed Professor of Chemistry and Director of Imperial Museum, St. Petersburg (Leningrad).	Mīr Qāsim becomes Nawwāb of Bengāl. Nizām 'Alī imprisoned Salābat Jang and invested himself with the Sūbadārship of the Deccan.	
1762		The Shahīdganj Mosque, Lāhore, seized by Sikhs. Death of Shāh Walīullāh, divine of Delhī, born in 1159 A. H.	
1762-63	War between England and Spain. The Spaniards and the French invade Portugal which is saved by the English. Peace of Paris. Canada ceded to England.	Haidar 'Alī becomes the ruler of Mysore. Massacre of Patna.	Sukh Jīwan Mal, governor of Kashmīr, blinded and dismissed.
1763	Special professional training required of all German teachers.		
1764	Rousseau's *Emile*. Expulsion of Jesuits from France.	Battle of Buxar. Shāh 'Ālam accepts English protection. Sikhs besiege Lāhore and compel Kābulī Mal, the governor of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, to make over the town and fortress to them.	Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Didamarī, the historian, dies.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1765	The Stamp Act in England.	Clive obtains the *Dīvanī* of Bengāl, Bihār and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor. Death of Mīr Ja'far. Najm-ud-Daula succeeded his father Mīr Ja'far as Nawwāb of Bengāl.	
1766		Saif-ud-Daula succeeded his brother Najm-ud-Daula as Nawwāb of Bengāl.	
1769	Napoleon Bonaparte born. Steam Engine. The Infant School movement begins in France. William Smith, called "Strata" Smith, the father of English Geology, born.	Hydarābād, the capital of Sind before the advent of British rule, was founded by Ghulām Shāh Kalhora in 1768 on the old Neran-Kot, and named after his *pīr* Sayyid Haidar 'Alī Shāh.	
1770	Beethoven born. Hegel born. Wordsworth born.	Famine in Bengāl. Mubārak-ud-Daula, the third son of Mīr Ja'far, became Nawwāb of Bengāl.	Flood.
1771	John Hunter's treatise on the teeth published.	Shāh 'Ālam goes to Delhi with the Marathas.	Amīr Sher Jawān, governor of Kashmīr.

1772	First Partition of Poland.	Warren Hastings governor of Bengāl. George Hodley publishes the first grammar of Urdu or Hindustānī. 'Usmān Marwandī of Īrān known as Qalandar Lāl Shāh Bāz died in Sehwān (Sind).	Shergarhī, the royal palace of Srīnagar, constructed and named after the Governor Amīr Sher Jawān.
1773	Medical Society of London founded. Jesuit order suppressed by Clement XIV.	Suppression of the Rohillas. The Regulating Act passed.	Death of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Accession of his son Tīmūr Shāh who removes the capital from Qandahār to Kābul. Amīrā Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum river constructed and named after the Nāzim, Amīr Sher Jawān.
1774	Suicide of Clive in England. Death of Oliver Goldsmith.	Warren Hastings becomes governor-general of India. Rohilla war. Bogle's mission to Tibet. Rām Mohan Roy born at Rādhānagar in the District of Huglī,	Khwāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī killed.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmir*
1775	Jane Austen born. Immanuel Kant reads a German translation of the works of David Hume.	Shujā'-ud-Daula becomes Nawwāb Vazīr of Oudh. Case of the Begams of Oudh. Bahādur Shāh II, *Zafar*, born. Nand Kumar was arrested under a warrant of the Supreme Court at the suit of Mohan Prashād on a charge of forgery and was tried by Sir Elijah Impey, convicted and sentenced to be hanged.	
1776	American War. Declaration of Independence by the United States. The first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appears. Death of David Hume.	Lord Pigot, who had been governor of Madras, was arrested and imprisoned at St. Thomas Mount where he died in the following year. Treaty of Purandhar. Mahān Singh, father of Ranjīt Singh, married.	Hājī Karīmdād Khān governor of Kashmīr under Afghān rule.
1778	Herbart (German educator) born. Deaths of Chatham, Linnaeus, Rousseau, and Voltaire.	First Vernacular work printed in India, Halhead's Bengālī grammar.	
1779	First Iron Bridge in England.	Death of Shaikh 'Alī *Hazīn* at	

1780	The twelfth Earl of Derby founded the famous Derby race at Epsom in England. End of the reign of Maria Theresa.	Ranjīt Singh born to Mahān Singh. First Indian newspaper in English, Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, appears. Warren Hastings' duel with Francis.	
1781	Lutf 'Alī Beg *Āzar*, author of the *Ātash-kadah*, dies. Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* published.	The Calcutta Madrasa founded by Warren Hastings. Death of Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' *Sauda*. Death of the poet Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān *Mazhar* of Delhī. Chet Singh, rājā of Benāres, deposed.	
1782	Independence of the U. S. A. recognized by England. Legislative Independence of Ireland granted. Froöbel (German educator) born.	Death of Sultān Haidar 'Alī of Mysore. Abu'l Fath Tīpū Sultān (named after the saint Tīpū Mastān Valī) becomes Sultān of Mysore. Treaty of Sālbaī.	Fire in Srīnagar. Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā*, poet, dies.
1783	Peace of Versailles between England and France. Sunday Schools founded. The steamboat invented.	Fox's India Bill. Warren Hastings censured by Directors.	Cholera. Hājī Karīmdād Khān, the governor, dies.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1784	First United States ship to China. Cavendish discovers hydrogen.	Pitt's India Act. The Bengāl Asiatic Society established by Sir William Jones. Resignation of Warren Hastings. Mīr Hasan writes the *masnavī Sihr-ul-Bayān* (1199 A. H.). Death of Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī.	Earthquake.
1785	Cartwright's power-loom. Webster's *Speller*. Cowper's *The Task*. John Walter adds to the eight morning papers of London by the issue of the *Daily Annual Register* which, three years later, became *The Times*.	Death of Khwāja Mīr *Dard*, Urdu poet, at Delhī, at the age of 66, in 1199 A.H. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, born in 1704, died. *The Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, in four Volumes, is the history of India, written in Persian in 1780—85 A.C., by Sayyid Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī, a noble of Patna, who resided with his father at the Court of the Nawwābs of Bengāl.	Āzād Khān, Karīm-dād Khān's son and successor, as Sūbadār, visits the Parī Mahall.
1786	Weber, the musician, born.	Building of the *Gōl-ghar*, a hundred foot dome-shaped structure on the banks of the Ganges, at Patna, for storing grain in times of scarcity. This old granary was	Mīr Dād Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.

		used in June 1943 for storing rice and other grain on account of prevailing scarcity.	
		Lord Cornwallis, governor-general of India.	
1787	The American Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia, U. S. A.	Sayyid Ahmad Brelvī born in Safar 1201 A.H.=1786 A.C.	Khwāja 'Abdur Rahīm Shaikhmān Naqshbandī of Tāshqand died in Srīnagar and is buried in Mahalla Sayyidwārī of the city in Jamādī II, 1200 A.H.
1788	War between Germany and Turkey. First Federal Congress of the United States at New York. Schopenhauer born. Byron born.	Trial of Warren Hastings begins in England. *The Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, a history of Bengāl, written by Ghūlam Husain *Salīm* at Malda in 1788.	
1789	The French Revolution commences with the destruction of the Bastille. The French Constituent Assembly met for the first time. George Washington, President of the U.S.A. Uranium (the metallic element of a hard white metal) essential to the construction of the atomic bomb used against the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in the World War II, discovered in 1789 but not isolated until 1840.	Ghulām Qādir Rohilla blinds Shāh 'Ālam. Scindhia masters Delhī and curbs the Sikhs. Shaikh Ibrāhīm *Zauq*, poet, born at Delhī. Muftī Sadr-ud-Dīn Khān, Sadr-us-Sudūr, born at Delhī.	Sir William Jones draws the attention of Orientalists to Mullā Muhsin Fānī's *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1791	Dr. Guillotin invents the guillotine. Boswell's *Life of Johnson.* Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Sanūsī born at Algiers, Africa. Death of 'Abdul Wahhāb, founder of the Wahābī Movement.	The Urdu Translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh 'Abdul Qādir of Delhī, chronogramatically entitled *Mūzih-i-Qur'ān,* completed.	Parmānand, Kashmīrī poet, born at Maṭan.
1792	France became a Republic. Shelley born.	Permanent Settlement of Bengāl. Siege of Seringapatam. Mīr Taqī *Mīr,* Urdu poet, born.	Zamān Shāh Durrānī ascends the throne as the ruler of Kābul. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh born.
1793	The Second Partition of Poland. Louis XVI beheaded. Hegel graduates from Tübingen. Cotton gin invented.	Sir John Shore governor-general. Mīrzā Abū Tālib Khān, of Oudh and Bengal, begins his travels in England, Europe, Asia, Africa, 1793-6, after which he wrote his book of travels in Persian.	
		Babar 'Alī Khān (Mubārak-ud-Daula II) succeeded his father as Nawwāb of Bengāl, and reigned till his death in 1810.	

1794	The Reign of Terror in France. National Normal School in France.	Death of Mādhava Rāo Sindhia. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benāres, endows the Sanskrit College at Benāres for teaching Hindu law and literature. Nawwāb Asghar 'Alī Khān *Nasīm*, poet, born.	
1795	Bonaparte goes to Italy as commander-in-chief. The Third Partition of Poland. Keats born. Carlyle born.	Acquittal of Warren Hastings. The commercial enterprise of Sir John Shore to capture a free market in Nepāl by means of the embassy of Maulavī 'Abdul Qādir, son of Wāsil 'Alī Khān, Qāzī-u'l-Quzāt of Warren Hastings.	
1796	Bonaparte's successful campaigns in Italy. England takes Ceylon. Āghā Muhammad founds the Qājār dynasty of Īrān. Teherān made the capital of Īrān.	Mīrzā Asadullāh Khān, *Ghālib*, poet, born at Āgra. Gilchrist's *Urdu Grammar*.	**'Abdullāh Khān Alkozaī, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.**
1797	Comte born. Destruction of the Republic of Venice. Reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār of Īrān begins.	Death of Āsaf-ud-Daula of Oudh. Ranjīt Singh poisons his mother on account of her misconduct.	

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1798	Battle of the Nile between England and France. Rebellion in Ireland. Kant's *Anthropology* suggested the possibility of the animal origin of man. Monitorial System established. Samuel Butler becomes Headmaster of Shrewsbury.	Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India. Alarm of the Afghān invasion under Zamān Shāh. Tīpū's mission to Mauritius.	Kashmīr shawls become fashionable in Paris, France.
1799	Bonaparte becomes First Consul. Cigars take the place of snuff. Napoleonic wars disseminate them throughout Europe.	Conquest of Mysòre. Death of Tīpū. Re-establishment of the Hindu Dynasty in Mysore. Ranjīt Singh becomes master of Lāhore by receiving the title of Rājā from Zamān Shāh.	
	Proposed invasion of India by the Emperors Paul and Napoleon. Malcolm's Embassy to Īrān. Lord Macaulay born. Public Examination Statute at Oxford. The oldest public structure in Washington, executive mansion of the Presidency of the U.S.A., the White House, standing in a	Death of Nānā Farnavīs. Rise of Jaswant Rāo Holkar, Amīr Khān and of Ranjīt Singh. Fort William College founded by the Marquess Wellesley at Calcutta for the training of British civil servants in the languages, law, history and customs of India. Mūmin Khān *Mūmin*, poet, born	'Allāmah Tafazzul Husain Kashmīrī, Prime Minister of Oudh, dies. Mrs. Bhawānī Dās Kāchrū, Kashmīrī poetess, comes to note.

1801	Union of Great Britain with Ireland. George Bradshaw, English printer and publisher of Maps and Time Tables, born. India Office Library, which contains some 2,50,000 printed books and thousands of manuscripts principally relating to the East, founded by the East India Company.	The state of the Nawwābs of Karnātik was annexed to British India for their sympathy for Tīpū Sultān. Rise of the Bārakzaīs in Afghānistān. Mīr Amman Dihlavī writes the *Bāgh-u-Bahār*.	**Quarrel between Shi'ās and Sunnīs in Srīnagar.**
1802	Peace of Amiens (with England, Spain and Holland) signed by the French. Victor Hugo, French writer, born.	Ranjīt Singh acquires Amritsar. Khaṛak Singh born to Ranjīt Singh. Treaty of Bassien. The *Daryā-i-Latāfat* (Ocean of Eloquence), first Urdu Grammar, written by Inshā'ullāh Khān *Inshā'* and Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan *Qatīl*. Mīr Babar 'Alī *Anīs*, poet, born at Faizābād, United Provinces. Sharī'atullāh of Farīdpur, Bengāl, the founder of the Farāizī movement of Eastern Bengāl, performs the Hajj. The Farāizī Movement was partly religious and partly agrarian.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1803	France declares war against England.	The translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh 'Abdul Qādir finished.	Earthquake.
	Emerson born.	Mīrzā Salāmat Alī *Dabīr*, poet, born at Delhī.	
		The *Dastūr-ul-Fasāhat* (Urdu grammar) by Ahmad 'Alī *Yaktā* (1218 A.H.)	
		War with Holkar.	
1804	France made an Empire; Napoleon proclaimed emperor and crowned by the Pope.		
	Francis II assumes the title of Francis I, Emperor of Austria.		
	Hawthorne born.		
	Benjamin Disraeli, the future Earl of Beaconsfield, born.		
	Birth of Ludwig Feuerbach, a German philosopher, the author of *Essence of Christianity*—proving that the domination of religion over man had come to an end.		
	Nudael Glinka, founder of the Russian National School of Music, born on June 1st. He died on		

1805	Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar.	Failure of Lord Lake at Bharatpur. Cornwallis dies. Qāzī Sanāullāh Pānīpatī, the *Khalīfa* of Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i-Jān and the *Pīr* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's father, died at Sarhind.	
1806	Napoleon overhauls the educational system of France. Prussia overthrown at Jena. Francis of Austria drops the title of the Holy Roman Emperor. John Stuart Mill born in London.	Akbar II is titular king of Delhī. The Vellore Mutiny. Hājī Muhammad Muhsin of Huglī, Bengāl, draws up the will by which he dedicates his entire property to charity creating the Muhsin Fund.	'Atā Muhammad Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1807	Scheme of Indian invasion by Emperors Alexander and Napoleon. Longfellow, poet, born. Louis Agassiz, the father of Natural Science in America, born.	Lord Minto, governor-general. Ranjīt Singh begins building the fortress of Govindgarh at Amritsar, apparently for the protection of pilgrims, but really for military purposes.	Death of Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a Kashmīrī poet. Death of Muftī Muhammad Sadr-ud Dīn *Wafāī*, the author of the *Masnavī*, *Tuhfat-ul-Ushshāq*, Persian MS.
1808	Commencement of the Peninsular War. Goethe's *Faust*, Part I. Poet Mīrzā Habībullāh *Qāānī* born at Shīrāz.	British Missions to Kābul, the Punjāb, and Sind.	Bārāmūla bridge over the Jhelum river built by 'Atā Muhammad Khān.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1809	Tennyson born. Abraham Lincoln born. Charles Darwin born. Edgar Allen Poe born. Gogol, the Russian writer, born. Mendelssohn, the musician, born. W. E. Gladstone born. Dalton's atomic theory. Divorce of the Emperor and Empress Josephine decreed by the French Senate. Edward Fitzgerald, translator of the *Rubāiyāt* or *Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām*, was born as Edward Purcell, but his father who had married a Miss Fitzgerald, assumed in 1818 the name of his wife's family.	Govindgarh fortress at Amritsar put into the best state of defence by Ranjīt Singh. Treaty of Amritsar between the British and Ranjīt Singh. "Amritsar is a larger city than Lahore. The wealth of the whole Punjab seems collected in it and the great merchants have made it their abode."—Hügel's *Travels*, page 391. Shāh Shujā' expelled from Afghānistān. He enters India. The *Prem Sāgar* of Lallūjī Lāl appears, having been written in 1803.	First English translation of Muhsin *Fānī's Dabistān*, published at Calcutta under the name of Francis Gladwin. German translation of the *Dabistān* by Dalberg.
1810	Independence established by Chili. Berlin University founded. Cavour born.	Mīr Taqī *Mīr*, poet, dies.	Nidhān Singh Atha disgusted with Ranjīt Singh quits the Punjab and enters the service of 'Atā Muhammad Khān.
1811	Independence established by Paraguay. Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt	Rise of the Pindārīs.	Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a great scholar and poet, dies in 1226 A.H.

	Vissarion Belincky, Russian revolutionary democrat, educationist, philosopher, and founder of the Russian School of Literary Criticism, born in Swaborg, Finland, on June 13th.		
1812	War between England and America commenced. Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Charles Dickens born. Birth of Alfred Krupp, the founder of the Krupp's Works at Essen, North West, Germany.	Hājī Muhammad Muhsin of Huglī dies.	'Atā Muhammad Khān fortifies the Pīr Pantsāl route against Sikh invasion.
1813	Commencement of the German War of Independence. The Order of Iron Cross instituted.	Ranjīt Singh obtains the Kuh-i-Nūr diamond from Shāh Shujā'. East India Company loses trade monopoly. The Pīr Pagāro or Pagwāro *gaddī* was established in Sind. The seventh successor, Sayyid Sibghatullāh, was hanged on 20th March, 1943.	Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, governor of Kashmīr. Famine.
1814	Stephenson's Locomotive. Charles Reade, writer, born. The Great Ukranian Poet, Taras Shevehenks Shevchenko, born in March.	The Gurkha War. Shāh 'Abdul Qādir of Delhī, born in 1167 A. H.=1753 A.C., died at the age of 63 in 1230 A.H.	Ranjīt Singh's attempt to get Kashmīr fails.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1815	Napoleon abolishes Slave Trade. Napoleon defeated at Waterloo. Napoleon arrives at St. Helena to remain for life. The Congress of Vienna. Bismarck born. Davy invents the Safety Lamp for coal miners.	Vaikrama Singh, the King of Ceylon, was deposed by the British, and Ceylon became a dependency of the British Crown.	Gaṅgā Prashād's *Samsār māyā Mohajal Sukh-Dokh-Charita*, a work in Kashmīrī poetry.
1816	Hegel finishes his *Logic*. The Stethoscope invented. Independence established by Buenos Ayres and other Provinces in South America.	Hindu College of Calcutta established by David Hare (a watchmaker of Calcutta) and Rām Mohan Roy. This same college is now the Presidency College of Calcutta.	
1817	Introduction of the Modern Printing Press into Īrān. Hegel's *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*. Karl Marx, the author of *Capital*, born in Trier (Treves), Germany, on May 5. Brevet Major Sylvanus Thayer took over the superintendency	Sayyid Inshā'ullāh Khān *Inshā'* dies. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān born at Delhī. For diffusion of useful elementary knowledge, the Calcutta School Book Society was founded.	

at West Point (situated some 50 miles up the Hudson River from New York City, U. S. A.) and "developed it from a secondary school to an excellent technical college."

1818 Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt, under orders from the Sultān of Turkey, recovers the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medīna from the Wahhābīs, and destroys Darāya, the old capital of Najd, before Ar Riyāz, which is ten miles from the ruins of the old town.

Ivan Turgeniev, the Russian writer, born.

The first Bengālī newspaper entitled the *Samāchār Darpana* appeared in Serāmpore under the editorship of John Clark Marshman.

Ajmer is handed over to the British by Sindhia of Gwāliār.

Mill's *History of British India.*

Jog Nārāin Ghossāl founds an English school in Benāres.

First cotton mills in India.

The city of Ahmadābād is ceded to the British Government.

A body of officers and citizens start performing the functions of the Municipality at Ahmadābād, which is finally inaugurated in 1834.

The Last Marātha war—Bājī Rāo II deposed.

The *Calcutta Journal* founded by Mr. Buckingham.

Death of Warren Hastings in England.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
		The Diocese of Calcutta inaugurated.	
		Swāmījī Mahārāj, founder of the Rādhāswāmī Sat-sang and Dayāl Bāgh, born at Āgra, United Provinces.	
		Ajmer handed over to the British by Mahārāṇā Sindhia of Gwāliār.	
1819	Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār continues his rule over Īrān till he dies in 1834.	Ranjīt Singh takes Multān.	Kashmīr taken by Ranjīt Singh and annexed to the Punjāb.
		Capitulation of Asīrgarh.	
		Deposition of Rāo of Kutch.	
	The First Factory Act passed in England through the efforts of Robert Owen.	British expedition to the Persian Gulf.	
		Mountstuart Elphinstone, governor of Bombay.	Dīwān Motī Rām, first Sikh governor of Kashmīr.
	Queen Victoria born.	Bahāism in India.	
	Ruskin born.		
	Manchester Massacre and Disorders in England.	A terrible earthquake separated the Run of Kutch from the peninsula of India and a large portion of dry land was filled with water.	Cholera.
	George III of England dies next year (*i.e.* 1820).		
	University of St. Petersburg founded by Alexander I of Russia.	A British battalion, while fighting the Marathas, accidentally discovers the caves of Ajanta in the Hydarābād State of the Deccan.	
	Steamship crosses the Atlantic.		

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