KASHIR
A HISTORY OF KASHMIR

G. M. D. SUFI

Vol. I

1948

The University of the Panjab

LAHORE

Kashīr — A History of Kashmir, Vol. I

G. M. D. Sufi

The University of the Panjab, Lahore (digitized edition)

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Preface

It is strange that the Valley of Kashmir has had so many to describe its hills, its dales and its lakes, its snows and streams and shades, but hardly any to narrate its history or tell the story of what the Valley has given to the Kalhana's Réajatarangini, literally, "River of world.

Kings," certainly scans its history in Sanskrit verse from the earliest times up to 1149 A.C. But, at best, this "River of Kings" remained, as it were, the Shah-nama of Kashmir in the sense of a loose, versified narrative. Jt is to the industry and assiduity of the late Sir Aurel Stein that we owe the monumental annotated English translation which has clarified the contents of Kalhana's "Chronicle of the

Kings of Kashmir? for the serious siudent of the early history of Kashmir.

Kalhana's chronicle was continued in Sanskrit verse {ill دبA.C. by Pandit Jonaraja in his Rajdval7: by his pupil

Pandit Shrivara in lis Jara-Rajatarangin? till 1486 A.C.: hy Prijyabhatta in his ١٥٥/١٥٥٨٥٥6 till

1512 A.C.; and by Shuka in his Rajatarangin? up to the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586 A.C., and even a little further till 1596 A.C. These versified Sanskrit chronicles are available to the

English reader in the Kmgs of Kashmira hy the late Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. But this series too is far from satisfactory.

My own view finds corroboration from the remarks of Sir Aurel Stein, when he says: "Tonaraja was a scholar of considerable attainments but apnarently without any originality. Shrivara was a slavish imitator of Kalhana.

The work of Prajyabhatta and Shuka is inferior in composition even to Shrivara's chronicle."

Geography of Kashmir, page 42).

(The Anctent Besides, the Sanskrit text of Jonaraja used by Mr. Dutt, viz. the' Calcutta edition of

5, contain.

ed 980 shlokas, while Dr. Peterson's Sanskrit text of Jonaraja, vis., the Bombay edition of 1896, contains 1334 shlokas. Moreover, the actual work of Prajyabhatta, entitled Rajdealipataka, has not yet been taken notice of..And

Shuka's Rajatarangini has been mistaken for the joint work of Prajyabhatta and Shuka by Mr. Dutt, Dr. Peterson and sir Aurel Stein, obviously on account of the confusion caused by the accession of Sultan Fath Shah thrice to the throne of Kashmir. When Shrivara closed his chronicle, Fath Shah was ruling for the first time. When Shuka began his chronicle, Fath Shah was again Sultan. As the same ruler was reigning for the second time, the link to these three scholars appeared to be continuous. But the fact is that the Rajavalipataka of Pandit Prajyabhatta deals with the imtervening period of 25 years, from 1487 to ۲512 A.C., when Sultan Fath Shah and Sultan Muhammad

Shah deposed and succeeded each other twice.

There are several histories in Persian relating to pre-

Mughul, Mughul and post-Mughul periods, a few in Urdu too, but there is no reliable, up-to-date record of the history of Kashmir available as a trustworthy euide for students interested in the subject. Consequently I have made an attempt in this direction. In view, however, of Sir Aurel Stein's English trans lation of Kalhana's chronicle, a standard work on the ancient history of Kashmir, and in view of the great learning we find in the River of Kings by the late Ranjit Sitaram Pandit who brings out noteworthy contributions made during the Vedic, Buddhist and Brahmanical periods of the history of Kashmir, I have confined my task to 2 som ewhat fuller treatment of the medizeval period, chroniclin ever, up to our own times.

g events, how-

Rather than give a bare sketch of the doings of the kings of Kashmir during the particular period under review, it appeared to me to be more important to treat the subject from the cultural poin t of view. Therefore, though I am presenting a more or less continuous record of the political history of

Kashmir from the earliest times till our own, some prominenc e Has been given to the exposition of Muslim Polity in the Valley of Kashmir a's this interesting and important aspect of tHe history of

Kashmir has seldom had any spe cial notice taken of it.

Kashir, the title of this book.

Valley of Kashmir By the Kash is the name given to the miri, who calls himself and his laneuage—"Koshur." or "Kashur."

The use of the word Kashmir, as Sir Ge orge Grierson points ou t in his

Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language, page 481, is more Hindustani and Iranian than properly Kashmiri.

The late Sir Aurel Stein worked at the Rajatarangint while he was Registrar of the University of the Panjab. It is a coincidence that it fell to my lot to undertake the writing of Kashir, styling it Islamic Culture i Kashmir, while I was Registrar of the University of Delhi. And now this book is for the first time being published, in its present form and under its revised title, by the University of the

Panjab, the old University of Sir Aurel Stein, mn 0 volumes like Sir Aurel's. At this time also, the revised edition by Sir Aurel of his English translation of Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir is reported to be under publication by the State of Jammu and Kashmir. But unfortunately Sir Aurel died in 1943 at Kabul in

Afghanistan.

১ In Chapter I of Kashir the reader will find a general description of Kashmir and observations on the character and condition of the Kashmiris. ১

In Chapter JI an attempt is made to epitomize the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the advent of Tslam in the land. The propagation of Islam on account of its outstanding mark on the Valley is discussed in Chapter ITT.

Chapters IV and V deal with the early Muslim rulers of the land.

These two chapters cover a period of over 260 vears from 1320 to 1586 A.C., roughly parallel in Indian history to the period from the accession of Muhammad

Tughluq to about the middle of Akbar's reign, or in English history from the re#zn of Edward ITI to nearly the middle of that of Elizabeth.

Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, who ruled from 1354 to 1373 A.C., was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir to extehd his conquest to Kabul and Kashghar, and to defeat the Jam' of Sind. The greatness of Kashinir reached its zenith under Zain-wl-'Abidin, popularly known as Bad Shah or the "Great Sovereign,' who conquered Tibet and the Punjab, and established his kingdom from Purshawar, the modern. Peshawar, to Sind and Sarhind. His rule ex-

tending over 50 years,-from 1420 to 1470 A:C.,, constitated the Golden Age of - Kashmir in its medieval - days.

Zain-ul-'Abidin's reign was almost contemporaneotis with 1V the times of the Sayyid ruler, Khizr Khan's son, Mu 122-1140-

Din Mubarak, his two successors—Muhammad and 'Alaud-Din 'Alam Shih—and Buhlil Lodi. The enlightened rule of the Sultan of Kashmir presented a striking contrast —

to the chaos and confusion then prevailing in and around Delhi, the centre and symbol of the glory of Hindustan. An effort has been made to straighten the puzzle, presented by Kashmir chronology during the period of the later Sultans of Kashmir, by means of coins, inscriptions, chronograms and a careful comparison of the records left by contemporary Hindu and Muslim chroniclers.

The conquest of Kashmir by the Mughuls and their rule, extending over a period of 164 years, is the subject of Chapter VI: Chapter VII treats of Kashmir under the Afghans, who held it for 67 years till 1819 A.C., when Muslim rule in Kashmir came to a close after lasting for a period of about 500 years.

A chart of important contemporary event's in politics and culture in the world, during the period of Muslim rule in Kashmir' from 1320 A.C. to 1819 A.C., has

been added. A glance at this chart will emphasize the importance of a viewpoint which, it is hoped, will be at once interesting and ’instructive:

Here Volume I of Kashir ends.

A broad general survey of Islamic culture in Kashmir is given in Chapters ٧111. IX and X under the heads: (7).

J.etters and “Litterateurs tn Kashmir under Muslim Rule. (2) Arts‘and Crafts in Kashmir under Muslim Ruie, and (at) Civil and Military Organizatior under Muslim Rule in Kashmir. In these Chapters, with which Volume ٢٢ of Kashty opens, the reader will find a summary of the import-

ant influences exercisedl by the impact of Muslim’ State and Society on the people of Kashmir. Ho

’ Chapter XT, Kashmir under the Sikhs for 27 yéars from ٢816 to 1846, is followed by Chapter XII,’ the last one.

Kashmir under Dogtra. rule, which carries the narrative down to the death of. Maharaja Pratap Singh on

Steptember, 1928.

._١ ١ ـ ـ The system of transliteration adopted is mostly .that uséd in the Cambridge History of India as resources of: the Press have permitted, wh far as the ile. variants. in

English spelling are those which are preferred by the Concise Oxford Dictionary.

I must tell the reader beforehand that Kashir is intended as a source-book for workers in the subject, and therefore I have not hesitated to quote copiously from specialists and eye-witnesses who had an appeal on the point concerned. I

have abstained from rehashing their observations or reproducing their accounts in my own words. At times verses, couplets and short passages from Persian or Urdu have not been translated into English. They appear in original in Kashir for their exquisite expression in Persian or Urdu. In translation “the personal idiom, the music of the verse, and the ramification of the imagery involved” must necessarily be blurred. A prosaic and pedestrian translation is but “an opaque screen,” and consequently has not been attempted, for which the in-

dulgence of the purely English-knowing reader is craved.

Several scholars, friends, acquaintances and others have read Kashir here and there, some complete, some m parts in which they were interested or were specialists. Some read the book to eliminate error in phrasing and punctuation.

individually.

All these are too numerous to be mentioned Iam very grateful to them all.

If I have presented this labour of love of mine to the Umiversity of the Panjab and if the Syndicate of the University has accepted it, the stimulus has come main ly from the Hon’ble Justice Dr. Din Muhammad, M.A ., LL.D., Judge, High Court of Judicature Punjab.

GHULAM MUHYI’D DIN ٢ Chindr Bagh, Srinagar, Kashmir. 26th Maghar, 2007 Bikrami.

Sunday, roth December, 1044 A.C, 23rd Zw’l-Hijja, 1363 A.H.

١ *Now (1948) His Excellency the Hon ’ble Dr. Din Muhammad, M.A,, LL.D .,

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Governor, Sind (Pakistan), Acknowledgment for varied assistance—Names of persons who have assisted me by typewriting parts or pages of the manuscript for the press:—Lieutenant Ahmad Muhyi'd Din Séfi, B.A. (اعد ex-R.LN.V.R., Urban Rehabilitation Officer for. Sind, ٥٥ it, formerly Resettlement Advice Officer, Bombay. Mr. Mahmia'

Muhyi'd Din Safi, M.A. (Bomb.), Exchange Bank of India & Afnica Limited, Karachi. Miss Maimina Sifi, B.A., B.T. (Panj.), 81, Nariman Road, Karachi. Mr. 'Abdullah Hasan Khan, B. A., LL. B. (Bomb.), Bombay. Mr. Muhammad Shafi' Quraishi, Panjib University Library,

Lahore. Mr. G.K. Reddi, formerly Editor, The Kashmir Times, Amira Kadal, Srinagar. Pandit Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamizai, B.A. (Panj.),

Ra'is, Kaul Manor, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. Khwaja Ghulam Abmad,

ظ ط.A. (Alig.), LL. B. (Panj.), Residency Road, Srinagar. Mr. Ya'qiib Santram, Stenographer, office of the University of Delhi, Mr. Bhagat Ram, formerly of the office of the University of Delhi. Maulavi Muhammad Hamid-ud-Din, formerly Accountant, in the same office.

Mr. Muhammad Shafi', Typist, office of the Director of Education, Jammu & Kashmir State. Pandit Janki Nath, Typist, office of the

Municipality, Srinagar. The late Mr. Vaidya and Mr. Bapat, Typists, office of the Bombay

University Library, Bombay.

Typist to Mr. Bahmanji Dubash, Colaba, Bombay. Mr. Hatim, Stenographer, Exchange Bank of India & Africa Ltd., Karachi. Mr. Ghaus Muhammad Khan Lodi, Typist, The C. & M. G. Press, Lahore.

Mr. G. Mu'in-ud-Din, P.A.S., Mr. 'Indyatullah Khwaja Ghulam Muhammad, 2.0.2. (retd.),

Khan, P.AS.;

deputed their Ste-

nographers for typing portions of Kashir.

The staffs of the (1) Panjab University Library, Lahore, specially Mr. Muhammad Shafi' Quraishi, Qari Muhammad Zarif, Maulavi 'Abdus Subbih, Khalifa 'Abdur Rabman and M. Ghulam Muhamuniad ; (it) of-the University of Bombay, under its enthusiastic Librarian, Dr. P.M. Joshi, ﻻ.A., Ph.D. (London), his former Assistant, Mr. Bhusle, and principally Mr. Saudagar, Mr. Narvekar, Mr, Rege, Mr. Nayak, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Wali Ahmad Kaméli; (ii) Sri Prat&p Singh Library, Srinagar, and the Librarian Mr. J. Sapri, B.A. ; (iv) the Archaeology and Research Library, Srinagar, and particularly the Assistant, Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Mushtaq; (v) Khan Bahadur Khalifa Muhammad Asadullah, B.A., when Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, promptly answered all references about books, maps, etc., in his Library and attended to the dispatch of books whenever addressed.

Chronology

Vi Ixx KASHIR CHRONOLOGY The Pre-Muslim Period ot | From the earliest times to the History of Kashmir ١ embracing Vedic, Buddh- { ist and Brahmanical Times J

The Sultans beginning Sadr-ud-Din of with 1320 A.C, 1 1320 to 1560 A.C. or 240 Years, Kashmir [From 1323 to 1338 A.C,

Sultan ۶ the interval of 15 years is (Rinchana)| taken up by Udayanadeva's and Kota Rani's rule].

to Sultan Habib Shah J 1560 to 1586 A.C, or 26 Years.

The Chaks ١ 1586 to 1752 A.C, The Mughuls or 166 Years, 1752 to 1819

The Afghans A.C.

or 67 Years, The total length of Muslim | 0 + 26 + 166 + 67=499 Ye

٣ Rule in Kashmir The Sikhs ars.'

1819 to 1846 A.C. 27 Years.

The Dogras—From 707 1846 to 1925 A.C. raja Gulab Maharaja excluding ruler Singh.

Singh Pratap the Maharaja ۵ Singh or 79 Years.

Wart Kashmir completed its cet-

present | In 1946 Dogra rule in tury.

Errata—Volume I Facsimile, 3rd line, read Nashdt for Nishat.

Page 15, 2nd line, read Honigberger for Honigberger.

26, below the verses, read خشاطfor blis.

35, read the heading as Early History, Buddhist and Bréhmanical, instead of the Pre-Islamic · 37, line 3, in paragraph 3, read Samdhimatnagar for Samdhimatnnagar. 44, line 5, from above, read Shatkhupura for Sheikhupura. 53, last para, in two places, read 753 for 751. 65, line 8, from the bottom, read shall for sh 0· 69, read Udayanadeva for Udyanadeva in three places in the second paragraph; also on page 123 in paras. first and second ; and pages 129, in paras. first, second and third. 92, No é but e in Rieu and Blochet. Also pp. 164, 242, and 250 in Rieu. 112, line 14, from the bottom, read 7494 for 1394.

124, in جوJ the pesh has jumped to the next hemistich, a?

a3 where it is not required at all.

135, apace is required between by and Sir in the footnote 0· 2.

141, line 3, from below, accent on the I in Ghazni. 147, the comma, after appraised, is thrown away further than it should: be. 171, limes 4 & 21, read Gujarat for Gujrat. 173, footnote No. 4, the fis broken, and the z is to be accented ¢ and not i in the name of the book.

178, line 2, below the inset, read Bad for Bad.

ره 205, delete the comma after first in line 8 from the bottom.

207, line 11 from above, read Nazr for Nazar.

7ر 7ر a3 a3 222, read Qazi'l-quzat for Qazi-ul-Quzzat. 224, 2 in Akbart is to be accented, and so also in jagir.

225, line 7, from the bottom, I in Iran is wrongfont.

236, line 2, from the bottom of the text, read 1387 for 1887. 237, read صداےfor Slo in the last hemistich. 250, read 1094 for 1694 in the date of Niz&ém-ud-Din's death, lme 18 from above. 251, lines 6, 7, 8, from above, Kashmir was included in the Stba of Kabul, and not Kabul in Kashmir. 257, line 19, from the top, the hyphen فاsuperfluous between B.A. and P.B. 263, line 8 from above, read Gujarati for Gujrati. 298 Zulfigar and Zulfagar are both permissible, although some people vehemently insist on Zulfaqar. 300, read temper for emper in the last line of the paragraph.

312, read for مان ¢>1 in the top first line of the Persian couplet

Chapter I — Kashir and the Koshur, or Kashmir and the Kashmiri

Kashmir and the Kashmiri Many a writer has attempted to describe Kashmir, some even at length, yet Kashmir still defies description.

'The praises of Kashmir cannot be contamed within the narrows of language," said Abu'l Fazl.? And so says Hafiz—

) (تصو بر کشمیرsnibرثاالوپاس gniyartroP[eht erutcip si ekil ?gniward a maerts fo yb—klim dahraF rof sih devoleb nirihS morf eht tnuoM].nitusiB

Kashmir, verily an emerald of verdure enclosed in a radiant amphitheatre of virgin snow, is such a beautiful country, blest with a fertile soil, glorious climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lovely lakes, and with such charming flowers and delicious fruits, singing birds and sweet odours, that it 'once enjoyed a great fame as the seat of the original paradise of the human race." * It is, therefore, significant to learn from Dr. Terra that Kashmir and the adjoining plains contain all the essential data for a study of early man in Southern Asia.® And it is from Kashmir that the first evidence of a Himalayan Ice Age has been forthcoming.® Even though Kashmir may not be the original Paradise, it is certainly regarded as one of the most blessed spots upon the earth. In fact, it forms an isolated world by itself wherein one is inclined to think each spot the most beautitul of all, perhaps because each, in some particular, excels the rest. The country with which Kashmir isaptto be compared, says Sir Francis Younghusband,' is Switzerland. Késhur,

In the Kashmiri language, an inhabitant of Kashmir is called and so also his language.

The Akbar-nama, English Translation by H. Beveridge, page 828. In the older sense of 'constructing and directing a ditch or canal

The Historians' History of the World—The Times, London, 1907, from one point to another.'—Murray's English Dictionary. Vol. II, page 485.

5. Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures by Dr: H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, Washington, D. C., 1939, page 1.

ILbid., page 1.

Kashmir, Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, page 2.

Kashmir and Switzerland.

Switzerland indeed has many charms and a combination of lake and mountain scenery, in which it excels Kashmir, but it is built on a smaller scale, and has not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains. To Vigne,' however, the glens, glades, forests and streams of Kashmir are truly Alpine. Moreover, there is no place where one can see a complete circle of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of about 1,900 square miles, everywhere over 5,000 feet above sea level, of anything like the length—about 84 miles—and breadth—about 20 to 25 miules —of the Kashmir Valley. From snowfield to snowfield, the Valley has a width of 25 to 30 miles. The main valleys of Switzerland are like the side-valleys of Kashmir. Many of the peaks of the uninterrupted wall of Kashmir hills out-top Mont Blanc by thousands of feet and far exceed the loftiest summits of the Caucasus. There is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmir, and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of magnificent

mountains surpassing every other in the world. On account of its position in the higher Himalaya, Kashmir is the Indian Piedmont.

Kashmir and Greece. Poets have sung of beautiful Greece with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky. But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece. Sir Francis Younghusband? writes: “It has the same blue sky and brilhant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and if it has no sea, it has lake and river, and the still more impressive snowy mountains. It has, too, greater variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountains and open valley.” “And to me,” continues

Younghusband, who has seen both countries, ’“‘ Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress by itsnatural beauty.” My own visits to Switzerland and Greece confirm Younghusband’s observations. Sir Muhammad Iqbal does not exaggerate when he says:

من خدا را دیدم نجاے حجاب گره و درا و غروب آفتاب Travels, by G. T. Vigne, London, 1842, Vol. I, page 289.

Kashmir, page 133.

The Beauty of the Dal. ‘It has happened not infrequently that people have been unimpressed with the Taj at first sight, but when they looked at it closer, they realized the charm of Shah Jahan’s ‘dream in marble.’ The same sometimes happens when the sceptical visitor goes to Kashmir. Let such a one first of all go up the Takht-i-Sulaiman in the early morning.

و و He will feel what conversion the Dal immediately brings about—the sight is grand, too grand for words to describe. The water is so clear that the reflections of the surrounding mountains are perfect. “‘ Chenars and willows, picturesque

chalets, dark cypresses, blue distance, and snowy mountains make a picture hard to equal anywhere.” ۱ a,

سرو ومن «سبزه ولاله وگلShمس ! 2کیا حسن ۱ ۳ Bh ghمس ! و اللہ الل ےے ۳4

! |میںAپ یی کی فر و دلا هس ےکیسے زنظار ۷ ۰ ۰

ھ _تودہ سم 3Jکے ebaھن ٤کوہ پای میں و مس نہاں dhرنپای میں٤ میں ! و

و 99ب ! مسoh NMعکس یا ےے کبسار برف o را ۱ be سلہاںFo fo 4 So اك طرف

’۱ حجوھدری حوسی جچں %اك جج ھGbسبز بری کا 2 وطن dhمس ! ص2 ناظر-

oH(نغمہ فر تازہ گردد است) حصّہ اول ”دوس-صفعہ ilb وert LA 4

ڈل دل و ی بشمار است koمگر گردد تازہ AT مار§ نقاب

احسن ظفرحا زن؟؛ ز سر ۲ گلستان زر آبش سنواب rizaN[dna nashA erew htob sronrevog fo ,rimhsaK eht eno rednu eht sargoD dna eht rehto rednu eht].sluhguM

The late Justice Miyan Muhammad Shah Din then aptly wished: تو دل oly هرز ےکنارےatk ص {And dying let my grave be on the Dal!]

The sceptic can no longer remain sceptical : he must soon be vanquished by the graceful charms of the lovely lake. It is not one big sheet of water, but is all the more attractive for that reason. Little canals intersect the floating gardens and

small islands, while villages and orchards are dotted about its banks, which enclose an area of about five miles in length and two in breadth. ٣ e

و b 7 • Pages have been written in praise of the beautiful milky waters of Gandarbal,! the gushing springs of Achabal, Kukar-nag® and Ver-nag,‘ the “peculiar neutral tinted” tarn of Cesha-nag® 12,000 feet high up in the lovely Liddar valley of which pastoral Pahaloim, ‘The Shepherd’s Village’ (about 60 miles from Srinagar) is a pleasant resort (about 7,000 feet above the sea level), the fresh water lakes of “secluded, profound and silent” Manasbal® and the lily-embroidered Wular, the heights of Tragabal,’ the glacier valley of Sonamarg, the glen of Gangabal, the charm of Gulmarg ‘The Meadow of Flowers,’ and the transcendental joys of the deep jade spring that lies below Affarwat® on the

The Gandarbal village, 13 miles from Srinagar, is bank of the Sind river, a tributary of the Jhelum.

on the left 2. The Achabal village is about 6 miles south-east of Islimabad, and contains the shrine of Sayyid Shihab-ud-Din of Baghdad. Achabal is called Sahibabid on account of Jahin Ari Begam known as

Begam Sahiba. 3-4, The Kukar-nag spring is a few miles from Ver-nag, the reputed source of the river Jhelum. Ver-nag, the nag or spring of Vér also known as

Nila-naga derives its name from the pargana off Vér now called Shahabad.

Cesha-nig is the name of the serpent on which the earth is believed to stand. 6. The Manasbal lake about two miles in diameter and considered to be the loveliest of all Kashmir lakes is about 16 miles north-w est of Srinagar. It is surrounded by majestic hills. Manas refers to a ‘mountain’ and bal a lake. Hence a mountain lake. It is the deepest lake in the Valley with a maximum depth of

12.8 meters. 'The little lake," wrote Andrew Wilson in 1875, "is not much larger than Grasmere ہے but its shores are singularly suggestive of peacefulness and. solitude ٠, (Lhe Abode of Snow, page 424.) The ruins of a fine Mughu l garden are situated on one of its banks. 7. Tragabal (with its Chowki and Rest House), 9,160 feet high, is over 10 miles north of Bandipdr which is on the Wular. 8. Affarwat is a hill above Gulmarg.

fringe of the forest, yet words have ever proved hopelessly inadequate to describe beauties that defy description. Sweet interchange Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains, Now land, now lake, and banks! with forest crowned Rocks, dens and caves ! —Paradise Lost, Book IX, 115-118.

To Abu'l Fazl,2 Kashmir is so enchanting as to be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a to citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. His brother Faizi says: آثار قدرت از لی ست ی 4حرم که چه

هر نظاره بتازد نظر 4صلع قد بر ۳ ۳ rehtO .snoitcarttA

To put itin other words, to the holiday-maker Kashmir is the chief garden of Asia. "For the lover of sport, a wide range of game is available. The botanist and the zoologist have here a great wealth of flora and fauna. The lovely glens and the shaded mountain spurs in their picturesque settings provide an inexhaustible theme to the genius of the poet and a background for the contemplation of the philosopher. For the linguist, Kashmir with its surroundings has a variety of dialects belonging to different branches of the human family. For the geologist, it offers an mteresting study of soils and rocks with chronological data unobtainable elsewhere in India. For the archeologist, there are numerous monuments of different ages and traces of cultural influences showing the

interplay of civilizations. The scholar has an extensive field for research in systems of (Hindu) philosophy peculiar to Kashmir," and for research in Muslim history, culture, poetry and sociology. "The explorer has mysterious lands onthe boundaries and the lofty mountams to merit his attention."

The text has 'sea and shores.'

9. The A'in-i-Akbari, English Translation by Colonel H. 8. Jarrett,

Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, page 348.

3. The Annual Adminstration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1940-41, combining the views of Vigne, Moorcroft, Elphinstone, and Sir Walter Lawrence —page 11,

And then—living in Kashmiris cheaper than in most other countries of the world. Srinagar, the Venice in the heart of Switzerland, offers fascinating living in gorgeous house-boats and gay gondolas. And the countryside and the hills have camping grounds for a free and healthy life under canvas. Kolahai is the Matterhorn of Kashmir towering at 17,800 feet in beautiful surroundings of mountains and glaciers. Lolab reminds one of Scotland and Wales. The coniferous forests of Kashmir are the finest in Northern India.

Climate. Though the Valley is about 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, it is not so cold as might be expected at such an altitude, گس مش 6سردش لہ سرد است نہ گرم است [Heat there is, but hot 'tis not; Cold there is, but cold 'tis not.]

The reason is the surrounding high hills, which save the Valley from the cold blasts of the north and _ scorching winds from the south. And yet, as large a variety in temperature or humidity can be obtained in different parts of Kashmir

as in the whole of Europe, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the North Cape, points out Dr. Arthur Neve. From January to the middle of February, the mean temperature of Srinagar is 35 degree F., and from July to the middle of August, it is 80 degrees ; the extremes in the shade being, in the first case, 15 to 45 degrees, and in the second case 55 to 96 degrees and in some years 98 or 99. The climate of the Valley proper until quite the end of May is very similar to that of Switzerland. As the summer advances, it becomes somewhat relaxing. But the heat scarcely, if at all, exceeds that of South Italy. The autumn months are the pleasantest in the whole year with clear, bright, but fairly cool days. The rainfall is much less than that of any ofthe other Himalayan hill-stations. At Srinagar the yearly amount seldom exceeds 27 inches. At Gulmarg, it is very much more, but even then not more than twothirds of that of Murree. For two months, however, even the lower parts of the Valley are seldom free from snow, which formerly lay, eight inches or a foot deep though not quite so much now. Kashmir is indeed acentre for winter sports. According to Dr. Arthur Neve, the climate of Kashmir is more suitable than that of England for chest cases.*

- The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc., by Major Arthur Neve, F.R.C.S., Edinburgh, R.A.M.C., 15th edition, revised by Dr. E. 1. Neve, F,R.0,8., page 4.

The American will find in Kashmir the cold of Canada, and the warmth of Northern Mexico, or the vigour of San Francisco and the moderation of Los Ange les in climate. WwW

راہ مس پتھس bot oy KL س ہباف w ذرہ رہ ے سرے کشمر کا مہماں واز ۰۰ و سپنڑت برج ٹرائن چکہست -لکیھنوی (IF)

eve)وطن - ۱۹۳۱ - صشاعی

[How exceedingly hospitable is the land of Kashmir K'en the wayside stones offered me water to drink 1

The Valley of Kashmir.

The Valley of Kashmir, with which this book deals, consists of two districts of the present State of Jammu and Kashmir, viz. the Anantnaig district and the Baramile, district. The Anantnag district has four tahsils : (1) Srinagar (2) Islamabad or Anantnag (3) Kulgim, (4) Pulwama, formerly Awantipér. The Baramiila district has: (1) Baramila, (2) Badgam or Sripratapsinghpor and (3) Handwara or Uttarmachipér. These seven tahsils constitute the Kashmir Valley proper. An old tradition puts the number of villages in Kashmir at 66,063. But information, collected in 1400 a.c., and believed by Stein to be accurate, puts the number of villages at 100,000 in plains and mountains together. The census of 1891 a.c. states the number of villages in Kashmir to be 2,870.* The census of 1931 gives 3,557 as the number of inhabited towns and villages in the Kashmir Province and that of 1941 as 3,738, or an increase of 863 villages in fifty years. Apparently the information of 1400 a.c. giving the number of villages as 100,000 may have included either the entire territory then under the Sultan of Kashmir or the entire Kashmiri-speaking area in and around the Valley viz. the Valley of the Vitasta, the Valley of the Sind, Kishtwar, Padar,

Ridsi, Rajauri, Uri, Pinch, Karnah, the Northern and Western banks of the Chenéb, Ramban, Batét, and part Dardistan.

of From early times the Valley has been divided into two great parts known by their modern names Kama-raj and

*Stein's English Translation of Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol. 1 pages 438-39,

Mara-raj. These terms, Sir Aurel Stein says, are derived from the Sanskrit Kramaraéjya and Madavarajya. Maraj or Maraz comprises the districts on both sides of the Jhelum above Srinagar, and Kamraj or Kamraz those below. Abw'] Fazl also notes likewise. During Muslim rule, it appears that Srinagar was the chief city of Maraj and Sopor the headquarters of Kamraj. Area.

The area of the Valley of Kashmir 18 6,131 square miles which is over four times that of the Cochin State (1,418 square miles), almost double that of the Alwar State (3,158), bigger than Patiala (5,932), slightly smaller than Bhopal (6,902), about half the size of Holland (12,582), more than half of Turkey in Kurope (10,882), and more than one-third of Switzerland (15,975). In latitude, Kashmir corresponds to Damascus in Syria, to Féz in Morocco and to South Carolina in the United States of America. Though not greatly significant in area, the beauty and variability of the Valley are unique for air, soil and picturesque landscape. It 1s said of the Valley that "every hundred feet of its elevation brings some new phase of climate and vegetation, and, in a short ride of thirty miles, one can pass from overpowering heat to a climate delightfully cool, or can escape from wearisome wet weather to a dry and sunny atmosphere." To the Mughuls it was known as "the terrestrial paradise of the Indies,' and Jahangir who first brought it into prominence declared—as Bernier states?—that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kashmir.

It appears from Bad&oni's account that Akbar called Kashmir his Bagh-i-Khdss® or his " Special Garden." Population. The population of the Valley of Kashmir, according to the census of 1931, was 1,331,771, of which 1,256,274 were Muslims, 64,806 were Hindus, 10,257 were Sikhs and the rest Christians, Buddhists, Parsis and others. On March 1, 1941, the total figure for the Valley was 1,464,034. 1, The Valley of Kashmir by Walter R. Lawrence, Oxford

University Press, 1895, pages 13-14. 2. Bernier's Travels, 2nd edition, revised by V. A. Smith, 1914, page 401. _ 9. The

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Persian Volume IT, page 369.

text, Calcutta, 1865, The shape of the Valley is that of طوelliptical saucer, or more precisely a boot-shaped bowl. From the foot of the Kishanganga water-shed to the southeast corner beyond Islamabad, the floor of the Valley is built of little-consolidated lake beds and alluvial soils. The greatest portion of this area, which is over 2,000 square miles, exhibits silts and sands into which the Jhelum and its tributaries have carved a relief of varying character. Travellers have commented on the terraces that form conspicuous features! of the Valley. Indeed, without these terraces the Valley would be 'a forlorn sight.' " Their green cultivated fields contrast with the bleak, rocky slopes and lend to the scenery a definite air of human planning. On them villages and smaller towns are nestled again t the talus-strewn valley flanks, protected, as it were, from the ravaging spring and summer floods. Temple ruins testify to the great antiquity of some of these settlements, which date back to the first millennium of our era."

Kashmir a Vast Lake in Prehistoric Times Geological evidence and mythological tradition agree that the Valley of Kashmir was once, perhaps a hundred million years ago, one vast lake hundreds of feet • Kashmir legends say that a Cakti manifestation of Civa

(one of the gods of the Hindu Triad) called Sati,? appeared in the form of water; this Cakti is also named Parvati and the place, where it appeared, came to be known as Satisaras, the place where Cakti Sati took the shape of a tarn or lake.

The Legend of the Lake. The legend runs that Kagyapa, the grandson of Brahma, found, when he reached Jalandhara (Jullundur) in the

Punjab, on a pilgrimage from the south,that all the country to the north-west had been laid waste by a rdksas a (demon) Jalodbhava (water-born), who lived in the immense Satisiras. Distressed at the havoc caused by Jalodbhava and his imps,

1, Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures by Dr. H. De Terra and ﷲT. Paterson, Washington, D. C., 1939, page

2. Sati was the daughter of Daksa and the spouse of Civa. She consumed herself in the sacrificial fire of Daksa's sacrifice, as he refused to invite Giva to take his share of the offerings.

Kacyapa devoted himself to religious exercises, in consequence of which the Hindu Triad, Brahma, Visnu and Civa, appeared to aid him. They found that Indra (the thunder god) and other gods had attempted to annihilate the demons on several previous occasions and had succeeded in destroying not a few, but the majority of the demons had escaped by hiding under water. Visnu, assuming the form of Varaha (boar), struck the mountains at Varahamiila (modern Baramiila') with his tail and cut up the remaining obstacles with his teeth. The waters of the lake rushed out, but the demon took refuge in the low ground, where Srinagar now stands. He baffled pursuit for a time, but was finally caught and crushed to death by the gods. When Jalodbhava was destroyed, the smaller demons lost heart, and the drained basin gradually became mnmhabited in summer. In winter, however, the people retreated to the drier and warmer regions of the south, leaving Kashmir to the demons. One winter, an aged Brahman remained behind, taking up his quarters in a cave. He was seized by the demons and carried off to a place now known as Nilandga? (the Lord of Serpents), where he was thrown into the lake. He sank to the bottom, but to his amazement he found it to be really a palace in which the king, Nila Naga (Kacyapa's son), was

Baraimila town is situated on both sides of the river Jhelum which are connected by a bridge. The distance between Baramiila and Srinagar is 34 miles. The height of the town above sea level is 5,100 feet. The population of Baramila, according to the census of 1931, was 6,886 of whom 5,839 were Musalmans. In 1941 the population has almost doubled and is 12,722. Beyond the town, begins the road to Srinagar. This fine road is bordered with tall, erect, white poplar trees. Huskapura founded by Huska, a Kushana king, in the second century 4.c., now reduced to and corrupted into the modern village

Uskara or (Wugkur), is about two miles to the gouth-east of the modern town.

2. Nila-niga (Blue Spring) is an oval sheet of water, about 100 yards long 20 yards wide about 40 feet deep, lying in a hollow on the slopes of the hills on the south side of the Kashmir Valley, in Gogji Pathar village about 4 miles west of Chrar Sharif which is 20 miles from Srinagar. Nila-naéga is considered holy by the Hindus. Less than 3 miles northwest of Nila-niga, the Diidhganga leaves the mountains to enter the Karewa Hills. ١

هllzaF :etorw stI‘ sretaw era yletisiuqxe raelc dna ynam hsirep yb erif tuoba sti .redrob egnartS ot ,etaler snemo era nekat yb sti .snaem A tun si dedivid otni ruof strap dna nworht ,ni dna ifna odd number floats, the augury is favourable, if otherwise, the reverse.’ — hsilgnE noitalsnarT fo eht ,irabkA-i-ni’A .loV ,II egap .363 tuB nietS syas ti srefer ot eht sdnegel fo eht suomaf aganaliN ta .ganraV sitting on his throne.

He sought audience of this king and laid a complaint before him of the rough treatment which he had received. The king was most gracious and gave him the Nilamata-Purana* for his guidance, assuring him that, if he obeyed the precepts of that book and made the offerings therein prescribed, the demons would cease

to molest him. In the spring, he was restored to the dry land. He carried out his structions and imparted them to others. The result was that, from that time, people were able to remain in Kashmir during the winter and the demons ceased to trouble them.

Geological Evidence. The above story, legendary as it is, corresponds with the results of early geological observations. In prehistoric times, the basin of Kashmir contained a lake much larger than that of today. The sand-stone rock at the western corner of the basin, according to these earlier observations, seems to have been rent by some cataclysm followed by attrition ; and the lake was drained by the deepening of the Barimila gorge, which was the result of the slow process of erosion by water, and which must have taken hundreds of years to accomplish. At that period, the climate was so cold, and the winter snows were so heavy and lasted so long, that the country could be inhabited only in summer by nomads who migrated southward in winter. In time, however, the climate became temperate, and Kashmir came to be the abode of a permanent and prosperous agricultural community. contested.

These earlier observations are, however, now (The alluvial deposits filling up the basin of Kashmir were held by the earlier geologists to have been formed from the waste of the surrounding mountains, and to have been laid down at the bottom of a great lake. It has been stated that these deposits once covered the whole Valley to a height of one thousand feet above its present level, and that the greater portion has been carried away by the Jhelum to the plains of the Punjab. The Wular lake which now measures 10 miles in length and 5 in breadth, was regarded by Montgomerie as a last relic of the great

- The Nilamaia or Teachings of the Sage Nila, the chief of the Nagas, is the oldest extant written record which deals with the holy legends regarding

> the origin of Kashmir and its sacred places: Moreover, it is one of the main sources of information used by Kalhana when writing his Rajatarangini. Kalhana refers to it also as the book of rites and festivals preseribed by Nila for Kashmirians.

Nilamata, or the Teachings of Nila, Sanskrit text with critical notes, edited by Dr. K. De Vrees,—pages xxi.—151, was published at Leiden (Holland) by E. J. Brill in 1936.

expanse of water which once covered all Kashmir. But this idea of a great prehistoric lake has been abandoned by Mr. R.D. Oldham. Mr. Oldham studied the Karewas or plateaus and the present lakes of the Kashmir valley in 1903, and came to the conclusions that the Karewas are of fluviatile and not of lacustrine origin, and that there was never at any time a materially larger lake than at the present day.—A Sketch o the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet by Col. 8.6. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, Calcutta, 1907-08, Part ITI, page 169.]

The Name Kashmir.

The old name Satisaras was replaced by Ka-samira, that may be taken to mean (land) from which water (Ka) has been drained off by wind (Samira). According to another interpretation, Kashmir is a Prakrit compound with its components: kas, meaning a channel and mir, meaning a mountain. Kas-mir could thus mean a rock trough. In its configuration, Kashmir is a deep trough (84x20 to 25 miles) with rocky walls. This is one theory. The other theory—that

Kashmir, or Kashir named by its inhabitants, was so called on account of the settlement of a race of men called Kash,! who were a Semitic tribe and founded

what are now called the cities of Kash,? Kashan? and Kashghar*—has yet to be properly investi1.

See Sir Lucas King's revised edition of the English Translation of Babur's Memoirs, Vol. I, page ملعThe acceptance of this theory would lead usto discard that which connects Kash with the Khagas of the Himalayan hills, and opens up quite a new field of research. Sir George

Grierson has discussed the origin of Khacas in his Linguistic Survey of India, Vo\l. TX, Part TV, pages 2-8. One conjecture is that Kash isthe same as the Semitic Cush, Kosh or Kash and not the Aryan-speaking Khacas.

3 Kash is a town in Bukhara district on the trade-route between

Samarqand and Balkh. Kash is now called Shahr-i-Sabz or ' greentown ' on account of the fertility of its surroundings. Shahr-i-Sabz 1 وsurrounded by hills on the north, east and south. Whe present town was built at the beginning of the seventh century a.c.

Kishan is a town in the small province of Kashin in [raq-i-

'Ajam, Iran It has a population of 30,000 and is one of the hotest towns of Tran, lying in a fertile plain, 90 miles N E. of Isfahan and 150 miles from Teheran.

The province is divided into the two districts of ""garm sir'? the warm, and "'sard sir" thecold. Great quantities of silk stuffs from raw material imported from Gilin and copper utensils are manufactured at Kashan, and sent to all parts of Iran. Kashan also exports rose-water and is the only place in [ran where cobalt can be obtamed. Jewellery and carpets are also manufactured. At the foot of hills, four miles west of the city, are the beautiful gardens of Fin. 4. Kashghar is an important city in the district of Kashgaria in the extreme west of China in the

province of Chinese Turkistan. At present, Kashghar consjsts of two towns, Kuhna Shahr, or ‘ old city,’

gated. In that case, the origin of the word Kashmir from Kash, the race, and ‘ir’ a suffix like ‘4n’ and ‘ ghar’ will permit the belief that the Kasia Regio and the Kasii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imaus, were inhabited by this same race of Kash whose domination at some period probably extended from Kashghar to Kashmir, in both of which they have left their name.

But the fact is that the name Kashmir is ancient and, in the words of Stein,+ linguistic science can furnish no clue to its origin nor even analyse its formation. The earliest Chinese reference to Kashmir is dated 541 A.c., which calls the Valley Ku-shih-mt. The name Kashmir has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. It has uniformly been applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. ‘“‘ We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries, while the name itself is undoubtedly far more ancient.”’? The inhabitants pronounce it as Kashir which, according to Stein, is the direct phonetic derivative of Kashmir with the loss of m. In Kashur or Késhur—the inhabitant of Kashir and the language of Kashir,—w replaces · Kashmir made known abroad.

There is no notice in the accounts of Alexander’s expedition which can be shown to imply even a hearsay knowledge of the Kashmir Valley, says Stein. “The first authentic information concerning Kashmir which appears to have reached Europe,” says Baron Hiigel,4 “was through the Portuguese, whose religious zeal prompted them to promulgate Christianity among the natives ; for we attach little credit to the tales we are told of their king marching to the relief of Porus, when he was attacked by Alexander the Great, built in 1513 a.c., and

Yangi Shahr or ‘ new city,’ built in 1838 a.c., about 5 miles apart and separated by the Kizil-Su. Kashghar stands at the meeting-place of several important and ancient routes, and thus ’has considerable strategical, commercial and social importance. Culturally, it is superior to Yarqand. Kashghar manufactures silks, carpets, and jewellery and the population is estimated at 62,000.

1. Sir Aurel Stein’s English Translation of Kalhana’s Rdjatarangint Vol. II, page 386. 2. The Ancient Geography of Kashmir, pages 61-62. 3. [bid., p. 8.

2. Travels by Baron Charles Hiigel, London, 1845, page 4.

although the later Greek authors mention a country they call Kaspatyrus, which would seem to be Kashmir. Setting aside such unsatisfactory accounts, we may repeat that to Europe Kashmir was, in a measure, unknown till the subjects of Portugal first trod its valleys.” Jerums Xavicr, a Navarese of high birth, is supposed to be the first Huropean who ever had the glory or the courage to penetrate to this remote region. Another of the same family, Francis Xavier, “animated with like fervent zeal to diffuse the light of Christian truth throughout the Hast, had already gained, and not undeservedly, the glorious title of the Apostle of the Indies.” Jerome Xavier appeared at the court of Akbar the Great at Agra and accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir. Xavier’s remarks on Kashmir were published in his work, Hajus de Rebus Japonicis, Indicis, etc. (Antwerp, 1605).

The next noted traveller who acquainted the West with Kashmir is Francis Bernier, M.D. of the Faculty of Montpellier, Southern France. Bernier left France in 1654, when twenty-nine, in his desire to see the world. In 1657, during the reign of Shah Jahan, he came to Strat, after having been to Syria and Egypt,

at the very period when Shih Jahan's sons were contending for the Mughul throne, and Aurangzib ultimately ascended the throne of Delhi. Bernier arrived at Delhi towards the end of 1659. 'When in Delhi, as he had accidentally lost his property and was in a helpless condition, he tried to get some employment." Having failed in his attempt, he secured a monthly allowance from the State Charity Fund through the intervention of Danishmand Khan, a noble of Aurangzib's court. Aiter twelve years' abode in India, Bernier returned to France. He fixed himself at Paris where his Travels were published in 1670. ٢

Father Desideri, a Jesuit, was the other important visitor to Kashmir. His observations on Kashmir are contained in a letter entitled Les Lettres Edifiantes from Lhassa in 1716. Then, in the year 1783, came George Forster, a civil servant in the Hast India Company's Presidency of Madras. Kashmir had already been annexed to Afghanistan by Ahmad | Shah Durrani. In fact, Timir Shah, the son and successor of Ahmad Shah, had been ten years on the throne enjoying the fruits of his father's conquests. Azad Khan governed Kashmir.

Other noted visitors are: William Moorcroft, G. T. Vigne, Baron Hiigel, Dr. Honigberger, Victor Jacquemont and the Baron Eric von Shdnberg. All of them visited Kashmir during Sikh rule. The reader will find brief references to these visitors as also relevant extracts from their accounts in due course in the Kashir.

'The Stone Age wn Kashmir. Hitherto it has been held that there was no Stone Age in Kashmir. Recent finds, however, of agricultural imple-

ments, a tomahawk, tumuli, standing megaliths and prone monoliths, made after careful search at Pandréthan, Takhti-Sulaiman, VendrahoOm, Rangyil, Naran Nag and Arhém in Kashmir seem to establish the existence of such an

The Aborigines as the Furst Settlers. The wide prevalence of Naga-worship before and even after the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in the Kashmir Valley must have been the people, known as aborigines, who had spread over the whole of India before the advent of the Aryans. Nothing is known as to the stage of civilization these early inhabitants had attained when they entered Kashmir.

The Aryans. Then came the wave of Aryan invasion from the northwest of

India, though this is not accepted by scholars like Keith. As in the Punjab and Northern India, they mixed with the aborigines and formed one people. They must have come in numbers large enough to put their own racial stamp on the people here. An attempt has been made to show that Kashmir was once a Zoroastrian? country, but the references quoted in support of this view, are more or less of a legendary nature.

The Jews. The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kashmiri from all surrounding races have 1. -The Sione Age in Kashmir by Mr. G. EH. L. Carter, 1. The collection of stone implements on which Mr. Carter has based his Note may be seen in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay. See also Dr. Terra's Studies on the Ice Age in India, page 2. Dr. Terra began the geologic. survey of the Kashmir Valley in 1932 a.c. 2. SirJd.J. Modi, The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX, December 1895, pages 237-248, under Cashmere and Ancient Persians.

always struck observant visitors to the Valley, and have led to several conjectures as to their origin. One such strong conjecture connects the Kashmiris with the Jews or rather one of the Hebraic peoples. The 'Jewish' cast of feature of many of the inhabitants of Kashmir has been noticed by scores of modern travellers, Two leading authorities on Kashmir in recent times, whose profound knowledge

of the land and its people can hardly be questioned, namely Sir Walter Lawrence and Sir Francis Younghusband, have admitted the decided 'Jewish' cast of faces among men, women and children.

The late Sir Walter Lawrence says! that the hooked nose is a prominent feature and the prevailing type is distinctly Hebraic. Sir Francis says? that "here may be seen fine old patriarchal types, just as we picture to ourselves the Israelitish heroes of old. Some, indeed. say, though I must admit without much authority, that these JXashmiris are of the lost tribes of Israel . . . . . and certainly, as I have gaid, there are real Biblical types to be seen everywhere in Kashmir, and especially among the upland villages. Here the Israelitish shepherd tending his flocks and herds may any day be seen." Bernier was hardly less definite. He said? :

"On entering the kingdom after crossing the Pir-panjal mountains, inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Fathers and by several other Kuropeans, long before I visited Kashmir."

Shah Hamadan, the great saint, visited Kashmir in the fourteenth century a.c. He also named the Valley Bagh-i-Sulaiman or the "Garden of Solomon,' seemingly supporting the settlement of Israelites in Kashmir. Abii Raihan al-Biriini (973—1048 4.c.) ' accompanieds the expedition ' of Mahmiid against Kashmir, probably in 1. The Valley of Kashmir, Oxford University Press, 1895, page 318.

2. Kashmir, Ed. 1917, pages 129-130. 3. Travels (Smith's Edition), page 430. 4. Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, page 238.

3. Lhe Raj., English Translation by Stein, Vol. 2, page 360.

1021 a.c., the expedition being unsuccessful on account of the valorous defence by Kashmirians and heavy snowfall. Al-Biriini, however, utilized every opportunity during his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjab (1017-30) for collecting information on Kashmir. Writing more than a century before Kalhana, about the inhabitants of Kashmir, al-Birtini says!"سے "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength? of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times, they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

The possibility of 'Jewish' admixture in Afghan blood has been suspected. The researches of Sir George Grierson prove that the Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic, and not to the Sanskrit group, though it must be admitted that Sanskrit has considerably influenced the present

Kashmiri language.

Itis now definitely known that Pushtu is a member of the eastern branch of the Iranian family, and that Kashmiri too belongs to the Iranian group, or, to be more precise, to the Indo-Iranian group. Hence, there must be some affinity between -Pushtu and Kashmiri.

As already noted, the language as spoken in Kashmir is not called Kashmiri by the inhabitants but Késhur and the land, Kashir.

It should, however, be admitted that, beyond al-Birini's statement, there is no authentic recorded evidence available to establish the existence of any large Jewish or rather Hebraic element in Kashmir.

[Perhaps the following will be read with interest in this connexion :—

Dr. Jill Cossley Batt, B.A., D.8c., authoress and explorer, collaborate with Dr. Irvine Baird, says the Montreal Gazette, in meeting mysterious 1. Al-Biriini's India—English edition Vol. I, page 206.

by Dr. Edward 0. Sachau 2. Abu'l Fazl writes: 'The roads of the country are of such a nature that if the ruler get news a few days before of the approach of strangers and seize the passes, it would be difficult, or rather impossible, for an army adorned with thousands of Rustams to get possession of the country."'— The Akbarnaima (English Translation by Beveridge, 1906,

Vol. II, page 198.) Abu'l Fazl, however, could not be expected to foresee the invention of the aeroplane jim our day ! ٢ people, high up in the Himalayas within the borders of Tibet, dwelling in caves, retaining characteristics of an ancient civilization, to whom the name of 'Lost Tribe' has been attributed. The lost tribe is believed to be of Chaldean origin. The theories of Batt and Baird are expected to be outlined in a book entitled • The Lost Tribe.' The expedition of Dr. Batt and Dr. Baird in 1930-31 ٨٠٥, was supported by the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, and forty-two leading British and American firms.—Extracted from the article on the subject in the Montreal Gazette, reproduced in the Bombay Chronicle, Bombay, dated December 17, 1933, page 13.]

The Arabs. "The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried Muhammadan arms at times close enough to the

confines of Kashmir."' But no permanent conquest was effected even in the Punjab. The notices of Muslim geographers like al-Mas'idi, 9 Qazwini, al-Idrisi are restricted to a brief statement only. The Bambas, living on the right bank of the Jhelum, in Kashmir,however, claim descent from the Bani Umayya,? a section of whom is stated to have migrated to Badakhshan, stayed there for some generations, and to have come to Kashmir with Dulcha in 1322 ·

Here reference to a similar people may perhaps help us in appreciating the claim of the Bambas. The Russian Orientalist of Bombay, Mr. W. Ivanow, furnishes me with the translation of a paragraph from a Russian work,? which I should like to reproduce :—' Arabs: (Census, 1924—54,318 individuals). Live as continuous population in the Bukhara district, and in the Qat&qurghan and Samargand districts of the Samarqand province. In isolated groups live in many other places of the Uzbeg and the Turkoman republics, amongst Uzbeg or Tajik population, and chiefly occupied in agriculture. Language:— The majority has lost the original language and speaks

Uzbeg, Turkish or Tajiki, as the population amongst which they live. The Arabs inhabiting a few villages of the Qaraqul ta'luga of the Bukhara district have preserved their original Arabic. In some places they still preserve

Zhe Ancient Geography of Kashmir by Dr. Stein, page 20.

Lhe Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol. XV., 1908 Edition, page

101), says Bani Hashim but Banii Umayya appears to be more probable. The Bambas, however, are now classed as Rajputs. 3. A List of the Nationalities inhabiting the U.S.S.R.. by

Zaroobin, Leningrad 1927, page 21, para 81, LI, tribal divisions, although the majority are already entirely assimilated with the population around them.

Relegionسے Sunnis."

There is, however, a strong admixture of the IndoAryan type, and the extent of this influence can be gauged from the magnitude of the change wrought on the Kashmiri language by Sanskrit. We have reason to assume that, even in Hindu times, Kashmir was under foreign rule and the reign of those foreign dynasties was accompanied by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality, though it is not likely that these colonies were extensive.

It can, therefore, be maintained that the present popu-

lation of Kashmir ij s an admixture of aborigines with slight

'Jewish,' large Aryan and some other foreign elements. So much for the origin of the Kashmiri. Let us turn to his character.

The Character of the Kashmiri.

That the Kashmiriis essentially mystical and imagi-

native, those who have known him intimately and studied him closely will readily admit. His environment has made him so. Huge snowy peaks, flowing silvery streams and sublime solitudes have induced this frame of mind. The cult of Buddha from the third century B.c. to the fourth century A.c., viz. for seven hundred years, the teachin of the Vedanta, the mysticism of Islam percolating through Persian sources have, one after another, found a congenial home in Kashmir. The Pandit and the Pir have striven hard to make him superstitious as well. The result is that mysticism and superstition are now ingrained in the very nature of the Kashmiri. In fact, he breathes that very atmosphere. He almost fully justifies to this day the obser-

vations recorded by Mirza Haidar Diighlat about 1550 • The Mirza said* that so many heresies have been legitimatized in

Kashmir that people know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. The so-called ‘pirs’ (spiritual guides) and ‘siifis’ (mystics) are “for ever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen, information, regarding either the future or the past . . . . consider the Holy Law (Shari‘at) secondin importance to the True ‘Way’

(Tariqat) and that, in consequence, the people of the‘Way have nothing to do with the Holy Law.” The observation

- The To’rikh-i-Rashidi, English Translation by Elias and Ross,۴ 28957 page 436, of Mirzi Haidar close with the following prayer :—“ May the Most High God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortunes and calamities as this, and turn them all into the true path of righteousness.”’ The need of such a prayer must be equally felt even now, and all that tends to ‘ pir parasti’ or saint-worship must be eradicated as completely and as quickly as may be practicable if the Musalmans of Kashmir are to make any real advance in the world. What a strange contrast does this state of affairs present to the real teachings of Islam whose Prophet disclaims “every power of wonder-working,”’ and “ever rests the truth of his divine commission entirely upon his Teachings. He never resorts to the miraculous to assert his influence or to enforce his warnings. He invariably appeals to the familiar phenomena of nature as signs of the divine presence. He unswervingly addresses himself to the inner consciousness of man, to his reason and not to his weakness or his credulity.”’*

The imagination of the Kashmiri has given some fine poetry to the world, which, however, has never been fully appreciated for lack of presentation in a suitable form. In intellect, he is perhaps the superior of any other Indian and is very quick in argument. The commonest Kashmiri 'can talk intelligently on most subjects, and has a great aptitude for sarcasm, but, like other artistic people, he is 1 emotional and fond of exaggeration.' He is fond of singing and song-birds too. Some of the songs sung in the ricefields are full of poetical thought and the airs are sweet and plaintive. Though very loud, voluble and ۲۵ج sistent, the Kashmiri is extremely quiet under calamities such as earthquake and cholera. The Kashmiri can turn his hand_to anything.

He is an excellent cultivator and a fine gardener, and has a con-

siderable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth and can make first-rate baskets. He is a fine wood-carver, silver and goldsmith. He perfectly understands the art of varnishing and is eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying gold thread. He can build his own house, and make his own ropes. In fact, there is scarcely a thing, says Lawrence, which he cannot do. As a fine craftsman, he page

ے6 Ameer Ali: The Spirit of Islam , Christophers, Lond .23 on, ,2291 may have a few equals in the world, but probably none superior tohim.

The boatman of Kashmir, says Pirie, 1s as clever as the gondolier of Venice, and would emerge safely from the riskiest of situations. The Waza is an excellent cook and could prepare perhaps fitty daimty dishes of meat alone. His way of serving food, however, leaves much to be desired, though heis modifying his mode of service. That the cuisine ofthe Punjabi has been largely influenced by the

Waza admits of no question. The Wa'in or Woin or Wohu— not a distinct class apart—is the Bania or the petty trader and perhaps occasionally the money-lender. The Kashmiri understands his own business, and does not often make a bad bargain though sometimes the village Kashmiri would be foolish enough to conceal his goods or fruits from the outside visitor. Normally the city vendor in and around Amira Kadal has three rates, the cheapest for his own people, the dearer for Indian visitors to the Valley and the dearest for the Kuropean or the American. There may be some logic in these rates so far as the Kashmiri vendoris concerned, but it is unfair to the purchaser who gets the same commodity for which he pays the cheap, dear or the dearest rate.

Conservative the Kashmiri is, but not altogether impregnable to new ideas. He is kind to his wife and children, and divorce scandals or cases of immorality among villagers, says Younghusband, are rarely heard of. He is hospitable and entertains his guests most cheerfully. The Kashmiri is neither a murderer nor a marauder, and crimes against person or property seldomoccur. The Kashmiri's dog will not bite, though it may bark. Even his snakes have no poisonexcept the viper in Dachigam rakh, etc. His riversand lakes are free from.

dangerous animals. The Hapiit, or the bear, the stray wolf, the leopard, the panther and the hyena are the only rare terrors of his forests. [he Kashmiriis no drunkard or opiumeater. xcept that heis an inveterate snufi-taker, he may be said to be remarkably abstemious. ʕThe Kashmiris, "

wrote Bernier, "'are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and mgenious than the Indians. In poetry and science, they are not inferior to Persians. They are also very active and industrious."' The traveller, • Vigne, calls the Kashmiri ' the Neapolitan of the Hast."*

اناه slc آو چA elak ایہٹ ۳ و | باد -وکیل -ولی سمیر الله * Travels, Vol., I page 325.

But—

نه دیدم در سیط دهس هرگ ۳م “The Kashmirians are gay and lively people, with strong propensities to pleasure,’ wrote George Forster* in 1783 a.c. “ None are more eager in the pursuit of wealth, have more inventive faculties in acquiring it, or who devise more modes of luxurious expense. When a Kashmirian, even of the lowest order, finds himself in possession of ten shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and, launching into the farthing is spent.”

lake, solaces himself till the last In many respects, the Kashmiri cultivator resembles an Irishman, says Sir Walter Lawrence ; he certainly possesses the quick wit which is so characteristic of the Irish, and has the same deep-rooted objection to paying rent. There are many points of resemblance between Ireland and Kashmir. Both are small countries which have been subject to the rule and protection of more powerful nations, and yet have never welcomed any change or improvement.

Both the Kashmiri and the Irish love a joke, are fond of harmless deception, and are masters of good-humoured blarney. Both are kind to their children and to old folk and, continues Sir Walter, both have the same disregard for the first principles of sanitation, though کthe interior of a Kashmiri hut is probably cleaner than that of a similar class of dwelling

Women of Kashmir. Many an outsider has given his impressions about the women of Kashmir. Two very divergent views, one expressed by an Englishman

and the other by a Frenchman, are indeed striking. Colonel Alexander Dow in his History of Hindosian published in 1772 ۵.0. writes سے

The inhabitants are astonishingly handsome and the women especially enchantingly beautiful'?

(Vol.

I, p. 41).

And Andrew Wilson refers to the legend of the two angels Hartt and Marit having been ensnared by the beauty of Kashmiri women (The Abode of Snow, p. 420). Victor Jacquemont, a French Naturalist, writes in his Letters from India

(Vol. IT, p. 65): "Know that I have never seen anywhere such hideous witches as in Cashmere. The female race 1s remarkably ugly." Eastern poets, on the other hand, are one in their appreciation of the beauty of the women of Kashmir, and a typical case is that of the poet ee

۷ Journey, Vol. II, pages 25-26.

و Zuhiuri who says :—

هترکان غارت گر صبر وهش به کشمیریان ملاحت فررو ش ۸ف Foreign visitors very often err in generalizing before they have seen enough to form an accurate estimate of the real state of affairs. Oriental historians of the medieval period, and particularly the class amongst them gifted with the art of rhyme, are notorious for their tendency to exaggerate. The French writer, whom we have quoted above, must have been repelled by the dirt which is the lot of some classes of the women of Kashmir. In the A'ina-1-Kashmir of the late K. B. Pirzada Muhammad Husain 4و M.A.,

C.1.K., ex-Chief Justice, Kashmir, this fact is accordingly brought out in the following lines :— —

کیbv ھی حسن و رنگ میں مشھو ر عم عورتیں ed دیکھا نھا

دواد که رکھر مس ھهcohدھو نی ھن کم کپڑ سے & کا مگر مس‌ھی ہت پاس آن نہ کپڑوں کو عفا eW

سوا ال ڈھیلے کرتہ کے گلو سے لک se so ھرادود میں کسی ال کے

نه دیکھا ؟ نس ز ومال سر کے اور نہ تن FSBپارچا دیکھا ei

٤ TLS(اور nہ soنه باتش > نه فانده ای ہے راضع

یہ اہل شہر eW lwoee زمینداد اور اھل کل تو eeعلوم کیا ہیں سذرر ہیےء لکن سے پوچھو کہ

سب کی باحیا اور باوفا We حا و عصمت و عفت تو اب تك ان میں حے بای disاور

lole Once when × Zenana missionary was impelled to say, ““O dear Kashmiri women, why won’t you wash ?” they looked . at her wondering and replied, “ We have been so oppressed that we don’t care to be clean.’* Perhaps this answer ⋆7م. ,eirteP yranoissiM ot ,rimhsaK yb .srM yelhsA -suraCnosliW

B.A., Sixth Edition, London, 1905, p. .111 explains the fact that under oppressive rule during Afghan and Sikh times, cleanliness involved imposition or abduction, and thus the habit of uncleanliness was forced on women. George Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783 a.c., likens the women of the Valley to the women of the south of France who are noted for their beauty, adding that women of Kashmir “‘ would be called brunettes in the south of France or Spain.”’ To an Indian eye the women of Kashmir are of a make different from

their own. Kashmiri women are fairer in complexion, not uncommonly blue-eyed, supple and attractive in appearance, as compared to the wheatcoloured, hard-boned peasant women of the Punjab, or the dark-complexioned women of other parts of India. The Panditani appears to be more delicately featured very often, but the Musalman-ni is more vigorous and seems to possess a stronger stamina. Apparently one may consider this to be due to caste restrictions in one case and a wider field in the other. But under identical conditions of life there is, perhaps, no such difference at all, though a State survey, 25 years ago, revealed a large incidence of tubérculosis among the Panditanis. The Kashmiri woman's large lustrous ٨ء chashm. (black eye) is on a par with that ofa Turkish, Iranian or Afghan beauty, though Khwaja Hafiz of Shiraz singles out only Kashmiris and Turks when he says in his Diwén— S

ترکان مر SAG شع٠ و« ہی شبراز می کو بند و می ر تصند حافظ ٠ ٣ ز

٠ چشمان کشمری سیه و It is indeed a compliment from the great Hafiz and from Zuhiri, the famous court-poet of Bijapur, that the Kashmiri should be bracketed with the Turk in the comeliness of his person, for the Turk is admittedly the handsomest of all the races of the Orient. The great Sd'di gives but an expression to the universal acclamation of the beauty of the Turk when he says ےب te

نرکان دا دند حسنن م7 سعد پا ر ور 2 ازلب٭ھ There is, however, no doubt that poverty and ignorance and the political vicissitudes of this unhappy Valley have considerably marred the feminine charm of its womenfolk, and made a visitor to the Valley exclaim :—

کیا ہوا گر ھو 2ناژ و عك گرر ود کی طرح گال سقید « سن کو چاہئے انداز و ادا

But given the chances of freedom and decent living enjoyed by the women of the West, there will be an entirely difterent outlook. And the women of Kashmir would rank amongst the best of their kind in the world, as some of those gone out to live in the Punjab, and the United Provinces, etc., tend to show. The health and enlightenment of the women of Kashmir should, therefore, be of supreme importance in the programme of social uplift. Kashmiri children are most winsome, wrote Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson. Indeed they can compare favourably with children in the West in the evident innocence of their enchanting charm, but the appalling illiteracy of the mother and the surroundimg squalor and poverty will not let them grow up wimsome.

Critacism of the • The Kashmiri has been classed with the Kambih and the Afghan as being a scoundrel in the saying very frequently quoted both for amusement and for satire ہے

سوم بد ذات (فغان ؛ دو مکمبو ھا| اگر قحط یک edکرگیری آفند از ایشاں آنس کشمری which in Colonel Torrens' Travels (p. 299) is translated: "Should fate decree a dearth of men,

Then, friend of mine, beware ye ~ Of Afghan—Kambih, scoundrel too, But, worst of all, do thou eschew That ill-bred knave Kashmiri."'

Here, too, the Kashmiri is singled out as the worst of the three notorious .knaves of Northern India! A clever Kashmiri, however, once turned the tables on his satirist stating that this saying really means that all Afghans are bad, all Kambihs are bad too, but it is the ill-bred Kashmiri alone, who should be shunned and not every Kashmiri.

The average Kashmiri or, in any case, the Hanji or the boatman, is considered to be rather prolific. This may be due to the usual reason of the poverty of the

Kashmiri in general. Some, however, believe it is due to river and other water contaiming large quantities of fish, but on that it would not be discreet to hazard judgment. It would indeed be an interesting investigation.

It has been asserted that the Kashmiri “is a coward, a liar and a dirty fellow.”

و ۰ سب نلم ۳ ۳ He is a coward because long oppression has made him so.

His cowardice is extraordinary.

Under the slightest threat of danger, the poor stay-at-home Kashmiri used to tremble and quake, weep and howl. Not very long ago, it was commonly remarked in the Punjab that a Kashmiri would not dare use a gun, but would throw it down in fear and say that “’it would go off of itself.”

bs کش تا 7د مر ار ے ھا و ۰ اندر آنشی a ed ep از.

۳ slov جاوید- اقبال ـ Natives of certain hilly tracts in Northern India have been found to be somewhat cowardly, but those who have observed coolies from Kashmir and coolies from other hill districts, working together in Simla or Dalhousie, must have noticed that the Kashmiri coolie is decidedly the more cowardl though definitely more civil, and according to Aldous Huxley “ wonderfully cheerful.” In fact, the former very often lords it over the latter, and assigns to him the dirtier or the more irksome part of the job. فی

تلاش رزق مس و دریدر ھی وقت پھرتا ےہ ور...

۳۳ 2 ۳ رہ کہ شملہ4 yee تر bes کیھی » سب اغیار کرتے ہیں sey کبکر تری تحقبر بازار کرت ہیں اک سر

eb اگر تو ۰ زندیق اقلاب سے بھی لیل لی سے رہ آشنا

تو اتا ذشاط Soو ادار مسی یر ں ملا هو تا [Poverty being always pitiably acute, the poor can hardly be blamed for leaving—after the first mild dose of danger—homes where social conditions provide them with so-little. Truly the dearth of possessions confers acertain freedom too. Here, itis toleave home and hearth !—Unknown]

Though it professional is so, it seems strange that the Kashmiri wrestler should be the terror of his opponents in the akhdras or wrestling pits of India. No doubt, therefore, that William Moorcroft! should have said, about 1820 a.c., that amongst the peasantry are found figures of robust and muscular make, such as might have served for models of the Farnesan Hercules.2 The Kashmiri is indeed a bundle of contradictions. ١

Again, “he is a liar because of the peculiar system of government which encouraged a most elaborate scheme of espionage.”’ And in the words of Sir W. H. Beveridge, “in a land, on which terror has once lain like a poisonous mist, truth does not grow easily.” Cowardice and lying have, in turn, bred in him envy and malice, self-praise (thekun), and condemnation of others. There is an apparent lack of sympathy though a good deal of lip-service. Like the lower type Anglo-Indian who often uses the curse ‘bloody * or the Britisher who repeats ‘damn it,’ the

Kashmiri curses by invoking ‘ tapatl’ and ‘tdwan.’ ‘Trath’

and ‘ zaharbad’ are frequently on the lips of women, as the Punjabi women use sudh and siydpa. Again, the

Kashmiri plays havoc with his oaths.

BaYdad-t-Qur’dn he would repeat fifty times a day, like the lower class Lahauri or any such Punjabi who has abuse on the tip of his tongue.

Pessimism, want of education and poverty have made the Kashmiri dirty. درد مند

2و بدا بحان اهل خطلہ سو ژد چو ں سیند و۵ ۰4 خیزد از ۳ sJ نالہاے

2تامہ جاوید ۔ ساقیال ع 10 my mind, his dirtiness is the cause of his degradation in the eyes of an outsider. Aldous Huxley goes to the length of saying that the Kashmiri has a genius for filthiness. A regular jihad (crusade) against his dirty habits is the one imperative necessity; though it must be remarked, in passing, that this habit of dirtiness is shared, in some cases, by the European -in his own native land, where he puts on clean clothes but does not keep the body equally clean, and dreads the bath either from the expense involved or the severity of the climate to which he finds himself, like the Kashmiri, exposed. Such a European is not ashamed to call the

1. Travels, Vol. لا, p. 128. 2. The Farnese Hercules is a marble statue of the first century ظ.0. ر and represents Hercules with exaggerated muscles. The statue was in the Farnese palace. Farnese is the name of an Italian ducal house, the ruling dynasty of Parma, Italy, in the 15th to 17th.centuries a. ٠

Kashmiri—“ that athletic bearded disgrace to the human race.”

“And do not sneer at. the lack of sanitation. Remember the Chinese are desperately poor and have already suffered terribly in this War.’ This is the advice contained in the handbook for American troopsin China in February, 19438. Should the high-browed foreigner forget it when meeting the desperately poor Kashmiri ? This type of Westerner who despises the Kashmiri should remember that he too, at one time, evoked such remarks and was the butt of similar ridicule from the Easterner. ““ To these Saracens we are indebted for many of our

comforts. Religiously cleanly, it was not possible for them to clothe themselves according to the fashion of the natives of Hurope, in a garment unchanged till it dropped to pieces of itself, a loathsome mass of vermin, stench and rags [like the humble عناق و head cover ?]. They taught us the use of the often-changed and often-washed undergarment of linen and cotton, which still passes among ladies under its old Arabic 8 It is, however, an undeniable fact that much of the evil reputation of the Kashmiri in the eyes of the visitor to the ‘Valley is due to the contact of the latter mostly with the low class Kashmiri, the Hanji or the boatman and the hawker, and in some cases the half-educated Kashmiri Pandit who has been acting as a Babu or Munshi, or tutor to the visitor from the West, and who according to Aldous Huxley has more than Spanish objection to manual labour. And, therefore, most of the usual criticism of the character of the Kashmiri is unjust and unjustified. The common Kashmiri provokes laughter at his accents in Urdu and is thus a source 1. Magic Ladakh by Major M. L. A. Gompertz,—Seely, Service & Co., Limited, London, 1928, page 26,—repeating E. F. Knight, author of Where Three Empires Meet, Longmans, London, 1893, p. 111. The poor Kashmiri is, at least, innocent of crime like that referred to by Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Osburn, D.8.0.—‘ Not long ago it was stated that thirty per cent. of all cases in which young English girls had been seduced were cases of incest between father and daughter.”—Must England Lose India? Alfred A. Knopf, London, 1930, second edition June 1930, page 106, lines 16-19. _2. A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe by John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., Professor of the University of New York. شیدdesiveR .noitidE egroeG ,lleB ,nodnoL .5781 emuloV ,II pp-

.43-33 of merriment to the outsider. His accent in English too is slightly peculiar. The Future.

To sum up, it may be said: “ though superstition has made the average stay-at-home Kashmiri timid, tyranny has made him a craven-spirited liar, and physical disasters have made him selfish and pessimistic, and, up to recent times, the cultivator lived under a system of begdr (carrier service, or forced labour) and having no security of property, he had no incentive to effort, and with no security of life he lost the independence of a free man”: yet it is evident that changes are happily takmg place, the impact of modern life is having its effect, and the influx of visitors and outside agencies are bringing about gradualawakening. The future is, therefore, not without hope, for the Kashmiri has in him the qualities that can make a great nation. Among its numerous great sons, the Kashmiri can number a learned jurist and an eminent politician in the United Provinces, a, poet and philosopher in the Punjab, a territorial magnate in Dacca, and, in other places, a great reformer, an able administrator, anda leading merchant-prince. The Kashmiri has also taken part in the Great Kuropean or World Wars. He has shown his mettle in July 1924 by withstanding, quite unarmed, charges of State cavalry at Srinagar, and in 1932 during the disturbances in the Valley. And he has won, at considerable sacrifice, a constitution by which the Praja Sabha or the Legislative Assembly was inaugurated on 18th

October, 1934. This Assembly, however, is but a recommendatory body subject to the Council of Ministers.

The educated Kashmiri of the Punjab, Lucknow, Patna or Dacca holds his own against the most advanced Indian in intellect, culture and refinement, as well as in general appearance, physique and manly qualities.

[AS GIVEN BY KALHANA.| Gonanda I. Damodara I.

Accession assumed Kali Samvat 653 (Laukika 8. 628).

Yacovati Gonanda IT. Thirty-five kings ’ lost’ Lava Kuga Khagendra Surendra

Godhara Aggregate Janaka 1894).

Shachinara Acoka Jalauka Damodara II.

length of reigns Hushka, Jushka, Kanishka, Abhimanyu I.

[The above is according to the English Translation of the Rajatarangint by Sir Aurel Stein—Vol. I, pp. 134-5.] KINGS OF

THE GONANDA DYNASTY—GROUP I.

B.C.

1184 1149 reigned for 1. Gonanda 1 2. Bibhishana I 1095 3. Indrajit 1060 4. Ravana 1030 5. Bibhishana IT 994 6. Naral alas Kinnara 955 7. Siddha 895 8. Utpalaksha 864 9. Hiranyaksha 827 10. Hiranyakula 767 11. Vasukula 707 12. Mihivakula nicknamed 637

13.

۱ ۱ ۱ Trikotiha (killer of three crores of people) Baka ےم

380 .سےے+ 538 6.

۵ ے مے مه مم وه ےم دو58 ما 30 6.. 35 6.. 989 9.., 60... 30 .. ہف 937 ۰ 60.,.. 60...

۵۴ ہ.ص.ے و وه .ہس 08 ۷ ۳ ہم 8. Ms. Ds.

و B.C, reigned for Ys. Ms, Ds, 574 14.

Kshitinanda ۳ 30....

544 491 431 15. 16. 17.

Vasunanda Nara 1 Aksha 371 311 253 217 18. 19. 20. 21.

62. 60.... 60 .. ..

١ Gopaditya Gokarna Narendra I alias Khinkhila Yudhishthira I

ده 60 ..

٥] 11 ٠ 386 .-No period 6 mentioned Total Gonandas, Group I .. 1014

THE VIKRAMADITYA DYNASTY—GROUP 2 B. C.

reigned for 169 137 105 22. 23. 24, Pratapaditya I Jalauka Tuijina I

25. 26. 27.

Vijaya Jayendra (dynasty ends) وو ١ Sarhdhimati alias Aryaraja (Jayendra's

Change of dynasty (“ Anyakulaja Raja 9 minister)

Total: Vikramadityas and others,Group2 Ys. Ms. Ds.

ہے ہے م ے ہ O2.... 382..., 6860...

مہ 8 ٠ 3S7....

ےے 47...

192....

THE GONANDAS RESTORED—GROUP 3 B.C.

reigned for Ys. Ms. Ds.

28. 29.

Meghavahana Pravarasena 1 alias Tufijina 1 118 31.

Matrigupta, the poet, (Protégé of the great Vikramaditya of Ujjain, defeater of the

هه 88 30. Hiranya and Toramana (dynasty interrupted, Shakas)

123 183 204 217 517 559 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.

Pravarasena II Yuddhishthira 1 Narendra I alias Lakhana Ranaditya alias Tufijina 1 Vikramaditya Baladitya

8و سے چ.

ہو ہ DA ہے BTA مه 60...., 21 8 ey 891 بے و ہی OOB بے

Total Gonandas after the first restoration, Group 3 572 THE KARKOTA OR NAGA DYNASTY—GROUP 4 B.C.

reigned for Ys. Ms. Ds.

396 38. Durlabhavardhana alas Prajiaditya,, 632 39. Durlabhaka alias Pratapaditya IT وو 682 691

40. 41.

Chandrapida Tarapida “مے 86 . .. 5O..., -«-

وو 8 8 .. 4 .. 4 Total Karkotas up to the end of Tarapida. 98 8 24

Grand total up to the end of Tarapida ..1,878 ..

٠ ہ و بک Sangramapida Jayapida 48. Jajja (brother-in-law and minister of Jayaتم wsurper)

8 ہے.

ہے 785 49.

Lalitapida 12... .., 804 51.

Chippatajayapida alias Brihaspati (son of ےے۔ 797 50. Prithivyapida II, akas Sangramapida 11 .. Lalitapida by a concubine)

128 ...سس 816 52. Ajitapida, son of Chippata's brother, deposed and succeeded by

٠ 53. Anangapida (son of SangrAmapida) —

54.

Utpalapida (son of Ajitapida)

HT 46. 47.

eh 744 751 ۳۳تطانط08 . 15 ٠ 733 44. Vajraditya Bappiyaka alias Lalitaditya 0

٠ے 740 45.

دن ۳ ٠ 695 42. Muktapida alias Lalitaditya 732 43. Kuvalayapida

تم A.D.

41...

٠.

Total up to the end of the fourth 260 ھعضعتوا 5 0 ےمج CHANGE

OF DYNASTY—GROUP 5 A.D.

857 reigned for 55.

Ys. Ms. Ds.

Avantivarman (son of Sukhavarman, son of Utpala, brother of the concubine above referred to), from Phalg. kr. 1 of 31 to

Ashadh. sh. 3 of 59 ۔ 2 ہے 884 56. Sharhkaravarman, up to Phalg. kr. 7 of 77 ..

903 57.

58.

Gopalavarman Samkatavarman 05 59. Su gandha, queen 18 7 9 ae

ہے 4 8 ۔ oe 10 2.۔.

DYNASTY CHANGED 60.

Nirjitavarman alias Shiiravarman)

Pahgu (grandson of وہ میم مہ عو 924 935 936 936 938 Ys. Ms. Ds.

reigned for A.D, 61.

He hardly reigned at all, when he was succeeded by his son, 10 years old, named Partha, up to Paush. kr. 1 of 97, 2.6. for

19 yrs., 9 mas., 23 ds., less by 4 ys. 0 ms., 10 dys. of Gopiita Samkata, and Sugandha

15 9138 Nirjitavarman or Pangu again up to Magha. kr. 1 of 98 ۔ 1 1 . 62. Chakravarman, up to Magha. kr. 1 of 9. ی 31 ما

63.

64.

Siravarman, up to As&dh. kr. 1 of 0 Partha again, up to Acddha. kr. lofll

مہ ہے Unmattaivanti, upto ٨220102. ١٣. 1 of 15 .,.

Total years, Group 5, end of the 5th Taranga ھ.

Chakravarman again up to Jyeshta.¢. 8 ٥۶18 1 مه .. 5..

1 11 23 2..

38ق DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 6 Samgrimadeva, upto Phalg. kr. 10 or 94

951 960 973 975 79. 70. 71. 72.

976 73.

ہی Kshemagupta, up to Pauch. ¢. 1 of 34 Abhimanyu, up to Kart. 6. 3 of 48 وو Nandigupta, up to 292. ٥. 12 ٥1 49 و Tribhuvana, up to Marga. ¢. 5 of 51 وو

ا ٠ Bhimagupta Total years, Group 6, end of the 6th Taratga ..

(سر fet 981 74. Didda, Queen, up to Bhad. ¢. 8 of 7 9.» 950 68. Parvagupta, up to Acadha, 2. 13 of 26

برC9 OO (سم OD ٠مـ 67.

جر فن 948 DG Varnata who reigned a few days before :oo

Yacaskara’s death 66.

e اسر ing co Yagaskara, up to Bhad. kr. 3 of 24, includ-

Ot 65.

bo . 9400 64 .. 23 DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 7 1004 1029 75.

76.

Samgramaraja, up to ہین 177.1 08 4 Hariraja, upto Achadha. ¢. 8

1029 77. Ananta, up to Kart. ¢. 6 of 39, when ٢6 1064 1090 78. 89.

crowned his son Kalaca Kalaca, up to Marga. ¢. 6 of 65 وو وو

Utkarca and Harsha, up to Bhad. ¢. 5 و Totals years Group 1, end of the 7th Taranga ae

سو 385 3 28 1...

8 29 9 11 27 ١ ١ ١١ 8 26 DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 8 1102 1113 80. 81.

Uchchala, up to Pausha.¢. 6 0۶87 Radda alias Shankha 1113 82. Salhana, up to Vaic. ¢. 3 of 88

ر ر A.D.

reigned for ١ 1113 83.

Ys. Ms. Ds, Sussala up to Phalg. new moon of 3 including 6 ms., 12 ds. of

84. Bhikshachara 15 9 27 85. Vijayasizhha, still reigning in the 25th year or A.D., 1151, 2.e., Shake 1012 ہو w «6 «22,

1129 Total to end of Shaka 1072, or a.p. 1151, 2.6. 48 5 25 (The above is according to the English Translation of the River of Kings by the late Mr. R. 8. Pandit, pp. 581-582 and 585-586.]

[AS GIVEN BY JONARAJA]

A.D.

Period of reign Ys. Ms. Ds.

١ 1127 Jayasimha (same as Simhadeva of Kalhana)

1154 ~Pramanuka 1164 1171 1180 1198 1213 1236 1252 1273 1286 1301 1320

7٠ ٢ 8 25 1 9 ves ٠ ٠ Varttideva Vopyadeva Jassaka ٠ Jagadeva Rajadeva Satgramadeva ٠ Ramadeva Lakshmanadeva Simhadeva Sahadeva alias Ramachandr

٣ ٠ 1323 Udayanadeva 1338 Kota بم [The above is according to the English Translation by Jogesh Chander Dust of Jonaraja's Réjavali—Vol. III, p. XXI at the end.]

Chapter II — The Pre-Islamic Period

The earliest known kings of Kashmir, As this Chapter deals with the history of Kashmir during the period when Hindus—Brahmans and non-Brahmans— and Buddhists, etc., ruled the Valley we call it the Pre- Islamic Period of the history of Kashmir. In view of the exhaust-

ive exposition of this period by the late Sir Mark Aurel Stein in his English Translation of the Rajatarangni, only a brief outline of the period is presented to the reader of Kashir.

Gonanda 7.1 Gonanda I is the first ruler from whose reign some semblance of a chronological history of Kashmir begins. His reign is dated 20 years before the Mahabharata war.? Gonanda I went to war with Krishna on behalf of his relative 1. Tradition takes us as far back as the times of Ramachandra, the hero of the Ramayana, who is said to have conquered and visited Kashmir, but of whom nothing more is related. The tradition says that, when the country became permanently inhabited, it was split up into numerous little Kuttaraja's or kingdoms founded by Brahmans, which began in course of time to fight among themselves with the result that they called in a Rajput named Daya& Karan from the Jammu territory to restore order and rule in the country. [The Gulab-ndma, p. 52.] Daya Karan was the son of Piiran Karan and grandson of Jambu Lochan, the founder of Jammu town and of the Jamwal dynasty of Rajputs. Some historians connect him with the line of the Rajas of Mathuri. Daya Karan and 35 Rajas of his line are said to have ruled here. This latter part of the tradition, Sir Aurel Stein says, has been added by a Kashmiri Pandit to please the

present rulers of Kashmir hailing from Jammu— Introduction to the Rajatarangin?, Vol. I, page ٠

Also Gulab Singh by*K. M. Pannikar, page 14.

Kalhana takes, as the starting pointof his chronological cal-

culations, the traditional date indicated by Varahamihira's Brhatsamhita for the coronation of Yudhisthira, the Pindava hero of the Epics. . . The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the "lost" kings of Kashmir, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the chronicler (or his predecessors) from the Nilamata Purana. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the Nilamata, which Kalhana had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the Kauravas and Pandavas.—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of

_Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol. ولpage 59.

Jarasandha, king of Magadha, and laid siege to the town of Mathura, but was killed in the battle. Damodara I.

He was succeeded by his son, Damodara I, who, impelled by the desire to avenge his father's death, attacked Krishna at a svayamvara which was held by the king of Gandhira, the corridor of India, a territory lying on the banks of the Indus. Damodara was killed, whereupon Krishna installed the late king's pregnant widow, Yacovati, on the throne. The queen bore a son who was placed on the throne as Gonanda II while yet an infant. The Mahabharata war oceurred soon after; but as the king of Kashmir was yet an infant, his alliance was sought for neither by the Kurus nor by the Pandus. (b) The Pandu Dynasty.

A Gap of 35 Kings. Then came thirty-five kings one after the other, whose names and deeds, according to Kalhana, have been lost through the destruction of records. Pir Hasan Shah,* a noted local Muslim historian, however, fills up the gap by allotting a rule of one thousand years to twenty-two kings of the Pandu dynasty. If we give credence to the traditions prevailmg among the present-day Kashmiris—who ascribe every old monument to the Pandus calling it Pandavlarth or Pandu edifice—Pir Hasan Shah's statement may be given a value comparable to that which attaches to the account of Kalhana up to the middle of the 8th century of the Christian era. Himal and Lodlaré, two noted heroines, in two love stories so popular in Kashmiri folk-lore, belonged to this period. Himél's lover was • Lélaré's lover was Bombur. *Zain-ul-'Abidin (1420-70 a.c.) is said to have instituted a search for ancient manuscripts, and copies of certain chronicles were found. Of these, Kalhana's chronicles were by far the most important. But the history of thirty-five of the early Hindu kings was still missing. Subsequently, an old manuscript was discovered written on birch-bark. This was called the Ratndkara Purdna and was of especial interest, as it contained a record of those kings whose reigns were omitted from

Kalhana's history.

Zain-ul-'Abidin had a Persian translation made, but both this and the original have disappeared, though the historian, Pir Hasan Sh&h, is said to have obtained a copy of the translation, It is, however, impossible to vouch for this story.

According to this account of Pir Hasan Shah, Harandeva, a scion of the Pandus, is said to have taken service with Gonanda IT, and risen to the office of minister to the king. As often happened in those days, Harandeva killed the old

Raja, usurped the throne, and foundeda dynasty of his own. Ramadeva.

The second ruler of this dynasty, Ramadeva, is said to have been a conqueror, having vanquished as many as 500 kings, and brought under his sway the whole of India from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He assessed land revenue at one-tenth of the gross produce, which was raised to one-fifth by one of his successors. Sundarasena.

In the reign of Sundarasena, twenty-second in the line, a great earthquake clove open the earth in the middle of the capital Samdhimatnnagar, and the whole city was submerged along with its king and inhabitants. The site of the city is now occupied by the Volur (Wular) lake. Lava, chief of Laulaha or Lélauv (modern Ldlab), the beautiful and fertile valley, oval in shape and situated on the north-east side of Kashmir, was then elected King. (c) The Maurya Dynasty.

Acoka.

We may pass over the next twenty kings whose names, but no deeds, have been preserved, and come down to Acoka. In spite of a number of surmises to the contrary, there is a consensus of opinion among historians that Agoka of Kashmir history was the Emperor Acgoka of Magadha, who reigned from 272 B.g. to 231 ظ.0 رمand whose dominions extended eastward to Bengal and westward to the Hindi-

kush.* Acoka was a Buddhist who erected many viharas or monasteries, and stiipas or sacred cupolas. He acted on the policy of religious toleration and patronized all religions. * The chronological position and genealogical relations of Agoka of ـKashmir as stated by Kalhana show him to have been different from the Acoka of India and to have existed about a thousand years before the latter. But Kalhana's chronology before the ninth century of the Christian era is absolutely unreliable, while his genealogical connexions are mere attempts at

arranging kings in one line of descent—Stein's Introduction +o his English Translation of Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol. 1, page 64. ١

One of the greatest lessons that he taught to his people was to "overcome all lassitude," and he never spared himself any pains. This description of the Emperor Agoka agrees entirely with that given by Kalhana, though the latter's chronology was so vague that he dates the Kashmir Acoka} a thousand years before the great Indian emperor of the same name.

The Emperor Acgoka's rule in Kashmir is the first great landmark in the history of this country which was then governed through a deputy who had his seat? of government at Taxila (Pali—Takkasila or Takshagila). This is about the time when Rome and Carthage were beginning to grapple together in the Punic Wars. Acoka built the original town of Srinagar, at a site about four miles above the existin capital and which is now occupied by a small village called Puranddhisthana (old capital) or Pandréthan.® "' He had broken through the fetter of Brahmanism and established friendly intercourse with Greece and Egypt, and it is to this connexion that the introduction of stone architecture and sculpture in Kashmir is due." Buddhism, offering a higher morality and persuasive argument at the same time, disarmed Brahman opposition and spread. rapidly. It very deeply affected the Kashmiri character. The extraordinary patience that the Kashmiri shows under the severest visitations of nature such as cholera and earthquake is clearly traceable to this early Buddhist influence. The outside appearance of most of the present-day Muslim shrines is not unlike that of Buddhist pagoda; though all details are entirely Saracenic as we shall see under the section on architecture. Buddhism lingered on in the Valley right up to the times of Kalhana who was himself an admirer of Buddha though he

1. In the time of Jalauka, the alleged son and successor of Agoka,

Buddhists are stated by Kalhana to have been " powerful and flushed with success."" History tells us that it was Agoka who raised Buddhism from the status of a local sect to one of the great religions of the world, and 16 was he who sent missionaries to Kashmir. If we accept the chronology of Kalhana, we shall have to place Acoka of Kashmir at least a thousand years before the date of the Emperor Acoka, and we also stand a fair chance of falling into the ridiculous anachronism of _ introducing Buddhism into Kashmir fully eight centuries before its founder was born.—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of Rajatarangin?, Vol. I, page 64. 2. Early History of India by V.A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, p. 164. 3.' Originally Purainadhisthana—Stein's English Translation of Rajatarangini, Book I, p. 19.

was a Civaite. The pond in which the temple of Pandréthan was erected has now been drained and the plinth excavated. The domed roof is a fine piece of sculpture. The temple is about 18 feet square with projecting porticos. It was erected in 921 a.c. by King Partha whom we shall know later.

Jalauka.

Acoka, was succeeded by Jaloka or Jalauka, whom, perhaps from the phonetic similarity of names or from the close succession of one by the other, Kalhana states to be the son of the former. His name, however, is quite unknown to Indian history.1 He may have been a native king of Kashmir. He may have come to the throne by a coup de mam, similar to that by which Chandragupta Maurya, took advantage of the utter confusion and anarchy that prevailed in western India on the return of Alexander the Great, and established the Maurya empire on the ruins of the small states shattered by the great Macedonian conqueror. Durmg Acoka's later years the country was harassed by

Mlecchas, probably the restless Mongolian hordes from the steppes of Central Asia who were always on the move in search of new pastures and new homes. The strong hand of the Emperor was soon after removed by death. The difficult nature of the surrounding country and the cares of an already unwieldy empire may have kept his successor from any attempt at its recovery. At any rate, there was anarchy and confusion in Kashmir, and the time was ripe . for the native adventurer, Jaloka or Jalauka, to try conclusions with the foreign depredators, in which he was successful. Jalauka was a popular hero and a worshipper of Civa. The first religious edifice on the isolated hill, rising to about 1,000 feet above the plains, and known as Takht-1Sulaiman and called by Hindus Cankaracharya,? was built by Jaloka about 200 B.c. The temple is supposed to have been rebuilt in the 6th century a.c. by Raja Gopaditya. At first an opponent of Buddhists, Jaloka finally became friendly to them. He is.said to have conquered Qannauj and Gandhara and brought lawyers and other people from those parts to settle in the country. Kalhana gives useful information concerning the administration of the country. It appears that up to the time of Jaloka, government

Harly History of India by V• A. Smith, 3rd Edition, pp- 191-92.

014 name Gopiadri ‘ the Gopa-hill’.

1914, consisted of seven main state officials—the Premier, the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the army, the Purohita (Hcclesiastical

Minister) and the Astrologer. J alauka increased _this number to eighteen! of whom no details, however, are given. Damodara.

Jalauka was succeeded by Damodara II, whose stories cluster round the Damodara Udar,? an arid alluvial plateau some eight miles south of Srinagar that

served as a dam to bring water to his town of Gudasuth, now a small village of 476 souls, situated on the plateau. There is an aerodrome at Damodara Udar.

- Christ in Kashmir ۶ ‘”’ Samdhimats. At this stage of Kashir, though our chronology differs from that of Kalhana, yet the period being the same, we cannot help referring to anevent of extraordinary interest. In Taranga second of the Rajatarangunt of Kalhana, there is a

’gloka (No. 90) which refers to a certain minister Sarndhimati-

Aryaraja “the greatest of sages,’ and minister to Jayendra (61 B.c. to 24 a.c.). Both Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. ۵ططPandit, in their translations, speak of him as having led a life of poverty, suffereda long imprisonment, and “death at the stake,” and then coming to life again, and having ‘ consented to the prayers of the citizens’ ruled Kashmir for forty-seven years. Finally, this Samdhimati turned Sanyasi, but whither he went we know not, neither does Kalhana’s chronicle throw any light on this point. This man is not mythical. He seems to have an historical individuality.

There is @ tradition, rather persistent, occasionally reinforced by casual accidental occurrences which are given prominence by a certain class of writers, namel y, that Christ was buried in Srinagar, some go to the length of calling him _ Hazrat Yaz Asaf, and point to his gtave at Khanayar in Srinagar. But ۳۲عAsaf, supposed to be the descendant of Moses, was sent as an ambassador to the court of Bad Shah by the ruler of Egypt. Yiz Asaf, written in Arabic characters, can be also read as Bodhisattva. There is no substantive proof for the visit of Christ to India, but it is

These eighteen officers evidently correspond to the eighteen

**Tirthas’”’ or court officials, mentioned in the Mahabharata II, V. 38.— Stein’s Rajatarangini, First Book, verse 120, footnote 120, pages 22, 23.

2. The Damodara Karewa (Damodara Udar) is called by Kalhana Damodarasuda. Udar is the Kashmiri word for the Persian term Karewa

(plateau).

indeed a strange coincidence in world history that Christ should have had resurrection somewhat similar to that of Sarhdhimati though certainly not exactly so. The dates of Sarhdhimati and Christ are also almost identical. To say that Sarhdhimati is no less a person than Christ himself would be far too bold an assertion. But the fact remams that the great Prophet of Galilee and the minister of Kashmir have certain strong resemblances and both the personalities live in the same age though so far apart as Palestine and Kashmir. It is a mystery indeed to the writer as 1t must be to the reader.

And we leave it at that.

d. The Kushana Dynasty.

Yueh-chi.

We may now come to the Yueh-chi, a Turkish race, who had established themselves in the valley of the Oxus, and overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria in the second century before Christ. The vanquished people moved southward and conquered the whole of Northern India, which they retained until they were extinguished by the Kushana section of the Yueh-chi.

Kadphises I, A.C. 15. In about 15 Λ.0. Kadphises I, chieftain of the Kushana clan of the Yueh-chi, welded together all the sections of the Yueh-chi nation, and

conquered Afghanistan. Kadphises II, A.C. 45. He was succeeded about a.c. 45, by his son Kadphises II, who sent an army to conquer Hastern Turkistan. The expedition ended in disaster, and he was compelled to pay tribute to China.* He subsequently conquered Northern India as far as Benares.

Kanishka, A.C. 78.

Kanishka succeeded Kadphises II in 78 a.c., and exten-

ded his empire as far south as the Vindhyasand upper Sind. He annexed Kashmir, and with this we reach once more the terra firma of historical record in the annals of this country. He was a Buddhist by faith, and had his capital at Peshawar where the remains of some of his monuments have been exhumed. He erected numerous monuments in Kashmir, *Vincent A. Smith presumes that it was Kanishka and not Kadphises II, whose armies fought against China.—Harly History of _India, 3rd Edition, 1914, page 253.

and built the town of Kanishkapura, the modern village of Kanispér,! about six miles from Baramila. Under his patronage the third council of the Buddhist church was held, which carried on its deliberations in the Khandalvan

Vihar, near Harvan in Kashmir, about 100 a.c., under the presidency of Nagarjuna and drew up the Northern Canon or " Greater Vehicle of the Law."

The Great Bodhisattva, Nagarjuna, lived inhis time at Harvan,? higher up the Shalimar. N&garjuna was a

Buddhist alchemist of great fame. He was born in the land of Vidarbha (Berar)? as the son of a wealthy Brahman who had remained childless for many years. Astrologers were called in and they found that the child could only have a span of seven years. Before the end of the seventh year, his parents, in order to be

spared the painful sight of the child's predicted death, sent him on a Journey to other places till he arrived at Naland& and met Acharya Rahula.

At Nalanda he became a monk, and devoted himself to religious studies. He contradicted the doctrines of the Brahmans and taught the monks at Nalanda. The Nagas used to attend his sermons in the guise of young boys. On invitation from the Nagas, he resided three months in their dwelling place. On account of his connexions with the Nagas, he received the name of Nagarjuna. One statement is that his mother gave birth to him under a tree called Arjuna. Hence Naga and Arjuna combined became Nagarjuna. In course of time, Nagarjuna became the head of the whole Buddhist church. Most authorities agree that Nagarjuna flourished in the first century of the Christian era. He is one of the celebrated teachers elevated to Bodhisattvaship and is the alleged founder of the Mahayana system

Stein's English Translation of Kalhatia's Rajatarangini, Vol. I,

Book First, page 30, footnote 168.

2. According to some Buddhist records, Menander, the Bactrian king of Northern India (155 B.c.), delighted in controversies with Nagarjuna (Ancient India by R. C. Dutt, p. 119) ; butlocal historians are silent about Menander.

"Recent excavations have revealed one of the oldest monuments at Harwan, containing the only remains of its kind in India. A temple and some tablets have been unearthed, which date the monument as belonging to the Kushana period, when Kashmir was closely connected with Central Asia. The remains are situated only a few furlongs below the water reservoir at Harwan," Srinagar.—Jammu and ٢ Annual

Administration Report for 1940-41, published in 1942, page 9 m.

3. The Life of Nagarjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources by M. Walleser, Probsthain & Co., London. ১ which he is said to have introduced into

Tibet.

He is represented as at once a poet, a philosopher, a physician and an author of great ability. Perhaps, different Nagarjunas have been mixed up in one.

Kanishka conquered Kashghar, Yarqand and Khutan, then dependencies of China. Huvishka, 123 A.C. It is probable that Vasishka and Huvishka, who were the sons of Kanishka, acted in succession as viceroys, but it appears that Vasishka predeceased* his father who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka in 123 a.c.

Huvishka founded Hushkapura, the modern Ushkara, a small village near Varahamiila or the modern Baramila. His rule lasted till about 140 ·

Vasudcva or Jushka, 140 A.C. He was succeeded by Vasudeva, also called Jushka, who died in about 178 a.c., when Kushana rule came to an end in Kashmir. The dynasty, however, lasted in Kabul and the Punjab till they were swept away by the Hun invasion if the 5th century a.c. The Kushana chronology, it may be noted, is not yet quite definite.

Abhimanyu I. Jushka was succeeded by Abhimanyu I in whose reign Buddhism received a check in Kashmir. (e) The Gonanda Dynasty.

Gonanda ITT. Abhimanyu I, was followed by founder of the Gonanda dynasty.

Gonanda III, the Nara.

Gonanda III, revived Brahmanism and a reaction against Buddhism began. King Nara, the sixth in the line,

18 said to have burnt down " thousands of vihdras (monasteries).”" From this time onward, Buddhism in Kashmir declined steadily.)۶(The White Huns.

Mihirakula, 528 A.C.

We may pass over the next four kings and come down to Mihirakula, the White Hun, who seized the throne of Kashmir in 528 a.c. Under his father, Toramaina, the *Vincent A. Smith, Barly History of India, 3rd Edition, 1914, 0286 270,

Hun empire had been established in the latter half of the fifth century in Afghanistan and Western India.1 Mihirakula succeeded in 510 a.c., his capital being Cakala in the Punjab, which may be identified with Sialkot, according to Fleet, or with Sangala Hill in the Sheikhiipura district or, according to Anspach, Jandiala in the Amritsar district of the Punjab.2 He was "a man of violent acts and resembling death,' whose approach the people knew " by noticing the vultures, crows, and other birds which were flying ahead eager to feed on those who were to be slain."" His revolting acts of cruelty became so abhorrent that the native princes formed a confederacy, and, under the leadership of Baladitya of Magadha and Yacovarman of Central India, inflicted a decisive defeat on him. Mihirakula fled to Kashmir where he was kindly received by the king and placed in charge of a small territory. He repaid the king's kindness by seizing his throne and putting him to death. Then issuing from Kashmir, Mihirakula attacked and conquered Gandhara and drowned multitudes of people in the Indus. Kalhana depicts him in the blackest colours of cruelty as being surrounded day and night by thousands of murdered human beings. Mihirakula delighted in acts of cruelty and people still point to a ridge (Hastivanj—from hasti, elephant, and vanj, to go —the passage for elephants) on the Pir Pantsal (Pir Panjal) range, near "Aliabad

Sarai,? where the king, to amuse himself, drove one hundred elephants over the precipice, enjoying their cries of agony.

He favoured Brahmanas, and hated Buddhism. He committed suicide about the middle of the fifth century, overpowered probably by the sense of his own misdeeds. [The Pir Panjal Pass is 11,400 feet above sea level, and the neighbouring peaks are upwards of 16,000 feet high. Gulmarg is but one of the many mountain meadows found at differentelevations on the northern slopes of the Pir Panjai. The Kausar-nig—the largest mountain lake of Kashmir 13,000 feet above sealevel, and over two miles long is on the Pir Panjal range. The lake is surrounded by some of the most picturesque of the Himalayan peaks. Three of these peaks each about

The White Huns*or Ephbthalites came originally from Hastern Turkistan.—Harly History of India by ٧٠ A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, pages 315-16.

Chakla (or modern Chaklala, near Rawalpindi) appears, perhaps, more probable on account of its geographical and phonetic similarity. 3. 'Aliabid Sarai, about half a mile above Hastivanj and 46 miles from Srinagar, is a halting place to the north of the Pir Panjal Pass. The 20٢٥٠ which offers some accommodation to travellers, and stands in wild and dreary solitude was a Mughul hospice. During the wintry portion of the year, it is buried in snow and unvisited.

15,500 feet high tower over the Kausar-nag. 6 T. Vigne, in his Travels, Vol. I, page 265, writes: " Panjal is a Persian word, signifying a range of mountains. The Kashmirians call it Pansal, which more properly signifies a station where water is provided for passengers." Reference to half a dozen standard dictionaries of the Persian language furnishes no clue to the meaning given to it by Vigne. Grierson's Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language does not also give the meaning

noted by Vigne. Stein says that the Pajicdla is the original of the modern Pantsal. (Raj., Vol. 11, طز. 396.)

Habib Kaifut of Jammu evokes patriotic sentiments in the Kashmiri by his lines on the Pir Panjal :— “A abu 5 ١

٣ مس هو اون و ٣ دو يل ٣ ٠ lehS سونيى وطن ہے GES کی tao

ار غو ای yra a دامن میں ندی کی ohS باندی ضاری سر

٧ در سے چشمو ی کا بای a رد سی مہت < ٣ asu اکر ء٣

htS د آرو ی5مس تری 4ےر و las وطن کی تری عظمت تری ہیبت جہاں ٨۔

بر ے دامن مش پھواو د کی قطار ں * تری آغوش مس سو ے ھن بادل

از “ره- بچو sS اک2 aa ehT amdn-hdshddP sah eht gniwollof no eht riP lajnaP ےج

رکشت رت سخ وا که لکوه رای رف etileیال سکخوانرب لش برآمlrادرک یکن نال ال ebt ry gac li دی ده eoB ,gneyP igA yt

? طول ل ہیں کدرااردصریش eltsep lae مار درلسکرو yew il|وست اوے I tepzllht زقق رر لیب ییم VBA

(Fle. وPalen از” اشامت شی یلیر لاہوری It is said that, on clear days, the minarets of Lahore, 130 miles distant as the crow flies, can be seen from the top of the Pir Panjal Pass—V.A. Smith’s edition of Bernier’s Travels, 1914, footnote on page 407.]

Kalidasa. It was during these troublous times of the Fluns, it is believed, that Kalidasa, one of the greatest poets of India, was born in Kashmir. He flourished

during the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century a.c. This date is assigned to Kalidasa on the basis of his reference to the Huns in Kashmir in the Raghuvamsha. It is pointed out that Kalidasa left his home in Kashmir during the unsettled days of its occupation by the Huns, and travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country, halting perhaps much longer at Ujjain than at other places. [The following points, according to Pandit Lachhmidhar, raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Kalidasa was a native of Kashmir سب (1) His affectionate description of associated with the rice-fields.

the rice-fields and the songs (2) His description of a living saffron plant which is grown in Kashmir and which no non-Kashmirian writer is known to have described. The practice of painting the ladies' breasts with the saffron paste so frequently mentioned by Kalidasa was also a real practice in ancient Kashmir. (3) His description of the Devadaru forests, lakes, tarns, glades, caves with lions, musk deer on the higher altitude of the mountains all point in the direction of Kashmir as the home of Kalidasa. The following arguments give a strong indication that 2110882 was a Kashmiri by birth :— (1) Kalidasa refers to some sites of minor importance in Kashmir which have till recently been considered as imaginary; but modern research has identified these sites with their ancient names. The sites are only of local importance and could not be known to one who was not in close touch with Kashmir. They are in the Sind Valley.

2. Kalidasa, in his description of Kashmir in the Cakuntala, refers to the lacustrine origin of Kashmir, which is commonly known to Kashmiris. He shows his partiality for Kashmir. (3) Reference is made to certain Kashmirian legends such as that of

Nikumbha which are known only to Kashmirian writers.

4. The personal religion of Kalidasa was the Kashmiri Caivism based on the doctrine of the Pratyabhijia philosophy unknown outside Kashmir. ’ It is a remarkable discovery, it is pointed out, that the drama of Cakuntala is an allegory of the tenets of the Pratyabhijfia philosophy of Kashmir. Recently a view has been expressed that there is no evidence in Cakuntald that there ever existed anywhere Pratyabhijfia philosophy during the period that Kalidasa lived, as this philosophy originated in

Kashmir in the first half of the 9th century a.c., * Somananda being the originator of the system. There is, however, no doubt that this tendency of thought may have been developing before it was systematized by 80•+

5. The argument of the Meghadite points to Kashmir as the home of Kalid’sa. —Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmidhar, M.A., M.O.L., Shastri, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, in his University lectures during the month of March, 1925, on “ The Birth-place of Kalidasa.”

These lectures were printed in book form in 1926 by the University.]

Yudhishthira I.

The last of the Gonanda line, Yudhishthira I, was a worthless ruler, and was turned out by his own subjects who called in a foreign king, and subsequently Kashmir went under the suzerainty of Vikramaditya Harsha of Ujjayini (Ujjain).

Vikramaditya.

There is, however, no indisputable proof in the shape of inscriptions and coins, of the existence of Vikramaditya in the first century هے The era of which he is held to — be the founder was not called by his name till the tenth century A.C.

Pravarasena II, 580 A.C.

On the death of King Harsha, about the third quarter of the sixth century, Kashmir was conquered by Pravarasena II, a prince of Malva who 0160 in 580 a.c. PravarasenaCreshthasena, alias Tunina IT, who is said to have ruled for 30 years, from 88 to 58B.C.,is Pravarasenal. The present city of Srinagar called after him Pravarapura and subsequently

Pandréthan, was founded by him. According to verse 354 of the third Taranga of Kalhana, this king had " the Great Bridge ⋆⋆constructed of boats for the first time in Kashmir.

(Srinagar, the City Royal, is the ancient and present name of the city. During Muslim rule, it was called Kashmir, or locally Kashir, and Biruni accordingly notes that "the city of Kashmir covers a space of four farsakhs." (Sachau, Vol. I, page 207). But when the Sikhs took Kashmir in 1819 ac, they restored the old name Srinagar, which was originally Shrinagara or Shrinagari, and according to Kalhana, founded by Acoka, on a site near the present city. The site of the present city was selected by Pravarasena IT, who called it Pravarsenapura shortened to Pravarapura. Nagara means the city

- The Doctrine of Recognition (MS.) by Mr. R. K. Kaw, M.A.

ہے and Shri is the name of the goddess Lakshmi and may be taken to mean wealth, or beauty or sovereignty. Shri here does not mean Sarya or the sun, and it is a mistake to call Srinagar the ' City of the Sun.'

Srinagar has an area 4 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth.

It is situated somewhat in the centre of the Valley of Kashmir, and extends along both banks of the Jhelum which is spanned by seven bridges. The river winds its

way through the city with an average width of 80 yards. The greater part of the city lies on the right bank. It is strange to note that no two buildings are alike. The city is

5,250 feet above the sea level.

In spite of this elevation, July and August are hot and somewhat humid. But the spring and autumn are very pleasant. The mean temperature is 35° in January and

80° in July.

The annual rainfall seldom exceeds 27 inches.

The population of Srinagar, according to the census of 1931, was 1,73,513 of which 1,38,764 are Muslims and 33,670 are Hindus, 870 Sikhs, 257 Christians, 5 Buddhists, 4 Zoroastrians and 3 Jains. The Census of 1941 gives the population of Srinagar as 2,07,787, which means an increase of 34,214 or 19°71 per cent. during the last ten years.

Srinagar is the terminal of one of the Central Asian trade-routes. Like most ancient capitals, it has been built and re-built at different times and on different sites. “The suburbs of Sreenuggur call up reminiscences of those of

Constantinople with their turbaned tombs of departed Moslems— their green luxuriance of nature and squalid penury of art—but the fancied resemblance grows less and less as you approach the city. To enter it you pass no imperial walls or massive gateways, but little by little the houses huddle themselves closer together, and at last form a street, narrow and dirty and stony enough to induce a relapse into your dreamy memories of Stamboul, while here and there a highfeatured face and stately form, in ample turban and flowing robe, stalks by

and helps to keep up the delusion. But now a gap in the wall of houses on your right lets in a stream of warm light on the dark, foul footway and through it you see close by you, not the broad bosom of the breezy Bosphorus or the crowded waters of the Golden Horn, but a sluggish stream glittering in "the sunlight and covered with boats of all sizes; some heavily laden barges are being slowly punted up stream, while others of lighter build glide past merrily, propelled by the rapid strokes of half a dozen paddles—it is a busy scene.

And on the opposite side of the river, you see reproduced as in a mirror a facsimile of the bank you stand on—the same houses, the same landing-places, the same people—for it is the Jhelum that you look on ; and on his right bank and on his left stand the crowded dwellings of the capital of Kashmir—Sreenuggur." (Col. Torrens' Travels, pp. 246-47.) But themodern visitor will find a great deal of difference between Istanbiland Srinagar now. Istanbiil has dwindled while Srinagar has considerably expanded. Istanbil is Europeanized. Srinagar too has changed but is still essentially Asiatic,

Mayasiim is the island formed by the Tsunt-i-Kol canal. It was called, at one time, the European quarter, on account of the Residency, the hotel, the club, and the Post and Telegraph offices and some Kuropean shops and banks in Srinagar.]

Baladitya.

This dynasty of the White Huns lasted for about half a century, the last of the line, male ·

Baladitya, dying without (g) The Karkota Dynasty. Durlabhavardhana, 627-663 A.C. The throne devolved upon Baladitya's son-in-law, Durlabhavardhana, who was of humble origin stated to have been the son of a Naga. His family was given

to ophiolatory or serpent-worship which had been the prevailing religion of Kashmir from time immemorial. [The Ancient Geography of India by Alexander Cunningham, p. 92.[He was the founder of the Niga or Karkota dynasty. [The word Karkota as an appellative indicate different plants و it also occurs as the name of a presumably un-Aryan tribe.? There is probably some connexion between the Naga name ‘ Karkota ’ and the word Carkota, which in the Atharva-Veda is used to indicate some kind of poisonous snake. In the lists of principal Nagas found in epic literature, the Nagaraja Karkota (ka) takes an honourable place. He is the procreator of this royal house. In the kingdom of Nepal, Karkota takes a prominent position in popular worship and legend, and is considered to be foremost among the Nagas of Nepal. The country round Mathura must once have been a great centre of Naga worship. Bastar, the feudatory state in the south-east corner of the Central Provinces, is ruled by a Naga dynasty. Most Gond chiefs in this same Province pretend to be descended from the Nagavamga. A caste of the Kayasthas of Bengal derive their origin from × serpent king. The Naga Hills is the name of a district in the Surma ’Valley of Assam. In further India, we meet with royal clans which are believed to descend from a Nagi ancestress. The story of the Nagi ancestress is widely spread in the Far Hast in China and Japan. Naga is the name of the capital of the province of Camarines Sur, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

1. Like great royal families who trace their origin to the sun or the moon. The Mikado of Japan is a modern example.

_ 2. Indian Serpent-Lore or the Nagas in Hindu*Legend and Art, by

J.P. H. Végel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology in the University of Leyden, Holland, late Superintendent, Archaeological

Survey of India.—Arthur Probsthain, London, 1926, pp. 214-15.

The great importance of the Nagas both in Buddhist and in Brahmanical lore is reflected in plastic and pictorial art. Among the frescoes of the Ajanta there are several representations of

Nagas.

Regarding the origin and significance of Naga worship, there prevails a very marked diversity of opinion. According to James Fergusson,' the Nagas were not originally serpents but serpentworshippers—an aboriginal race of the Turanian stock inhabiting Northern India, who were conquered by Aryans. Dr. C. F. Oldham? is of the opinion that the Nagas claimed descent from the sun and had the hooded serpent for a totem. TakshagilA (Taxila), he says, was the chief city of the Naga people, and Takshaka was one of their chiefs.

The Naga somehow or other is mixed up with the cult of Shaivaism. Shiva is imagined to have depended for his ornaments on the Nagas (serpents). And it is claimed that South Indian Shaivaism migrated to Northern India, leaving in the south its remnants in the Nagaras, or Nayars. The tribe of Nagas had powerful kingdoms in different parts of India as testified to by the names of important cities called Nagpur, in many parts of India. (The Origin of Shaivaism, by K. R. Subramanian, M.A., University of Madras, 1929.) the

'Durlabhavardhana of Kashmir is believed to have been really offspring of the Naga Karkota mentioned in the opening paragraph.

With the establishment of the Karkota dynasty, we reach the firm ground of comparatively authentic history. Durlabhavardhana reigned from 627 to 663 A.c. The visit of the Chinese pilgrim Yiian Chwang (Hiuen Tsiang)? to Kashmir

(631-633 a.c.) occurred during the time of this king who accorded a hospitable reception to the pilgrim. 11000 Thsang " resided in the Valley as an honoured guest for full two years. The two full-:years represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself during his sixteen years' wanderings through the whole of India and Central Asia. The records of this great Chinese pilgrim contain by far the fullest and most accurate description of Kashmir that has come down to us from a foreign pen during the period."* Hhiisen Kwan's description of the people of Kashmir is :—" Light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. The people are handsome in _ appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well-instructed."'

1. Tree and Serpent Worship, 1873.
2. The Sun and the Serpent, 1905, 3.' This name has more than half a dozen forms.
3. The Ancient Geography of Kashmir by Dr, Stein, page 14.

Kashmir is one of the most important and most famous lands in the history of the spread and development of Buddhism.* In the literature of this religion we find frequent reference to the capital, and the country generally, in terms of praise and admiration. But H'iian Chwang found that " this kmgdom is not much given to faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." The country was prosperous and peaceful. The political power of Kashmir extended to all the adjacent territories on the west and south including Rajapuri (Rajauri), Parnotsa (Pinch), Bhimbar, Urac& (Hazara), Taxila (Takkasila or Takshacila) and Simhapura, which seems to have included the Salt Range.

Durlabhaka, 663—713 A.C. Durlabhavardhana's son and successor was Durlabhaka or Pratapaditya II. En passant Pratapaditya I (169—137 B.C.) was a

relative of King Vikramaditya and is said to have been brought from abroad by discontented ministers of Kashmir. Durlabhaka ruled for fifty years from 663 to 713 a.c. “This was the time of Chinese aggression towards the west, during which Turkistan and Western Tibet were conquered and annexed to the ‘ Celestial’ empire. [Excavations in September, 1942, were undertaken and are continued bythe Archaeological Department of Jammu and Kashmir State at Tapar, ancient Pratapapura, built by Pratapiditya 11. The village Tapar is situated at a distance of 22 miles from Srinagar, or4 miles below Patan. The ruins have been discovered of the base of a temple, its gateway, its courtyard and the plinth of the enclosure wall. The material used is blocks of stone of such dimensions as are generally found in the case of other temples of the period. The temple is sacred to Vishnu. From the perusal of fragments of the Sanskrit inscription found engraved in the Carada script on some stones built perhaps in the cornice course of the gateway, it is evident that the construction is somehow connected with a certain Brahman, son of Gaggha, and the architect is named Lakshmana. The date is ascertainable from the reference given in the inscription to the reign of Mandadeva (Paramandadeva) or Parmanudeva (son of Jayasirhha):of later chronicles. “The temple as well as the outer enclosure is square in plan both externally and internally.

It resembles all other temples of Kashmir in pomt of massiveness of the stone material, simplicity of style and finish of the dressing.” Kalhana does not say anything about the construction of a temple by Prataipaditya, when describing the foundation of the town Pratapapura.—Note by Pandit Madhusidan Kaul, Supdt.,

Archaeology, Srinagar].

*Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India (629-645 a.c.) by Thomas Watters, edited by Rhys Davids and هتW. Bushel—Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904, page 264,

Chandrapida, 713 —721 A.C.

Durlabhaka's son, Chandrapida, who came to the throne in 713 A.c., sent an embassy to the emperor of China, from whom he received the investiture of kingship, becoming a feudatory of the emperor.

27'673 100, 721—725 A.C. He was succeeded in 721 a.c., by his younger brother, Tarapida, who ended his days in 725 a.c., after a cruel rule of 4 years.

Lalitaditya-Muktapida, 725—753 A.C. Then came the glorious rule of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, © the youngest son of Pratapaditya.

He is the hero of vast conquests. Kalhana shows him to be the universal monarch, moving round the earth like the sun. He certainly subjugated parts of the Punjab and defeated and dethroned Yacovarman of Kanyakubja (Qannauj)' in 740 a.c. He also brought the well-known poet Bhavabhiti, who hailed from Vidarbha (Berar) to his court.2 Before this, he had led a successful expedition against the Bhauttas of Baltistan, whom he defeated on the banks of the Indus. In 733 a.c., he sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, Hiisan-tsuang (718-755 A.c.), to report "his victories over the Tibetans, and also to solicit the establishment of a cam of Chinese troops by the banks of the Volur (Wular) Lake. Muktapida also applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs? who were advancing from their base in Sind and Multan and of whom we hear for the first time in connexion with the history of Kashmir. [733 of the Christian era is 115 of the Hijra.] But the " Divine Khan" contented himself with merely ordering a sumptuous entertainment for the ambassador and with investing

Muktapida with the title of king. The chiefs of Jullundur, Kangra and Piinch were among Mukt&pida's feudatories. He is the most conspicuous figure in Kashmir history. He raised his country to a pitch of glory it had never reached before.. The ruins of the temple of Martanda; about 5 miles from Anantnag or Islamabad, and of his city, Parihasapura, fourteen miles from Srinagar, bear eloquent testimony to his greatness. 1. Early History of India by V. A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, p. 372. • 2. Ancient India by R. 0• Dutt, pages 149-150. 3. The Ancient Geography of India by Major-General Alexandet \ \ Cunningham, Tribner & Co., London, 1871, page 90.

The celebrated temple of Martanda possesses far more imposing dimensions than any other existing temple, being 63 feet long. The pillared quadrangle round the temple is 220 feet by 142 feet. The stone carving is very fine indeed. G. T. Vigne, the traveller, says: ""As an isolated ruin this deserves on account of its solitary and massive grandeur to be ranked, not only as the first ruin of the kind in Kashmir but as one of the noblest amongst the architectural relics of antiquity that are to be seen in any country."' Another view* is that there is something of the rigidity and strength of the Egyptian temple and something of the grace of Greece. Though Hindu, it differs frem the usual Hindu types, and is known distinctively as Kashmirian and owes much to the influence of Gandhara. It is, however, decidedly Hindu and not either Buddhist or Jain, while, the sculptures show, according to Marshall, a close connexion with the typical Hindu work of the late Gupta period. This great temple of the sun at Martanda became the model for all subsequent Brahmanical temples in Kashmir. Extensive drainage works were also carried out under

Muktapida's orders, and vast areas were reclaimed and made fit for cultivation. Muktapida raised the number of court offices from 18—under Jalauka—to 23,

the five new offices being those of High Chamberlain, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Master of the Horse, Keeper of the Treasury, and Chief Executive Officer. His end is enveloped in mystery. He died probably during an expedition towards the north.

When engaged in his last expedition, Muktapida sent out a sort of instrument of instruction on the art of govern-

ance.

He warned his Kashmiri subjects against internal dissension, and against neglecting the forts in respect of repair and provisions. Dwellers in mountains, he said, should be occasionally punished to prevent their becoming strong and troublesome. “Every care should be taken’ that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year’s consumption, nor more oxen than were wanted for the tillage of their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year. very formidable Damaras or feudal lords and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king.””

The cultivator’s style of living must be lower than that of the city

- Kashmir by Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, page 115.

people. Offices should not be held by family cliques, and troops should not be raised from a single district.1 Lalitaditya’s rule ended in 753 ورنه and was followed by four short reigns.

Vajraditya. The history of Kashmir mentions Muslims a second time when Kalhana? represents the younger son and the second successor of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, vzz., Vajraditya —also known by the name of Bappiyaka—as selling many men to the Mlechhas or Muslims and introducing into the country

practices which befitted Mlechhas or Muslims. [The term Damara is one of common occurrence in Kalhana's Chronicle, and the persons whom it designated play a prominent part in the latter portions of the narrative, says Stein.? The word Damara, in the sense in which it is used in the Rajatarangint and the later Chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir. In the Hindu period of the history of Kashmir, Damara means the well-to-do landed gentry or feudal barons. Ranjit 8. Pandit' adds: The barons or | the rustic aristocracy of Kashmir were not equal to the Rajputras in the social scale, yet Kalhana mentions instances of inter-marriage between them and between the Damaras and the ruling family of Kashmir. Any one could become a Damara who "apparently began as a prosperous cultivator. He could wax strong in course of time as a powerful feudal baron capable of being و thorn in the side of the king." Kalhana also uses the term Lavanya to designate them. Harsha's efforts to suppress the Damaras ended in his own rule and life. In present-day Kashmir, Dars claim their decent from the Damaras.|

Jayapida, 751—782 A.C. Here follows the 31 years' powerful rule of Jayapida, a grandson of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, who came to the throne in 751 a.c. He went on a conquering expedition to the valley of the Ganges where he defeated the king of

Qannauj.

He had, however, to return soon as his throne had been usurped in his absence by his brother-in-law. The ' king was a liberal patron of learning, and many poets and scholars flocked to his court. -He founded the town of Jayapura-Andarkéth near modern Sumbal. Towards the

Stem's English Translation verses 345-52, Volume I, page 154.

of the Rdjaterangini, Book IV, Ibid., Book IV, verse 397, page 158. Lbid., Volume

II, pages 304-8.

ظ.5. Pandit's Rajaterangini, page 127, footnote No. 348.

end of his reign, he became a cruel and rapacious tyrant. The reason for this is not given by Stein, but Pandit Birbal Kachru's account! of the Rani's love for a Brahman youth and the meeting and ultimate immolation for fear of sin in the absence of her lord, and of Jayapida's rage which impelled him to avenge his Rani's tragedy by killmg Brahmans, fits in with the gap unexplained by Sir Aurel. Jayapida was followed, im 795 ارنهby an indolent and extravagant prince who, in a twelve years' rule, squandered away the riches amassed by his father.

Avaniwarman, 855—883 A.C. The history of the next half century is a record of the installation and dethronement of puppet kings, and of the jealousies and intrigues of rival factions at the court till we come to the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 4.c.) the founder of the Utpala dynasty. During the concluding years of the Karkota dynasty, the country towards the south of the Panjal range had thrown off its allegiance to the Kashmir throne, and small independent principalities had sprung up at Rajauri and other places. The kingdom of Kashmir was restricted to its natural boundaries, extend-

ing only to four marches below Baramila. Avantivarman wisely refrained from undertaking foreign conquest, and bestowed his whole attention on the internal consolidation and development of the country which had greatly suffered — economically and politically—from the -disorders of the preceding reigns, from the feuds of powerful barons and the rapacious administration of the Kayasthas or clerks.

The country had been liable to heavy floods and famines.. The Kashmir Valley was in a water-logged condition. Cultivation was poor. Avantivarman's able engineer, Suyya, undertook to drain the Valley. He saw, as have modern engineers in our own day, that floods in the Valley were due to the fact that the passage of the Jhelum through the Baraimila gorge had been blocked by silt and boulders brought down into it from a neighbouring nullah or stream.?

This obstruction was removed by Suyya, and the result was a large increase of land available for cultivation and increased protection against floods. He then carried out other extensive drainage and irrigation 1. The Mukhtasar-ut-Tawarikh by Pandit Birbal Kachru, written in the time of Colonel Mehan Singh, a Sikh Governor of Kashmir, MS. folios 42-44. ی 2. The Pulse of Asia by E. Huntington, pages 39-40.

works under the orders of the king; and it is no wonder that the native historian exults over the economic prosperity of the land which was the direct result of these engineering schemes. The modern village Sopdr (old Suyyapura)! commemorates the name of this great engineer. It was founded by him at the point where the Jhelum leaves the Wular Lake. The memory of the king is also preserved to this day in the village of Avantipura (Vantipor)? which lies one march above Srinagar.

The ruins of the ancient temples at Avantipura are, according to Stein, among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmiri architecture and sufficiently testify to the resources of the builder. Of the two temples dedicated to Vishnu and Civa respectively—Avanti Swamin and Avantigvara—the first was built before his accession and the second subsequently by Avantivarman.

The medieval development of Brahmanical architecture? in Kashmir is represented by two golden periods, or, to be more precise, rose to its greatest

heights under two prominent building rulers, Lalitaditya who brought the style into being in the middle of the eighth century and Avantivarman under whom it attained its most refined form in the latter half of the ninth century.

The reign of Avantivarman also witnessed a remarkable revival of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. (Civasvamin was one of the gems of Avantivarman's court. Some of the others were: (2) Ratnakara, who wrote the Haravijaya in fifty cantos and lived under two kings, viz., Jayapida and Avantivarman; (72) Anandavardhana, the author of Dhvanydloka (11) Kallata, the great pupil of Vasugupta, the originator of the Spandagastra division of Kashmir. Civa- —

1941.

Sdpur (Sopor) had a population of 10,982: in 1931, 11,770 in

Zain-ul-'Abidin here built a bridge over the Jhelum in 1460 •

Crivara refers.to the building of a new royal residence at Suyyapura by Sultan Hasan Shah. The present town which stands on both banks of the river, is one day's journey by boat from Srinagar. It is a great centre of trade, but not a Municipality, having a Town Area Committee only.

Avantipur is now a village situated at a distance of 18 miles from Srinagar.

It has the ruins of several temples two of which are conspicuous and have been described in detail by Rai Bahadur Ram

Chandra Kak, B.A., in his Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, 1933. population in 1941 was 1,487.

The 3. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Taraporevala, Bombay, 1942, page 180.

svamin is credited with the authorship of seven Mahakavyas, several dramas, prose works and other writings. But the Kapphinabhyudaya and a few stray verses make up all that is left to the student to read and admire. (Civasvamin's work "'assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit literature in general and the literary history of Kashmir in particular, inasmuch as it helps to show the develop-

ment of Kavya in Kashmir and the influence of Ratnakara on his contemporaries." Its theme is neither Pauranic, nor epic, nor historical, but it deals with the Buddhistic legend of King Kapphina, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha. The Kapphindbhyudaya, which remained in obscurity for the last millennium or so, is now made available by the University of the Panjab ; it has been, for the first time, critically edited by Pandit Gauri Shankar.*

Camkaravarman, 883—902 A.C. Avantivarman's son and successor, Carmnkaravarman (883-902 a.c.), scandalized his subjects by introducing an ingenious scheme of fiscal oppression. He plundered the treasures of temples and was guilty of unlimited and ruthless extortion. To perpetuate his memory, he built the town of Camkarapura, the present Patan (now having a population of 3,032) and its temples, from the materials he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Parihasapura. But the town did not flourish. The ruins of two temples still stand today at Patan, 17 miles from Srinagar, on the Baramiila road. One was erected by the king and the other by his queen, Sugandha. Camkaravar'man invaded the territories of Rajauri, Gujrat, Kangra, and Hazara, but without any permanent effect, as his kingdom, after all, remained restricted within its natural boundaries. He died during his expedition to Hazara. . 'From this reign onward, the record is one long succession of struggles between the rulers and usurping uncles, cousins, brothers, ministers, nobles and soldiers." During the century following 902 a.c., the rulership of the

kingdom changed hands as many as eighteen times. One claimant dethroned another several times like Partha and Chakravarman, Chakravarman was assassinated in the chamber *Civasvamin's

Kapphinabhyudaya or LExaltation of King Kapphina by Pandit Gauri Shankar, M.A., B. Litt. (Oxon.), Lecturer, Government College, Lahore, 1937.

of a Domba girl, and such was the degradation of court morality that the murderers were freely urged on by the king's own wives to crush his knees with a large stohe as he lay dying in the embrace of the Domba girl (937 a.c.).1 Yacaskara, 939-948 A.C. The country was harrassed by the oppressions of the nobles and ministers, and save for a short respite that the country enjoyed under Yacaskara's mild rule of nine years

(939-948), utter confusion and anarchy prevailed. . Kings then come and go in two years.

Two (i) The First Lohara Dynasty.

Kshemagupta, 950-958 A.C.

Kshemagupta's rule lasted from 950 to 958 a.c. He married 1002 who belonged, on her mother's side, to the Cahis of Udabhanda (Ohind).

Abhimanyu IT, 958-972 A.C.

Queen Didda& (980—1008 4.c.) was a woman of unscrupulous but forceful character. She misgoverned the unhappy country for halfa century. She was Queen Consort from 950 to 958. She was Regent from 959 to 980 for Abhimanyu, the infant son of Kshemagupta. Abhimanyu's reign is shown as from 958 a.c. to 972 a.c., during which time? a terrible conflagration destroyed a

great many buildings from the market-place to the shrine of Vishnu. Diddé, 980—1003 A.C.

Didda ultimately reigned as sovereign for 23 years. She ruthlessly put down all rival parties executing captured rebels and exterminating their families. The result was that the throne passed without opposition to Samgramaraja

(1003-28), a nephew of Diddi, whom she had nominated in her own lifetime and who became the founder of the Lohara dynasty?

He was, however, a weak ruler.

1. Outhine of Ancient Indian History and Civilization by Dr. RB.

C. Majumdar, 1927, pages 438-39.

2. Rajatarangint, verses 190-91, Book VI, Stein's Volume I, pager

251-52.

১ 3. Modern Loharin isa valley in Pinch. Queen 101848 was on of Udabhanda, her mother's side a granddaughter of King Bhima (ahi who is mentioned in al-Biriini's list of the Hindu (ahiyas of Kibul. The (ahi kingdom was destroyed by Mahmiid of Ghazna—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of Rajatarangini, Vol. I,-p. 104. ° ১

Sultan Mahmiid's invasion.

The Raja's reign is noticeable only for an invasion of Kashmir by Hammira (Kalhana's name for Sultan Mahmid of Ghazna, apparently, an adaptation of the title of Amir-ul-Muminin) in 1015.

The Kashmiri troops were defeated by the invader, but Hammira had to retire owing to inclement weather and the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers. Though Mahmiid never entered Kashmir, perhaps Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Farrukhé (d. 429 4.H.=1037 ۵.0.(his contemporary, who accompanied him in his expeditions to Qannauj, Somanitha and probably to Kashmir, gives expression to Mahmiid's desire disappointed

را ره کشمر می آرزوLL.

ay كيett خویش۵ ما ز آرژو AT کنم از سر بتکوte. ob از دست

کا است کہ پکبارہ بہ کشمر خر امم I J To Amir Muhammad, Mahmiid's son, and the twin brother of Mas'iid, Farrukhi says:

اش کا با پدر خویش بکشمیر شوی ,Hariréja الشکر ساختہ خویش بکشمیر بر ی

1028 A.C.: Ananta, 1028—1063 A.C.; Kalaga, 1063—1089 A.C.

Samgramaraja was succeeded by Haririja who, after a reign of 22 days, was succeeded by Ananta. A rebellion of the Damaras, or feudal lords, was bravely put down by the king. He scored a victory over the Raji of Chamba, but his expedition against the hill state of Hazara proved an ignominious failure. He was personally weak; and much of hissuccess in government was due to his pious and vigorous queen, Siryamati. She wanted the government of the country to be in stronger hands. So, on her advice, Ananta abdicated in favour of his son Kalacga. But Kalaca (10631089) was given to the company of depraved and dissolute associates. Although the people suffered much from his cruelty, he was able to make his power felt by the surround-

ing states from Hazara to Chamba. His successor enjoyed the regal state only for 22 days, and was succeeded by Harsha (1089—1101).

Abhinavagupta, the Caiva Philosopher. The great Abhinavagupta, the Kashmir CQaiva philosopher and literary critic, was born between 950 and 60 · in a Brahman family that had migrated from Qannauj.to

Kashmir during the reign of King Lalitaditya. Abhinavagupta was a voluminous writer on several subjects— Dramaturgy, Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Philosophy of Poetry. Huis contribution to Gaiva philosophy is indeed very great both in volume and importance. Dr. Kanti Chandra Pandey! says that, according to the tradition current in certain old Pandit familics and some old Muslim houses, Abhinavagupta walked with twelve hundred disciples into the Bhairava cave, about five miles from Magim, midway between Srinagar and Gulmarg, and was never seen again.

[Note.—Dr. V. Raghavan details A.'s works in the Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, October—December, 1940].

Kshemendra. Kshemendra,? the ornament of the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir, was born on the Dal in the locality where the Nishét Bagh now stands, in the days of Ananta. Kshemendra's father was Prakacendra, a rich, charitably disposed and learned Brahman. The exact date of Kshemendra's birth is not known, but his literary career runs from 1037 to 1066 a.c. He was one of the three sons of his father. Kshemendra studied under several teachers, but the most noted was Gangaka. Kslemendra's studies were wide extending to Hindu law, Sanskrit grammar, Ayurveda, politics, music and painting. He underwent a course of manual training, too, and knew carpentry and smithy as well, by the time he was 25 years of age. Then Kshemendra married and had a son called. Somendra. Ananta engaged him to teach his son Kalaga.

Kshemendra was noted for his learning and wealth, his sagacity and generosity in maintaining boarding schools and for his humility. He enjoyed life, too. His

book Darpadalana (Pride has a fall) Desha Upadesha (Advice about the country for foreign students) are well known. He is reputed to be the author of many books, of which thirtyfour believed to be obtainable have mostly been printed at the Nirnayasigara Press, Bombay. Kalhana has criticized his ২৮২৫৫৫৫/৫ for his classical error. He also charges him with ৪ consistent carelessness.'? Keith has discussed Kshemend1258 Brhatkathamafjart and other works at some length. i. Author of a Ph.D. dissertation on versity of Lucknow in 1935, page 18.

Abhinavagupta at the Uni-

2. The Hamdard, Srinagar, 19th, 26th October, and 2nd November, 1941—Pandit Kaviraja's contribution.

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Indian. Historical Quarterly, September 1942, page 198,-

The Bilhaiia.

Bilhafia,! a great poet, senior to Kalhafia in point of age, was born in Khunamiish or Khunamuh, 6 miles from Srinagar. His father was Jyeshtha Kalasha, a learned Brahman noted specially for his studies in Sanskrit grammar. Bilhafia was the third son of Jyeshtha. On completing his education and finding no scope for his talents, on account of the oppressive rule of Kalaga, Bilhaia, at the age of 16, ig stated to have left Kashmir by way of Pinch and entered the Punjab, visited Lahore and Jullundur. Then he moved to Mathura, Qannauj, and halted at Kashi, where his fame as a grammarian attracted notice. He also appears to have been to Chhattrakota, Prayag, Anhilvad and Nasik. At Kalyatia,in the Deccan, there seems to have beena little romance? with the Raja's daughter whom Bilhafia had been engaged to teach. A Kashmiri Pandit and, as

such, nodoubt, a handsome youth, accomplished, scholarly, he could not fail to win the heart of the princess, and the assent of the Raja, and' thus Bilhafia's marriage took place. Ultimately Bilhafia succeeded to the gaddi. But Keithissilent on this romance. Bilhafia isthe authorof (1) Vikramdnkadevacharita. (2) Karna-Sundart Mala(3)Chaurapanchdsika. General Cunningham traced the first and Dr. Bithler the second of these works. When Bilhafia revived his desire to return to Kashmir, Harsha deposed Kalacga. Tradition has it that he returned to his village Khunamiish and died there at the age of 80. But there is no effective evidence to substantiate this claim.

Bilhafia is not much goodat history. He 18 a poet whose language is simple and clear. He gives a beautiful glimpse of the Srinagar of his days in the clokas of the 8th chapter of his Vikramankadevacharita on the adventures of Vikrama. Harsha, 1089—1101 A.C.

In person, Harsha was of powerful frame, great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display. He was well-

versed In various sciences and a lover of music and art. But his mind was rather demented and his character was a jumble of contrasts. "Cruelty and kind-heartedness,

The Hamdard, Srinagar, 14th and 21st September, 1941.

Also Keith's History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928, pages 153—158. 2. The theme has been treated by Sir Edwin Arnold in his Chaurapanchasika and retold by Professor P. Seshadri in his narrative poem, of about 800 lines, entitled ৯6.

liberality and greed, violent self-will and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harsha's chequered life." His early rule, however, was

characterized by prudence, and his munificence towards men of learning attracted many scholars from other countries. From Kalhana's account it appears that Harsha supported Turushka (Muslim) captains of hundreds with money, or in the words of Sir Aurel Stein,? Harsha had '* Muhammadan troop leaders" in his service. Harsha's elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments and his multifarious extravagances, however, soon involved him heavily in debt, to rescue himself from which he took to the spoliation of temples? He robbed them of their treasures. But he did not stop there. His tendencies led him on to the confiscation of cult images in order to possess himself of the valuable metal of which they were made. He was further reduced to the necessity of levying new and oppressive imposts. Hven night-soil became the object of taxation. Harsha abandoned himself more and more to excesses and follies of all kinds. The country was visited by many calamities. Plague reduced the population, robber bands infested the roads, and floods occurred which brought famine and universal distress. But the fiscal exactions of the king continued unabated. The result was that his armies were humiliated abroad, and he was surrounded by conspiracies at home. When Harsha's nephews, Ucchala and Sussala, raised the standard of revolt, all flocked to it. The palace was given to flames. The queens were burnt to death, the heir-apparent was killed. The king was hunted down and mercilessly slain in 1101. And his body, "naked like that of a pauper,' was cremated by a compassionate wood-dealer.

j. The Second Lohara Dynasty.

Ucchala, 1101—1111 A.C.

١ Ucchala, Harsha's eldest nephew, succeeded him. He broke down the power of the Damaras or feudal lords by turning one against the other, and finally crushed

them one by one. There was again a conspiracy against the king, and he was killed in 1111.

Stein's English Translation of the Réajatarangini, Vol.

Introduction, page 112. 2. Ibid., verse 1149, Book VII, and Volume I, page 357. 3 1611. Vol. I, Introduction, page 118.

footnote No.

I, 1149, Two Centuries of • The history of the two succeeding centuries is a sordid record of short reigns, murders, suicides, plots, conspiracies, rebellions, oppressions and fiscal exactions. To quote Sir Francis Younghusband, "' we may accept, then, as authentic that the normal state of Kashmir for many centuries, except in the intervals when a strong, firm ruler came to the front, was a state of perpetual intrigue and assassination, of struggles with brothers, cousins, uncles, before a chief even came to the throne ; of fights for power with ministers, with the military, with the 'nobles' when he was on it; of constant fear of poisoning andassassination ; of wearying, petty internecine 'wars,' of general discomfort, uncertainty and unrest." Ucchala's successor reigned only for a night, and his half-brother for four months.

Sussala, 1112—20 A.C. The rule of his Restoration, 1121—28 A.C. brother, Sussala (1112-20), was a succession of internal troubles caused by rebellious feudal lords, the Damaras. In 1120, he had to flee to Pinch in the face of a rebellion. He was, however, restored to the throne and power by pretenders and nobles in 1121, and reigned till he was murdered in 1128. The king tried hard to break the power of the Damaras by cunning diplomacy but without much effect. Jayasimha, 1128—1155 A.C. Jayasimha, his eldest son, succeeded Sussala.

Jaya-

sirhha reigned from 1128 +0 1155.

In this reign we read of who have already been referred to in Harsha's reign as

Sanjapala, the Sendpati (Commander-in-chief), " going into camp with Yavanas (Muslims) " [Stein, Vol. 2, p. 175]

'captains of hundreds."'

سسفنرے۔ Mammaia and other Poets of the Period. Mammata and his two brothers occupy a high. position in the literary firmament of Kashmir during the beginning of the 12th century acc. Mammata, the second son of the scholar Jaiyata Bhatta, hails from Gdlandar, near Pampar noted for saffron. Jaiyata isthe elder and Uvvata the younger brother of Mammata. Although all the three were noted littérateurs, Mammata was the most distinguished of all.

His hook Kavya-Prakdga on prosody is often set for the higher examinations of the Sanskrit language. Highty-seven commentaries are known to have been written on the Kdvya-Prakéca of which 25 are available. Mammata is supposed to be the maternal uncle of Harsha, the great poet-king of Qannauj. The Cabda-

Vyapara-Vichava in which the usage discussed is Mamalladevi another was the well-known of words has book mother of Harsha.

naturally visited Kashmir for scholars of Srinagar.

contact of been Mammata.

Thus Harsha with Sanskrit Mankha.

Mankha* was another poet of this age. He was the fourth son of his father, Veshovrata, the son of Pandit Mammata. Mankha was a pupil of Ruyyaka, the celebrated author of Alankdrasarvasva. Mankha rose to the post of Director of

Dharm&rtha and Foreign Minister. Raja Sussala looked upon him asa philosopher. Mankha wrote his first book Crikanthacharita when 25 years of age, probably in 1039 a.c. It consists of fourteen chapters, and has 2,500 couplets. In Jayasimha's time Mankha was the head of a college. Like Mulla Tahir Ghani he hated flattering others and had quite an independent mind.

Kalhana Kalhana Pandit, the author of the celebrated saga of Kashmir called the Rdjatarangint was the contemporary of Raja Jayasibha. This was the time when, in England, Matilda wasa fugitive, and the barons were at war with one another. Kalhana's metrical history of the rajas of Kashmir, written in aka 1070 or 1148-49 a.c. or 543-44 an. is a well-known work in the Sanskrit language. Kalhana was the son of Chanpaka, the minister of King Harsha of Kashmir (1079—1101 a.c.). Kalhana claimed to be a poet and historian and was, no doubt, skilled in both capacities. He attempted to give his readers a complete history of Kashmir, and, though, like most of the medisval historians, he combined fact with fiction, he "sincerely endeavoured to consult the varied sources of history."? He was wellversed in the literary and historical traditions of ancient India, and was likewise an erudite scholar. Kalhana's • earlier chapters are "a medley of confused traditions and fanciful imaginations,' but he exercised "independence of *The tribution.

Hamdard, 28th September, 1941, Pandit Kaviraja's gon-

judgment combined with strict impartiality and unsparing criticism in regard to contemporary events and persons including kings, officials and priests." In spite of all this, says Sir Aurel Stein, Kalhana must be treated with critical caution, as "his chronology is unreliable, his sources of information discrepant, and his frame of mind didactic." -To sum up, though the Rajatararigint avowedly belongs both in form and in substance to the literature of artificial poetry, its

merits as an historical composition are many and undoubted, says Dr. Ghoshal.* Kalhana was a Brahman by caste. He was a worshipper of Civa and an admirer of Buddha. The name Kathana is derived through Prakrit Kall@na from Sanskrit Kalyana, meaning 'happiness,' 'blessedness.'

The Rajatarangini.

The Rajatarangini was begun by Pandit Kalhana in 1148-49 A.c., and completed sometime in the following year. As 1. • Pandit says it was written about half a century before the defeat of Prithvi Raj Chauhan and nearly two centuries before the advent of the Shah Miris. It comprises eight cantos. Hach canto is called a Taratiga or Wave. The number of verses in each canto or Taranga is—(2) 373, (22) 171, (222) 530, (sv) 720, (v) 483, (vi) 368, (vid) 1,732, (vid) 3,449.

The first translation of a portion of the Rdjataratigini was in Persian, made by order of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin who named the version Bahr-ul-Asma@r, or " The-Sea of

Tales." Akbar ordered Mull&i 'Abdul Qadir Bada6ni to revise this version and to complete the translation. An abridged edition of the Rajyatarangini, in Persian, was brought out by Haidar Malik Chadura durmg the reign of Jahangir. In 1835 A.c., an edition of the Rajataratigiunt was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal mn Calcutta. This edition was based on the transcript obtained by William Moorcroft, a noted traveller of whom we sh Il hear later and who reached Srinagar in 1823, by permission of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a part of whose dominion Kashmir then •

The first complete translation from the original Sanskrit appeared in French in 1852, under the auspices of Société Asiatique at Paris, This translation by Captain A. Troyer, then Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, was made

from the 1835 text in Sanskrit. The 1835 text is stated to *The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir, Quarterly, September 1942, page 201,

ThelIndian Historical | | be defective. The late Sir Aurel Stein, accordingly publish2d, at Bombay, a critical edition of the Rdjatarangini in 1892. Sir Aurel Stein's English translation of the Rajafarangint was published in 1904, though he completed it on the 18th May, 1900. Sir Aurel Stein's method of trans-

lation, saysthe Maharasht Brahman scholar, the late Ranjit Sitaram Pandit, does not give an adequate conception of the Rajatarangini as a literary composition to readers unable to study the original. Sir Aurel Stein also omitted to translate verses which he thought to be in "'Kavya, style," and others which are "'unconnected, with the narrative proper."? Ranjit

Pandit, therefore, brought out a complete translation of the

Rajatarangini in October, 1935, following Sir Aurel's critical Bombay edition of 1892. This translation of Ranjit Pandit is an attempt to represent poetry in prose, is literal, and claims to preservetheoriginal construction, as far as possible. It is, above all, a tremendous labour of love performed, by an irony of fate, in a jail during a sentence of imprisonment, courted under a/ burning sense of nationalism. No non-Kashmiri son-in-law has ever made to his Kashmiri father-in-law a more affectionate, a more beautiful, a more appropriate, and a more enduring present than the late Ranjit Pandit tothe late Pandit Motilal Nehru. But it is sad, indeed poignant, that Motilal should not have lived to read Ranjit's English rendering of Kalhana's cantos of the River of Kings, the great saga of Motilal'sown motherland ! Jayasimha's Successors. The six reigns following Jayasitnha cover a period of about a century and a half. It was a period of decay, and the power of Kashmir steadily declined owing to political confusion, internecine strife, civil war and the depredations of robber bands. The century

and a half which passed from the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the date of Kalhana's Chronicle (Books VII, 1003-1150 a.c.), says Stein, represents a period filled for the greatest part by a ہت of rebellions and imternal disturbances of all kinds.

Jonaraja's record shows that, for nearly two centuries after Kalhana's time, Hindu rule maintained itself in Kashmir. The princes were weak and helpless. Rajadeva (1213-1236

٨.0. (و he says, imsulted the Brahmans, plundered them and made them cry: 'Iam not a Brahman,'

'I am not a Brahman.' Valley was fading.

The material prosperity of the Sahadeva, 1300-1—1319-20 A.C. In the time of Simhadeva (1286-1300 4.c.) and his brother Sahadeva (1300-1 to 1319-20 a.c.), Kashmir was a country of " drunkards, gamblers and profligate women." In the last reign Dulcha—written in Persian histories of Kashmir as Zulchu—the commander of the army of the great King Karmasena invaded the country.

Instead of facing him manfully, the Raja fled to Kashtavar (Kishtwar). [The Valley of Kasthavata, the present Kashtavar or more commonly Kishtw4r, lics on the Upper Chenab river, between Kashmir and Chamba on the way to Simla. It is mentioned by Kalhana as a separate hill-state. Possibly 1t was founded in the beginning of the 10th century a.c. Its rajas were Hindus till Aurangzib's time, and embraced Islam through the influence of Sayyid Farid-ud-Din who came to Kishtwar from Baghdad in the reign of Shah Jahan. The 14j4s retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Maharaja Gulab Singh. Ya'qiib Shah Chak, the last ruler of the Chak dynasty of Kashmir, came to Kishtwair for shelter when harrassed by Akbar's forces in 1586 a.c., and lies

buried at Sirkdt on the Chaugan, the heath of Kishtwar. The scenery of Kishtwar is almost unique, its inhabitants are peculiar; its remains are undeciphered and its sport is exceptional, says Mr. Otto Rothfeld.*

The flat plateau of Kishtwar is rather oval in shape than circular, resembling Baramtila. The plain is surrounded by towering mountains covered with oaks and hollies, the summits white with snow and densely wooded with pine trees

بس ماہ وش صد مار است دلکش دیار کشتوار استEye x The surface of the plateau extends to six miles from east to west and from north to south. Its soil ts fertile and its tillage is rich. The plain is dotted with villages each hidden in its own grove of chinars and poplars. The Wardwan river flows through the Wardwan valley into the

Chandrabhagaé Indus.

which passing by Multan empties itself into the In Kishtwar and down Wardwan way, Each mountain in wintry grandeur towers, And whitens with eternal sleet, While summer in a vale of flowers, *With Pen and' Rifle in Kishtwar by Otto Rothfeld, F.R.GS., Indian Civil Service, D.B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., The Times of India Press, Bombay, 1918.

Is sleeping rosy at its feet. —Mary Petrie: In the Land of Lalla Rookh, page 196.

Was it, perhaps, therefore, that Jahangir considered the saffron of Kishtwar superior to that of Kashmir? (Beveridge, English Translation of Jahangir's Memoirs, Vol. 2, page 138). The biggest of the villages, just referred to above, is the small town of Kishtwar, 5,100 feet above the sea level and having a population of3,235, It is about 74 miles south-east of Islamabad by way of the Marbal pass.

There are two ziydrdt or shrines: one of the saint Sayyid Farid-ud-Din of Baghdad and the other that of his son Sayyid

Israr-ud-Din, and hence the poet calls it the second Baghdid—

چوگان دلکش جنت ۱ | حانفس gl واست ایں gilبقداد & weری پا AGS

و w Zz In the following hill distich, the K6shur ridicules the poverty of Kishtwar :—

کا گوسائی کشتوار؛ کشت کا hy eh بنڈاـ-دن کو بھوکا رات کو

جو کہ yp ke آئے مس کے [Kishtwar is the causeway of distress, where people are hungry by day and cold by night.

Whoever comes there, when he goes away is as meagre as the flagstaff of a gosd'in or a recluse.] A sketch of the history of Kishtwar will be found in the Panjab

Historical Journal, Vol. ۷۱وNo. 1.]

Dulcha plundered the people, took slaves and set fire to the city of Srinagar. After impoverishing the Valley, during a stay of eight months, the invaders, when they found that provisions were scarce, tried to get out by the southern passes ; but snow overtook them and the whole army perished along with their leader. Then, Gaddis (Hindu Bakarwans) from Kishtwar entered the Valley on a raiding expedition, but were driven back by Ramachandra, Sahadeva's commander-in-chief. Henceforth Sahadeva disappears. Bhotta or Bahutta Rifichana or Rinchan—or, to give his full name, Lhachen rGyalbu Rinchen or Prince Rinchen, the Great God, the son of Lha-chen dNgosgrub's for, according to Jonaraja—Vakatanya, Tibetan Vaka (2)], king of Western Tibet or Ladakh comes to the scene. Rifichana fell out with Ramachandra and killed him. He

then married Kota Rani, Ramachandra's daughter, and proclaimed himself king in 1320 a.c., with Shah Mir who had been loyal to him, as his vazir or minister.

Rinchen ot Rifichana or Rinchan, 1320-23 A.C. Rifichana eventually became a convert to Islam and assumed the title of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din. Udyanadeva, 1323 —1338

• After a short period of two years and a half, this Musalman king died on Friday, 25th November, 1323, a.c., when Udyinadeva, brother of Simhadeva, succeeded him, and married his widow. At that time, Kashmir was invaded — by Achala whom to use Jonaraja's words 'the lord of Magadhapura had supplied with soldiers." The king, Udyanadeva, like his brother, fled away before this invasion. Shah Mir, his vazir, defended the kingdom successfully in his absence. The Raja returned and reigned in Kashmir but as a mere cypher, Shah Mir bemg all powerful.

١ Lalla, the noted hermitess, was born in 735 A.H. or 1335 a.c., during Udyina's rule.

Kota Rani, 1338-39. A.C. On Udyana's death in 1338 a.c., Kota Rani, the queen, assumed power, but only for over five months.

Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir or Mirzé, 1339—1392 A.C. The vazir, Shah Mir or Mirza deposed the Rani and himself ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Shamsud-Din in 1339 •

Causes of the ruin of Hindu rule in Kashmir. It will be appropriate, here, to sum up the causes that made for the ruin of Hindu rule in Kashmir. The clashes between Buddhism and Brahmanism, wicked rajas and vicious ranis, and the lack of character among officials appear to be the most noticeable. The

disruptive factors of debauchery and intrigue were paramount. To these have to be added the neglect of the army owing to a sense of security from the natural barriers of the country. Intrigues and rebellions were common and rulers were puppets in the hands of powerful ministers who thought of self rather than the weal and welfare of the land of their birth. ١

Brahmans cultural contribution summarized. Though Hindu rule came to an end through causes discussed above, we must not fail to pay tribute to the learning and culture that Kashmir enjoyed during the period covered in this chapter. Kashmiri Brahmans acquired great proficiency in Persian under Muslim rule, as we shall see later, and distinguished themselves as great poets and prosewriters. Such peoplenaturally did great service to Sanskrit literature, and Kashmir was one of the most notable seats of learning in ancient India. Scholars came from far and near to complete their studies.

We have already referred to the great names of Nagarjuna, Kalidaésa, Kshemendra, Bilhana, Mammata and his brothers, and Mankha and Kalhana. The philosophy of poetry has, in fact, originated in Kashmir. Asa matter of fact, Bilhana asserts that safiron is the seed of poetry and, as no other province of India produced saffron, Kashmir alone is the true home of poetry. Apart from Sanskrit poetry and prose, the branches of learning that received most valuable contributions from the early forefathers of the Kashmiris were prosody, grammar, Caiva philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, history, fairy tales, biographies, tanéras or scriptures of Caivism, Ayurveda or medical science and commentaries.

Out of the sixteen most famous rhetoricians of India, Kashmir has produced fourteen and the rest of India only two.

Vamana (750—800 a.c.) the founder of the Riti School, Udbhata (774—-813) the teacher of the theory of three Vrittis, Abhinavagupta the great expounder of the theory of Rasadhvani, and Mammata (1100 a.c.) the upholder of the Rasa theory were all Kashmirians. In fact, Bhatta in modern Kashmiri is Bata, a Brahman, or a Kashmiri Pandit. Bhatta is derived from the Sanskrit word bhartar which in Prakrit form gave Bhatta which has been retained by Sanskritists and appended to proper names at the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of learned, and signifies a learned Brahman or a great teacher.

Prince Gunavarman, a painter-missionary from Kashmir, was probably a pioneer* in the Southern Asiatic route to China, Korea and Japan. The Kashmir of his age (400 B.C.) was also the seat of the University of the Buddhist

*India and the Pacific World by Dr. Kalidas Naig—-Book Company

Limited, College Square, Calcutta, 1941, p. 173. -

ے Kumarajiva, who came all the way from Tukharistan of Kucha (near Khutan),—which corresponds roughly to the present Badakhshan,—-to Kashmir various Indian China.

sciences which he to learn Sanskrit and later took over to Tradition has it that the great Cankaracharya (788—820 A.C.), visited Kashmir early in the 9th century a.c., after his blows to Buddhism in the rest of India, and that he was forced to accept the superiority of Kashmir Caivism over his Vedantic thought although there exists no internal evidence in any of his main works to this effect. Possibly it was someone else, his namesake. [Shankara, who—there are reasons to hold—was influenced by contact with early preachers of Islam in the South, gives definite indication of such influence in his emphasis on monism, his insistence on action rather than mere devotion, on purity of purpose rather than mere

rituals. It may be that each element in Shankara's thought was separately derived from Upanishadic sources but the peculiar composition of these elements and the shifts in emphasis of thought and action can be most easily explained by these new contacts with Islamic preachers down South where in Kaladi or Kelati in Kerala the birth-place of Shankara, the ruler had embraced Islam.*]

Kashmir Shaivism. Kashmir Shaivism, known as Trika-Shaisana, Trika-Shastra ৩ simply Trika, is a type of idealistic monism (advaita). It made its first appearance in Kashmir at the beginning of the ninth or perhaps towards the end of the eight century of the Christian era, says Mr. Jagadish Chandra Chatterji in his Kashmir Shaivaism (Part 1, Srinagar, 1914, 'page 3). Kashmir Shaivism has two branches —(z) the Spandacastra and (iz) the Pratyabhijiiacastra. The authorship of the first, says Sir

Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallata who lived in the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 a.c.). The two principal works of this system are the Shivasitram or Shivastirant and the Spandakarikds, which are fifty-one verses only. The founder of the Pratyabhijfia school of Kashmir Shaivism was Som&nanda, who also wrote the work called Shivadrsti. But the principal treatise of the school was composed by his pupil Udayakara, and contains verses which are called Sitras. The pupil of the pupil of Somananda was the well-known Abhinavagupta whom we have 1. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, by Dr. Tara Chand, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1936, pp. 107-111. 2. Vatshnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems. Publisher * Karl J. - Triibner, Strassburg, 1913, page 129.

Chapter III — The Spread of Islam in Kashmir

In the preceding Chapter, we came across references to Arabs at the time of Muktapida, and to the employment of Muslim captains of troops under Harsha.

Later, we met Rifichana and noted his conversion to Islam to become Sultan Sadr-ud-Din. We saw the appointment of Shah Mir as Vazir, and also saw him as sovereign of Kashmir on the discomfiture of Kota Rani. Before we take up Shah Mir as Sultan Shams-ud-Din, and deal with the Shah Miri dynasty he founded, it is necessary for us to know how Islam entered the Valley of Kashmir, and spread itself to an extent only second to Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan or Central Asia.

Islam made its way into Kashmir, says Stein,! not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from-the south and from Central Asia had prepared the ground. The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population began towards the close of Hindu rule, and became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

Earliest Contact with Sand. Let us now turn to Sind for a moment, as it is Sind that received the first Muslims from Arabia. According to the Chach-nama,? which, in Mountstuart Elphinstone's estimate,

"contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions" during the invasion of 'Imad-ud-Din Muhammad bin Qasim bin Abi 'Aqil Sagafi and "'some of the preceding

Hindu reigns."

Chach Brahman, the son of Suilaj, and the father of Raja Dahir, usurped the kingdom of رطع the son of Siharas who was the son of Diwaij. The boundaries of the dominions of Saéhasi extended on the east to Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Daibal, and on the northto the mountains of Kardan or Karwan and to Qaiqin.

He had established 1. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of the Rajatarangini, Vol. I, page 130. 2. The Chach-nima is the Persian translation of the extinct Arabic Futih-us-Sind by 'Alibin Hamid bin Abi Bakr Kifi. The Persian translation was made in 613 a.u.=1216 a.c., during the time of the ruler of Sind, Amir Qubacha, the rival and contemporary of Tliutmish of Delhi.

four maliks, or governors, in his territory. The fourth of these governors was "at the great city of Multan and Sikka, and Brahmapir, and Karir, and Ashahar and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmir, were under his government." Sahasi Rai, the sovereign of all this dominion, died and was succeeded by Chach Brahman who had entered service as a chamberlain to this sovereign. Dahir ultimately succeeded Chach.

Dahir was slain by Muhammad bin Qasim on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazan in the year 93 وم or June 712 هـ. Dahir's son, Jaistya, went to wait on the Rai of Kashmir. A person bearing the name Hamim, the son: of Sama, a

Syrian, accompanied Jaisiya to Kashmir. The Rai of Kashmir ordered that, from among the dependencies of Kashmir, a place called Shakalha should be assigned to Jaisiya. According to General Cunningham, this place may possibly be Kuller-Kahar in the Salt range which, at that time, belonged to Kashmir. Jaisiya died in Shakalha and was succeeded by Hamim son of Sama. Hamim

‘founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmir.” No light is thrown on the origin and mission to India of Hamim the Syrian. But we read, in another place, of Muhammad ‘Allafi or ‘Allani, called an Arab mercenary. He was an “Arab of the Banu Usama, who had killed ‘Abdur Rahman son of Ash‘ab, for having run away from battle, and came to join Dahir, with five hundred Arabs.’ Subsequently ’Allafi was dismissed by Dahir, and Muhammad It 1s not bin Qasim granted ’Allafi a safe passage. improbable that Hamim was one of the attendants of ’Allafi. This Hamim, the Syrian, is ostensibly the first Muslim to enter Kashmir.

We have also to note that Muhammad bin Qasim, after the conquest of Sind, came to Multan. Here “he erected a Jami‘ Masjid and minarets.” He appointed Amir Da’td • Nasr, son of Walid ’Ummani, its governor. Then ibn Qasim proceeded to the boundary of Kashmir called the Panj Mahiyat, at the upper course of the Jhelum, just after it debouches into the plains. This is about the time of the caliphate of Walid I* (86-96 A.H.=7(5-715 A.c.). *The Ohach-nama or Ta’rikh-t-Hind wa Sind.

See History of ۵ as told by its own Historians. The Muhammadan Period. Edited by Sir H. M. Elliott, K.C.B., and Professor John Dowson, Vol. I, London, 1867, 4.c., pages 131-207.

In the course of our brief outline of the pre-Islamic period of the history of Kashmir, we meet with LalitadityaMuktapida, who ruled from 725 to 753 a.c., applying to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs who were advancing from their bases in Sind and Multan, and of whom we hear for the first time in connexion with the history of Kashmir from the Rajatarangini. Lalitaditya-Muktapida, as Stein! says, is misspelt in the Arabic characters as

Muttapir. His reign according to the Islamic era dated from 107 to 136 4.H. We may in passing note that the Arabs won a victory over the Chinese in 751 Λ.0. or 134 A.H., and acquired Gilgit and other possessions.2 Muktapida's younger son and second successor, VajradityaBappiyaka, ruled between 754 to 761 a.c. During his reign, viz. 137 to 144 a.H., we note that this ruler many men to the Mlechhas" (or Muslims), and " introduced into Kashmir practices which befitted Mlechhas "' (or Muslims). In Harsha's time, thereafter, we hear of Turushkas, or Muslims, as troop-leaders in Kashmir or-in Kalhana's words "as captains of hundreds." Harsha's rule lasted from 1089 to 1101 a.c., or

482 to 495 a.H.

Marco Polo,' the Venetian traveller, also refers to the presence of Muslims in Kashmir about 1277 a.c. or 676 A.H. Following Kalhana and Jonaraja in their chronology, we reach Rinchan or Rifichana during 1320-1323 a.c., or 720 to 724 a.H., which is the ferra firma of the advent of Islam as a state religion in Kashmir. In the twelfth century of the Christian era, Stein' tells us, the conversion of the Dard tribes on the Indus from Buddhism to Islam had already made great progress. This is about two centuries before Rinchan who becomes Sultan Sadr-ud-Din and the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

Islam neither affected the independence of Kashmir nor, at first, materially changed its political and cultural conditions. The administration, to resume quotation from Stem, remained, as before, in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmans, for whom a change of religion presented no advantage, and the retention of their old creed apparently involved no loss of inherited status. This appears from the frequent references, made in Jonaraja's

1. The Rajatarangini, Vol.1., Introduction, page 91. 2. The Indian Antiquary, July 1908, page 12 3. The Travels of Marco Polo,the Venetian, edited by Manuel Komrof,, New York, U.S.A.; 1939, page 64. 4, The Rajatarangini, Vol. II, page 217, footnote 2762-64, and Crivara's Chronicles, to Brahmans holding high official posts under the early Sultans. Sanskrit continued to be, for a considerable period, the language of official communication and record in Kashmir even after the end of Hindu rule. The various forms of official documents, reports, etc., which are contained in the Lokaprakdsha, a handbook of Kashmirian administrative routine, are drawn up "in a curious Sanskrit jargon, full of Persian and Arabic words which must have become current in Kashmir soon after the introduction of Islam." -The use of Sanskrit, even among Musalmans, is borne out by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Hazrat Baha-ud-Din Ganj Bakhsh, at the foot of the Hari-parbat in Srinagar. This inscription was put up in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah, sometime in 1484 a.c. or 889 a.H. Brief Sanskrit inscriptions, without dates, have been found by Stein? on a number of old Muslim tombs at Srinagar, near Martand and elsewhere. Even in certain proper names the reader will notice non-Muslim influences.

Islam and Hinduism.

"Tslam is a force of volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which, under favourable conditions may even make a nation," wrote the late Sir Herbert Risley.2 'It melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes, and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern, in which no survivals of pre-existing usages can be detected. The separate strata disappear; their characteristic fossils are crushed out of recognition; and a solid mass of law and tradition occupies

their place. Hinduism, transfused as it is by mysticism and ecstatic devotion, and resting ultimately on the esoteric teachings of transcendental philosophy, knows nothing of open proselytism or forcible conversion, and attains its ends in a different and more subtle fashion, for which no precise analogue can be found in the physical world. It leaves existing aggregates very much as they were, and so far from welding them together, after the manner of Islam, into larger cohesive aggregates tends rather to create an indefinite number of fresh groups:; but every tribe that passes within the charmed circle of Hinduism inclines sooner or later to abandon its more primitive usages or to clothe them in some Brahmanical disguise.

1, The Rajatarangini, Vol. 1, page 131 footnote.

The People of India, second edition, 1915, page 217.

Infant marriage with all its attendant horrors is introduced: widows are forbidden to marry again : and divorce, which plays a great, and on the whole, a useful part in tribal society, is summarily abolished."

Sir Herbert discusses the motives assigned in various cases of conversion to Islam and suggests: "(1) Genuine religious conviction of the purity and simplicity of Islam, derived from the study of the Muhammadan scriptures or from the preaching of the Maulavis who go round the villages. The conversion of high-caste Hindus, Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasths and the like is commonly ascribed to this cause. (2) The growing desire on the part of the lower Hindu castes to improve their social position leads individuals among them to embrace a creed which seems to offer them a fair chance in life. (3) The proverb "Love laughs at caste"' accounts for a large number of conversions. (4) Causes connected with taboos on food and drink and with various caste misdemeanours have also to be taken into account.

Hindus in sickness or distress are tended by Muhammadans and take food and water from their hands ; the caste excommunicates them and they join the ranks of a more merciful faith."

In Kashmir there is not much difference in food between the Muslim and the Hindu, for both enjoy mutton, fish and flying birds, though certain restrictions among the latter are, at times, vexatious. The orthodox Pandit, for instance, would not take tomato, onion, egg and fowl, reminding us of the tradition which allows a dog to be starved or beaten but never to be kicked as it accompanied Yudhisthira to heaven!

Another Contrast. A piquant contrast between Hinduism and Islam, not by a Hindu, nor by a Muslim, but by a Christian from the West, is not quite irrelevant to the subject under discussion. Writes Mr. Guy Wint? in India and Democracy : "' Breathing from infancy the axioms of caste, Hindus accepted human inequality as a permanent and inexpugnable fact; Islam was a levelling religion with a passion for equality by which even its monarchs were periodically humbled. Hinduism, 1. Fhe People of India, pages 247-248. 2. India and Democracy by Sir George Schuster, ex-Finance Member, Government of India, and Guy Wint, Secretary of the League of Nations

Economic Mission to China, Macmillan & Co., London, 1941, pages 54-55, if in its purest form neither idolatrous nor polytheist, per-

mitted among its rank and file the crudest forms of worship ; Islam has always been iconoclast. In spite of the worldly display of India, Hinduism honoured the ascetic and was awed by the other-worldly ; Islam, in spite of its puritan sects, was a voluptuous religion.

The emotional impulse of Hinduism was the quest for tranquillity; of Islam (in spite of Kismet) the lust for action. Hinduism was subtle, elaborate, luxuriant ; Islam plain and ص04 • "That the two cultures interacted and modified one another goes without saying. For example, where Islam flourished, the caste system weakened; and under Hindu influence Islam lost something of its asperity. In the centuries when Turks, Afghans and Moghuls dominated North India the upper classes of both communities came closer together, and from their fraternization emerged for a brief period what may be termed the Urdu culture, a civili-. zation of the court circles which was a genuine blend of the best in the life of both peoples and by means of which it appeared that they might be reconciled. Among the masses the contact was even closer, since the great bulk of Moslems of the lower class were converts from the depressed castes of Hindus, and these at least in part retained caste observance, conserved something of the Hindu ritualism which in theory was so abhorrent to their new faith, and refused to be turned from the age-old superstitions of their race."

This last remark is particularly fitly applicable to the Kashmiri Muslim. Five hundred years of Muslim rule were not sufficient to root out the superstitions of about fifteen bundred years of 'Buddhist and Brahmanical permeation. Mr. Wint closes with this last sentence: " 0دboth sides there remained solid blocks of the orthodox—ultra-montane uninfluenced, intransigent, and capable of developing within themselves fierce proselytising movements in favour of a return to the strictest exclusiveness." This is the bigoted Kashmiri Pandit and the antiquated Mulla in the case of

_ Kashmir.

• اااے Beginning of Islam by Friars and • The population of the Valley of Kashmir in 1931. was over thirteen lakhs, of which over twelve and a half lakhs

were Muslims. In the census of 1941 the Muslims numbered 13,69,620 out of 14,64,034. One must deplore, with the late Sir Thomas Arnold, that definite historical facts which might.help us jn clearly accounting for the existence of such an extraordinarily overwhelming majority of Musalmans among the population of Kashmir are somewhat scanty. The same view was expressed to me by Sir Aurel Stein once. Whatever evidence is available leads us, however, to attribute the spread of Islam in the Valley, on the whole, to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by jfagirs or friars or darvishes and the 'ulama@' or theologians, among whom were Ism4@'ilian preachers from Alamiit,! a hill fort in the province of Dailam in Iran. In addition to this, (2) the compactness of the area of the Valley and (227) the unusually imitative habits of its people were also reasons for this mass conversion.

Islam is essentially a missionary religion like Buddhism and Christianity, and the Muslim missionary, be he a pir,i.e., a spiritual guide, or a preacher, carries with him the message of Islam to the people of the land into which he penetrates. "The spirit of truth in the heart of the missionary cannot rest till it manifests itself in thought, word and deed." It is in this spirit that the Muslim missionary entered the

Valley of Kashmir to influence its people by his example, his personal methods of preaching and persuasion at a time when, in the words of Lawrence,? Kashmir in the reign of Sithadeva (1300—1319-20 a.c.)—that is, previous to the advent of Islam—" was a country of drunkards and — gamblers,"" and where " women were no better than they should be."

Bilal or Bulbul Shah's Conversion of Rinchan.

Sultan Sadr-ud-Din, Rinchan or Rifichana, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, a contemporary of Edward III of England, was originally a Ladakhi, also called a

Tibetan, from Western Tibet. He was well-disposed towards Islam on account of his contact with Shah Mir, then in the Kashmir state service. Rinchan is believed to have actually owed his conversion to Sayyid Bilal (popularized to Bulbul) in the beginning of the fourteenth century. f

در راه ya, لا شاهاز eO | روشن از بدر و هلالut

KIT ۶ اغ بل Sir Thomas Arnold’s Preaching of Islam, second edition, page

The Valley of Kashmir, page 189, 291, .

شیخ boGحق؛ حضرت bbدین نهال ۱ بلال“ شد به کشمر اول از دستش درخت و مرشد

LLداؤد مشکوتی ’برار★6اسرار۷-. Bilal Shah or Bulbul Shah is stated to have visited Kashmir first in the time of Raja Siihadeva, the predecessor of Rinchan. The original name of Bulbul Shah is said to have been Sayyid “Abdur Rahm4n, though some believe it to be Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din, while others call him Sharaf-ud-Din Sayyid ’Abdur Rahman Turkistani. This much is certain that he was a widely travelled Misavi

Sayyid from Turkistan having enjoyed a long stay at Baghdad. Bulbul Shah was the spiritual disciple of Shah Ni‘matullah Wali Farsi, a Khalifa of the Suhrawardi tarig or school of Sifis founded by Shaikh-ush-Shuyikh Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi.! Khwaja Muhammad A‘zam in his History has copied the following about Kashmir from the great Shaikh, but the couplet is from Shihab-ud-Din Sindi of Kashmir, according to Hasan:— oly cpa fel ۱ جات عدن هی

ے م w KS ۳ ۳ کان الکشمر ۱ Haji Miskin? is of the opinion that Bulbul Shah was a disciple of Mulla Ahmad ’Allama, who is stated to have accompanied Bulbul Shah when he visited Kashmir on the first occasion, in the time of Raja

Sthadeva. The same writer mentions Mulla Ahmad “Allama as the Shaikh-ulIslam in the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Din (740-743 a.u.).

I am afraid, however, that this cannot be accepted, as it is very hard to believe that Bulbul Shah should have taken the lead in the conversion of Rinchan, in the presence of his own pir or spiritual guide, who would thus be relegated to a secondary position on an occasion of such transcendent importance. Available evidence appears to establish that Bulbul Shah was a spiritual disciple of Shah Ni‘matullah 1. Suhraward with its Kurdish population was a large, walled, well-fortified town lying to the south of Zanjan, on the road to Hamadan,

Tran, in the 4th century a.c. (10th (هـ. It was of some importance during the 8th century 4.c.(14th a.n.). The site of the town cannot now be located with absolute certainty. @ Haji Mubyi’d Din Miskin, the Ta’rikh-i-Kabir, page 289.

Wali Farsi. Mulla Ahmad was a lieutenant of Bulbul Shah,?

died in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, and is buried next to Bulbul Shah. The Mull& was made the first Shaikh-ulIslam and was the author of two books, Fatdwa-1-Shihabi and Shihdb-i-Saqib.

The circumstances that led to the conversion of Rinchan appear to have been the impression created on him by the simplicity of Bulbul Shah’s faith coupled with his own dissatisfaction with what was then professed by the people around him. Different people have attributed different motives? to Rinchan for adopting Islam, into the details of which motives we need not enter. Suffice it to say that Rinchan embraced Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah and assumed the name of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din, and claims our attention as the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. Muslim historians write his name as Rinchan.

After the conversion of Rinchan, his brother-in-law and commander-in-chief, and several others—according to one tradition ten thousand?—embraced the creed of Bulbul Shah. A place of gathering for the new converts was set up on the bank of the Vitasta and is known as Bulbul Lankar— (Lankar is apparently a corruption of 'Langar' meaning a hospice) and also the first mosque in Kashmir now unfortunately reduced to ruins. The Bulbul Lankar is a threestoried decayed wooden building on the right bank of the

Jhelum, about 200 yards below 'Ali Kadal, the fifth bridge, in Mahalla Bulbul Lankar, Srinagar. Bulbul Shah died in 727 A.H., corresponding to 1327 a.c.*

]etep[خاص اله ؛گفت قدس بل شاهS مال وصل تاريخ This chronogram, it appears, was composed, for the first time, by Khwaja Muhammad A'zam.

Bulbul Shah Sahib by Mufti Muhammad Shah Sa'adat, pp. 36-37.

2. For instance, it is alleged by some, like Kirpa Ram and Narain Kaul, that Brahmans rejected his offer of conversion to Hinduism, but this is not accepted by others like Malik Haidar and Khwaja A'zam.

Bulbul Shah Sahib by Mufti Muhammad Shah Sa'ddat, Srinager, (1360 a.H.=1941 4.c.) p. 23, on the authority of the Panj ran (Rishi-nima) by Mulla Baha-ud-Din Muttu who died in 1248 ٨.٢, AC.

Sir Wolseley Haig, in Chapter XII of the Cambridge History of

India, Vol. 1, p. 277, makes no reference to Bulbul Shah and assigns

1346 ٨.0. as the date of the accession of Shams-ud-Din whom he alls Shih Mirza instead of the better known form Shah Mir. Shams-ud-Din's accessjon took place in 1339 4.c. (740 4.8.)

Conversions to Islam by • The conversion of the people of Kashmir to Islam was further encouraged by the arrival of a host of Sayyids. Prominent among these were: (1) Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din of Bukhara, who was known as Makhdim Jahaniyin Jahangasht, the disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din ’Alam and arrived in 748 a.H., and left Kashmir after a short stay. (2) Sayyid

Taj-ud-Din (the cousinof Mir Sayyid “Ali Hamadani or Shah Hamadan), who arrived in 760 هarنin the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din and was accompanied by Sayyid 08 and Sayyid Yisuf, his disciples, who lie buried near his tomb in Mahalla Shihdmp6or, a quarter of Srinagar. (3) Sayyid Husain Simnani,* who was the younger brother of

Sayyid Taj-ud-Din, a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din ’Alam, and came in 773 ٠هـ It appears that the two brothers Sayyid Taj-ud-Din and Sayyid Husain Simnani were sent to Kashmir by Sayyid ’Ali Hamadani, revered for sanctity and eminent virtues, probably to survey the field for the propagation of Islam, and also to find means of escape from Timtr, who was suspected of contemplating, from political motives, the massacre of this powerful Sayyid family. Sayyid Husain lies buried in a beautiful shrine in Kulgam, a tahsil of Islamabad. ’The other brother is buried just close to the road to Islamabad near Avantipor. Mir Sayyid ’Ali Hamadani. -

In view of the extraordinary influence that his personality wielded in the spread of Islam in Kashmir, I think a somewhat fuller notice of Sayyid ’Ali Hamadani, “the Apostle of Kashmir’ is needed. We shall call him “Shah Hamadan.” as he is best known in Kashmir by that appellation.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal has an invocation to him beginning with—

نالها ده تراد دیگر چرد دردمن ١ ز بر گردود آدم آدم را خو رد و <از دل 2ake مت

و w ساند ں چو زد سور<a اهل 5 ٹامہ جاوبد ۱ ۳ حان* In the centre of a wide plain, like an island, stands the village of Simnan, 145 miles east of Teherin, Iran. It appears to be a conglome-

ration of deserted gardens: an uninhabited village within mud walls, with, here and there, a stream or a pool banked up with earth, and in the centre like a jewel, a tiny turquoise dome. The modern town had a weaving factory (Karkhana-i-Bafindagi) and a hospital (Bimaristan), when 1 passed it towards the end of 6.

The great Sayyid, ’Ali Hamadani, or Shah-i-Hamadan, also known as Amir-i-Kabir or the great Amir, or ’Ali-i-Sani, the second ’Ali, was born on Monday, 12th Rajab 714 • (1314 a.c.) at Hamadan! in Iran. The chronogram Rahmatullah رحالgives the date of his birth, wiz. 714 A.H., and should be taken as his chronogrammatic name.

His mother’s name was Fatima and his father’s was Sayyid Shihab-ud-Din bin Mir Sayyid Muhammad Husaini. His genealogy, according to thetreatise Khulasat’ul Mandqtb, can be traced to Hazrat ’Ali through Imam Husain,? he being sixteenth in direct descent from ’Ali b. Abi Talib. Sayyid ’Ali Hamadani became H@fiz-i-Qur’dn (one who knows the Qur’an by heart) in his very early boyhood. He studied Islamic theology, acquired knowledge, and learnt tasawwuf or the mysticism of the Sifis under the tuition of Sayyid

’Ala-ud-Din Simn4ni, who was his maternal uncle.

He be-

came, in the first instance, a disciple of Shaikh Abu’l Barakat Taqi-ud-Din ’Ali 001417 and, after hisdeath, of Shaikh Sharafud-Din Mahmiid Muzdaqaniin Ray. The spiritual pedigree 1. In view of the importance of Shah Hamadin in

Kashmir, a brief description of Hamadan, his native place, is perhaps necessary. Hamadan is the name of a town and of a province in Iran. The town is 260 miles north-west of Isfahin. It is situated 188 miles south-west of Teheran, at an elevation of 5,930 feet, about 700 feet higher than Srinagar, near the foot of Mount Alvand, whose peak rises west of it to an altitude of 11,900 feet. Ithas been a seat of Muslim learning and culture. ١

Hamadan is a busy trade centre with about 70,000 inhabitants, comprising 4,000 Jews and 300 Armenians, has extensive and well-stocked bazars, and a number of large and small caravanserais. Tanneries turn out leather which is much esteemed throughout the country and exported to other provinces in great quantities. Saddles, harnesses, trunks, and other leather goods are manufactured. Industries like carpets, woollens, cotton stuffs, felts and copper utensils flourish. This perhaps explains how Shah Hamadan gave an impetus to arts and crafts in Kashmir. The climate of Hamadan is pleasant but the winters are long and severe with heavy falls of snow.

Hamadan is supposed to stand on the site of the ancient Ecbatana.

Among its tombs, the Jews still show the reputed burial places of Esther and Mordecai, a former Jewish Queen and Prince, in an insignificant looking domed building in the centre of the town. Hamadan has also the grave of Aba “Ali bin Sina (Avicenna), who died.in 1036 a.c. Shah Hamadan has written on questions relating to the name of Hamadin. In 1936, at Hamadan, I was shown the dilapidated Gunbad-i-’Alaviyan, associated with the meditations of Shih Hamadan, his forbears and his descendants. 2. Dr. Hermann Ethé’s Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University Press, 1889, Part I, page 783.

of Shaikh Muzdaqani has been recorded by Shah Hamadan. Muzdagani desired him to complete his education by extensive travel in the world, which Shah Hamadan undertook and consequently visited several countries. He journeyed for about twenty-one years, and thus came in contact with several Sifis (mystics) and 'ulama' (divines) of the age, and profited by association withthem. According to Amin Ahmad Razi's Haft Iglim' [written in 1002 sa.H.=1593-94 A.C., or according to another account 1028 A.H.=1619 A.c.], Shah Hamadan travelled three times over the whole world and met 1,400'saints. After the completion of his travels, Shah Hamadan returned to his native place. It was after his return that the rise of Timtir forced him to leave for Kashmir. Seven hundred Sayyids are said to have accompanied him to the Valley in the reign of Sultan Shihaéb-ud-Din in 774 ۵.8. (1372 a.c.). Shibhab-ud-Din, the reigning monarch of Kashmir, had gone out on an expedition against the ruler of Ohind® (or Und, 16 miles above Attock). Qutb-ud-Din, the Sultan's brother, who subsequently succeeded him, was then acting for him. After four months' stay, Shah Hamadan left for the scene of battle, and persuaded the belligerents to come to peace. Shah Hamadan then proceeded to Mecca, and came back to the Valley in 781 A.H.4 (1379 A.c.) in the time of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. After a stay of about two and a half years, he went to Ladakh in 783 a.H. en route for Turkistan. The third visit of Shah Hamadan took place in 785 · (1383 a.c.).

But he had to leave Kashmir on account of 1. Professor 'Abdul Qadir's Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the University of Bombay, page 71. Amin Ahmad was the first cousin of Nawwab I'timad-ud-Daula, the father of Nir Jahan. 2. And not 782 A.H., as stated by Beale in his Oriental Biographical Dictionary, 1881 edition, page 238, because the following chronogram gives 774 A.H.— ۹

» مقدم شریف بجر رن گفت از.

را J سال ادج مقدم او Some historians have mistaken Ohind for Hind, even Col. Haig

(p, 278, Vol. ITT).

According to the chronogram— a ایگفتcle اینجا آمد go سال مقدم هاتف غیب ار

_This and the previous chronograms are by Sayyid Muhammad -

Khawari who was the contemporary of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani son of Shah Hamadan, vide Za'rikh-i-Kabir, page 12 and page 28.

ill-health, and stayed at Pakhli! for ten days at the request of the ruler of that place whose name was Sultan Muhammad. From Pakhli, Shah Hamadan repaired to the vicinity of Kinar (or Kiinar-with-Nir-gal in Kafiristan) where, after a short stay, he had a relapse on the Ist of Zilhijja 786 · (1384 a.c.) and ate nothing for five days. On Tuesday, the 5th of Zilhijja, he drank water several times, and on the night of the same day he breathed his last at the age of 72.

On his death-bed Bismillah-ir-Rahmdan-ir-Rahim was on his lips, and this, strangely enough, gives the date of his demise. شاه مدان,bo تار ان we ad

چو شد I J از که ا مد eleدن Z ز هجرت هفتصد وست و rd

ار هر دو عالم آل سین ahS bd برقت از عالم nI[eht raey 687 morf eht emit fo ,damhA eht tsal fo eht ١

· stehporP taht(,)si morf eht ,arjiH There went from the transitory to the eternal world the prince of both the worlds, the descendant of Y4sin.]

Shah Hamadan was buried in Khuttalan.?

1. Pakhli was an ancient district of the Punjab, now included in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province. In Babur's time, the tract was held by the Khakha and Bamba tribes, whose chiefs had been rulers of the country to the east of the Indus, but had been driven out by the Gibari Sultans of Bajaur and Swat. Its inhabitants still speak Pushtii—King's Edition of Bdabur's Memoirs, Vol. II, note on page 201. The Sarkar of Swat or Swad, according to Abu'l Fazl (Jarrett's A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 391), comprised of three districts of Bhimbar, Swat, and Bajanr. Swatis 40 ۵۶ in length, and 5 to 15 in breadth. Kashghar is to its north. Sw&t was the residence of the Governor. After crossing the Sind river (eastwards), there are countries, in the northern mountains . . . appertaining to Kashmir and once included in it, although most of them, as forexample, Pakli . . . donotnow obey it.—Beveridge's Babur-naéma, 1921, Vol. II, p. 484. Pakli, according to Abu'l Fazl, was a Sarkar in Akbar's time, its length being 35 and breadth 25 kds. Timi left a fewtroops to hold this tract and their descendants remain there to this day. The rulers of this district pay tribute to Kashmir.—Colonel Jarrett's Translation of the A'in-i-Akbari, 1891, Vol. II, pages 390-1. 2. The state or province of Khatlan, Khutlin or Khotl was located in 1872 by Sir H. Yule, somewhat north of the present Kolab and west of Darwaz (in Turkistan immediately beyond the north-eastern border of Afghanistan), but Mr. Mayef who travelled in this region three years later, believes Kurgan-Tube (7.e., Kurghan Tipa) on the lower Surkhab (or Wakhsh) and a short distance west of Kolab, to have been the centre of the ancient Khatlan . . . . Khatlan existed at least down to the end of the fifteenth century, for, in 1498, we find Khusru Shah of Qunduz, bestowing the governorship of it on his brother Wali.

The Khaztnatu"l Asfiyd (1, 293) explains how it came about that Shah Hamadan was buried in Khutlan: ۵ died in Hazara (Pakli) and there the Pakli Sultan wished to have him buried, but his disciples, for some unspecified reason, wished to bury him in Khutlan. In order to decide the matter they invited the Sultan to remove the bier with the corpse upon it. It could not be stirred from its place. When, however, a single one of the disciples tried to move it, he alone was able to lift it, and to bear it away on his head. Hence the burial in Khutlin. The death occurred in 786 ۸۰۳۴۰ (1384 4.c.). Amonument tothe Sayyid stands at Pakhli, which is now a part of Tahsil Mansihra, District

Hazara, N. W. F. Province.

Abu'l Fazl says (The 4'in-1-Akbari, Jarrett, Vol. ۰ p. 392) that " Amir Sayyid "Ali Hamadani died here (Bajaur near Swat) and his dead body was conveyed to Khatlan by his last testament." But Babur writes: "۰ Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani (God's mercy on him!) coming here (Kinarwith-Niir-gal in Kafiristan) as he journeyed, died two miles (one shar') above Kiinar. His disciples carried his body to Khutlin. Ashrime was erected at the honoured place of his death of which I made the circuit (tawGf) when I came and took Chaghan-Sarai in 920 4.8." (1514 a.c.)–The Baburnama, A.S. Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. I, p. 211. Both the state and name have since disappeared.—English Translation of the Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi by Elias and Ross, 1895, page 21, footnote. The name Khutl or Khutlan was applied in the time of Babur, and as far back as the age of Ibn Hauqal, to the country lying between the upper branch of the Amu, called Harat or Panj, which divided it from Badakhshan on the south—Babur's Memoirs, King's Edition, 1921, Vol. I, pages Ixvin and Ixix. The great mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhshab (the largest affluent of the Oxus) and the Oxus was known as Khuttal, a name that was also vaguely

applied to all the infidel lands east and north of Khurasan. Khuttal was included in the country along the Wakhsh, lyimg in its north, where the Wakhsh-ab took its rise. It was, Istakhri writes, very fertile, and famous for its fine horses and sumpter beasts : having many great towns on the banks of its numerous streams; where corn lands and fruit orchards gave abundant crops. In the 10th century a.c. or the 4th رمقthe capital of Khuttal was Hulbuk. There is much confusion in the naming of this country: we have indifferently Khuttal and Khutlin or Khuttalan. According, however, to Qazvini (u, 352), Khuttalin was the name of a town of the Turks, lying in a gorge between the mountains, the position of which he does not indicate. “Ali of Yazd (i. 464 and elsewhere) in describing the campaigns of Timir, generally writes Khutlin—G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge University Press, 1905, re-

printed 1930, page 438.

roe ٣ 88 -

Shah Hamadan belonged to the Kubrawi order of Sitfis founded by Shaikh Najm-ud-Din ٧٧٨٨ of Khwarizm who died in 618 A.H.=1221

مهThe Kubrawis are a branch of the Subrawardi • That the conversion of the Valley to Islam was furthered by the presence of Shah Hamadan is undoubted. His prominent co-workers were رسMir Sayyid Haidar.

Sayyid Jamél-ud-Din, Sayyid Kaméal-i-Sani, Sayyid Jaméal-ud-Din ’Alai, 5. Sayyid Rukn-ud-Din, 6. Sayyid Muhammad, 7. Sayyid ’Azizullah. They established hospices all over the country which served as centres for the propagation of their religion in every nook and corner of Kashmir, and by their influence definitely furthered the acceptance of the faith of the Prophet of Arabia. The newly converted people, of their own accord, converted temples

into mosques in consequence of their change of faith. Two well-known incidents, in which two of the leading Sanydsis or Hindu ascetics of the time, together with their followers, accepted Islam at the hands of Shah

Hamadain after a trial of their ‘supernatural’ powers, apparently convinced the priest-ridden -Kashmiri of the eatness of the Sayyid’s creed. The present 2100706 or shrine of Shah Hamadan on the Vitasts is said to have been erected in 798 A.H.=1395 a.c. on the spot where one of these trials took place. This 20002۲۵۸ first built by Sultan

Qutb-ud-Din, therefore, really represents the great Sayyid’s chillah-khéna or the place of retreat and devotion, and not his tomb, which is in Khatlin. It is constructed chiefly of the wood of the 026000۳ pine, and is equipped with a pyramidal steeple of timber capped with brass, and alto-

gether is quite fine to look at.

evokes the following couplet The mosque of Shah Hamadan قلب مس ره مسجد شاه هدان ۱

شہی کے ٤ے و۶ جس سے هم دیده مسلم مس سعہ نو د عم فان

که در خشان بے هم اك مت كلام ز دان اعان elg tG میا bS kt ay tty 4 ۳ we OS ۱ ٦
بایو رام کشمیر از پنڈت بچال“ شریف-

That Sultan Qutb-ud-Din himself acknowledged the greatness of the Sayyid is apparent from the fact that the Sultan, who had married two sisters contrary to the ۵ or the law of Islam, had to divorce one of his wives at the instance of Shah Hamadan. The Sultan also adopted the dress then prevalent in Islamic countries, and had such a great regard for the cap given to him by the Sayyid that he always

wore it under his crown. This cap was passed on to succeeding Sultins, and was buried with the dead body of Sultan Fath Shah at his special request before his death. It is said that some one prophesied that the burial of the cap would be an indication of the burial of the dynasty, and it is a curious coincidence that the dynasty actually came to an end, with the rise of the Chaks. Shah Hamad&n was not only a saint but an author too. He wrote the Zakhirat-ul-Mulith, a treatise on political ethics and the rules of good government, in the Persian language. The British Museum Manuscript of the book x 9", [Add. 7618, Vol II, p. 447] has 250 folios, 102" 15 lines, 3 inches long, written in neat Nasta'liq. The Zakhirat-ul-Mulak consists of ten chapters as follows :— (1) Faith. (2) Duties of Man. (3) Virtue. (4) Rights and duties of parents, wives, husbands, children, etc. (5) Rules of government, rights and duties of subjects.

6. Spiritual kingdom.

7. Execution of 'the lawful and (8) Gratitude and content-

abstinence from the unlawful.

ment. (9) Patience under visitations. (10) Condemnation of conceit and anger and the excellence of humility and forgiveness. The Zakhirat-ul-Mulik was translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrick Carl Rosenmueller in 1825 رھ and into French by C. Solvent in 1829 ac. It was a favourite book with scholars during the early Pre-Mughul régime of India.?

Among other works of Shah Hamadan in Persian and Arabic, «25 4b. isa tract oncontemplation. مکتوباتJL, ۱

۰ ۰ ۰ ۱ ۱ ِo » و2 contains Amir-i-Kabir's letters. در معرفت صورت و سرت اسان

2:۳۳ I discusses the bodily and moral features of man. در حقائق تو به slaed htiw eht laer erutan fo.ecnetinep افصوص عل احلللصوص و 81 a yratnemmoc nos’ibarA‘-lu-nbIحکم فصوص فارضیہ ء یہ نھر قصیدہ شرح

1. This book was lithographed by Niyaz ’Ali Khan, Amritsar. Urdu translation published at Lahore in 1334 تھھ.under the title of 4)مج | لسلو

2. The Administration of Justice in Medieval India by Muhammad Bashir Ahmad, M.A., M.Litt., LC.8., Aligarh University Studies on History, 1941, page 39.

۱ ۱ ig a commentary on the wino-qasidah of ’Umar ibn ulFariz who died in 786 s.H.=1385 A.C. رسالہ الاصطلاحات is a treatise on Siific terms and expressions. فہLal | te «+b ودہgives ten rules of con-

is on physiognomy.

templative life. 3 All g کناب المودۃputs together Traditions on affection among relatives.

کناب الین ق فضائل امرالؤمنن sevig eht ytneves seutriv fo tarzaH .ilA‘ !4)seG si ytrof snoitidarT no s’nam erutuf .eifl ادوس lia eL و ر si na tcartxe fo a regral krow deltitne الاخبار فردوسyb niD-du‘ajuhS .hayirihS اسالکن امازل si no .msi-iifiS او راد اشتحہsevig a noitpecnoc fo eht ytinu fo doG dna siH .setubirtta

خلاصۃ المناقبsi a lacitsym esitaert no suoirav ciifS questions, illustrated by verses of the Qur’an and Traditions and an exposition of the virtues of the life of Shah Hamadan.

It is by Maulana Nir-ud-Din Ja‘far al-Badakhshi, Shah Hamadan’s pupil.

also Shah Hamadan was a odes are naturally Sifistic. The ghazals or

His poet.

چبل اسرارis a small collection of religious and mystical poems.

It begins with—

والهان oC mapزا از lesاي گر فتار ان عششت فارغ از مال و متال و حنت ملال

ylوصلت را دو عالم LES و و مفلسان وی شوفت را غلای کرده چس خ مر مالکان One cannot sum up Shah Hamadan's life and work better than Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the following lines :— J

2ذ کر وفکم از دودمان اوگرفت ے SI و او ععمار تقدر ام و دست

ام سالار عجم w >i السادات سید درس الل گرفتSe ۲ء

w و صنعت و غریب og ۰ مس و در ور ش deni 3.را هسیر

با eba میلو ۰ میب و دن نظلر داد عم و آستن ۳ و

را خطه ۳ اران fo ۳ »ed TO صقر درا شاه و

ر yaf To آفهید [Norse.—For further notices on the life and works of Sayyid 'Ali, Shah Hamadan, the reader may refer to the Habib-us-Siyar, Vol. 3, Juz 3, p. 87; the Nafahdat-ul-Uns, page 515; the Tazkira-7-Daulat Shah, p. 325; the Haft Igqlim, fol. 277 a; Tagi Auhadi, fol. 478a; the Majma'un Nafa'is, Vol. 2, fol. 306 a; the Riydz-ush-Shua'ra, fol. 2630 . the Makhzan-ul-Ghara'vb, fol. 548; the Miftah-ut-Tawéarikh, page 143و theMajma'-ul-Fusaha, Vol. 1, page 340; 7)1 Khalifa, Vol. 4, page 426; Riéu's Persian Catalogue, Vol. 2, page 447; Ethé's Bodleian Library Catalogue, Nos. 1451—1453, and No. 1241 (28); G. Fliigel's

Vienna Catalogue 3, page 420; Blochét's Catalogue, Paris, Nos. 156-157. W. Pertsch, Berlin Catalogue, page 7, No. 5, page 275 No. 4; No. 9, 7; Berlin Catalogue, pp. 235, 5 and 379, 2; Fleischer, Catalogue, Dresden, No. 198, 20. The Bankipir Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, Vol. I, No. 150, pp. 229-31, also Vol. 9, No. 943, pp. 194-5; W. Ivanow's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1924, p. 659; Prof. Browne's Catalogue of Oriental MSS., Cambridge, p. 156

Mir Muhammad Hamaddanz.

In stimulating the enforcement of Islamic Shavri'at or law in Kashmir, Shah Hamadan was succeeded by his son Mir Muhammad Hamadani. Mir Muhammad was born in 774 A.H.=1372 a.c. and was twelve years old when his father died. Itis said that, before his death in 1384, Shah Hamadan had handed over to Maulana Sarai* for transmission to two of his prominent Khalifas—Khwaja Is-haq of Khatlian and Maulana Nir-ud-Din Ja'far of Badakhshan—certain documents which contained his Wastyat-nama (parting advice or bequest) and Khildfat-nadma (or document conveying succession). Khwaja Is-hag and Maulana Nir-ud-Din, in turn, delivered the documents to Mir Muhammad with the exception of the Khilaifat-nima, the document conveying succession, which the former retained himself, saying that it could only be made over to one who proved worthy of it. This was apparently a hint for Mir Muhammad that he should exert himself to follow in the footsteps of his great father. Mir Muhammad accordingly studied under these prominent admirers of his father, and im course of time acquired succession to his father's *Of Sarai, a town in Khurasan, Iran, position of spiritual pre-eminence. He was the author of a treatise on Sifi-ism and wrote a commentary on the Shamsiyah, a well-known book in Arabic on logic.

Conversion of Malik Sihabhatta. When 22 years of age, Mir Muhammad arrived in the Valley in 796 A.H.=1393 a.c. On his arrival in Kashmir, Mir Muhammad was received with great honour by Sikandar. At this time, Sikandar's prime minister and commander of the military forces was Malik Stihabhatta (Sinhabhatta), a Brahman, who appears to have been impressed with the personality of Mir Muhammad, the simplicity of his faith, life and teachings, and to have embraced Islam with the whole of his family. Mir Muhammad, whose first wife, Bibi Taj Khatin, had died, was offered by Sihabhatta, after his conversion, the hand of his own daughter, re-named Bibi Bari'a. Sthabhatta adopted the Islamic name of Saif-ud-Din and was consequently known as Malik Saif-udDin. The Sithyar Masjid, the Sihyar-bal, and the Sihyar Mahalla, near 'Ali Kadal, keep his memory green.

The tomb of Bibi Bari'a known as Didah Maji, wife of Mir Muhammad Hamadani, at Kotar, Kralapsor, 5 miles from Srinagar, on the road to Charar Sharif.

At the instance of Mir Muhammad, distillation and the sale and use of wine were prohibited. Sati (self-immolation by a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband)

was forbidden. Gambling and nach (dancing by girls) were prohibited. Mir Muhammad had ەوBadakhshan ruby which he gave over to Sikandar. The Sultan, in return, presented «three big villages, namely: (7) Wachi from pargana Shavara,

2. Niinawani from pargana Martanda and (222) Tral from pargana Ullar—as jagir or permanent holding, which the Sayyid declared as waqf? for his langarkhanaor hospice. This Wagf-ndéma or endowment deed, with the

endorsement of the Sultan, has been copied by Pir Hasan Shah in his Ta'rikh-i-Hasan.

Mir Muhammad stayed for about twenty-two years in Kashmir, and then left for Hajj in 817 aH. On his return from Mecca, he went back to Khatlan, where he died on 17th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 854 ٨.٢. (1450 A.c.), and was buried near his father. Mir Muhammad, on entering the Valley, was accompanied by three hundred Sayyids;

Shah Hamadan, his father, having, as already noted, brought seven hundred of them. Kashmir had, therefore, a total influx of one thousand Sayyids from Turkistan. Shah

Hamadin, it is said, converted thirty-seven thousand? to Islam, Bulbul Shah having already made ten thousand converts.

Mostly these were mass conversions.

Revival of Interest in Religion under Calamaties. Before proceeding further, it would appear necessary to realize the magnitude of the change brought about by the advent of such a large number of Sayyids 1into the Valley.

Deeply imbued with the Siifi-ism of the age and country from which they emigrated, these Sayyids and their followers seem to have stimulated the tendency to mysticism for which Vedantism and Buddhism had already paved the way. It may here be remarked in passing that Islam does not countenance the enervating type of Tasawwuf which Iqbal too condemned in the first edition of his Asra@r-1-Khudi when he said :— a

J ٠ tod اغذر از گوسفندان Perhaps also, shocked at the tyranny and self-assertion of Timtr, these Sayyids and others 'may have sought refuge in the regions of

abstract thought as a solace for the worldly repression under which their country then laboured.' 1م

The Ta'rikh-é-Kabir, page .52 " One 2. Bulbul Shak Sahib by Mutt Muhammad Shah Sa'adat, Srinagar, page cannot forget," says Col. Newall, "that the human mind has ever tended towards mysticism and solitude at times when tyrants flourished." A striking parallel is provided by the present age we are passing through. The well-known psychologist, C. E. M. Joad,? writes discussing the changing mind of Britain: " There is a renewed interest in questions of religion and philosophy touching the nature of the universe and the status and destiny of man within it. Inevitably when a man's spirit is troubled, his thoughts turn to fundamental questions. How, he wants to know, is the mass suffering and wickedness of the world compatible with its Government by an Almighty and Benevolent Being? Did God will the War? Did He create Hitler? That a realization of the fact and prevalence of evil and suffering in the world should bring a revival of man's interest in religion is understandable. ۶is ۱ اوط surprising is that it should renew belief. Yet there is in many Englishmen today, and especially in young people newly come to maturity, a renewed interest in the religious view of the world and a disposition to examine afresh in the light of it the traditional answers to fundamental questions, which Christianity has provided, but which most of us have for a generationignored or derided. Supposing, for example, that the war is the result neither of inept politicians, nor of an out-of-date capitalist system, but of the wickedness in the heart of man? Suppose that it is a punishment for that wickedness The renewed interest in these questions has not yet succeeded in filling the churches. It may be doubted whether it ever will. The new wine which is now fermenting raay refuse to pour itself into the old bottles, but that the seeds of a spiritual revival are germinating in the minds of the people of this country, I for one do not doubt."

“ Today,” on June 18, 1942, cries General Smuts: “’We witness on a worldwide scale the failure of political national-

ism and materialism to satisfy the deeper needs of man’s spirit. This failure, with the nameless sufferings of our generation, will lead to the revival of religious faith. The crisis of religion is coming. The Man of Galilee is, and remains, our one and only leader.”

Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1870, page 266.

The World Review (reproduced in the Bombay Chronicle, Sunday

Edition, 19th April, 1943).

١ It is also significant to note that 8 Ruba&iyat of ’Umar Khayyam has again become a bestseller under the stress of the present 1 Perhaps, the wrath of Timtir had been aroused against these Sayyids and Stifis who may have attempted to adopt an independence of act and speech or preached peace displeasing to the great conqueror, as همستAkmal-ud-Din Kamil Beg Khan Badakhshi refers to it:

3s و The Rishiydn-t-Kashmir. The presence of this type of Sayyid naturally influenced the more pronounced Muslim mystics of Kashmir. These Muslim mystics, well-known as Rishis? or Babas, or hermits, considerably furthered the spread of Islam by their extreme piety and utter self-abnegation which influenced the people to a change of creed. Abu’l Fazl records his meeting with Wahid Sifi. Faizi had mformed Abu’l Fazl of the presence of the saint in the following words: “ Here an enlightened anchorite has come to my view. For thirty years he has, in an unnoticed corner, been gathering happiness onan old mat. Affectation and self-advertisement have not touched the hem of his

garment , . .” Abu’l Fazl mentioned this to Akbar, who asked him to go and inquire. ’“By great good fortune,” wrote Abu’l Fazal, “T met with the saint and the old sore of the divine longin opened afresh. For a long time, he had lived like Uwais* and Karkhi‘ in a ruined habitation. He lived apart from joy and sorrow, and took nothmg from anybody except broken bread. Though I did not know the Kashmiri language, yet I gathered much edification through an interpreter, and a new vision dawned onme. As his heart was

British Contributions to Persian Studies by Dr. A. J.

1942, p. 18. 7 Arberry, 2. Rishis referred to here were Muslim saints. Rom Rishi, Rish Baba, Mir Husain Rishi, Sabiir Rishi, Sulaiman Rishi are well-known. Kashmiris pronounce the word as Rishi, the plural is Rishiyan.

See page 100n.

Abi Mahfiz Ma‘raf Karkhi was a Magus at first.

With his father Firiiz or Firiizin he accepted Islam at the hands of ‘Ali bin Misa ar-Rizé and beeame a celebrated ascetic and mystic. He died on the 2nd or 8th of Muharram in 200 یه,or 815 a.c.,in the time of Mamin. Ma ‘rif was venerated as a saint and is buried in Baghdad, much alienated from the people, he could not come out from his cell. His Majesty was delighted with this news and resolved that he would go in person.”!

Jahangir in his Memoirs? says that “though they (the Muslim Rishis) have not religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet they possess simplicity and are without pretence. They abuse no one. They restrain the tongue of • desire and the foot of seeking. They eat no flesh, they have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing trees in the fields so that men may benefit by them, themselves desiring no advantage. There are about 2,000 of these people.” Firishta and Abu’l Fazl

have also described them in words of high praise as abstaining from luxury, living on berries and the wild fruits of the mountains. In remote corners of the Valley, many of them had taken up their abodes for purposes of meditation and seclusion. G. T. Vigne, the traveller, during Sikh rule, met Baba Sa'id who refused to call even on the Governor of the time. Maharaja Pratap Singh called on Shah 'Abdur Rahim Safapuri. When the Maharaja asked if he could do anything for the saint, the saint replied . that he need not be re-visited by the Maharaja, a reply reminding one of Diogenes (Diyiijanus al-Kalbi) who, when Alexander asked him if he could do any service, told the Conqueror to let him enjoy the sun. In some instances, these Muslim Rishis constructed giyarat or shrines, many of which remain to this day. The shrines attest to their founders' austerities and virtues and in their traditions form centres for local orders of holy men or priests whose influence must necessarily be beneficial to the people as promulgating the principles of humanity and the moral virtues. "Associated, as they are, with acts of piety and self-denial, the zwydardt are pleasant places of meeting at fair-time, and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings affords additional attraction. Noble brotherhoods of venerable trees of chenar, elms, and the Kabuli poplar with its white bark and shimmer of silver leaves,"' says Lawrence, " gives a pleasant shade, and there is always some spring of water for the thirsty" (pp. 287-8).

The Akbar-nama, Persian text, Calcutta, 1886, Volume page 549.

Translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, pages 149-150.

7• Saints and Rishis like Shaikh Nir-ud-Din, Baba Nasrud-Din, Baba Bam-ud-Din, Shaikh Hamza Makhdiim, Sayyid

Ahmad Kirmani, Sayyid Muhammad Hisari, Baba Zain-udDin, Baba Latif-ud-Dim, Shukir-ud-Din (popularly known as Shukr-ud-Din), Hanif-ud-Din

(erroneously called Hanafud-Din), Shah Vali Bukhari, Sa'id Baba, Khwaja Hasan Kari, by their example and precept, smoothed the path of Islam in its slow, steady and systematic conversion of practically the whole Valley. Shaikh Niir-ud-Din—The Light of the Faith—is the great national saint of Kashmir. Some account of his life, therefore, would not be out of place here.

Shaikh Nitir-ud-Din.

Shaikh Nir-ud-Din was born in a village called Kaimith (old name Katimusha), two miles to the west of Bijbihara which is 28 miles south-east of Srinagar, in 779 A.H.=1377 -A.C., on the day of the 'Id-ul-Azha. His father's name was Shaikh Salar-ud-Din. Huis mother, Sadra, was called Sadra M6ji or Sadra Deddi. In Kashmiri, ∧7677 means ' mother', and Deddz denotes 'elderly.' Both the parents were wellknown for their piety. Shaikh Salar-ud-Din, whose pre-Islamic name was Salar-Sanz and who belonged to the family of the rajas of Kishtwar, embraced Islam at the hands of Yasman Rishi, the younger brother of Palasman and Khalasman Rishis. Of Yasman Rishi, it is said that he travelled far and wide. Later, he lived mostly in forests. At times, he used to ride a tiger; which reminds us of the story in Sa'di's 0600:

که پیش آمدم مر پلنگے سوار و یکی دیدم از عرکصۂ رودبار His daily food was a cup of wild goat's milk. Sadra came of a high Rajput family, but her parents having died very early, she was brought up by her wet-nurse : and, in course of time, was married to a person of humble origin by whom she had two sons—Shush (Shishu) and Gundar (Gandharva). Her husband died after some years and she was left alone. By nature of a religious bent of mind, she came under the influence of Yasman Rishi and embraced Islam and was re-married, at the instance of her foster-father, and under the direction of Yasman Rishi, to Salar-ud-Din. Sadra Deddi, on her death, was buried at Kaimith where there is now a

famous shrine. Salar-ud-Din whose turban is preserved at this shrine, and Haidar-ud-Din, the son, Zai Ded, the wife, and Ziin Ded the daughter also buried at Kaimih.

of Nir-ud-Din, are Once when Yasman Rishi was ill, Salar-ud-Din and Sadra went to visit him. Lalla ‘Arifa was already there with a present of a bouquet of flowers for the Rishi. The Rishi, on Sadra’s arrival, gave Lalla’s bouquet to her. It is said that, when Nir-ud-Din was born and subsequently would not take his own mother’s milk, Lalla was called in, and strangely enough Nir-ud-Din went to her and had milk from her breast. To Lalla the child was thus attached. This was the time when Sayyid Husain Simnani was in Kashmir. Through Lalla, the child was brought to the notice of the Sayyid. Shah Hamadan also came in later. Thus Nir-ud-Din was brought up amidst happy surroundings which led to his future greatness as the Patron Saint of the Valley. When Niir-ud-Din grew up, his step-brothers began to trouble him. They were rogues while he was saintly. Once or twice he accompanied them to find work but felt that he could not be happy withthem. He was then apprenticed to a couple of traders, one after the other. There, too, he felt disgusted with the ways of the world, and, deciding upon renunciation, retired to caves for meditation at the age of thirty. It is said that he lived for twelve years in the wilderness. Hence, perhaps, Kaimih is given the derivation of Kai-wan (or ban, a forest) in rustic belief. The actual cave of contemplation is shown in Kainiih and is about 10 feet deep. In his last days, the saint sustained life on one cup of milk daily. Finally, he reduced himself to water alone, and died at the age of 63, in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-‘Abidin, in 842 a.H.=1438 a.c. Shamsul-‘ Arifin or ‘The Sun of the Pious’ is the chronogram which gives the date of his death. The Sultan accompanied his ’bier to the grave. The burial prayers were led by a great divine or ’Alum of the age, Makhdiim Baba ’Usman Uchchap Ganai. The tomb of Shaikh Niir-ud-Din at Charar

Sharif,* a small town perched on a dry bare hill, 20 miles south-west of Srinagar, is visited by thousands of people to the present day.

*Charar Sharif (or Tsrir) town had a population of 3,784 mn 1931. In 1941 it had 4,037. It is built somewhat in the form of the letter X, and stands on a bare sandy ridge, 13 milesnorth-east of Shupian by path.

Charar is now connected with Srinagar by road.

باحق داشت بسیار «پر جع شیخ زاهدے خوش بود «و ورالان دیشی us ریشیان اشتغال

شیر و عسل بسیار سال «و بصل ep esb اهل صوم دهر نیز «یدو ید و تفم db 71تارك ر

گفت ان راوری «او دی بود af صاحب ؟ta.و و وکرامت بود و اعطق خوب داشت yP s صاحب مقال

2 داؤد خای bG قصیده لامیہ با ریشی نامه از [Shaikh Nir-ud-Din, the preceptor of all Rishis, was devotee and had deep communion with God.

a great In addition to leading a retired and solitary life, he was also one of those who continually fast. He had given up eating flesh, onions, milk, and honey for many years.

He was a man with intuition, had spiritual powers and had a fine mode of speech. He was like Uwais* (in that he had no known spiritual guide), as an eloquent narrator has stated.

—The. Qastda-i-Lamiyyah or the Rishi-ndma (984 ۵.1, 1576 ۸.0.(of Bab&é 1۲2 50 Khaki]

Hindus call the saint Nunda Rishi or Sahajananda. His sayings are preserved in the Nér-ndéma, commonly avaiable in Kashmir. The Né&r-ndma also gives the life of the saint. It was written by Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi in Persian about two centuries after the death of Shaikh Nwtr-ud-Din. It will be noticed under Persian Poetry in

Chapter • Shaikh Niir-ud-Din appears to have married Zai Ded and had two sons and one daughter. On the death of the children, Zai Ded also renounced the world, and became a hermitess.

She was buried at Kaimihb on her death.

- Uwais al-Qarani was a saint who had given up the world.

was ۵ contemporary of the Prophet of Islam.

He Uwais was an inhabitant of Yemen and belonged to the Qaran tribe. He used to say to those that sought him: ”Do you seek God? Ifyou do, why do you come to me ٤ and if you donot seek God, what business can I have with you?” Hazrat “Umar and Hazrat ’Ali visited Uwais at his request, and gave him the cloak of the Prophet. Uwais died between 32 and 39 4.H.—653 and 659 4.0,

The simplicity and purity of Shaikh Nir-ud-Din’s life have deeply impressed the Kashmiri who entertains the highest veneration for the saint. In fact, the Afghan Governor, ‘ Até Muhammad Khan, gave, aS it were, expression to public sentiment when coins were struck by him in the name of Shaikh Nir-ud-Din in 1223-25 a.n. =1808-10 a.c.

No other saint perhaps in human history has ever had coins struck in his honour.

Anecdotes of the life of this ‘Chief of the Rishis’ are on the lips of the people throughout the Valley. Shaikh Nir-udDin was in the habit of visiting gardens frequently. Once, on his way to a garden, accompanied by a disciple, -he stopped and would not move. On his disciple requesting him to proceed, he made the following reply: “ Every minute that I spend there, will be deducted from my stay in Heaven.”

On another occasion, when invited to a feast, Niir-udDin went in ragged dress, earlier than the appointed time. The servants, not recognizing him, would not permit him to enter, and he had to go back to take his food at home.

When all had sat for the sumptuous dinner, the Shaikh was specially sent for. He came, this time, in a flowing chugha (cloak) and was given the seat of honour. But the Shaikh, instead of partaking of the food, stretched forth his sleeves and put them on to the plates: The people were astonished at the sight and asked him the reason. He replied: ‘The feast was not really for Nir-ud-Din but for the long sleeves! ”’

The Says he—

saint’s attack on hypocrisy is interesting.

“ By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rishi و The pounder in the rice-mill did not ever raise up its head.”

“ By entering a cave, God cannot be attained : The mongoose and the rat seldom come out of their holes.”

“ By bathing, the mind will not be cleansed The fish and the otter never’ascend the bank.” > ۱۶ God were pleased by fasting, the indigent rarely cook food in pots.”

Shaikh Nir-ud-Din had four disciples: Nasr-ud-Din, Bam-ud-Din, Zain-ud-Din, and Latif-ud-Din. Baba Nasrud-Din is to be seen behind Shaikh Niar-ud-Din in the portrait opposite page 98. Kashmiris remember him as Baba Nasr. Shaikh Nir-ud-Din used to address him by his pet name Nasro. Baba Nasr came of a rich family. In his early life he was robust, but on account of a stomach disease suffered a great deal. When his life was almost despaired of, he came in contact with Nir-ud-Din and gave up a life of ease and became his faithful disciple. Baba Nasr died in 855 A.H.=1451 a.c., and is buried near his spiritual guide in Charar Sharif. Local legend has it that Baba Bam-ud-Din was originally a Hindu by the name of Bhima Sadhiin which Dr. Stein sees a corruption of Bhima Cahi. Baba Latif-ud-Din, it is said, was a Hindu and an official of Marva-Wardwan! and accepted Islam after a long discussion with Shaikh Nir-ud-Din. Baba Zain-ud-Din was known as 7175 Singh and hailed from Kishtwar. His father was killed by his enemies, so that

ے8 Singh became an orphan. Subsequently he came under the influence of Shaikh Nir-ud-Din and became a Muslim. The Fatahat-1Kubrawtyah? gives the order of Shaikh Nir-ud-Din's disciples or Khalifas as follows:—({1) Baba Bam-ud-Din (2) Baba Zain-ud-Din (3) Baba Latif-ud-Din and (4) Baba Nasr-ud-Din (Folios 326-350).

1. Maru-Wardwan or Madivadvan is the name of the valley lying to the east of the eastern frontier of Kashmir running from the

Zoji-La almost due south towards Kishtwar. 9. The Fatahat-i-Kubrawiyah by Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhab Niri ibn

Rashid-ud-Din al-Kashmiri (died in 1182 a.n.=1768 a.c. at Srinagar), MS., folio 345. This manuscript is in the possession of Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad,

.M.A., M.O.L. (Panjab), Retired Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jammu and Kashmir.

Sultén Sikanlar's Share. The propagation of Islam in Kashmir received a strong impetus in the time of Sultan Sikandar when Wyclif in the West was inaugurating the Lollard movement in England. Sikandar has, however, been blamed for his "bigotry in the persecution of the Hindus of the Valley," and is called by them But-shikan or the iconoclast. The allegation, that the wholesale destruction of temples in Kashmir was carried out by Sikandar, is based, apparently, on considerable misrepresentation, more fiction than fact, and a number of non-Muslim writers, one after the other, have contributed their share of abuse to condemning this Sultan. The calumny has been perpetuated to such an extent that we now find Sikandar as an abominable personification of ruthless destruction of all noble edifices erected to Hindu deities. This misrepresentation has grown so enormous that we have completely lost sight of his real character. We are, consequently, not infrequently reminded of Akbar and Aurangzib in the praise of Zain-ul'Abidin and the condemnation of Sikandar. And it has become the wont of every casual visitor to Kashmir, who is anxious to give his impressions of the Happy Valley to the world, to single out the Akbar and the Aurangzib of Kashmir for praise and blame. I hold no brief for Sikandar. He is undoubtedly responsible for what he actually did, but not for more than that.

Any one who visits old or ruined temples anywhere in India down the Jhelum, is very often told by the unlettered guide or the illiterate priest that the idols therein were broken by Aurangzib. Similarly, any one, who visits such places up the Jhelum, issummarily informed that the havocto the images was wrought by Sikandar, and every conceivable wrong is attributed to him. The continuance of such baseless stories must be steadily and strongly discouraged as forming one distinct factor in the cleavage that is being wrought in the relation of the great

communities that inhabit India. This is no digression into politics, but a warning against the continual masquerade of myth as true and trustworthy history. “Munch harm has been done by this misreading of history,’ writes Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz. “‘ Many young men have been misled in the past by absurd views about the political and economic conditions during the period when Kashmir was under Muslim kings. Unfortunately these views continue to be held even now and, what is still worse is that, on the assumption that Muslims maltreated Hindus in the past, it is believed that the two communities cannot unite now or in the future. This has brought about a reaction in the Muslim mind, and so mistrust and mutual enmity continue and even wax more and more. It is in the interest of our motherland that the past history should be analysed correctly and read scientifically, without prejudice or malice, sentimental make-believe or so-called patriotic whitewashing. Most of the histories were written by men who worked under the influence of the upper classes. Although their intentions were good, it is difficult to believe that they could judge the events dispassionately. We must therefore sift the facts according to the principles of scientific interpretation available to usnow. We must look at facts from a comprehensive and a synthetic point of view andtry to find how the masses and not only the classes fared during those days.” (Inside Kashmir, pp. 19-20). Let us examine the story of Sikandar in some detail.

Even if Sikandar in his zeal for his own religion has transgressed the limits of moderation, it is unquestionably a false charge against him that he broke down all! Hindu temples in Kashmir and cruelly persecuted every Pandit. What happened long before Sikandar was born? Did not the struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism spell ruin to many a fane? Ou-k’ong or Wu-k’ung,? a well-known Chinese pilgrim, who followed in the footsteps of Hsiian Tsang,

reached Kashmir in 759 a.c., and spent no less than four years engaged in the study of Sanskrit, and in pilgrimages to sacred sites in the Valley.

He found more than any trace whatsoever left of them?

And who demolished three hundred? ” “ monasteries or Viharas in the kingdom of Kashmir.” QOu-k’ong, in Stein’s words, is “ trustworthy and accurate.”* Where are these Viharas? Is there them?

Were they mere mud structures 1. Even the Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, who ought to have shown greater regard for truth, writing in 1922, says in his Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, page 71: ٣ Sikandar destroyed all their (the Hindus’) sacred places.” The Reverend gentleman is merely gramophoning hearsay and making no investigation of his own. 2. Notes on Ou-k’ong’s account of Kagmir by M. A. Stein, Ph.D.,

Principal, Oriental College, Lahore,—Wien, 1896.

LIbid., page 3. Ibid., page 25.

١ Jayapida (764-795 a.c.) made “‘a hundred Brahmans less one seek death in water.”! Carnkaravaraman (883902 a.c.), as already stated (vide page 57) plundered the treasures of temples. To perpetuate his memory, he built the town of Patan and its temple from the material he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Parihadsapura. But, strange tosay, the destruction of its temples is popularly attributed to Sikandar. A copper tablet with Sanskrit inscription has been discovered which predicts the destruction of the temple “after the lapse of eleven hundred years by one Sikandar.” This prophecy post factum, points out Sir Aurel Stein,? shows that its author, whoever he might have been “‘ wasrather weak in historical chronology. Parihisapura had been founded only about six and a half centuries before Sikandar But-shikan’s time.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ruins seem still to have been in a somewhat better condition than now." Did not Abhimanyu II (958-972 a.c.) set fire to his capital and destroy all the noble buildings from the temple of Vardhana Swami as far as Bhikshukiparaka "' (or the asylum of mendicants)? The escape of this limestone temple is attributed by Cunningham! to its fortunate situation in the midst of tank water. Harsha (1089-1101 A.C.) took to the spoilation of temples and confiscated the cult images in order to possess himself of the valuable metals of which they were made. The exact words of Pandit Kalhana'* are: "There was not one temple in a village, town, or in the City which was not despoiled of its images by that Turushka, King Harsha." Not only this. One shudders when one reads verses 1091-4, Book VII. appointed Udayaraja 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (devotpdtanamdyaka). In ordertodefilethe statues of gods he had excrements and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away. Divine images....were covered with night-soil as if they were logs of wood....Images of the gods were dragged along by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers.' Jonaraja also refers to Rajadeva (1213-1236.C.)

1. The Rajatarangin?, Euglish Translation, verse 638, Vol. I, page 178. 2. The Ancient Geography of Kashmir—Calcutta, 1899—page 195. 3. Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, 1871, page 96. 4. Stein's English Translation of the Rajatarangini, verse 1095, Book VII, Volume I, page 353. 5. Jbid., verses 1091-1094, Book VII, Volume I, pages 002-0 who insulted the Bhattas and plundered them. "'And then was heard from among them the cry, 'I am not a Bhatta,' (meaning Brahman), 'Iam nota Bhatta.! Again, Dulcha's invasion in the beginning of the fourteenth century wrought havoc to "'innumerable gods." Dulcha slaughtered the people and set fire? to the city of Srinagar. This is not my language. This is

not my translation. It is not my interpretation either. It is the language of Kalhana and of Jonaraja. It is the translation of Stem and of J.C. Dutt. Now, does any one utter a word about these monstrous rajas like Jayapidaé, Carnkravarman or Abhimanyu or Harsha, or Rajideva ?

But almost every Hindu child learns to heap curses on Sikandar !

Malik Stithabhatta, Sikandar's? minister, appears to be responsible for the destruction of a few temples that took place in Sikandar's reign as Sikandar himself was an infant at his accession. In the words of Sir T. W. Arnold, Sthabhatta set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith : this, he did, probably, in order to show his zeal for his new religion. Ranjit Sitaram Pandit has also said the same thing. "Sikandar," writes Ranjit, " had married a Hindu lady named Cricgobha and was at first tolerant in religion like his predecessors but his powerful Hindu minister, Sihabhatta who became an apostate hated his former co-religionists with the hatred of a new convert.'" Perhaps, these temples may have also been used as places of conspiracies against the State as pointed out by a local historian.6 But it must be distinctly remembered that this sort of religious zeal is deplored by Islam. In fact, it positively prohibits it. Itison record that Mir Muhammad Hamadani warned Sihabhatta against such action, and pointed out to him the well-known verse of the Qur'an (IJ, 256) which runs: 'Let there be no compulsion in religion." It is true that Sikandar cannot be exonerated from his share of the blame that rightly falls to Sihabhatta, but it 1s absolutely untrue that it was Sikandar who was

Kings of Kashmira, page 10. The Vatley of Kashmir, page 189. Sithabhatte is the correct Kashmiri pronunciation of Sinhabhat or Simhabhat or Bat. 4. The Preaching of Istam, second edition, page 292. 5. The Rajatarangini, translated by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1935, page 628

(Appendix K).

Bulbul Shah Sahib by Mufti Muhammad Shah Sa'adat, page 8.

responsible for the relentless persecution of every Hindu and the ruthless destruction of every temple. It would, perhaps, be pertinent to the discussion if we took into account the weighty evidence of personages like Mirza, Haidar Dighlat and Jahangir who have written about temples in Kashmir and whose testimony is unimpeachable. Mirza Haidar Dighlat who mvaded Kashmir in 1531 a.c., long after the death of Sikandar in 1414 a.c., gives a considerable amount of detail about temples in Kashmir in his Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi. Perhaps, a long quotation from him may be excused.t * First and foremost among the wonders of Kashmir stand heridoltemples. In and around Kashmir.? there are more than one hundred and fifty temples which are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other, that there is absolutely no cement used. These stones have been so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints. The blocks are from three to twenty gaz® (literally, a yard) in length : one gaz in depth, and one to five gaz in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected. The temples are nearly all built onthe same plan. There is a square enclosure which in some places reaches the height of thirty gaz, while each side is about three hundred gaz long. Inside this enclosure, there are pillars, and on the top of the pillars there are square capitals ; on the top of these, separate parts are made out of one block of stone. On the pillars are fixed supports of the arches, and each arch is three or four gaz in width. Under the arch are a hall and a doorway. On the outside and inside of the arch are pillars of forty or fifty gaz in height having bases and capitals of stone. On the top of this are placed four pillars of one or two pieces of stone. "The inside and the outside of the halls have the appearance of two porticos, and these are covered with one or two stones.

The capitals, the ornamentation in relief, the cornices, the" dog tooth' work, the inside covering and the outside, are all crowded with pictures and paintings which I am incapable of describing. Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, over that a 1. The Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi, English Translation, Elias and Roas, 1895, page 426. 2. That is, Srinagar. 3. <A gaz of Babur's time was 26 to 28 inches.

dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world, there is not to be seen, or heard of, one building like this. How wonderful that there should here be a hundred and fifty of them.' Mirzi Haidar may have made mistakes in the course of the narrative of his version of the history of Kashmir, but what he saw with his own eyes cannot be imaginary.

Jahangir (1605-1627 a.c.) speaks in no unmistakable terms when he says!: " The lofty idol temples which were built before the manifestation of Islam are stillin existence, and are all built of stones which from foundation to roof are large and weigh 30 or 40 maunds placed one on the other." As Jonaraja says, Sikandar urged by Sitihabhatta "broke the images of Martanda, Vishaya, Icana, Chakrabhrit, Tripurecvara, (esha, Surecvari, Varaha and others."* Note the word 'images' only. For the destruction of temples we have, therefore, to attach the blame not to Sikandar but to the real destroyers—

time and the elements, and defects of construction, which are so often the cause of ruin of dry masonry. " Earthquakes* and the imperfect fitting of the stones, observable in all Kashmirian temples," remarks Stein,' "' are sufficient to explain the complete ruin notwithstanding the massive character of the materials!'? "Sikandar was brave and cultured, ·" says Lawrence, "and attracted learned Musalmans to his court.' In the face of all this evidence, it is surprising that a

number of writers should revel in holding up Sikandar to ignominy. Facts belie the charge. The conversion to Islam of the Khakha and Hatmal tribes of Rajputs inhabiting the area to the left bank of the Jhelum between Baramila and Kohala is said to have taken place in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin. Khakhu and

Hati, their leaders, were named Khakhu Khan and Hatim Khan. They took service at the court of the Sultan who granted them jagirs.5 " The country between Muzaffarabad and Baramiila was "in the possession of the Rajas of

Memows of Jahangir, English Beveridge, Vol. II, page 150. 2. Kings of Kashmira, page 60. 3. Pandit Anand Koul, in his

Translation by Jammu and Rogers Kashmir and Staite, 1925, enumerates 12 severe earthquakes (vide pages 98,99 and 100) from 1500 a.c. to 1884 a.c. 4. The Vailey of Kashmir, footnote, page 190.

The Za'rikh-t-Hasan MS.

Kuhkuh and Bubnah " before the visit of Mir 'Izzatullah} in 1812-13 a.c. The area was then known as " Kithistan or the Highlands of Kashmir,"' he adds.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din 1• Fresh impetus to conversion was given towards the close of the fifteenth century by the arrival in 1487 a.c. and not 1450 a.c., as Lawrence wrongly puts it, of Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Muhammad al-Isfahani commonly known as Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi who was a preacher from Talish,? on the shores of the Caspian. Shams's father was Ibrahim. His mother came from a Miisavi Sayyid family of Qazvin. With the aid of his disciples, Mir Shams-ud-Din won over a large* number of converts. According to Mirza Haidar Dighlait,4 Shams-ud-Din arrived from 'Iraq in the first reign of Sultan Fath Shah and converted many thousands of people. After this, he was crowned in the name of the Twelve Imams. The Shi'as of Kashmir contend that he was a true

Shi‘a, and that the Ahwat, or ‘Most Comprehensive,’ a book in Arabic, containing the tenets of the Nir Bakbshi® sect,—prevalent 1. Travels in Central Asia by ’Izzatullah in the years 1812-13. Written in Persian. Translated into English by Captain Henderson, Calcutta, 1872, page 3.

2. Talish, a district and people in the north of the Iranian province of Gilan, has belonged to Russia since 1813 ∧.0. The narrow strip of shore and mountain slope running north from the south-west corner of the Caspian and facing east over that sea is the Talish country. The village Talish is six farsakhs from Ardabil. Under Iranian rule and even now, Lenkoran is the capital. The people call themselves Talish and speak a local dialect. The number of Talish living on Russian territory is 75,824 according to the census of 1922. Like the people of Gilan, the Talish are Shi‘as. Their dialect differs very little from that of Gilan. 3. Arnold’s Preaching of Islam, page 124. 4. The Ta’rikh-i-Rashidt, English Translation by Ney Elias and Denison Ross, 1895, page 435. 5. The Nur Bakhshi sect is an attempt to find a via media between Shi‘a and Sunni doctrines. In winter, the Niir Bakhshis pray with folded arms like the Sunnis: in summer with the hands hanging down like the Shi‘as. Like the Sunnis, they pray together and observe Friday prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying and only perform mas-h like the Shia‘s. The chief cause of quarrel arises in Muharram, as the Nir Bakhshis maintain that mourning should take place in the mosque, but the Shi‘as do not allow this to be proper. For a fuller account of the Nir Bakhshi sect, the article of Khan Bahadur Maulavi Muhammad Shafi‘, M.A. (Cantab), in the Oriental College Magazine for February and May, 1925, may be consulted. Nir Bakhsh literally means > enlightening. ° at present in Baltistan—is not his composition. Firishta says that Mir Shams-ud-Din was a disciple of Sayyid Mu‘in-ud-Din ’Ali known

as Shah Qasim Zar-bakhsh, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nir Bakhsh of Khurasan,* Sayyid Muhammad being a disciple of Khwaja Is-hag

Khatlani (Supra 92).

ےا کال مامت کاپ کاب انم اروسبال جاں ڈور peZyel مین hMابین

فورSDEF مورybuBاسرا4 hUے گ سر کف رو پسس له شاب نوس قب وںsw

ieL nae اماطرک rod niA ور نتسشوفقه و. eergتی ات [Continued from the footnote of p. 109[

Sir Wolseley Haig says that Shams-ud-Din professed to be an orthodox Sunni, but the doctrines set forth by him in the Ahwat are described as a mass of infidelity and heresy conforming neither to the Sunni nor to the Shi'a creed. Shams-ud-Din insisted on cursing the first three Caliphs and 'A'isha.

Consequently, Mirzi Haidar, on a religious pronouncement by Sunni doctors of law in India, went about extirpating the heresay.— Cambridge History of India, ۷۲۵۱, ITI, page 286. Haig misspells as Ahwaith.

*Khurasan, literally, 'the place of the sunrise,' is one of the five great provinces of Iran. In that delightful Province of the Sun, The first of Persian lands he shines upon,

Where all the loveliest children of his beam, Flow'rets, and fruits, blush over every stream.—Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh,

اس دیز ےک لوزناز hoprpS می رش ada' دسیے ام a reM aP: ونمبGD

دشاںsw selo بوehti 2 2 آل ٹپ ممسج ہارcet Plz 2 دوان تام

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eU رتوکیا gByl YA وریں رہ NA مجر گے

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exercised a considerable check on Shi‘ism. Shaikh Hamza Makhdiim was the son of Baba ’Usman and was born in 900 a.H. (1394 a.c.) The family was originally Chandravanci Rajput.

Hamza’s Khalifa is Baba ’Ali Rina. -

The name of Shaikh After elementary study of the Qur’dn in Tijr, his village, Shaikh Hamza was sent to Baba Isma‘ll Kubrawi, a well-known scholar of his time, who enrolled him in the college known as the Dar-ush-Shifa’ at the foot of the Kih-iMaran. Besides the رصقتنits exegesis, Traditions and the Figh, Shaikh Hamza studied Siifi-ism and allied sciences. One of his noted teachers was Akhund Mulla Lutfullah. Another was Mulla Fathullah Haqqani,.the son of Baba Ismail Kubrawi.

When Shaikh Hamza was a force in the land, he was deported by Ghazi Shah Chak, the Shi‘a ruler of the time, from the city of Srinagar to a village called Biru (about 20 miles from Srinagar, via Magam in Tahsil Badgam). The Shaikh returned to the city only after Ghazi Shah’s death.

A co-worker of Shaikh Hamza Makhdim was Khwaja Khwaja Tahir Rafiq Asha’i Suhrawardi of Srinagar. Tahir in his earlier days was a trader in cloth. He gave up trade after a period of 12 years and betook himself to the service of his religion. Pir Hasan Shah says that Ya‘qitib Shah Chak wanted to get rid of him but felt afraid to carry out his intention. Like Shaikh Hamza, Khwaja Tahir Rafig left Srinagar and passed nine years of his life in the hills of Mar-raj. Subsequently he stayed with

Adar Sih, a leading Braman of the Pargana Ver-nag. Adar Sth embraced Islam. It was here in consultation with Khwaja Tahir معط that Shaikh Ya‘qib Sarfi, Baba Da’id Khaki and others left for India to invite Akbar to invade Kashmir to relieve

its people from the oppressive Shi‘ism of the Chaks. Shaikh Hamza was instrumental in setting up a large number of masjids in the Valley. He had also acquired control cover his breath which he could hold pretty long. This particularly enabled him to enjoy cold baths during snows, which relieved his headaches due to long hours of devotional meditation.

Shaikh Hamza died at the age of 84, in 984 (1576 A.c.), during the reign of “Ali Shah Chak.

Khwaja Tahir Rafiq led the jindza prayer.

۳ uP(متأاسب یا فم مد و م ate و وفائش ۰ ۰é چو جسے سال نار

elS داؤد سیایا The Shaikh was buried in his favourite resort for meditation ona slope of the Kith-i-Maran. Nawwab ’Inayatullah Khan, Sibadar during Mughul rule, built the mausoleum in

1125 a.H. (1713 a.c.).

It became dilapidated.

Shaikh Ghulam Muhyi’d Din, Governor during Sikh rule, re-built it, and is himself buried: in the eastern side of the enclosure. At the blossoming of almond trees, below the Kitih-i-Maran, every year people crowd the tomb of the saint, witness the flowers in bloom, and offer Fatiha to Shaikh Hamza Makhdiim in memory of his great work in spreading Islam by his tours over, and trips into, the remotest corners of the Valley.* Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Shaid@ expresses the Kashmiri’s veneration for Shaikh Hamza Makhdim in his poem :—

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ت SY txکوE یکلا کی 9 ی,-ب777 76

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“سن 0” for “””جمیکin the first line, and “sy!”مار“ فان؟ آنin the fourth, of the Urdu poem,

_The Puhfa-i-Mahbabi, or the Life of Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdimi in Urdu, by

Khwaja Ghulam Muhyi’d-Din, editor, Kashmir, Baryi Press, Amritsar, 1931, is the principal basis of the above note.

Under the Mughuls, Islamic influence was still further strengthened by many men of learning who came into the Valley. In the reign of Aurangzib, Raji Jaya Singh, the ajput raja of Kishtwar, is said to have been converted by the miracles* of Sayyid Shah Farid-ud-Din Qadiri of

Baghdad, and was given the name of Bakhtyar Khan. His conversion seems to have been followed by that of the majority of his subjects, though Islam had already crossed over in Jahangir’s and Shah Jahan’s times. The journeys of Mughul Emperors to Kashmir also appear to have effected peaceful conversions along the route, as we still find rajas, the descendants of Rajputs. who adopted Islam.

Shah Faritd-ud-Din Qddiri.

Sayyid Muhammad Farid-ud-Din Qadiri, the son of Sayyid Mustafa, a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, was born in 1000 a.H. (1551 a.c.). After his education, his extensive travels, his Hajj, his contact with Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Al-Maghribi in Mecca, and with Shaikh Muhyi'd-Din Qadiri in Egypt, he left Baghdéd to reach Sind. From Sind he went to Agra and then to Delhi towards the end of Shah و صقطولreign. When Raja Jaya

Singh, who ascended the gaddz of Kishtwar in 1674 a.¢., was tke ruler, Farid-ud-Din with his four companions Darwish Muhammad, Shah Abdal, Sayyid Bahaud-Din Samani, and Yar Muhammad arrived in 1075 · at the age of 75 to preach and propagate Islam in the Valley of Kishtwir. Jaya Singh's successor in 1681, Kirat Singh, also became Muslim and was given the name of Sa'adat

Yar Khan by Aurangzib in 1687. Hafiz Abul Qasim Qureshi Akbarabadi, son of Ghiyas-ud-Din, was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam and Chief Justice of Kishtwar. Kurat Singh's example was a furtter stimulus to his subjects. In 1717, Bhip Dei, Kirat's sister, was married to Farrukh Siyar, Emperor of Delhi. Kirat's younger brother was Miyan Muhammad Khan. The chief temple of Kishtwar in the centre of the town was converted into a mosque, and now has the tomb of

Shah Farid-ud-Din along with his youngest child Anwarud-Din, who died in infancy. In the second chamber, lies Akhyar-ud-Din. The tomb of Asrar-ud-Din, the eldest son of Farid-ud-Din, stands at the other end of the town towards the Chaugan, the extensive open heath of Kishtwar. Asraér-ud-Din died at the early age of 18 in · · * Arnold's Preaching of Islam, second edition, 1923, page 292.

(1685 a.c.).

Akhy&r-ud-Din, the second son, survived his father. Akhyar had his early education at Batala, in Gurdaspur, Punjib, under Sayyid Badr-ud-Din, Diw4n of

Masaniyan, the well-known saintly scholar of that place, and later benefited by contact with several teachers at Lahore, Sialkdt, Delhi, etc. On his return to Kishtwar, he helped in the spread of Islam. Akhy&r died on the 7th Zulhajj, 1188 aw. (1725 د3 Afghan rule also tended to increase the number of converts to Islam. A Braliman originally of Rajwér and latterly of SSvarah near Srinagar, accepted Islam atthe hands of Mir 'Abdur Rashid Baihagi (d. 1180 A.H.=1766 a.c.), and was named Shaikh 'Abdullih who is the great great-grandfather of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullah, a well-known leader of theday. Even during Dogri rule, there is a notable instance of conversion. Sardar Waryim Singh, a tahsildar of Kashmir, became a Muslim under the influence of Shah 'Abdur Rahim Safapiri.

After all the Fugara@' Spread Islam in Kashmir. Such has been, in brief, the history of the propagation of Islam im the Valley of Kashmir. From first to last, the spread of Islam has been, on the whole, generally peaceful.

At any rate, Islam was never introduced into the Valley by a conqueror like Mahmiid, nor by a warrior like Shihab-ud-

Din, nor by a general like Muhammad bin Qasim. In fact, the process was reversed. Islam was introduced by a simple fagir or friar, named Bulbul Shah, whose simplicity and piety impressed the reigning sovereign of the time, Rinchan or Rifichana. The work was taken up and continued byfagirs; and, though occasionally stimulated by the zeal of a convert like Malik Saif-ud-Din under a Sultan like

Sikandar, its widespread, peaceful penetration was due to the piety, purity and simplicity of the Muslim rishis and saints who denied pleasures to themselves and worked others.

for Thus the great Prophet who took pride in fagr or poverty, found fugara' (fagirs or friars) to faith in the Valley of 1 propagate his

(to propag 1. The above note is based on (1) Rauzatul-'Arifin, Persian MS.,completed in 1259 4.H.=1843 a.c., by Hafiz Zia'-ud-Din ibn Hafiz Nasr-ud Din of Kishtwar, (2) History of Kishtwar State by J. Hutchi son and J. P.

Vogel, Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, vol. IV, No. 1, 1916, pages ب ی p> 10 بیس تنby Sayyid Najm-ud-Din Shahabadi, ya 20 1915 roliya, near e Be Ver-nag, Pratapp Steam Steam Press, g Press, Srinagar Sri , 1334 H. ۲ _ 4%

Lhe Hayat-t-Rahim by Abu'l Amin Pir Ghulam Ahmad 7777+ Ravi Printing Works, Lahore, 1340 a.n.=1921 A.0., page 120.

m 116a Appendix to Chapter 1 Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's Mausoleum at Khatlan, now called Kolab, in the Tajik Soviet Republic, ۰.۰ The foot-note No.2, on page 87 of Kashir, describes the location of Khatlian where Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani or Shah Hamadan was buried.

But, at first, my attempts at obtaining photographs of his tomb were unsuccessful. It was at the Ta] Hotel, Bombay, early in the year, 1947, that 1 met Mr. Sultan 'Umarov, Rector, Central

Asian University of Tashkent (Tashqand), who introduced me to rolessor oe N. Pavlovsky, Membre de [Académie des Sciences بقboth of whom came to India to attend the Science d'U. R. 8.

Congress 6 New Delhi in December, 1946. Professor Pavlovsky divides his year officially between Moscow, Leningrad and Stalinabad.

It is through his goodness that I got the photographs for which

1 am orateful to him. The information he has supplied will, I hope, be deli ghtfully shared by the reader.

Extracts from two of his letters are followed br Mr. Kolpakoff's descriptive note on the Mausoleum at Kolab, the present name of Khatlin

Khoil.

or In 920 a.H,=1514 a.c. the Emperor Babur circumambulated the tomb of Shah Hamadin, near which were groves of orange and citron.

Letter dated Leningrad, 10th September, 1947. Dear Dr. Sufi,

I received a portion of the photographs which you required.

These were taken by an employé of the Branch of the Academy of Sciences in Tajikistan in Stalinabad, A. Semenov. He, in company with another Orientalist, visited Kolab where he took the photo-

graphs. So far, I have received only the photographs of the Mausoleum of Mir Savyid Ali Hamadani, seven of which I herewith enclose. I am sorry their qualityis not particularly high, but I hope you will find some of them suitable for the preparation of blocks. If receive more of these I shall certainly dispatch them to you at once. When printing subscription to the illustrations, kindly mention that these photographs were taken by Mr. A. Semenov. Khatlan is now generally known under the name of Kolab (in Russian it is pronounced as Kolydb). Its capital is a town of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, the crest of which you may see on one of the postal stamps on the envelope.

I am going to Tajikistan and, while at Stalinabad, I shall find more about the Mausolea which interest you, and shall write to you.

Yours Sincerely, EK. PAVLOVSKY (This preceding letter from Leningrad, dated 10th September, 1947, written in Russian, was kindly translated for Mr. W. Ivanow, Colaba, Bombay.)

me by Letter dated Stalinabad, 5th October, 1947.

Dear Dr. Sufi, As written to you, 1 am, at present, in Stalinabad (Tajikistan) where is situated the ancient town of Kolab in which you are interested. I sent you by air some photos of the Mausoleum which interests. you. In Kolab there exists only this Mausoleum. It comprises 11 rooms and a row of tombs.

I succeeded in obtaining here some negatives which I sent to Moscow for enlargement. 'them on receipt from Moscow to you.

photo I shall dispatch As regards the description of the actual condition of the Mausoleum wanted by you, I am forwarding to you, under cover of this 'letter, a cutting out of a local newspaper, The Kolab Truth, containIng an article of my collaborator, Mr. Kolpakoff, who visited Kolab with the object of inspecting the Mausoleum, and of taking its photographs.

This article, of course, is not very exhaustive, but, any how, it will give you at least some idea of the Mausoleum.

Mr. Kolpakoff is busy at present in compiling a more detailed scholarly work, which will be sent to you when printed.

There is in the Tajik Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the

U. 8. 8. R. a special Institute of History, Languages and Literature. Its collaborators are extremely interested in the literature of the East and, particularly, of India. I shall be very grateful to you if you could kindly send me all the books written by you as well as by -other scholars who would be prepared

to let us have their works not -only in English but also in Oriental languages. If there is any possibility of sending us anything concerning history or literature, and there is no inconvenience to you to lend us your assistance in

'this matter, please address us your messages as follows:—

Leningrad, Avenue of K. Marx, House No. 5, Apartment No. 5, E. N. Pavlovsky, Member of the Academy of Sciences. Please aceept our best regards and our wishes for success in your scholarly endeavours. With respect.

Sd. E. PAVLOVSKY, Academy Member.

Lhe contribution of Mr.

Kolpakoff ९ to the newspape Kolab Pruth" dated the 11th August, 1947, on the Man r * The isoleum of

Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadaénit at Kolab, Tap ikistin, U.S.S8.R.

The Mausoleum situated on the eastern side of the town of Kolab, known under the name of the Mazar Amir Savyid 'Ali Hamadani, was erected 596 years ago, and represents one of the most remarkable monuments of the Tajik architecture of the 14th century of our era.

It has been built, from its very foundation, in bricks cemented with liquid alabaster, and the surface of its walls, outside and inside, has been finished also with alabaster. The building, during the centuries of its existence, has been very seldom repaired and _ its alabaster finish has considerably crumbled to pieces.

The Mausoleum has four entrances: two from the north and, ene each, on the eastern and southern sides. All the entrances have arrow-like arches over them. Inside the Mausoleum there are eleven rooms, out of which two are big and nine

small. Every one of these rooms 1s surmounted by a spherical cupola. The architecture of the monument is very interesting.

The idea of its builder has been carried out in a most original way: a building, square at its base, has been converted at the top into a 12-cornered structure crowned with a spherical cupola builtin bricks cemented together only with alabaster without any other wooden or metal reinforcements. Many earthquakes have taken place during six centuries, but the building still stands nearly intact, if we ignore occasional cracks in some of the minor cupolas. In the central room of the Mausoleum, the Muhammadan scholar Amir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani is buried. He originally came from Hamadan and lived, during the epoch of Timitir, in Bukhara. The year 1314 has been indicated as the time of birth of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadanf. As a result of some disagreement with Timiir, Amir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani betook himself from Bukhara. He travelled extensively in all the countries of the East. In search of knowledge he visited Arab lands. He prayed at Mecca and Medina, then departed for India, where he saw many cities. He stayed for a certain time in Kashmir. Here he met idol-worshippers and converted them to the Muslim faith.

There does exist in Kashmir, until now, a mosque erected by him.

Sayyid "Ali Hamadani also called at Badakhshan. At the end of his migrations, Amir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani settled in Kolab, 'where he acquired a big plot of land for the erection of a mosque and mausoleum.

Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's influence on the population of Northern India was considerable. As a result of his activities and propaganda, the population of Kashmir was converted to Islam. There remains after his death a religious book, written by him under the title of the Avrad-i-Sharif.

116d In 1384 Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani was buried in the Kolab Mauso-~ leum, which became thereafter the resting-place of his descendants. His sister Mah-i-Khurasani (Hirosoni, Mah-1-Khurasani?) and one. woman, with the name of Aftab-i-Pinhani, as well as more than ten other descendants of Sayyid 'Ali have been interred in the same Mausoleum, There is also buried there Shoi Tolikoni, a Shaikh, hailing from the city of Tolikon [Talikhan is a town with longitude 69°27 and latitude 36°45, and lies to the south-west of Mazar-iSharif in northern Afghanistan] who resided in Kolab in his capacity of guardian of the Mosque and of the Mausoleum. To the south-west of the latter, ata distance of 20 meters from the corner of the building, there is an elevation in the ground whereon lies a marble stone of a very rare workmanship, with an Arabic inscription, relating to Sayyid "Ali's biography. This stone of polished marble, weighing one ton, has been brought,. according to an old legend, to Kolib from India on elephants. This tombstone has been placed not inside the Mausoleum where Sayyid 'Ali was buried, but on a rising of the ground, where the graves of one of the grandsons of the famous conqueror, Timi, known to Europeans by the name of Tamerlane, is situated. This tombstone of a rare workmanship is considerably damaged in certain places, and a marble slab lying formerly over it, which had been intact till 1939, has been broken into several pieces. It is lying at present in this condition, m the Mausoleum, and bears also some inscription in Arabic which it is very difficult, at present, to decipher. This remnant of Tajik architecture in Kolab—the Hamadani Mausoleum as well as the marble tombstone near the latter—do possess a considerable historical value. The local authorities should pay serious attention to the repair of the Mausoleum and to the conservation of the tombstone.

Sd. A. KOLPAKOFF, Historical Sciences Candidate to the Degree of Doctor.

The Kolab Truth, of the 11th August, 1947, No. 93/276.

(The letter from Stalindbad and the article from the “Kolab Truth” written in Russian were kindly translated for me by Mr. A.

Elsingre of Messrs, Volkart Brothers, Karachi, Pakistan.)

Chapter IV — The Sultans of Kashmir

The last phase of Hindu rule in Kashmir before the Sultans. As already referred to, at the end of Chapter IJ, Hindu rule in Kashmir terminated with the close of the reign of

Raji Sahadeva, whom Jonaraja calls “this Rakshasa”’ or demon ‘‘of a king,” and adds that he “devoured” the country ‘* for nmeteen years, three months and twenty-five days’ (1800-1 to 1819-20 a.c.). Consequently administration was paralysed. The contagion of immorality spread from him to his subjects. Debauchery and licentiousness were rampant. The foundations of authority were sapped. Instead of any financial or economic improvement, Sahadeva’s rule was characterized by general decay.

Dulcha’s 0• Such a state of affairs could not fail to attract the notice of the neighbouring chiefs. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Dulcha—called by Kashmiri historians Zulchi—and already described as “the commander of the army of the great king Karmasena”’ came down with a sixty thousand mounted force, and entered Kashmir by way of the Z6ji-La towards the close of Sahadeva’s nominal sway. Sahadeva had not the strength to meet Dulcha and give him battle. He sought safety in flight, and left Dulcha victorious and master of the situation. Intoxicated by success, Dulcha’s followers oppressed and plundered the pcople to their hearts’ content. Cities, towns and villages suffered unspeakable horrors of vandalism. Numerous inhabitants irrespective of age or sex were ruthlessly done to death. ”Innumerable gods were destroyed.” In addition to bloodshed and massacre, Dulcha also ”“’took away the strong men

from the country." In short, Dulcha's advent in Kashmir resembled the bloody orgies of Chingiz and Hulagii.

Thus Dulcha spent his time In Kashmir in 1319 • Fortunately for the people, the excessive cold of Kashmir 117 frightened the murderous invader.

Finding no other means of escape from the relentless clutches of a severe winter and possibly starvation too, Dulcha left the land. Pandit Birbal Kachur has appropriately described the invasion of Dulcha in the following brief words: came, plundered, killed, seized and departed." No more graphic description of the terrible visit of Dulcha, whom he calls Zulchi, could be given

Some historians have assigned a Turkish, Mongol or Tatar origin to Dulcha or Zulchi. At the same time. they have given him the name of Zulqadr Khan. It is not at all proved that he was a Muslim.

It can be sur-

mised that he was a follower of the Buddhist faith—his king was Karmasena. On account of his ferociousness, Dulcha or Zulchti may justly be called a Hun.

Dulcha's departure from Kashmir left the country without a ruler or a central government. Factions appeared on every side with independent chiefs who acknowledged no authority. Here Rifichana comes to prominence. him we shall speak presently.

Of Sahadeva, notwithstanding his cruelty and selfishness possessed, to a marked degree, the virtue of hospitality. He was generous without regard to caste or creed. During his reign, which, as already noted, extended over a period of nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days, two personages of potential power entered his dominions. And he made adequate provision for both of

them by assigning lands and jagi7s in order to enable them to maintain themselves. The first person who received hospitality at the hands of the Raj& was Lankar Chak, the ancestor of the Chaks, who succeeded the Shab Miri Sultans im the sovereignty of | Kashmir. Being defeated by his brother, Lankar fled from Dardao or Dardistén and found a ready and welcome asylum in Kashmir. The second case recorded by historians is that of Shah Mir, the son of Tahir.

Shah Mir came from Panchagahvra identified by Sir Aurel Stem in his map of Ancient Kashmir, as the Valley between Bidil and Rajauri and watered by the Panchagahvra stream. But Some histories mention Swat or SwAdgir. Sahadeva received him with kindness and allotted to him a village.

Rifichana, a son of the ruling house of western Tibet or Ladakh, on the murder of his father by the rebellious nobles of the court, fled from the country, and came to Kashmir with his companions and soldiers during the invasion of Dulcha. In fact, Jonaraja makes him a joint invader with Dulcha. Other historians give different versions of Rifichana's visit. He also entered by way of the Zdji-La as did Mirzi Haidar Dighlat in 1532 a.c.

connected Kashmir with and China.

This route Ladakh and thence with Tibet The photo below was taken when I the Z6j1-La in 1948.

passed Into the Zdji-La 5, Rinchen, Rifichana or Rinian.

With regard to the name of Rifichana there appears to be some difference of opinion among historians. Some have adopted Ratanjii or Ranjii Shah, while others Rechan,

Renchan or Rainchan Shah, though some also call him Ranjpoi or Ratanchan. One is inclined to accept Rinchen as correct because there is no controversy about his Tibetan or Ladakhi origin. In the Tibetan form, Rinchen means

'Great God.' Rinchan Shah is a name even today used in Ladakh. Kashmiris, however, pronounce it Rintan and call him Rintan Shah. We have also evidence to this effect in Khwaja Muhammad A'zam's work, the Waqi dt-t-Kashmir or the Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir A'zamit (Muhammadi Press, Lahore, p. 60), in which a mosque is stated still to bear the name

'King Rintan's Mosque." People even now call it Rintan Shah's Mosque. The Sanskrit form is Rificana as adopted by Sir Aurel Stein. We shall spell itas Rifichana. Rifichana becomes king of Kashmir. We should not dismiss from our minds the chaotic condition prevalent in Kashmir at the time due to Dulcha's invasion. The country had noruler. Its old king Sahadeva, a pusillanimous creature, had disappeared. His commanderin-chief, Ramachandra, had retired behind the walls of the

Gagangir' fort. Kashmir obviously needed a strong, capable ruler. Rifichana who, according to Jonaraja,? was 'a lion among men' and was respected for his great intellect, happened to be on the spot. He had already won the hearts of those with whom he came into contact. The number of his adherents and partisans increased gradually till he became strong enough to seize the throne and enforce authority.

His accession to the throne was not the result of an act of usurpation: rather ١٢ was almost a opular acclamation. Soon after his accession, he busied himself strenuously with the task of freeing the country from the evil influences which, owing to lack of proper administration and an almost complete absence of strong central authority, had become rampant at this time.

In considering himself without a rival, Rifichana however reckoned without his host. His exaltation to the throne naturally aroused in Ramachandra a keen sense of jealousy and ambition. He, therefore, refused to acknow-

ledge Rifichana's authority. Rifichana, acting wisely, offered him no open resistance fully realizing that the country had already suffered so much from the ravages of war. Furthermore, he was keenly alive to the dissension which had torn the country into factions, and understood the value of peace. He, therefore, resorted to a stratagem.

For a considerable time, he sent to Gagangir his Tibetan or Ladakhi subjects, disguised as merchants, who sold their commodities at very low rates.

After he had disarmed 1. Gagangir, the old name of which is Gangangiri, is now a small village in the Lar pargana in the Sind valley of Kashmir, prettily situated on the right bank of the river, about 10 miles west of Sonamarg. Pop. 398. 2. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's English Translation of Jonarija's Sanskrit

Chronicle entitled Kings of Kashmsra, Calcutta, 1898, Vol. III, page

• suspicion in this way, he directed his men, duly equipped with instructions, to rise in rebellion the moment he arrived there.

As a consequence of this coup, Ramchandra was slain and his son, Rawanchandra, captured along with his relatives. Thus, in 1320 a.c., Rifichana found himself the undisputed monarch of Kashmir.

To further strengthen his position, Rifichana " planted on his breast queen Kota." that is, he married Kota Rani, daughter of Ram chandra, and appointed his son Rawanchandra the commander of the army with Western Tibet and Lar as his jagiv or assignment. The step was also calculated to drive out of

Rawanchandra's mind all desire of vengeance. This purpose was completely achieved inasmuch as they began to live on perfect terms of intimacy and sincere friendship. Malik Haidar Chadura tells us that Rifichana gave Rawanchandra the surname of "Ji Dist," to express his esteem according to the old Kashmir practice. A son was born of Kota and was named Haidar by Sultan Sadr-ud-Din as Rifichana had become a Muslim and been given that name. ١

Rifichana's sense of justice. Rifichana was gifted with the qualities of wisdom and justice, and always decided matters in an absolutely impartial spirit, neither caring for power nor wealth. Jonaraja? has recorded the following two cases which, strange as they are, serve to show how solicitous of justice he was, and how resourcefully he acted in deciding cases which would sometimes baffle even the wisest heads.

One day Timi, the brother of Takka or Tukka* an old companion of Rifichana, forcibly took milk from a milkmaid.

She cried to Rifichana for justice.

He ordered that Timi should be brought into the court. The accused being brought in, Rifichana inquired from him if the milkmaid's complaint was true. The accused totally denied the charge.

When asked to furnish further proof, the milkmaid said :

1. The Ta'rtkh-i-Kashmir by Ra'is-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chadura —MS., page 121. According to this author,ji—master or lord—was used in Kashmir to express one's esteem and respect for a person. Dist means a friend,

Jt Dist would thus mean an ‘ esteemed friend.’ Jogesh Chunder Dutt’s English Translation of Jonaraja’s Sanskrit

Chronicle entitled Kings of Kashmira, Caleutta, 1898, Vol. ILI, page 20.

3. Tukka is probably Tibetan ’a Brugpa, pronounced Dugpa or ۰ ۰ سے : ort lie Indian Antiquary, Bombay, Volyme XXXVI, July 1908,

T ’Rip open the stomach of this man instantly, and if no milk is found in 1t, then I and my son should be killed.”? The stomach was ripped open and found to contain milk. According to the dictates of civilized society, this method of meting out justice is utterly cruel and primi-

tive; though, at that time, it did not appear so strange to a society which was far behind in its standard of civilization and had no definite code of laws for its guidance. Else Rifichana, himself a lover of justice, would not have followed it. Besides, this incident clearly indicates his complete impartiality, as also his utter disregard of the relative position of the parties before him. Further, it shows how accessible he was to his people that even such small matters could be brought before him. No impediment was placed in the path of the party seeking justice at his hands.

The other case was as follows. Two men living at Vanabal, a village in Badgam Tahsil, had entrusted their mares and their foals to a shepherd. The strange thing about the foals was that they were of the same age and had exactly the same colour. When the mares and the foals were conveyed from their winter quarters to a summer pasturage, one of the foals died or, according to another version, “‘ was killed in the forest by a lion.” The two mares were unable to realize which of them had suffered the loss of its young one, and the result was that the sur-

viving young one continued to suck milk from both as it desired. The shepherd, too, was unable to say which master had lost his mare's foal. The ownership of the surviving foal, therefore, became a matter of contention between the owners of the two mares. The suit was taken to the king who ordered the owners to bring their mares and the foal to a bridge of boats near the city. This being done, the king ordered the fecal to be thrown into the river. On this, the mother of the foal also jumped into the river. The other only neighed. By this ingenious method, the king restored the foal to its real owner. When Rifichana

۴ decided dubious cases in this manner, the people thought that the golden age had, as it were, returned."" The feudal landowners or barons, called Damaras who were, at times, the cause of considerable trouble to former rulers, were brought under perfect control. Riichana, in 'brief, spared no pains in dealing out justice to the administration of which he devoted the re-

maining days of his life.

And he likewise issued strict ls. In the words of J020879: instructions to all his officiaSur atrana (Sultan) seve ue "the illustrious Rifichana and disor Rah 1 country, which was weary of trouble peo ple of سو under the shelter of his arm." The ch they ba en witnessed again all the festivities with whi familiar under their former kings (K2n¢s of Kashmira, p. 19, also The Indian Antiquary, July 1908, ۰ 183).

a After he had restored order in the country, Rifichan turned his attention to religions matters. Though Buddhism! was nominally the prevailing religion at this time, the country was distracted by the dissensions of sectaries, whose hostile and contending claims to religious truth perplexed the inquirer dissatisfied with the national religion. At first the king sought guidance from the

wise and scholarly priests of the Hindu faith. According to Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta,? obviously on the authority . of Jonaraja who mentions Cri Deva Swami as the person referred to, they declined to guide him or initiate him into Caivism. According to Pandit Birbal Kachur and Ra'isul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chadura,? they did all they could to enlighten him on the subject, but failed to satisfy him. Their diverse views on religion and their doctrine, which militated against each other, only baffled him. Undaunted by this failure, he did not abate his efforts. After much perturbation of spirit and constant prayer, it is said that, one night, he dreamt that some one was telling him : "Early in the morning the next day, the first person thou dost behold is thy guide." He acted on this advice, and the next morning observed from the roof of his palace a person with his face towards the west, apparently engaged in offering prayers in a manner hitherto unknown to him.

1. Jarrett, J. A.S.B., No. 1, 1880, page 17. 2. The Guldasta-i-Kashmir by Pandit Hargopal Kaul, Farst Arya Press, Lahore, 1883, Part IT, page 101. Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta, Pleader, was deported from Kashmir by the late Maharaja Ranbhir Singh in 1294 a.n.=1877 a.c., "for fabricating lies against His Highness." 3. The Ta'rtkh–Kashmir, Persian, MS., by Pandit Birbal Kachur, page 64, owned by the late K. B. Pirzida Muhammad

C. I. E., ex-Chief Justice, Kashmir.

Husain 'Arif, The Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir,Persian, MS8., by Ra'is-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar

Chadura, owned by K.

B.

Maulavi Zafar Hasan, Rotired D paty Director-General, Archaeology, Nasheman, Delhi Gate, Delhi, page 1265,

بح و ⋆طلعتش ۳ سحمی چو مر و ار لب جو“ آ فتابش ر و و ae و

dS ۳۴ دید . انده تس آن چو LJو و خو نالان

خرقه پو شیده همچو خوش حالان TLP سبمعدانله» شاه Rifichana at once went to this man and asked him his name and his religion, and also the particular prophet whose follower he was. To these inquiries the stranger replied as follows :—

۶ My name is ’Abdur Rahman ; my religion is Islam ; I worship the one God who has no co-partner, and 1 am a follower of that Prophet whose message has superseded all previous messages and commandments.”” The saint, as stated in Chapter TIT, is popularly known as Bulbul Shah. The saint next proceeded to relate several of the anecdotes of the Holy Prophet together with a brief account of his mission. The king was deeply impressed by the clear and simple exposition of Islam, and accepted this faith assuming Sadr-ud-Din as his Islamic name. This conversion, in 720 A.H. (1320 a.c.), marks the beginning of Muslim rule in Kashmir. و

مس ,ea کا ار TL ۳ ۱ حب سلام GH sh » وہ ساعت ڈی حاہ

JI ؛وہ دن IT کے کل سے jeاہ کشمیر راحہ شاھی دیکھنا

hg وہ دعوت ید ob lw ep گیس بلا کر a eG کے وہ

haW حید وsU دل H¢ hs کراھا وہ یعت haS اور اس کر ۱ ھو

؟ و مسلم نو ۷. ohs رعیت ھی 19{ صقعکہ ۔mer مطموعی

هوی من پهر ۱ ب رفته رفته wE ۰ ۰ لو او ل 6

خی ار؛ فوق سسsp Jonaraja does not mention the conversion of Rifichana to Islam. And yet he calls him Surairaéna (p. 19) which is the Sanskrit form of Sultan. He also calls Rifichana's son Haidara (p. 23). Shah Mir founds the Kashmiri era from this very year, as we shall see later. Had this year not been important in the history of Kashmir on account of Rifichana's conversion to Islam, Shah Mir could have begun the Kashmiri era right from his own accession in 740 ۰ھ (or 1339 a.c.), that is about twenty years later. Taking a general survey, we see that, at this time, Sultan Ghiydés-ud-Din Tughluq Shah ruled at_Delhi, and his namesake at Herat. Abii Sa'id, the Mongol 11 Khan, ruled over Khurasan during 1317-1334 a.c. Sultan Nasir was the ruler of Egypt. In Spain, Mulik-ut-Tawaif or petty kings continued. Hdward II reigned over England and, in France, we find Charles IV: in Germany, Ludwig of Bavaria. and in Scotland Robert 1. Benedict XII became Pope after the death of John ۰

After Rifichana, his brother-in-law and commanderin-chief, Riwanchandra, also embraced Islam. This example was followed by many nobles, and Islam became so popular that, within the course of two years or so, it could number many adherents.

During his brief reign, Sadr-ud-Din set up many buildings in Kashmir. Immediately after his conversion to Islam, he built, according to the desire of Bulbul Shah, a grand Khanqah.* To this he assigned a number of villages so that the expenses of the Khangah and the needs of those who either resorted to it, or stayed therein for a brief period,

. might be met from their revenue. It is interesting to note that, in course of time, thename of the Khang&h, vzz. Bulbul

Lankar, came to be applied to the locality itself. Malik Haidar Chadura who wrote his history in 1027-80 a.n., durmg the reign of Jahangir, writes of this place: “ The locality is still flourishing and also the Khangah, which has been recently repaired, retains its original condition.”’ Jonaraja’s allusion to

Rifichanpér, the town built by Rifichana apparently refers to the town round about this same locality which is now the Bulbul Lankar mahalla of Srinagar.

A Jami‘ or cathedral mosque was also built by Sadr-udDin. In this, Friday and the usual daily prayers were per-

formed. This indicates the rapidity of the spread of the Muslim faith. * A Khangah, in Kashmir, connotes a mosque, a devotional retteat A Ziydrat is a devotional retreat, or a grave, or a tomb or residence. of a saint.

For his private use, Sultan Sadr-ud-Din had built a palace and a mosque in which the famous Kashmir stone known as Dewar Kaiyn was used. Katyn in Kashmiri means a stone. Khwaja Muhammad A‘zam, who lived in the twelfth century a.H., or the 18th century a.c., writes in his history of Kashmir that “’these stones are still found buried under 040۳08. Both he and Malik Haidar Chadura, who preceded him and lived in the eleventh century a.z., write that the original mosque built by Sultan Sadr-ud-Din was destroyed by fire, and a smaller one, known by the name of King Rintan’s Mosque, was built on the same site. In this the stones of the previous mosque were utilized. We are further told by Khwaja Muhammad A‘zam that it was very much in use also in his time, and that the usual daily prayers were offered init.

It now stands deserted and dilapidated in Bulbul Lankar near the Ziydrat or tomb of Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Amin Uwaisi.

Sultan Sadr-ud-Din's death. The Sultan reigned for three years and one month and nineteen days. During this time, he skilfully organized Kashmir into a corporate kingdom. He passed away on Friday, 25th November, 1323 a.c. (723 a.#.). The death 18 recorded to have been due to a disorder of the windhumour brought about by the bitter cold of winter.* He was buried in a place to the south of the Khangah, Bulbul Lankar, situated between 'Ali Kadal and Nau Kadal, on the right bank of the Jhelum, a little below the Ziydrat of Muhammad Amin Uwaisi, Srinagar. The grave has been declared as a protected monument by His Highness's

Government Notification. dated 2nd September, 1941 a.c., and lies in the Bulbul Lankar mahalla.

The death of Bulbul Shah, the Sultan's spiritual guide, took place on the 7th Rajab, 727 ۵. (1326 a.c.), in the reign of Udayanadeva.

Among the sole survivors of the Sultén's family were his infant son, Haidar Khan, whom Jonaraja calls Haidara, and his queen Kot& Rani who, we have reason to believe, remained a Hindu at heart. Sadr-ud-Din left his son, by a previous arrangement, under the personal supervision

۳ ۳۹ *Reference to the Bhottas or Bhauttas in the Rajataranginé of Kashm ir, Translation and Notes on Sanskrit Text by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, and Notes from Tibetan Records by A. H. Francke.—The Indian Antiqu ary, Bombay, Volume XXXVII, July 1908, p. 186.

and tutelage of his trusted councillor, Shah Mir, whom he had chosen to look after the upbringing and education 0 his son. It was Shah Mir's wife who performed the duties of a foster-mother to the infant king. Hence, the

appellation of foster-father given to Shah Mir by some historians. A further account of Shah Mir will be given in its proper place.

Chaos in Kashmir: Islam suffers a reverse.

After a brief reign as mentioned above, Sultan Sadr-ud-Din, formerly Rifichana or Rintan, passed away having introduced Islam into Kashmir. His infant son, Haidar Khan, being unable to take into his hands the reins of government, Kota Rani was the Queen-Regent. Kota Rani's religion.

It is indeed very strange that, herself being the wife of a staunch Muslim, Kota Rani, later on, adopted a course which throws grave doubts on her adhesion to the Muslim faith. But it is equally impossible to assert with any amount of certainty that she was not a Muslim. After King Rifichana's public conversion to Islam, she could not, in pursuance of the tenets of that creed, remain a Hindu, being the wife of a Muslim, because Islam does not countenance marriage or lawful conjugal relations between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, unless the latter is a Kitahiya It is not conceivable how Sadr-ud-Din, devout Muslim as he was, could have a non-Kitabiya for his wife. If it is said that he tolerated this relationship as a result of his own ignorance, it will also have to be admitted, at the same time, that the charge of conversion of Kota under compulsion has no foundation against Sadr-ud-Din. We may, therefore, assert that considering her safety and station in life to lie in pro-

fessing Islam, Kota Rani might have done so, but remained a Hindu at heart. Anyhow, her subsequent policy leaves no doubt that her profession of Islam had been out of diplomacy.

She invited, from Gandhara,? Udyanadeva, brother 1. In Arabic, one of 'The People of the Book,' used in the feminine gender. 2. Gandhara, the corridor of

India, and now the North-West Frontier Province, was the province of the Kabul valley which included the districts

100 miles east of Nagarahéra of the Kafiristan or Jalalabad,

Lamghin district), Kabul and the (about northern region towards Kihistan, and the district of Gandhara proper, formerly called Purushapura, but at this time Parashawar, and today Peshawar, the last so named by Akbar. ١ of Raja Sahadeva, whom she married. And she invested him with regal authority with the support of Shah Mir. This widow re-marriage, and particularly with her husband's brother, would not be approved of in the ordinary Hindu society of that age though Draupadi marying her husband's brother is a classicalinstance. Itis, therefore, not improbable that Kota was not an out and out Hindu, at any rate.

Udydnadeva's return : his reign from 1323 to 1338 A.C. As a result of Dulcha's invasion and his sojourn in Kashmir in 1319, Udyanadeva had fled to Swat or Gandhara and stayed there till he was recalled and raised to the throne by Shah Mir. Jonaraja's words are: "Shahamera bestowed on Udyanadeva the country of Kashmira together with queen Cri Kota' (p. 24). It was by no means a wise choice, because the Rani's consort was not gifted with the noble qualities generally expected of kings. He was cowardly, and lacked wisdom and ability. The Rani, however, had the foresight to keep authority in her own hands while she allowed her consort to be titular sovereign. Shah Mir and Bhikshana Bhatta or Pacha Bat Kakapuri, the one aS commander of the armies and the other as minister carried on the government of the country. Kota had a son by Udydnadeva, named Bola Ratan, whom she placed under the supervision of Bhikshana who was both a tutor and foster-father of the prince, his wife having served as foster-mother. According to Jonaraja, Shah Mir looked after Haidar

and Bhikshana the other child. And Kota was naturally 'disposed towards both hersons" (p. 26). But as to the future of the two children we know nothing except that Shah Mir "'imprisoned the two sons of the queen" (p. 32).

Invasion by Achala or Urwan or Urdil. Udyanadeva's flight. Soon after Udyanadeva's return and his elevation to kingship, Kashmir had to face another horde of invaders led by Urwan, also called Urdil by some historians, and Achala by Jonaraja. Udyanadeva, as before, sought safety in flight towards Western Tibet or Ladakh. It will not be out of place here to point out that Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta, the author of the Guldasta-i-Kashmir, describes this flight as the result of confusion and dread, on the part of Udyanadeva. He mistook Urwan or Urdil, who had march-

ed across Hiirapdr, the station for entrance and exit from and to the Rajauri direction, for Dulcha.

It 1s, however, remarkable that the Rani was not beset by any such hallucination.

Koté Rani's appeal to her subjects: united resistance and the invader's retreat.

Realizing that she had been deserted by her consort, Kota Rani rallied all her forces. In consultation with:

Shah Mir, she made an appeal to all officials and the people inviting them to offer a united front to the invaders, and so save themselves and the country. In this appeal, she recalled to their minds the deplorable conditions* which prevailed in Kashmir after Dulcha's invasion. This appeal elicited a ready response and aroused feelings of patriotism among the subjects who willingly offered their services for the defence of their motherland. Accordingly, they met the enemy who had to retreat and sue for terms of peace, and was permitted to

leave the country unmolested. It was a great achievement to the credit of 01, who won fame as the courageous queen of Kashmir.

Udydnadeva re-appears in Kashmir. Notwithstanding his base desertion of her, Kota Rani re-called and re-instated her consort on the throne after the enemy had retired from the country. However, the people remained incensed against Udyanadeva and refused him the respect due to a monarch.

Udyanadeva's reign lasted over a period of fifteen years, two months and two days. For this period, historians have recorded nothing but confusion and chaos. It must not be ignored that, in this régime, the councillors were the same as in the previous one. The example of the king, however, was such that their counsel availed the country little. In times of crises, when their counsel did prevail, as on the invasion of Achala, the country benefited. With regard to the retreat of Urwan or Achala, all historians agree in attributing it to Shah Mir's courage and ingenuity. As a result, Shah Mir was allowed a far greater share in the affairs of the country than was ever done before. He had now become the right hand of the Rani and the mainstay of the kingdom during the nominal reign of Udyanadeva. *To rikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadura, MS., page 128.

i30 Kota Rant rules from 1338 to 1339 A.C. Udyanandeva died in 1338 a.c. Kota established herself on the throne and removed the court to the fort له Moreover, in order successfully to execute the duties which now devolved upon her as the sole monarch of Kashmir, she appointed Bhikshana her chief minister, superseding

Shah Mir who naturally raised the standard of revolt. ruled the country for about five months.

Kota, The revolt of Shah Mir needs a little explanation. It is evident from the foregoing account that Udyanandeva was not capable of maintaining himself on his tottering throne without the strong and active support of Shah Mir who had won the hearts of the people by his tact, bravery and resourceiulness. It seems that Kota Rani wanted to checkmate his growing influence by retiring to Andarkot and through Bhikshana, her chief minister. Perhaps, she foresaw

Shah Mir's future ascendancy, and took this step which the latter construed to be tantamount to an open challenge. Shah Mir, therefore, naturally felt insulted at this show of ingratitude, especially considering the services he had rendered and the loyalty he had maintained at a time when he might easily have usurped the throne. Now Kota Rani's ingratitude impelled him to a course of very strong action. The kingdom was falling into chaos and anarchy, and this was another incentive to authority to himself.

Shah Mir to appropriate all Shah 11738 ancestry.

Shah Mir was the son of Tahir and the grandson of Qaur Shih? of whom Jonaraja says he was "' born of noble family." Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad calls him Shah Mir, son of ': Tahir Al, son of Al Shashab bin Karshashab ibn Nikriiz' and refers his ancestry to "Arjun, one of the Pandis." Firishta calls him Shah Mirza. Once, when Shah Mir was wandering in a wood, he fell asleep and saw a dream in which a person predicted to him that his des1. Andarkét, old Andarkdth, and the ancient Jayapiira, the capital of

King Jayapida (764-795 a.c.), the grandson of Lalitaditya, is a village about a mile from Sumbal on the left bank from the bridge over the Jhelum, and five miles below Shadipdr. Andarkét now consists of 143 houses, and has a population of 1,171. All are Muslims, half Shi'as and half Sunnis. Andarkot has the grave of

Sultan Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir in small poky room about 20 feet square, having walls of half-baked ricks.

2. Qaur means iron, or an instrument, or a weapon in Turkish.

cendants would rise to the dignity of the kingship of Kashmir.

It is not difficult to imagine that a prediction like this could not but spur the ambition of Shah Mir who, judging from his position and power, could successfully defy and set aside the authority of the ruling monarch. He had come to Kashmir in the year 1313 a.c., in the reign of Sahadeva, and had known it for these twenty-five years. As we learn from Jonaraja, Shah Mir had grandsons—Shirhshataka (Shir-A4shaimak) and Hinda (Hindal) at this time, we can conclude that he was well advanced in years. The end cf Kota Rani.

Still Shah Mir did not adopt a course of open rebellion. He, at first, sent the twice-widowed queen, proposals of marriage which she rejected with scorn. This refusal of Kota Rani can be explained in several ways. She might have felt an aversion to marry the foster-father of her own son, Haidar Khan, though Islam has not placed any ban on such a union. It is also probable that she might have thought it beneath her dignity to marry a servant of the state. But, then, she had already been the wife of Rifichana, at one time an invader of her country and the murderer of her father, Ramachandra. There could be but one consequence of Kotaé Rani's rejection of Shah Miz's proposals, and this immediately manifested itself. Shah Mir invested Andarkéth now known as Andarkot (the site of King Jayapida's capital, Jayapér or Jayapidapor) with a largearmy. The R&ni's chief minister, Bhikshana, was killed by Shah Mir by a strategem. Her nephew Achaladeva, Rawanchand's son, was only a minor. The majority of her subjects favoured Shah Mir. It was, therefore, small wonder that some of Kota Rani's

adherents deserted her. She had to bow before the supreme will of Shah Mir. She, therefore, yielded a reluctant consent to the espousal. Malik Haidar Chadura is not clear on what exactly happened immediately after Kot&'s marriage. He asserts that the inhabitants of Andark6t corroborate the committal of suicide by Kot& which agrees with Jonaraja* who states that Kot& Rani spent one night as Shah Mir's wife and that the next day—tenth bright lunar day in the month of Shravana in the year 3915 Laukika—she was seized and ۴ putin prison." She may have killed herself in her imprisonment. Her two sons were also imprisoned as we have stated already. (tes

⋆Kings of Kashmira, 1898, Volume III, page .23 [740 to 743 A.A. or 1339 to 1342 A.C.]

Shah Mir, Jonaraja's Cri Shamsadina, ascended the throne, according to Malik Haidar, in the year 753 • (1352 a.c.). Birbal Kachur* places Shah Mir's accession in the year 7438 A.H. (1342 a.c.) and his death in 747 A.H. (13846 a.c.).

Khwaja Muhammad A'zam, in his Wdqi'at-1-Kashmir and Pir Hasan Shah in his Ta'rikh-iKashmir also give the same dates. Malik Haidar Chadura, omits to mention the date of Shah Mir's death. He contents himself with the remark that Shah Mir ruled for three years and five months. This period mostly agrees with that of Jonaréija who says three years and five days, while Abu'l Fazl has two years, eleven months and twenty-five days. Obviously this is an error, and we can safely put the date of Shah Mir's accession at 740 4.H. or 1339 a.c., on the testimony of Jonaraja who gives the date of the deposition of Kota Rani as 10 Shravana Shudi Laukika or old Kashmir Samat 3915 which corresponds with 1339 a.c. Shah و تلاaccession is particularly notable for the fact that it marks the firm establishment of Muslim authority in both its religious and secular aspects in Kashmir. It is true that, with the conversion of Rifichana, Kashmir had come

directly under Islamic influence, but its continuity was broken by the death of that king and consequent chaos under Kota and Udyanadeva. Shah Mir, though a foreigner to Kashmir, it must be set down to his credit, saved Kashmir from foreign aggression. He also saved it from becoming a province of the Tughlugs of Tughlugabad or Delhi. Kashmir may have lost its independence. It is Shah Mir who saved its freedom and his descendants sustained that freedom for over two centuries. assumed the title of Sultan Shams-ud-Din.

Shah Mir Shams-ud-Din's descendants known in Kashmir as Shah Miris, continued to exercise sovereign authority over

Kashmir for over two centuries. Shah Mir's reign was beneficial for Kashmir, as it brought peace and settled

- Pandit Birbal Kachur wrote his History in 1251 a.n. or 1835 a.c., when Kashmir was under Ranjit Singh. Birbal was a great scholar of Persian, and a poet too. Kachur, or Kachru, was added to his name, if appears, on account of his employment under a Pandit family of that name as affirmed by Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai. ١ government, or as Jonaraja says he " assuaged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its condition."' He abolished the exactions of his predecessors. He repaired the rum caused by the invasion and extortion of Julcha whose ravages had left for generations the traces of his incursion. The Sultan by written orders fixed one-sixth of the produce as land-tax. Sultan Shams-ud-Din introduced what is called the Kashmiri era from the accession and conversion of Rifichana in 720 نش, (1320 A.c.), which continued till the advent of Mughul rule in 1586 a.c. in the Valley. This new Kashmiri era officially superseded the old Kashmiri era known as Laukika or Sapt Rishi Era under Hindu rule. This new era was used in State documents and on tombstones, some of which

preserve their inscriptions to this day. I was interested to know that Kashmiri zamind4rs use this Kashmiri calendar even now. It is a luni-solar system, stands at 625 in 1944 ac. or 1363 aH. The Sultan raised two families—the Chaks or Chakrecas or Chakras and Magres or Margeshas of the Chronicles and not Makres of Colonel Haig and others—-to importance and drew from them his generals and soldiers. In the words of Wolseley Haig,? Shah Mir used " wisely and beneficially the power he had acquired. The Hindu kings had been atrocious tyrants, whose avowed policy had been to leave their subjects nothing beyond a 9 subsistence. He ruled on more liberal principles."

The author of the TYa'rkth-i-Hadi, as 1t were, translates Col. Haig in the following couplet :—

I در عدالت دن شمس شاه کرد موشگای ye نظرےسے آو حقEW بود اندر

ستاریخ هادی Shams-ud-Din died on the full moon day of Ashadha in the year 18 Laukika or 1342 a.c. or 743 4.H. The chronooram 1s—

آمده شمس از زر سحاب [The sun, then, came under the cloud.]

The tomb of Sultan Shams-ud-Din at Andark6t near Sumbal was declared a protected monument in 194]. The actual grave 18 about 5 feet long, covered over by latticed wood.

Kings of Kashmira by Jogesh Chunder Doutta, Calcutta, 1898, Vol. 111, page 32.

The Cambridge History of India, 1928, Vol. LIT, page 277.

The people of Andark6t call it the grave of Sultan Badshah, some holy man, little knowing that he was the founder of Muslim rule in Kashmir about whom Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad had said :—

شیر عدل آو خانة گ ظلم شت زیر و زر apفگند بر جهاں یکسر ۳ کشود | سأ یه

زار daو ۰ ۰ الب گشت زار و bO فك sbt رات پادشاه دنن پرور

ehT[از حواچی نظام الدینdel -جلد سوم -سطبقات اکیری و ۲۳۱ صفصی dradnats fo eht ,hahsdaB eht rehsirehC fo eht ,htiaF Cast its mighty shadow over all the world ; ehT sregnessem fo eht yks deyevnoc ehT swen fo sih ecitsuj ot seirtnuoc .lla The body of disturbance became weak and thin, The house of oppression into ruin fell.]*

SULTAN JAMSHID [743 ٨4.77. or 1342 A.C.]

Shams-ud-Din died in his eightieth year. His eldest son, Jamshid, succeeded him in 743 ه.<.or 1342 a.c. But soon after quarrels arose between him and his younger brother 'Ali Sher. These lingered on for some time when Jamshid was defeated at Vantipdr (Avantipur). 'Ali Sher assumed the title of Sultan "Alé-ud-Din in the same year, viz. 743 a.H. (or 1342 a.c.). Jamshid, however, lived for a period of one year and ten months after his dethronement. The Tabagdt-1-Akbart says that Shah Mir had two other sons also, one called Shir Ashaémak and the other named Hindal and they also aspired to greatness. There is little of importance recorded by historians about the short reign of Jamshid except that he built a bridge at Sopodr. The author of the Ta'rtkh-1-Kashmir A'zami gives the names of three saintly anchorites, namely Khalasman, Palasman and Yasman, all brothers, who passed their lives in devotion and retirement.

SULTAN ’ALA-UD-DIN [743 to 755 A.H. or 1342 to 1354 4.0.7 Sultan “Alé-ud-Din reigned for twelve years, eight months and thirteen days. His reign was essentially a period of peace *B. De’s English Translation of the Tabagat-t-Akbari, Vol.III, p. 636.

and internal reform, and aimed at the alleviation of suffering and the amelioration of the hard conditions which were the direct result of Dulcha’s and Achala’s incursions. Towns and cities which had become depopulated were re-populated. A townle bearing the name ‘Alé-ud-dinpér was built at Srinagar. ‘Ala-ud-dinpér subsequently became the name of a mahalla of Srinagar on which the “ Khanq&h-i-Mu‘alla”’ and Malik Afgan wards now stand. The Sultan showed himself in advance of his time in the matter of social legislation when he promulgated a law that no unchaste childless widow should have any share of her husband’s property from her father-in-law. A severe famine occurred during the second year of his reign. The king extended a helping hand to the people of the famime-stricken area with a view to reducing their hardship. Lalla, the hermitess, attracted general notice during this reign. “The great and wise king,” writes Jonaraja,! “‘made Jayapidapura his capital, and built at Cri Rifichanpura, an edifice named Budhagira.”’ Budhagira is now a mahaila or quarter near “Ali Kadal in Srinagar. This edifice built by “Aldé-ud-Din was used as a resting-place for travellers in his time and thereafter, and appears to have been used by traders from Ladakh and Baltistan.

The Sultan passed away in the year 755 ٥٨.۴. (or 1354 A.C.), and was buried in “Alé-ud-dinpdr. He left two sons, namely, Siyimuk—afterwards known as Sultan Shih&b-ud-

Din—and Himdal, afterwards Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. Some historians have called Shihab-ud-Din and Qutb-ud-Din the brothers of Sultan ’Alé-ud-Din. This is

wrong. Shihabud-Din succeeded “Ala-ud-Din.

The Sultanate The adoption of the title of Sult@n by Mushm rulers is somewhat difficult to explain. Sir Thomas Arnold?

contends that the explanation has never been fully given. The word itself occursin the Qur’an merely in the abstract sense of ‘power,’ or ‘authority.’ But, as early as the end of the first century of the Hijra, it was used in Egyptian Papyri as the common expression for the governor of a province.

So, continues Sir Thomas, it came to be applied to an official

Kings, of Kashmira, Vol. IIT, page 37.

The Caliphate bySir Thomas Arnold, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 924, page 202, to whom power had been delegated. As independent rulers set themselves up in the provinces of the empire, it became common among them to adopt the title of ‘Sultan.’ In this respect the Saljiiqs appear to have set the example, though it is commonly asserted that Mahmid of Ghazna (998-1030 a.c.) was the first Muslim potentate of importance to adopt the title. Like many other titles Sulian gained in dignity by being assumed by great and powertul monarchs, while the rulers of petty provinces contented themselves with the words Malik, Khan, etc. The influence of Turkistan, therefore, is apparently responsible for the introduction of the term in Kashmir. The Chaks, however, adopted the title of ‘ Badshah’ in rivalry of the Mughul Emperors of India.

SULTAN SHIHAB-UD-DIN [755 to 775 A.H. or 1354 to 1373 A.C.]

Shihab-ud-Din, Jonaraja’s Shahavadina, succeeded his father, ’Ala-ud-Din, in 755 A.H. (1354 a.c.). Previous to his assumption of the reins of government, he was nicknamed Siyamuk corrupted from Shir-ashimak, the little milk-drinker.

Jonaraja's early names of Shihab-ud-Din are Shirhshataka and Shivasvamika,. or Mir Ashatak of the Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin (Vol. I, p. 194) which should presumably be looked upon as variants of this nickname.

Shihab-ud-Din's reign represents the most glorious period of the sovereignty of the Sultans of Kashmir. It was the period of military prowess shown by the Kashmiris. Sbhihab-ud-Din was the first of the Kashmiri Muslim monarchs who marched out with the purpose of making foreign conquests. He counted as lost those brief periods of time in which he obtained no ‥

" Deer-eyed women attracted not his mind, nor the pleasures of drinking, nor the light of the moon," writes Jonaraja.* Only the march with his army, he continues, occupied the king's attention. "Neither heat nor cold, nor evening nor night, neither hunger nor thirst obstructed his march. When this proud king was on his march, he found no difficulty in crossing unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains and barren deserts."

Shih&ab-ud-Din in Kashmir history figures next to Lalitaditya-Muktapida. "‘ Adorned with pearls and necklace, this king was the most prominent *Kings of Kashmira, Vol. III, page 38, among all the great kings past and future as the central jewel is prominent in the necklace," adds Jonaraja.

Sir Mu-

hammad IqgbAl echoes this view when he says— w FM شاب الندنor اماks سے

ےت و مس ها کل رخت بر بست و شاد سجاوبد ٹامہ srednammoC rednu eht ,ndtluS gnidrocca ot ,ajaranoJ were Chandra Damara or Dar and Laula Damara and Shira. Muslim historians add Sayyid Hasan Bahadur son

The tomb of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's Commanderin-Chief 'Achala or Abdal Rina, known as Malik Sahib, near Chadura, of Sayyid Taj-ud-Din Hamadani, as war minister. Sayyid Hasan, according to the Fatahadt, was the Sultan's son-inlaw. Achala or Abdal Raina or Rina, formerly Achaladeva, son of

Rawanchandra whom we noticed is another addition.

on page 125 Shortly after his accession, Shihab-ud-Din thoroughly re-organized his military forces. The composition of Kashmiri armies must have been furnished by people from the hill-country of Pinch, Rajauri, Bidi! (on the route from Srinagar to Akhniir), and the areas between Muzaffarabad and Baramiila—called Kihistan or the Highlands of Kashmir.

Shihib-ud-Din conquered Tibet, consisting of Great Tibet or Ladakh, and Little Tibet or Baltistan from the ruler of Kashghar. Kishtwar and Jammu were added.

He then proceeded with an army consisting of 50,000 horse and 5,00,000 foot through the Punjab, and encamped on the banks of the Indus where he was opposed by the Jam of Sind (Brigg's Firishta, Volume IV, page 458)

whom he completely defeated.

Probably this Jam Jim Banhatiya who ruled from 1344 to 1359 a.c.

was The history of Sind during this period is not extant and, there-

fore, verification of this victory over Sind by Shihab-ud-Din is not forthcoming from Sind sources. Elliot and Dowson also deplore the gap of this part of Smmd history. (See volume I, page 484). Jonaraja, however, mentions it. Sir Wolseley Haig in the Cambridge History of India (Volume 111. page 278) says: "At the beginning of his reign, he ledan army to the borders of Sind and defeated the Jam on the banks of the Indus." The defeat of the Jam was so crushing that,

when the report reached the kingdoms of Qandahar and Ghazni,! the rulers of those places became apprehensive lest he should next make a descent upon them. Shihab ud-Din, however, took Und, Ohind or Waihind or

Hend—pronounced by the Pathan as Hind.

Und was for-

merly known as Udabhanda, the capitalof Gandh4ra, and is situated 16 miles above Attock. At Peshawar he defeated the Afghans and put to death many of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he marched through the passes of the Hindu-Kush subduing Kashghar, Badakshan and Kabul.

[Here the reader need not be reminded that "‘ the country, now termed Afghanistan, had merely consisted of a congeries of petty States, ruled by tyrannical chiefs who were frequently at war with one another. Later, it became provinces of great empires which were ruled by foreign conquerors and their descendants. Later again, it was a dismembered country, with its provinces held by three neigh-

bouring states "’2—Iran, Turkistén and India.

For the first time in its chequered history, Afghanistan became an independent state under Ahmad Shah Durrani (1724-73)—who by conquering Kashmir, as it were, counterbalanced Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's conquest of Kabul.]

Shih&b-ud-Din raised many columns the course of bis conquest.

of victory in On his return he established a cantonment in the plains on the banks of the Satluj. Here in 1361 a.c. (763 4.H.), he was met by Udakpati, the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra), who had returned from a plundering excursion into

the territory of 77ت Tughlug round Delhi. Udakpati, having come back laden with spoils, placed them at the feet of Shih&b-ud-Din and acknowle1ged

03 1.

Ma'athr-t-Rahimi of Mulli 'Abdul Bagi Nahavandi, Vol. I, page

A Huestory of Afghanistan by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, London, 1940, Vol. I, page 367, fealty to him. It is to this phase of the Kashmiri that Sir Muhammad Iqbal refers—

در ژما ده صف شکن 2چبره و حاناز و بردم بوده است بوده است

It is noteworthy that, after his conquests, Shihab-ud-Din always behaved like a brave soldier, and generously restored the kingdom to his fallen foe.

It is to the credit of Shih&ab-ud-Din that he was not only a great conqueror but a builder too. He founded the towns of (1) Lachhmi-nagar, named after Lakshmi, his queen, at the base of the Hari-parbat, near about where the

Sharikaé-devi temple now stands.

(iz) Shihab-ud-dinpor, the modern Shadipér. Shihabp6r, now called, according to Hasan, Shihampor, a mahalla of Srinagar is also attzibuted to him. Onthe 28th Khurdad, Akbar went to visit Shihab-ud-dinpér. "This is a delightful spot on the bank of the Bihat," writes Abu'l Fazl in the Akbar-ndma.1

'The planes there raise their heads to the sky and the verdure enchants the eye." 'This village (Shihab-uddinpor) is one of the celebrated places of Kashmir and is on the Bihat," wrote Jahangir too. "About a hundred plane trees (Chinar) of graceful form clustered together on one plot of ground, pleasant and green, join each other so as to shade the whole plot, and the whole surface of the ground is

grass and trefoil, so much so that to laya carpet on it would be superfluous and in bad taste.'"?

For his soldiers Shihab-ud-Din constructed barracks.

He sedulously resumed the repairs of his father of the devastations caused by the invasions of Dulcha and Achala which had impoverished the country. Land revenue was properly assessed. The Sultan became the murid of Sayyid Taj-ud-Din deputed by Shah Hamadan, encouraged learning, and practised just administration of laws for all.

Shihib-ud-Din's indignation at the suggestion of Udayagri, his prime minister, to melt the brass image of the Brihadbuddha (Great Buddha) and coin the metal nto money is eloquent of the tolerant character of his rule. The Sultan's 1. English Translation by H. Beveridge, 1.c.s. (Rtd.), Calcutta, 1939, Vol. 111, page 829.

The Tizuk-i-Jahaingirt or Memoirs of Jahangir, English Trans-

lation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, Vol. I, page 94.

ministers mentioned by Jonaraja are Kottabhatta (a descendant of Muktapida's minister) and Udayacri. Kottabhatta received many favours from the Sultan, but subsequently renounced the world and entered a forest. Udayacriis mentioned often. Possibly he was the chief minister, at any rate, after the renunciation of Kottabhatta. Udayagri is mentioned by Jonaraja as "'inimical to gods" and may, therefore, be supposed to have been a Muslim.

Hindal, the Sultan's younger brother, was made heirapparent. Shihab-ud-Din's two sons, Hasan Khan and

“Ali Khan, fled to Delhi, having been declared outlaws, and expelled from the kingdom at the instigation of the Sultan’s second wife, Lasa. Lasa was the daughter of queen Lakcmi’s sister.

She must have been beautiful indeed to supplant her mother’s sister as the sweetheart ofthe Sultan. Jealousy then naturally marred the relationship between the aunt and the niece with the consequence that the old queen saw the sending away of her beloved sons into exile. Although, at last, Shihab-ud-Din wrote letters with his own hand to his sons to come back to him, they did not come in time. The crown, therefore, passed on to Hindal.

Sultan Shihab-ud-Din reigned for about nineteen years. He ‘cheered celestial beauties by his embraces,’ 7.e., died in 775 A.H. (1873 A.c.), and is believed to be buried under the sub-post office at Maharaj Ganj in Srinagar. For this the authority is no less than Khwaja A‘zam Didamari who says that the site was in the neighbourhood of Bad Shah’s grave, and that there was a dome over the grave of Shihab-ud-Din which had partly fallen down in his time. It is indeed sad that such a great Sultan— the pride and ornament of the entire royalty of Kashmir— should have his grave covered over by the chair of a petty postmaster! If sc, no greater insult to the national pride of the Kashmiri can possibly be conceived !

Shihab-ud-Din was loved at home for his just and humane administration, and feared abroad for the valour of his arm and the strength of his armies. His rule raised Kashmir and the Kashmiris to great power. Jammu, Tibet, the Punjib, Sind, Nagarkét (Kangra}, Ghazni, Qandahar, Kashghar and Badakhshan were subdued by him and gave him allegiance. powerful as a

Shib&b-ud-Din.

conquering Kashmiris were never so nation after the death of

Sir Muiammad 10021 line and Pandit Jonaraja's statement are thus an eminently deserved tribute to the greatness of a great sovereign.

But looking at the present-day condition of the Kashmiri, his military might under Sultan Shihab-ud-Din reads like a myth! It is a humiliating transition from conquest to cowardice during the course of six centuries. The position of the Kashmiri people could never be more deorading than that the present descendant of the former Raja of Jammu (whom we found above a tributary of Kashmir), now His Highness the Maharaj& Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, should ridicule the idea of raising a Kashmiri regiment as requiring 'police protection for its march' when His Highness' Army Member* pleaded for the enlistment of Kashmiris in His Highness' army !

فاعتبروا يا أولى الابصار [So learn a lesson, O ye, who have eyes !]

More of this the reader will find in the relevant section of Military Administration under Muslim Rule in Chapter X of Kashir.

SULTAN QUTB-UD-DIN [775 to 791 A.H. or 1378 to 1389 A.C.]

On the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, his brother, Hindal, ascended the throne in 775 4.H. (1389 a.c.) under the title of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. Hasan Khan, Shih&b-udDin's eldest son, along with his younger brother 'Ali Khan, had already been exiled by his father as we' know. But the new ruler showed his generous-mindedness by inviting prince Hasan Khan to become heir-apparent. Firishta says that Qutb-ud-Din was remarkable for his zealous attention to public business which he transacted in person with justice and moderation.

The Sultan's reign was disturbed when Lohara revolted. Lohara is the mountain district formed by the couthern slopes of the Pir-Pantsal near Tosha-maidan. Sultan Mahmiid of Ghazni's invasion of Kashmir was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of Lohkot, the castle of Lohara.

Qutb-ud-Dindeputed his commander سب * Recollections: 50 Years in the Service of India by Mr. G. E. 0. Wake-

field, Lahore, 1943, page 194.

Damara Lolaka with a force to reduce it. The royal force was routed. The commander was killed, and was buried, to use Jonaraja's* words, according to " the last rite of the Yavanas," which shows that the commander was a Muslim though the name looks like that of a non-Muslim. An event of great importance in this reign was the birth of Shaikh Ntr-ud-Din, the Patron-Saint of Kashmir, in 779 A.H. (1377 a.c.).. A note on his life has appeared in

Chapter III.

Udayagri, the latter-day premier of Sultan Shihab-udDin, either on account of loyalty to his old Sultan, or to gain and retain power in his own hands, conceived the conspiracy of dethroning Qutb-ud-Din and of setting up Prince Hasan Khan instead. But the conspiracy fizzled out. Udayag¢ri was imprisoned and then beheaded. The prince fled the country.

Mir Sayyid "Ali Hamadani. about whom details appear in Chapter III, arrived for the second time in Srinagar in 781

لد.(1379 A.c.), and was received with great fervour.

Under the influence of the great Sayyid, the Sultan gave more of his time to meditation and prayer, and became a great Sifi poet with the nom de plume

“Qutb.” The Sayyid bestowed on the Sultan his own cap which Qutb-ud-Din wore in his roval crown. Famine occurred more than once during the time of the Sultan, but he successfully coped with the situation by his generosity and relieved the people from starvation.

He founded Qutb-ud-

dinpér on which two mahallas of Srinagar, viz. Langarhatta and Pir Haji Muhammad, now stand.

Qutb-ud-Din was now old.

He had no gon.

The queen, at last, gave birth to a son “ who was the ornament of the family and the delight of his father and was like a feast after a fast.” Jonaraja calls the child Shrinagara, an ornament or decoration (p. 53).

The Tabagdt calls him on, calls him Shakandhara (p. 54).

This is the child who Sikar, p2rhaps, a corruption of Sikandar. Jonaraja, furthe r becomes known as Sikandar. In the festivities which were held on the occasion, the Sultan, out of the gladness of his heart, ordered the release of prisoners. The queen later gave birth to another son named Haibat. *Kings of Kashmira, Volume III, page ·

Qutb-ud-Din died after having reigned for a period of fifteen years in 791 A.H. (1389 a.c.). The two sons left were both infants.! Sultan Sikandar succeeded him. This is the year in which Malik Sarwar founded the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur, and Timi occupied Baghdad.

The tomb of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din m Qutb-ud-dinpGr or Langarhatta, near the zzy¢rat of Pir Haji Muhammad Sahib, Srinagar, is a protected monument.

SULTAN SIKANDAR [79] to 816 1.1. or 1389 Λ0 1413 11.01]

Sikandar ascended the throne in 791 a.H. (1389 A.C.), when Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, was king of England. Sikandar's rule was also contemporaneous with that of Henry IV and Henry ·

Sikandar's mother Hauri® was a source of considerable strength to him in the earlier part of his reign on account of his infancy. As Jonaraja uses the word infant, Sikandar may possibly have been, at the most, about under eight years of age at his accession. A lady of remarkable personality and strength of character, Haura dealt with all opposition and struck terror into the hearts of malefactors. She even went to the extreme of putting an end to the lives of her daughter and son-in-law, Shah Muhammad, thereby nipping in the bud a rebellion which the latter was secretly instigating and which might have proved formidable.

We are told that Sikandar, on achieving majority, was particularly inclined towards militarism which led to a complete transformation of his army. It is also stated that his military undertakings were seldom unsuccessful. His invasion of North-West India in 1395 a.c., was creditable to his military organization. He accordingly subdued

Ohind and married Mira, the daughter of its chief, · 'Subhata or Cobhai or Cri Cobh&a Mahadevi, the sister of Khufijyaraja, was the Sultan's wife but she was, it appears, at this time childless... Later on, she was the mother of prince Firiiz whom Sikandar "exiled in order to

Kings of Kashmira, Volume ITI, page 54. Firishta gives her name as Siira Begam.

prevent a commotion. At another place Jonaraja‘ calls Cobhi Mahadevi’s two sons “adopted children.” Mira was the mother of three sons. the second of whom Shahi Khan was destined to become Bad Shah or_the ‘Great Sovereign’ known in historv as Sultan “Zain-ul-‘ Abidin.

Sikandar, sharing the tendency of the age, seems to have possessed a passion for enforcing religious law in all state affairs. His justice and passionate desire for religious uniformity are shown in the following lines of a poet of which the last also gives the year of his accession?—

« عادل ho داجگر چه بوده زکفر چوں شب JI کەزری یافت سرفراز ی تاج ۰ سکندر

I شاه 9 روسن ماك! دشرم وست از سم شر ر دو < اج رو داده4 bad”عقل ے تار سال شاعلناش vt. تر ۳ ہس Along with his vigorous spirit Sikandar’s sagacity and tact were of no mean order. His brother Haibat’s death by poison was believed to have heen caused by Ray Magre, the minister. The king, observing the influence of this minister, delayed revenge. Ray Mere, feeling that he had been suspected, induced his royal master to give him permission to punish the insurgents in Little Tibet. The minister’s aim was to secure for himself a principality which would place him bevond the reach ofthe king’s vengeance, The king, on the other hand, hoped to get rid of his minister by sending him on a military expedition. Success attended the arms of Ray Magre which raised his reputation and strength.

Feeling himself safe, he proclaimed his inde-

pendence. The king seized this opportunity, marched with an army and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. The minister was seized and soon diedin prison.

The king's attention was then occupiedin restoring orderinthe regained principality of Little Tibet. Timir's invasion of India.

Sikandar.

Exchange of courtesy with When Timir descended upon India, Sikandar acted wisely in sending his representative to him, because he was aware of the terrible fate of those princes who had tried to stem the tide of Timir's march by offering resistance. 1م

Kings of Kashmira, page 59, also page .46 Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadura, page .831

According to the Zafar-ndma, Timir, through his grandson Rustam, and Mu'tamad Zain-ud-Din, his envoy, sent from Delhi a robe of honour of gold embroidery to Sikandar as a mark of favour. Thus there opened up between the two monarchs means of mutual relations. Maulana Nir-ud-Din Badakhshi, a distinguished follower of Shah Hamadan, was deputed by Sikandar, to take costly presents to Timir. In acknowledgement,

Timir sent a message expressing his desire to see Sikandar. Certain nobles of Timiir's entourage, however, sent word that Sikandar should also keep in readiness thirty thousand horses and one lakh of gold coins as a present to the great conqueror. Sikandar engaged himself in arranging for the present which Timiir's nobles had desired to be kept in readiness. Naturally the disclosure of this exorbitant demand brought Timiir's anger on their head. Sikandar, however,proceeded to meet Timir on the bank of the Indus on the 13th of Rajab 801 a.H. (1398 4.c.). In the meantime, Timir had crossed the Indus and was proceeding towards

Samargand. Sikandar, therefore, returned to Kashmir having gone only as far as Baramiila. It is said that he then deputed his son prince Shahi Khan, afterwards Sultan Zain-

ul-'Abidin, to strengthen the relations of friendship existing between Timiir and himself. But there is no mention of this deputation in any contemporary history as the prince obviously must have been unborn then, Bad Shah having been born in 1401 a.c. or 804 ۵.1. But what is a fact, according to the Tabagdt-i-Akbarz, is that Sikandar sent his ambassadors with much tribute to Timi. The Sultan's subjects greatly benefited from the remission by him of two imposts and taxes, namely, the Bay and the Tamgha.*

Sikandar's patronage of learning. Although Sikandar himself had not received the benefit of a liberal education, his patronage of letters attracted scholars from all parts of Asia chiefly from Khurasan, *A tax which was levied upon all irrespective of nationality and teligion. The exact nature of the tax has not been explained anywhere.

Blochman and Briggs translatethe tamgha as "inland tolls." A local living historian is of the opinion that the 6a should be considered to have been the nazrana which every one had to present to the Sultan on seeing him, and is customary in Indian States to this day. His Exalted Highness the Nizém of Hydarabad abolished it some years ago. I, however, agree with Blochman and Briggs, and the taxes should be understood to be road dues, duties, or an impost.

Mavara-an-Nahr(Trans-oxiana) and 'Irag. The most notable person among these scholars was Maulana Afzal? who hailed from Bukhara and was, on his arrival, placed at the head of the grand college opposite to the Jami'Masjid which Sikandar built. Maulana Afzal? passed all his life in lecturing to students. The king had assigned to him the village of Nagam for his maintenance. The

Maulana was buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Sayyid Taj-ud-Din, in Shih4b-uddinpér. Sayyid Muhammad Madani was a foreign envoy and a great scholar who chose to live in Kashmir on account of the Sultan's patronage of learning, and died during Bad Shah's reign. His tomb was built by Bad Shah.

Sikandar's zeal for religion. Being himself a staunch Muslim who carefully conformed to all that his religion reqnired of him, Sikandar put an end to those practices which were contrary to the Shari'at or the law of Islam. The sale and distillation of wine, sutiee, gambling, prostitution and neutcles were accordingly tabooed. The "tamgha"" tax, to which reference has already been made above, was abolished. Islamic courts of justice wereestablished and upright and learned judges were appointed.

Architecture of Stkandar's time. Besides his zeal for religion and sound administration, Sikandar also had a passion for buildings as did Firiiz Shah among the Tughluq Sultans of India. Many mosques, madrasas and hospices were built in his time. The first building he erected was the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla on the Chillah-Khana or the place of retreat and devotion of Mir Sayyid "Ali Hamadani in Srinagar in 798 Λ.5, (1395 a.c.). The Khanqgah-i-'Ala at Tral, near Vantip6r, the Khanqahi-Wala im Wachi, pargana Shavara, and the Khanqab-iKubrawi in Matan are other instances.

Sikandar also built the Jami' Masjid orgrand mosque in which mosaic work was executed without any remuneration by two well-known mosaic workers, Sayyid Muhammad of

Liiristan? and Sayyid Sadr-ud-Din of Khurasan, both old companions of the great Shah Hamadan. The mosque contained 372 columns, each 40 cubits in height, and 6 in

باThe Ta’vikh-1-Kabtr, page 290.

Linstin is a province in Western [rin.

Liristén is Khurramabid.

The chief town of For Khurdsan see footnote to page 110.

قا circumference. Besides these structures, Sikandar set up many others ۶دwhich the site and ruins cannot be traced today.

Sikandar’s regard for Sayyid Muhammad Hamaddant. Savvid Muhammad Hamadani, the son of Shah Hamadan, accompanied by about three hundred, or according to some historians, seven hundred followers, came to Kashmir, and the Sultan too became one of his disciples. ر دن داد ! ا رو< گشمر در iad

کس هرpu | و Je| .a سرت وrr ولسد رد عاشاش کر -

سل 5و ومسلمان چناں کرت The Sultan was now fired with a zeal to change the character of his rule into an Islamic administration. and a considerable advance was made in this direction. As his orders to this end were carried out either by recent converts to Islam or other officials, it may be presumed that these converts and officials were not actuated only by zeal for the faith, many offences must have been committed which may have wounded the susceptibilities of the Hindus. The saint, Sayyid Muhammad, on being apprised ,told the king that all that was done either at his bidding, or through his connivance, was not sanctioned by Islam, which relied more on personal example and love than violence for its propagation. These words so impressed the Sultan that he at once put an end to these activities.

Sikandar's death. Sikandar's reign lasted for nearly twenty-four years though much of this—about twelve years at least—was spent under the regency of the dowager-queen Haura and of Malik Saif-ud-Din. When Sikandar contracted a violent fever he summoned his three sons (i) Mir Khan, (7) Shah Rukh, as noted in the Fatahdat-i-Kubrawiyya, or, according to Jonarija, Shahi Khan and (772) Muhammad Khan, and exhorted them to avoid strife and remain united after him. He announced as his successor Mir Khan whom he invested with tlie title of 'Ali Shah and passed away on the 22nd of Muharram, 816 4.H. (1413 a.c.).
ose و یش خفتن ممشام و boےکم

an ۰ انی edA og é درو یش ۹ho فا طس حسم ۰ عشر ین

as شش ز ہے و شد از دار ۰ تی۱ هرت هشصد وده ر فت و هم

lad Ww سید Sikandar was buried in the northern پبہقی اطذخلص بی درویشی side of the premises once occupied by the Lui Shortemple. The graveyard is known as the Mazar-us-Salatin, in Maharaj Ganj, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. In the West, this was four years before the battle of Agincourt. In India Khizr Khan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, ascended the throne of Delhi one year after. The poet Mulla 'Abdur Rahmin also a vear later.

Jami was born Sthandar's share wn the persecution of Hindus. Lieutenant Newall! says that partly by the influence of Timiir and partly, no doubt, urged by the fanatic Muslims who had lately entered his country, Sikandar was, about this period, instigated to religious persecution. He began to force his subjects to abjure idolatry and thereby acquired the surname of ' Butshikan' (not Buishikast, as Stein puts it, in his English Translation of the Rajatarangint, Vol. I, page 131) or the iconoclast. Sir Wolseley Haig calls him 'a ferocious bigot."

These remarks will, no doubt, give one the impression that the Sultan himself was responsible for all this persecution and destruction of temples. It cannot be gainsaid that the advent, into his country, of Muslim doctors and preachers and other immigrants had infused a new spirit in him to propagate his faith. He was, however, outdistanced in this matter by Sihabhatta, his chief minister, who subsequently embraced Islam and was re-named Malik Saif-ud-Din. The versifier refers to his conversion at the hands of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani— w

-0-۰۳ فان شد ز سید! مشرن s سے

é صےءے شد مك سیف دین دگر نامش و و او چو نشجاعت ثم ود اسلامش

۳ ha ولاشbA و اقب و یش خو امه پیوند بدین شد The persecution of the people and the demolition of temples took place at the hands of this zealot and other converts.

4 Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir by Lieutenant D. J. ¥. Newall, of the Bengal Artillery, The Journal of the Asiatic Society ژهBengal, No. 5, 1854, page 413. 2. Phe Cambridge History of India, Volume III, page 280.

They faith.

149 were relentless against the adherents of their old In the words of Chas. J. Rodgers,* the minister's zeal in the persecution of his former co- religionists has seldom been equalled in the history of religious | proselytes.

At his instance, orders must have been issued in the name of the Sultan for the destruction of some important temples, forbidding the use of the Tika (vermilion mark)

on the head, and also for enforcing the abolition of • For, Sikandar himself was, on his contemporary Jonaraja's testimony, an infant at his accession, and Sitithabhatta the

Regent, wielding all power. And Suhabhatta continued in the office of the Kashmir Vizirat, according to Hasan, for forty years. Sikandar's reign lasted for 24 years. Even if we suppose Sikandar's age to be eight on succeeding his father, Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, it is only from about eighteen to twenty that he may have become personally responsible for administration for about twelve years in a life lasting 32 years in all. On moral as well as humanitarlan grounds, we cannot blame Sikandar for abolishing the practice of Sutiee. Asa matter of fact, he only forestalled Akbar and Bentinckin this respect. Sikandar cannot also be blamed for attempting a dry Kashmir either. But one cannot entirely exonerate him from the heavy res-

ponsibility of countenancing the religious persecution practised by his ministers and officials, who were, at least, men of his choice or under his complete controlin the latter part of his brief reign. We must not, however, omit to mention that Sikandar's age was the age of religious persecution. It1s a strange coincidence that his rule should have been contemporaneous with the persecution of the Lollards in England. In the words of H. G. Wells, the Council of Constance in 1414-1418 adopted " methods which jar with (ste) our modern consciences." Wycliffe's bones were condemned to be burnt. Huss was decoyed and burnt alive in 1415. Jerome of Prague was burntin the following year. Pope Martin V issued a bull proclaiming a crusade for the destruction of the Wycliffites, Hussites and other heretics. Mary, the first queen regnant in the history of England from 1553 to 1558 a.c., earned the soubriquet of " Bloody " Mary for her unfortunate habit of causing people to be burnt at the stake.

*The Square Stlver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir by Chas. J. Rodgers, Principal, Normal College, Amritsar, J.A.9.B., Volume LIV,

Part؟1 No. 2, 1885, page 101, In our own day, in 1933-39, the cultured Germans— the nation of scientists and philosophers—persecuted the

Jews who have lived on German soil for over 1,500 years and banned their children from educational institutions. Dr. J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi, wrote to the London Times in April 19383: “ The ruthless elimination of the German Jew from the public, the professional, and the social life of his native land continues unabated. Neither achievement nor position nor lifetime of service is of any avail against summary dismissal. Hosts of professional men—physicians, judges, lawyers, civil servants, teachers, journalists, musicians, actors—are thus being robbed of their livelihood, and are doomed in heart-breaking numbers to sink into indigence. Alongside of this deprivation of civic rights, there is an unbelievable trampling underfoot of the human dignity of every Jew and Jewess in that land. Thus, in the Nazi Press, and by means of every form of Government propaganda, Jews are constantly branded as ‘traitors’ to their Fatherland—though no fewer than 12,000 German

Jews laid down their lives for their country in the Great War. Jewish emigrants are permitted to take only onetenth of their property out of Germany. Jewish booksellers may only sell Jewish books to Jewish customers. Jews are to sit on separate benches in public parks.

“The Nuremberg decrees deprive the German Jew of all political rights. No “ non-Aryan” can become a Reich citizen, vote or hold a Government post. Marriage between Jews and “ Aryans ”’ is forbidden, and extra-marital relations are a criminal offence.

Jews may not fly the German flag.

The names of Jewish fallen, it has since been ordered, must not be inscribed on German war memorials. Although twelve thousand Jews died for Germany in the War, they may not serve in the army. The social degradation of the Jews, and the economic discrimination against them that began with the Nazi régime has, therefore, been given a legal and permanent basis. In some smaller towns and villages, German shopkeepers have been ordered not to sell them food. The “ Aryan’? who does business with a Jew incurs the wrath of the local Nazi caucus. Jews must not own land but if they try to sell their land, “ Aryans ” must not buy from them.”

1 م,1938 “ pitiable stories were arriving of the state of eht naizisuA ,sweJ ohw rebmun ,000,002 dna rof on emirc except their Semitic origin, were being reduced to beggary. Ninety per cent. of their shops were taken over. Bereft of a livelihood yet unable to leave the country, they were treated like cattle by the ruling classes. During a period of four days, burials in Jewish cemeteries in Vienna were said to have averaged 140 daily, against a normal average of 4. A decade ago, cruelty and ruthless oppression, such as is now being practised in Austria, would have sent a wave of horrified indignation round the world: but during the last five vears so much that is atrocious has happened in Abyssinia, in China. in Spain and elsewhere that humanity’s capacity for long-range syinpathy with the misfortunes of others has become dulled. Emotions tend to be reserved for events and persons nearer home.” {It must not be misunderstood that the object of reproducing the above letter of Dr. Hertz isto shield Saif-ud-Din or Sikandar in any way. Despite bloody wars between England and France or England and Germany or other Western countries, these great nations forget each other’s wrongs in about a quarter ofa century.

But in Kashmir even five centuries are not sufficient to efface unpleasant memories of old events.

The great Encyclopadia Britannica, that mentions only one Muslim ruler in the whole history of Kashmir, singles out poor Sikandar for the destruction of temples, vide its 14th Edition, 1929, Volume 13, page 290, paragraph 4.]

We must not forget that Sikandar's first minister was a Hindu—Ray Magre,—[ealled in De's English: Translation of the Tabagdat, p. 644, footnote, Ray Madari]}—who poisoned his brother Haibut Khan. Not only this. According to Jonaraja, Sikandar married a Hindu lady Sublata or Cri Cobh& Mahadevi, and his commander-in-chief was a Hindu Brahman who was converted to Islam by Mir Muhammad Hamadani. The Sultan was, in no way, bound to keep a Hindu wife, a Hindu minister, or a Hindu commander-in-chief. He could invite prominent Muslims for his two most important offices, if he so desired. Herein we get conclusive proof to the effect that he was not a stark bigot, as some Hindu and other historians or writers have tried to paint him, clean forgetting the outrageously sacrilegious treatment of idols, temples and Bhattas and Brahmars by rulers like Jayapida, Camkravarman, Abhimanyu or Harsha Chapter ITI, or Rajadeva, referrea to before in

According to Lawrence, Sikandar was "brave and cultured." "Sikandar," in the words of Rodgers, was an exceedingly generous man.

Hearing of this, learned wen froin "Trig and Khurasain and Mavara-un-Nahr (Trans-

oxiana) flocked to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of those provinces." The prosperity of Kashmir in Sikandar's time can be proved from the fact that there were 100,000 villages. This testimony, to use the

words of Stein, is “accurate and matter of fact,” based on the record in 1400 a.c.? of Sharaf-ud-Din ’Ali Yazdi, the historian of Timir, whose contemporary Sikandar was.

۲sla خاص sle که مایوس را گشت حرماں حرام چنان ضتش زد صلاه کم دشuC

سوم۔ صفعی tta مد از بس که اسلام رونق گرفت aN 155 طبقات{His noble spirit such generosity proclaimed, That even to the hopeless despair forbidden became. When Islam such resplendence gained

His door the sacred shrine of high and low became.—B.De.] Such a man ill-deserves the wild condemnation that is heaped on his head! He wasa thousand times very much more humane than Harsha and others whom nobody ever maligns publicly, so loudly, 30 repeatedly, and so pungently. Sikandar’s name and a few of his misdeeds should not constitute a cause for any serious ill-feeling that they are made so often.

And so the late Mr. Brajendranath De® (1852-1932), M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.8., Boden Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford University in 1875, ex-Commissioner, Burdwan Division,

Bengal, the painstaking translator of the Tabagdt-i-Akbari, wrote :—“ There is a great deal in Jonaraja about the

The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Stein’s English Translation of the Rajatarangint, Vol. 1آ,pages

1 De’s English Translation, Volume III, page 648, footn ote (1).

Vol. LIV, part I, No. 2, 1885, page 101.

Kashmir, J.

A.

7 Kesha, JF. A. 8. Be breaking of images, but I have not been able to find any mention of the demolition of the temples."

Here one may pause to say a word on why there should be so much hitterness on the breaking of idols or images. The Muslim is not alone in breaking idols. The argument of the Christians was " the absurdity of a man making an idol and then adoring it or being afraid of the work of his own hands."' Even amongst the Hindus " the universality of image-worship . . . is comparatively modern." The ancient Vedic religion did not admit images. Like the worship of the cow, it is a subsequent development in Hindu religious practice and not an inherent or integral part of this great and ancient religion. For, after all, Kabir-panthis,

Sikhs, Brahmo Samajis, Arya-Samajis, Radhaswami Satsangis discard idolatry. And yet they remain Hindus! In my boyhood, Sardar Ariir Singh, the Manager of the great Golden Temple of Amritsar, threw away all the idols from this seat of Sikh worship.

And he was never dubbed an idol-breakeroreven an idol-remover! Thefact is that the study of the Vedanta is leading to the rejection of the

Puranic scheme of Hinduism. As Kashmiris became converts to Islam during the period under discussion, they themselves did not feel the necessity of preserving them intact. It was but a simple economic proposition that, by their conversion they should convert their sacred places to the new mode of worship. God to them was there. The place was there. It was a change of manner of worshipping thatGod in that place. This was effected by removing the idols and

making a niche towards the Ka‘ba. It is true it did hurt the feelings of the no-changers at the time: it ;wounded their susceptibilities. But why should happenings of five centuries be still the cause of bitterness

Why should ill-feelings be harboured to this day between brother and brother as all Kashmiris are sons of the same soil? What Islamdid, in the language of Si Mu. ...اعمدد Iqbal, is

آدی آزاد زیر تو هم سے ہڑا [Man was freed from the fetters of superstition.]

Malik Haidar Chadura has preserved in the pages of his history* the following elegy on Sultan Sikandar’s death : “Malik Haidar’s History of Kashmir, page 152.

KASHIR feB tiwa tie . ۱ 4 ۰ ۳ مہ مان xکرے7 شاو مان 4 1 وسوورو teeb = ۳ ۸ oe sEPسرت

سے nitaہس یچین مشاہ سس سوار ھت میدان ول ریت کے کوئے دح

7 ۱ _ 5 se و دوجو بن ےی نات مرو برعاش سان دو ھو

Ve)SWA ytiCe Lieوحار۶ ول دوان ام ار شا رم729ست

”cib epiP 007 5 pe وشوو کہ جب obA ہر سار ہد ڈوار راد ت گیل بل ج

جس ککوف دو انل 0 رو سی FILE سے ۰ یار lfe reyeW geiiebnU 3
fS o peeیشیر ویسر دسر ۳۰ تار ڑم ریم سچ زان رگید

شر hyیای ترا وروی = ۰ و > سرا برا روصمعمر رت4

میا ۰ * اب F ۰ث taGلس assylA زود ۸روم »سو دام Ssجم

ہج ار lesihc ظ ۰ جم ⋆ ۰ ہے وزیں ماروا ہد یئم

رز ۱۱ ۵ہب۰ با si ۶رت ہار yeHرس اون هرا آیاد ۳ elS ہشمعت +۶عبرت Note._—
In the 6th line from the bottom, the reading isa suggestion from a scholar.دلحیرت ی

instead of SULTAN ’ALI SHAH [816 to 823 4.7. or 1413 to 1420 A.C.] Mir Khan, surnamed ’Ali Shah, whom Chas. J. Rogers wrongly calls ’Ali Sher, succeeded to his father’s dominions in 816 a.H. (1413 ac.). Very littl is known about his reign. Firishta records that this king also had Sihabhatta fer his minister, who continued, according to the Tabagat-tAkbari, for four years in office, and kept up his campaign of coaversion till he died of internal hemorrhage, or, according to the Tabagat, of consumption and is believed to be buried in what is now known as mahailla Saif-ud-dinpor on the N&la-i-Mar in Srinagar. Inall, Sihabhatta— Saif-ud-Din—was minister for forty years as noted by Hasan. The king thereupon appointed his own brother Shahi Khan in his place. Shortly after this, the king resolved to proceed to Mecca on a pilgrimage. The A’in-1-Akbari says ’Ali Shah went on a pilgrimage. Firishta says he went on world travel and so does the ۲۵۵۵961. But the giving away of charity confirms the view of the A’in-1Akbari, and as Jonaraja puts it “‘ gave out valuable jewels from the treasury and beautiful horses.’t ’Ali Shah entrusted his kingdom to the care of his brother? Shahi

Khan, and proceeded to bid goodbye to the ruler of Jammu. The ruler of Jammu who was converted to Islam by Timiir, was ‘Ali Shah’s* father-in-law. On ‘Ali Sh&h’s arrival there, he remonstrated with him for relinquishing the throne. The Sultan changed his mind. Assisted by his father-in-law and the raja of Rajauri, he now tried to recover his throne. All three advanced by way of Pakhli, whereupon his brother Shahi Khan, being defeated at Ur’, left Kashmir and

went over to Sialk6t to Jasarat Khan, the Chief of Gakkhars (or Khakar). Jasarat, 1. Kings of Kashmira, page 71. places ” makes the object ce ta‘n.

Also tha words “visiting ho y 2, Malik Haidar Chadura mentions only one brother, namely, Shahi Khan to be the person to whom ’Ali Shah left his kingdom. Firishta mentions the other brother also.—See Briggs, Vol. IV, page 467. 3. Malik Haidar Chadura, page 142. His statement is based on the authority of Maulana Nadiri, a contemporary of Sultin Zain-ul-’Abidin. 4. The father-in-law of ’Ali Shih is said to have been converted to islam by Timitir.—Hutchison and Vig2!, Journal of the Panjab Historical Socvety, Vol. VII, page 117.

after the death of Timir, had returned in 1405 from his captivity in Samargand brought about by his own failure to keep his promise to aid Timtr in his invasion of India and for plundering his baggage.

Jas&rat Khan was at this tim: extending his influence in the Punjab.

Historians are at variance about this fratricidal contest. Firishta asserts that Sultan ’Ali Shah was, at first, successful even at Sialkét.1 Then Shahi Khan and Jasarat Khan Gakkhar succeeded in defeating and taking ’Ali Shah prisoner. ’Ali Shah subsequently died at Chadura.?

The grave of Sultan ’Ali Shah in Tssdur or Chadur on the Srinagar-Charar Road.

The final result was 823 a.n.

the passing of or 1420 a.c.

into the kingdom m the year the hands ۳ it.

“Ali Shah reigned for six years and nine months.

of Shahi Khan—and not Shady Khan as Briggs has wrongly only event of importance is the loss of Little Tibet

2. ی بت هم by Malik Haidar Chagura, page 149.

Briggs' Firishta, Vol. IV, page 468.

which was, no doubt, due to the incompetence of "Ali Shah. The death of Kabir in India is recorded in this same year of the dethronement of Sultan 'Ali Shah.

SULTAN ZAIN-UL-'ABIDIN [823 to 874 4.7. or 1420 to 1470 A.C.] With the assumption, in June 1420 a.c., at the age of

19, of sovercignty by S.ltin Zain-ul-'Abidin, literally, the

Ornament of the Adorers, or the Glory of the Devout, there opened up an era of peace, prosperity and expansion for Kashmir. This reign extending over 50 solar or over 51 lunar years constituted a climax never attained by any other independent king in Kashmir.

As Shah Rukh or Shahi Khan, Bad Shah had his education under Maulani Kabir. Zain-ul-'Abidin was noted early in life for his abilities, had already been minister to his brother, the late king, and had shown his noble qualities to the people of Kashmir. His accession was, therefore, hailed with joy both by Hindus and Muslims. Shortly after assuming regal authority, Zain-ul-'Abidin nominated his brother Muhammad Khan to the office of prime minister, and associated with him Halmat Raina and Ahmad Raina, commanders of his forces. Malik Mas'iid was appointed minister of the interior. Mirza Hasan was appointed treasurer-general. On the death of Muhammad Khan, his son Haidar Khan succeeded his father as prime minister.

The king retained in his possession the office of Chief Justice till he was able to find a suitable incumbent in the person of Qazi Jamal-ud-Din who Hindustan.

hailed from Khwaja Nizim-ud-Din Ahmad and Muhammad Qasim Firishta respectively relate the following case decided by

Bad Shah. The only difference in the two versions is that the two women concerned were a mistress and a maid according to the Tabaqat-1-Akbari, and two co-wives, accord-

ing to the Gulzdr-i-lbrahimi or the Ta'rikh-2-Firishta. Briefly, a woman killed one of the children and accused the other of the crime. The case went to court which confessed inability to find out the truth of the matter. On reference to the Sultan, the person alleged to be accused was called in and severely threatened in various ways. As she was innocent, she made no confession whatsoever. At last, the Sultan said: "If you become naked, and in the presence of men go to your own house, that might be a proof of your innocence." The woman cast her head down in shame, and said: " For me it is better to die than to act in this way. I consent to my punishment but I cannot consent to behave like this." The Sultan, then, sent for the complainant in another chamber and said: "If you are honest in making this complaint, make yourself naked in the presence of men."" The woman agreed and got ready to remove her garment. The Sultan stopped her, and said: " The guilt of this act is yours." And "after they had struck her a few strokes, she confessed her guilt."'

Zain-ul-'Abidin's passion for architecture. In the matter of architecture, Zain-ul-'Abidin might be called the Shah Jahan of Kashmir. Many important buildings and townships the remains of many of which may still be traced, ¢.g., Zaina-lank, Zaina-kot, Zaina-pattan,. Zsina-kundal, Zaina-math, Zina-por, Zaina-tilak, Zaina-gir? and Zaina-gim, testify to his great passion for architecture

and town-planning. He caused resting places to be constructed in every pargana,? and in most of the iroportant villages. When he proceeded on his tours —and he travelled much over his dominions—the people were not subjected to any hardship on that account. He also built earavanserais and halting-places by the roadside for the convenience of travellers and thereby forestalled the Safavi kings of Iran and the Sir Sultans of Hindustan.

About the origin and history of the Sultan's island in the Wulur,? all historians have recorded the following story. : 1. Zainagir is now the name of the parganain Kam-raja, to the north-west of Sopdr about four hours' drive from it. Zaina Kundal and Zaina-Pattan were on the Wulur lake.

Zaina-két is a village about four miles west of Srinagar.

Zaina-gim is a village in the Birwa pargana. Zaina-math was a monastery on the Dal. Zaina-tilak was a city built near Jayapidapdr tae of the Jhelum. ١ ina-por is the name of the pargana eomprising to the north-east of Shupian.

me (Andarkét) on the the table-lands lyi ye A pargang is a tract of country comprising the lands of many

The Wulur Lake. ~The Wulnr-Lake is the largest in Kashmir, and the largest fresh

This island was an iilubited place* in the days of a dissolute and tyrannical 14j4, Sundarsena by name, whose subjects did not lag behind in copying him.

Kalal, a saint, who lived in those days, exhorted both the king and his subjects to give up dissolute conduct, but no one heeded the saint's exhortations. One day, at last, he left the place in disgust after warning the inhabitants of a retribution water lake in India. It 13 situated towards the north end of the Valley at a

distance of about 21 miles north-west of Srinagar. The Wulur lie:, at an elevation of 5,180 feet above ase-level, and has an area of 12} square miles, which, in years of flood, mav extend over 103 square miles. In windy weather, the surface of the lake changes into a sea of rolling waves. The average depth is 12 ft, the circumference is nearly 30 miles,

The outline of the lake is very regular, and its general appearance is picturesque. The name is supposed to be a corruption of ullola Sanskrit for

'turbulent' or '(the lake) with high-going waves or water.' The ancient name is Mahapadama-saras derived from the Naga, Mahapadama, its tutelary deity. According to Andrew Wilson, there is something in the character of the Wulur which reminds one of Lake Leman and arises probably from the stretch of water which it presents, and the combined softness and grandeur of the scenery around. Lofty mountains rise almost immediately from its northern and eastern sides: but there is room all round the lake for the innumerable villages which enliven its shore.

Calm, as it usually is, furious storms often play upon its surface, and in one of these Ranjit Singh lost 300 of the boats carrying his retinue and effects. (The Abode of Snow, p. 428). In the beginning of spring some of the wild-fowls of the Wulur and other lakes of Kashmir take flight to the distant valleys of Yarqand and Kashghar. The Jhelum enters the Wulur through the east side and leaves it from the south-west comer. Captain Bates says that it " is a lake simply because its bottom is lower than the bed of the Jhelum; it will disappear by degrees as the bed of the pass at Barimfila becomes more worn away by the river ; its extent is perceptibly becoming more circumscribed by the deposition of soil and detritus on its margin.' In the north-west corner is the Zaina-lank used by boatmen who dread the waves of the lake in storm though in the dry season it is

no more an island. On the western shore is the scrap of Watlab on which stands the shrine of Baba

Shukir-ud-Din whom people wrongly call Shukr-ud-Din. Fish, wild fowl and singhaya (water nut) are the chief products of the Wulur.

*Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug's Mukammal To'rikh-i-Kashmir, Vol. II, page

• which would change their habitation into a lake.

His prog-

nostication turned out to be true, and a physical disturbance is said to have turned the land into a lake!

[A striking parallel far off, here, arrests our attention. The island called Mauri-ga-Sima near Formosa, south of Japan, is also supposed to have been sunk in the sea forthe crimes of its inhabitants. The vessels which the fishermen and divers brought up were sold at an immense price in China and Japan. Thomas Moore refers to it in his Lalla Rookh when he says: 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.

Notez.—Is it the Indian Ocean flood driven up to the Pacific?]

The area in question on the Wulur remained under water down to the reign of

Zain-ul-'Abidin, who conceived the idea of raising a palace in the lake. With the help of divers, he was able to lay its foundations on the remains of a temple which had once stood on this submerged land, and was now filled up with stones for the base of the structure. In addition to the palace, now in complete

ruin, a mosque was also raised. This mosqu? has a quarter of its old dome and a rotten door left. About forty years back the dome is said to have been seen in good condition. Had care been taken in time it could have been preserved. Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri made this structure famous in the following verse* :

I ۳۲گند جحشن درو تا عبیاد ۸wo as ws SB Sb چو سنه پیو خرم“ خودش رخ

[May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the Heavens! May it be the most renowned ornament of the Universe.

As long as the monarch Zain-i-’Ibad holds festival therein May it be like the date of his own reign—happy.] *Malik Haidar Ohadura’s Ta’rikh-i-Kashmir, page 145.

The numerical value of the letters in Khurram (happy) is 847 a.H. (1443 a.c.), the date of the foundation of the edifice. ’‘ The stone bearing the inscription is apparently a slab of black slate well polished and furnished, and measures 214 by 12 inches and 24 inches thick.”! This stone 15 missing.

The king named the island Zaina-lank. Ldankin Kashmiri means an island. The expense of the work was met. by the fortunate find of two idols of solid gold from the lake bv divers in royal employ.

The Sultan erected at Nau Shahr, near Srinagar, which was in modern terminology his New Delhi, a grand palace, twelve storeys high, each consisting of fifty rooms and improved and added to the beauty of Srinagar.2 At Kramarajya, “he built Suratranpér graced with houses that — humbled the pride of the peaks of the Himalaya.”

Zain-ul-‘ Abidin’s patronage of arts and crafts, • Zain-ul-’Abidin invited mechanics, artisans and crafts-

men from Iran, Taran, Turkistan and Hindustan, and offered them good prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmir. Zain-ul-'Abidin's patronage of various arts and crafts contributed very largely to the material and economic progress of the country, and considerably in-

creased its reputation.

The products of Kashmir industries were highly appreciated abroad and fetched high prices.

An expert at fireworks taught his art to many others.

Habib—wrongly written as Jab by Rodgers—made gun-

powder.

"' Weapons made of different metals new and hard" were devised.

A cannon was in operation.

It was 'strong, well-regulated, of deep sound, and ۵۶ great value."'* Along with the serious subject of arms for the army, amusements for the people were not ignored. Acrobats were invited and they came in a large number. Music flourished to an extent never known before. It is, there' 1. Major H. 8. Jarret, B. 8. C., Note on an inscription found in Kashinir, J. A. S. B., No. 1, 1880, page 16. 2. Lieut. Newall, J. A. S. B., No. 5, 1854, page 416.

Kings of Kashmira, J.C. Dutt's English Translation of Jouaraja,

Itid., page 105.

page 94, fore, chiefly through his exertions that even today Kashmir enjoys a high position in several arts and crafts, e.g., woodcarving, paper-making, shawl-weaving and carpentry. He also sent individuals from among his own subjects to

other countries to learn certain industries. Some of the arts of the time were imported from India. He forbade merchants to hide merchandise in their own houses, and compelled them to expose it for sale at a reasonable profit. He devoted his attention to medical science as well, and provided facilities for his subjects by establishing state hospitals for the treatment of disease. It is interesting to note that the great families of physicians, famous in Delhi and Lucknow, originally came from Kashmir. Khwaja A'zam credits Bad Shah with having imported midwives and nurses from Samargand. This may have led to the introduction of maternity wards or conveniences to women needing them in Kashmir, a step far ahead of several contemporaries of Bad Sh&h.

Zain-ul-'Abidin's patronage of letters.

Zain-ul-'Abidin's love for letters was in no way inferior to that for arts and crafts. His interest in the intellectual growth and economic progress of his subjects was keen and unflagyging. He extended his patronage to scholars in as generous wu measure as to artisans and craftsmen ; hence the great influx into Kashmir of scholars and men of letters from other lands. Forreasons of space, it is impossible to give an account of all the men of letters who were attached to his court or flourished in his time; therefore, a very brief account of but a few, more notable among them, is given below*:— 1. Maulana Kabir.—He was a Kashmiri by birth who had, m his youth, migrated to Herat, at which place he studied theology and allits allied sciences. The king, after several attempts, induced him to return to Kashmir to hold the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam or Head of the Ecclesiastical Department. He was also placed at the head of the university, for the upkeep and, maintenance of which the revenues of several villages in the Nagém pargana were assigned.* 1 Ta'rikh-t-Kabir, page 290.

Lahore, 1944, Aho the 704-84 a Shahi by Fau vot 2. Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri—He was the pupil of Sadr-ul-Mudarrisin Maulana Muhammad Afzal of Bukhara who had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Mulla Ahmad wasa profound scholar. a distinguished poet, and an excellent historian. The Ta'rtkh-i-Waqa@v'-1-

Kashmir anda translation of the Mahabharata into Persian are among his works. Bad Shah has thus the credit of the first translation of the Mahabharata into Persian. . 48

Ahmad also translated into Persian Kalhana's Rajatarangini by command of the Sultan, who named this version

Bahr-ul-Asmar or "The Sea of Tales,' perhaps, in contrast to Kalhana's ' River of Kings.' This translation or perhaps adaptation of Kulhana‘'s work must have been incomplete, as in 1594 a.c., Akbar asked Mulla 'Abdul Qad'r Badavtni to complete it. But as Mulla Ahmad's translation must have become rather archaic Persian in Akbar's time, the

Emperor, therefore, asked for a fresh, complete translation of the whole.

[Badayiini (p. 384) says:—" The Emperor had ordered me to rewrite the Persian translation of the History of Kashmir by Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shahabad, a learned man well versed in argumentative sciences and history. I was to write it in an easy style. This I did, and in the space of two months I presented my book, which was put in His Majesty's Library to await its turn for reading." This order was given, it appears, during Akbar's stay in Kashmir, from the 2nd Jumada 11 to 2nd Ziga‘dah, 997 ٥٨.8. (1588 a.c.), when he returned by way of Kabul in the beginning of 998 a.m. (1589 a.c.). "No copies have till now turned up of either Shah Muhammad's History of Kashmir or Badaoni's revision."* Again

Badayiini, on page 402, says: ۴1 was told to complete the Bahr-ul-Asmar, a book containing stories which, at the command of Zain-ul-'Abidin, had been partly translated into Persian. I translated the new portions within the next five months, all im all about sixty juz. Soon after, the Emperor called me once to his sleeping apartment, and asked me the whole night till dawn about these stories. He also ordered me to re-write the first volume of the Bahr-ul-Asmar, because it was written in ancient Persian, no longer spoken, and told me to keep the MS. of the portion which I had made. I performed the zaminbiisi and commenced with heart and soul the new work. His

Majesty also gave me ten thousand Muradi tankas (struck when Murad

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume XX XVIII, Part I,

No. III, 1869, page 185, under—" Badaont and his Works" by H. Blochmann, M.A., Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah, April, 1869, pages 105-144.

was born) and a horse as a present.""? Towards the end of the same year (1003 a.H.=1594 a.c.), 'Abdul Qadir Badayiini had to mourn the death of Shaikh و دمنSarft of Kashmir. Dr. Charles Riéu's Catulugue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (Volume I, 1879, page 296), however, tells us that (راجنرتیAdd. 24,032) is probably the work re-written by "Abdul Qadir

Bada ini, in 999 a.u.=1590-91 a.c. Abu'l Fazl's exact words in the A'in-i-Akbari. are :—" The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmirian into Persian by Maulana Shah Muhammad of Shahabad (English

Translation by H. Blochmann, M.A., Volume I, 1873, p. 106). Rién notes that this translation was from Sanskrit into Persian for Akbar by Mulla Shah

Muhammad in the year 998 a.m. (1589 a.c.). The History of India by Elliot and Dowson says the translation of the

Rajatarangint is usually attributed to Maulana ‘ Imad-ud-Din (Volume V, 1873, page 478). ‘Imad-ud-Din is presumably the author of the Rauzat-ui-Tahirin which is a general history from the earliest times to 1014 4.a.—1605 a.c., containing in its fifth part a section on ‘Kings of Kashmir’ (Riéu’s Catalogue, Volume I, pp. 117-119). Bernier states? that an abridged translation of the Rdjatarangint into Persian was made by command of Jahangir and adds that he was engaged upon rendering this into French. But, says Horace Hayman Wilson,* we have “never heard anything more of Mr. Bernier’s translation.’

3,4.

511قBaghdadi and Mulla Parsi were two other scholars who, as lecturers, spent their lives in the royal university. They were both immigrants. The first one was from Baghdad as his name denotes and the other was from Bukhara. The Hafiz is buried in the tomb of Maulana Kabir. The Mulla found his last resting-place in Nau Shahr.

5. Qdzt Jamdl-ud-Din.—As has been stated previously, Jamal originally came from Hindustan. He was leading an austere and secluded life at the Khanqah of Shah Hamadan, imparting knowledge to those who sought it. His introduction to the king’s court took place in a strange manner.4

Baddont and His Works, by H. Blochmann, J.A.S.B., Volume Travelg m

XXXVIII, 1869, No. 3, pp. 141-142. the Mogul Empire, revised

١ edition by Vincent A. Smith, 1914, p. 186. 3 Astatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 2. ١ 4. To’rikh-+-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadure, MS., page 147.

He used to write petitions for persons who had either a law-suit, or sought redress for some grievance. The king was deeply impressed by his scholarship as he perused the petitions presented to him. This excited the king's imagination and Jamal-ud-Din.

made him all the more eager to see Once a petition, in verse, from Jamil's pen came up before the king, in which the former had deplored the demise of Sultan Sikandar, the last line of the petition was: ۳

دل طلبیدے ۳selo شہے کہ بورد مرادش ما ئے مسکینان سکیتان

وslo On reading this petition, the king could no longer restrain his desire to see Jamal, and dispatched a noble to bring him to the court. He was received with marked respect and honour by the king to whom he presented a volume of one of his works. The king later appointed him Chief Justice for the whole of his kingdom.

6. Another scholar of distinction in this reign who also held the office of Qazi, was Qazi Mir 'Ali Bukhari who came from Bukhara, and was held in high esteem by the king and received a jagir or assignment for his maintenance.

7. Sayyid Husain Qummi Rizavi, a learned theologian who had renounced his home to preach Islam, came to

Kashmir and was invited by the Sultan to stay in Bagh-i-

Zaina-gir, Tahsil Handwara, which is now known as Sayyidpér or Saidahpor after the learned Sayyid.

8. Hakim Manstr wrote the Kifayah-1-Mansirt on medicinein Persian. Itis translated into Urduand published by the Newal Kishore Press. 9. Mulla

Nadiri, according to Malik Haidar Chadura,* succeeded Mulla Ahmad as the poet-laureate of Bad Shah. Nadiri was a historian too. But neither his Divan nor his History of Kashmir are available.

*Ta'rtkh, page 32, Pratip Library MS. copy, 10.

Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Ganj Bakhsh, a well-known saint of the time, was a disciple of Khwaja Is-haq of Khatlan, a prominent Khalifa of Shah Hamadan. The Shaikh travelled very extensively. In Kashmir, he associated himself with Shaikh Nir-ud-Din and Sayyid Muhammad Madani. Stories of his profound meditation and his extreme humility, his self-abnegation and self-effacement are related. His funeral was attended by a large number of notables of the time. Bad Shah's queen, Baihagi Begam, sold an ornament of hers to erect the Shaikh's tomb when he died in 849 a.H. (1445 a.c.).1

11. Qazi Hamid came of a family that held the office of Qazaé or administration of justice. He is reputed to be the author of a good history of Kashmir, which unfortu-

nately cannot be traced today.

His son, Qazi Ibrahim, took up the continuation of the history left by his father, but this history too is not extant.

12. Sayyid Nasir-ud-Din Khanyari is a notable of Bad Shah's time. The Sayyid came originally from Baihaq, a district to the north-west of Nishapir in Iran. Bad Shah entrusted him with ambassadorial duties. Nasir-udDin is buried in mahalla Khanyar, Srinagar, under a dome which contains also the grave of Yiz Asaf. The area is known as Rauza-bal.

13-21.

۲22 Asaf believed to have been an envoy from Egypt, Baba 'Usman Uchchap Ganai, a learned divine, Haji Adham a saintly figure, Shams-ud-Din Andrabi a noted scholar, Sultan Muhammad a poet, Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Balkhi who gave up sovereignty for a saintly life, Sayyid Janbaz Vali, Mir Sayyid Hasan Mantigqi, Baba Zain-ud-Din

Rishi are others who adorned the age of the Sultan.

Zain-ul-'Abidin, whose name is sanskritized as Jaina, and whom Jonaraja calls Cri Jainollabhadina, was a student of Sanskrit, and also "a patron of Sanskrit learning and occasionally a pilgrim to the ancient t@rthas of the Valley.' During his peaceful reign, Hindu traditions re-asserted themselves while the country enjoyed a return of its old prosperity. Zain-ul-'Abidin is also credited with having studied Hindu philosophy (Yéga-vacgishtha). (rivara says

Yr 1, Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq's Ta'rikh-i-Bad Shahi, Ittihad Presr, Lahore, 1944, page 243. 2. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of the

Rajatarangini, Vol. I, page 131, 16?

the king "caused the Puranas, books on logic, the Mimansa and other books to be brought from distant lands, and distributed them to the learned. The king heard me recite the Vashishta Brahma-darshana composed by Valmiki. . . . The mlechhas read the Vrihat Katha-sara, the Hatakeshwara Sambhité, the Puranas and other books in their own language."

The most distinguished among the Hindu scholars were the following :

1. Uttha-Soma was a Kashmiri scholar thoroughly conversant with Persian, Sanskrit and his own language, in which he composed verses. He held a

high post in the Translation Bureau and wrote, in Kashmiri, life the Jaina-charita.

Zain-ul-'Abidin's 2. Yd6dhabhatta was an exceedingly intelligent person endowed with a marvellous memory. He went to Maharashtra to study the Atharva Veda, and was induced by Criyabhatta to return to Kashmir im order to spread the knowledge of that Veda. Five hundred vears later, when the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit brought out his famous edition of the Atharva Veda, owing to the lack of the manuscript in the Dakhun, he relied on this Kashmiri MS.? 3. Jonaraja was a scholar of Sanskrit and of " con-

siderable attainments though apparently without much originality."" He was 4 historian who, in his own words, made an outline of the history of kings and brought Kalhana's work up to date. The king rewarded him with his customary liberality. Jonaraja received orders from the noble-hearted Qriyabhatita, the Superintendent of the Courts of Justice, "to complete the story of the kingly line." Jonaraja died in 1459 a.c. 4. (Crivara was another of the noted historians, though 'he was an imitator of Kalhana." He undertook to finish the remainder of the book of kings left by Jonaraj. on his death. Crivara, after Bad Shah's death, sanskritized Jami's Yiisuf-Zulatkhé in 1505. It is entitled the Kathé-hautuka.s

. 1. Kings of Kashmira, pp. 145-46. 2. The Rajatrangint by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit, 1935, page 26, footnote 176. 3. Published in 1901, and printed at the Nirnaya-Sagara Press, Bombay. Hdited by M. M. Pandit Civadatta, Head Pandit, Oriental College, Lahore, and Kashinath Pandurang Parab. Sir A. B>rriedale Keith is wrong in stating that it was written under Zain-ul-'Abidin, vide A History of Sanskrit Laterature, 1928, page 361,

Other notable scholars were: (5) Tilak Acharya, the Buddhist,)6(Karpiirabhatta, the physician (7) Rupyabhatta, the astronomer, (8) Simha, theastrologer, (9) Ramananda, the chemist, who wrote an exposition of Mahabacya. Bhatta Avatara wrote the Jaina-vildsa. (10) Civabhatta was the physician in personal attendance on the king and supervised his meals. All these literary activities, with all their incidental expenses, acquired the volume they did, as the king himself was بوscholar " well-versed in the literature of his age,"' and conversant with a number of languages. Zain-ul-'Abidin dictated instructions to Habib, the Mir Atish, in the form of Questions and Answers on the composition and preparation of explosives. He composed the Shikdyat (plaint) "' treating of the vanity of all objects," in his old age. Both these were in Persian. Bad Shah sent to Mahmid I, the Khalji ruler of Mandu," × beautiful poem composed by himself in his own language,' presumably Persian as Mahmid could hardly enjoy a poem in Kashmiri. Kashmiri literature also received a great impetus. The Sultan's activities in the domain of literature and scholarship were not confined to translations of books, among which the translation of the Mahabharata holds a prominent place, he spent huge sums, sent his men to various places, and thus collected a library which compared favourably with the one collected by the Samanids. This library remained intact down to the days of Fath Shah, approximately for a period of one hundred years, after which 1 2

ZLain-ul-'Abidin's love of poetry. Zain-ul-Abidin loved poetry, and derived much delight from the company of poets whose number at his court was not negligible.

The most brilliant among them was Mahk-ush-Shu'ra, (the poet laureate), Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri whose nom de querre was "Qutb." Malik Haidar

Chadura’ has quoted the following two lines of this poet : ۰

وزلب و twoو شوریست در هر EG اے برد وهرویت ۳eta سے پر و انه

نای می خورم خو ن گر آشچندین من به یگانڈ حال ان است؛ وای بر 9 Ss سح و راTAL

Kings of Kashmira, page 150.

موس ی نسرت by Malik Haidar Chidura, page 136.

[Vide the T’a’rtkh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadura, page 145.]

Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug in his Mukammal Ta’rikh-i-Kashmir, Vol. 11 (page 20), has ascribed these lines to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, and has also given the last couplet of the ghazal which is as follows :—

یکند > عیش مکنoll اسکن گر tiی کند دیو ان گس ssaP

نود عیب Malik Haidar Chadura. on the other hand, takes these lines to have been composed by Mulla Ahmad. Considering that Malik Haidar’s history is an epitome of the works of Maulana Nadiri and Mulla Ahmad, Fauq’s ascription falls to the ground. But Fauq has withdrawn this ascription in his Ta’rikh-t-Badshahi (1944). Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din

Bakhtiyar Kaki of Dehli is certainly not the author of these lines as suggested by some. Since the Divan of

Khwaja Bakhtiyiar Kaki published by the Newal Kishore Press does not contain these lines, and Khawaja Kaki does not use

Qutb Qutb-i-Din.

for his nome de ۱ plume, but generally Mulla Ahmad and Sultan Zain-ul-’Abidin had, at times, contests in improvisation.

Once the Mulla appeared in the Sultan’s presence with the tassel of his turban hanging on his forehead, whereupon the Sultin improvised the following couple:t

oT siht eht شاخسار آفاق گاو گرندیدستی تو در شاخ پیثاق ملا احد کشر ہیں alluM deilper htiw eht :telpuoc

ehT natluS saw شاخyas gilts | گے ⋆ واری دادم۳ 7نام درمیان ماده گاواں در مار os dethgiled htiw eht ydaer tiw foeht alluM taht eh dedrawer mih .yltneciifnum sA a tluser fo eugirtni yb sih ,seimene eht erutan fo hcihw si ton ,delaever eht alluM llef otni ,ecargsid dna saw consequently banished.

After reaching Pakhli, he sent the following couplets to the Sultan : و

و ۲ و ۰ ۰ ےب منطق ز ججصس رک اثرسته مبندا خبرے رت به تحوم ز

The احد ار غر چرا رانند برمن ان کسر و جرeepخوائند

Sultan was greatly moved by perusing these lines, and forthwith sent orders to the Mulla to return. * Another reading is

کرگیmeaning the rhinoceros, or the Tibetan yak, but the wolf has the tuft of histail drawn on hishead when angry.

Bad Shah’s army and his conquests. When the Sultan ascended the throne, the army numbered 100,000 foot and 30,000 cavalry. Heso organized it as to leave no possibility of a rebellion or rising. Moreover, his personal treatment of the officers so charmed them that, at his bidding they were ready to march with their men bravely facing any danger. He conquered the whole of the Punjab! though

his army led by Jasirat Khan Gakhar failed to conquer Delhi? The Punjab had then slipped from the feeble grasp of the Sayyid King of Delhi. Bad Shah added Bhottaland or Western Tibet, very probably between 1460 and 1470 a.c., to his dominion. Here he rescued a golden image of Buddha from destruction in Saya-desha or Shel (pronounced Shé), above Leh, on the Indus. This village has always been famous for its large Buddhist images. The Sultan took the town of Kulita or Kuli which, apparently at that time, was occupied by the Tibetans? The king of Kulita or Kulii was a vassal of the king of Leh. After taking Kuli, Bad Shah returned by way of Lahul in Kangra. There is an uncorroborated tradition that in the course of his conquest of the Punjab, he halted at Amritsar where old Kashmiris repeated, until lately, this tradition about his halt, and said that he had a well dug out in the locality known after him as "Bad Khi"' which was subsequently called " Bat Khii" on account of the influx of Kashmiri Pandits in that quarter of the city. According to the Tabagét, Bad Shah allowed the treasuries of all countries, which were conquered, to be plundered and assessed the revenue on them on the same scale as that of the country round the capital.

His statesmanship and foreign relations.

Besides putting down conspiracies and removing such elements as tended to disturb the tranquillity of his realm, the Sultan further proceeded to enter into friendly relations with his immediate neighbours, as well as the potentates and rulers of distant lands. He sent ambassadors with adequate presents and letters to the kings of Khurasan,

Indian or provincial historians make no mention of this conquest of the Punjab by Zain-ul-'Abidin. I suppose it was a mere swoop and led to no established occupation.

The Tabagit-1-Akbari, De’s edition, Calcutta, 1935, Vol. 3, page

د٠2The fadsan Antiquary, Bombay, Volume XXXVII, July, 1908,

ماج ١ Turkistén, تہمقّزنقداحدعئGilan,2 Sistan and the

Sultan of Turkey, the Burji Mamlik of Egypt, and the Sharif of Mecca. Sultan Buhlil Lodi, Sultan Mahmtid Begarha of Gujrat, and Jam Nizim-ud-Din (Nanda) of Sind received his embassies. The ruler of Tibet sent him بوpair of extremely beautiful geese to which a strange performance was attributed, namely, that they could separate milk and water,and drink the milk and leave the water in the vessel. Between the Sultan and the Tonwar raja of GwAlior love of music formed a bond.

The noted contemporary rulers of Bad Shak in India were :

Delhi وهBrom Sind Multan Jaunpur Deccan Gujrat Malwa Khandesh

Bengal Orissa Mu‘izz-ud-Din Mubarak son of Khizr Khan, to Buhlal Lodi .. Jam Nizim-ud-Din (or Nanda) .. 1437—1494 a.c. .. Qutb-ud-Din Shah .. 1440-1456 ہو ... Mahmid Shah .. 1436-1468 وو .. Ahmad Shah Wali .. 1429-14386 و

.. Mahmiid Begarha .. Mahmid I (Khalji) .. Mubarak Khan .. 1468-1611

.. 14836-1469 1441-1457 و و وو .. Nasir-ud-Din Mahmiid Shah 1442—1460_„

.. Kapilégvara (or Kapilendra) Deva .. 1434—1470 Vijayanagar.. Devaraya IT .. 1419—1446 Gondwana .. Suraja Ballal Singh (Sher Sab Ballal Sah) .. 1437-1462 Burma .. Queen Shinsawbhu .. 1453-1472 Ceylon .. Parakkama-Bahu VI .. 1409-1466

صوزنقنتععق وو و و وو وو و و وو is now a province of north-western Iran with an area of 40,000 square miles.

The population is estimated at 2,000,000.

capital is Tabriz which has a population of 200,000.

The Azarbiaijan was also a province in the empire of the Caliphs. It consists generally of lofty mountain ranges. The principal river is the Araxes which enters the Caspian.

The former Russian provinces of Bakii and Hlizavetpol on the coast of the Caspian Sea are also now called Azarbaijan and declared a Socialist Soviet Republic since 30th September, 1920 a.c.. with Baki as its capital. This second Azarbaijan was a part of the old one. 2. Gilan, a province of Iran south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Alburz chain, is now a vtlayat with Rasht as capital. The population numbers 250,000, Gilan, independent for long, was conquered by Hulagi, and finally incorporated in Tran by the §afayids. Arabs call 7+ il or Jilgn.

Zain-ul-'Abidin's European contemporary rulers were: England Scotland France Spain Empire Pope

.. Henry VI .. James IT .. Charles VII .. Henry IV .. Emperor Frederic IV .. Kugenius ٧

.. 1422—1461 ٠ .. 1437—1460 بر .. 1422—1461 ور .. 1454—1474 وو .. 1439-1498 وو .. 1491-1447 وو

Some of the Muslim contemporaries were :—

Among the Nasrids of Granada (Spain)—

2. Muhammad VIII Al-Mutamassik ibn Yisuf 1417-1427 A.C. (72) Muhammad IX—As-Saghir ibn Nasr (422) Muhammad VIII (again) (iv) Abu’] Hajjaj Yisut IV ibn Muhammad VI. (v) Muhammad X—AI-Ahnaf ibn ’Usman (vt) Sa‘d Al-Musta‘in ibn ’Ali (viz) Muhammad X (again). (vi?) Sa‘d (again) (27) Abu’l Hasan ’Ali ibn Sa‘d 1461-1482 ·

In Morocco and Algeria—Abii Muhammad ’Abdul Haqq ibn Abi Sa‘id ’Usman 11 and Abi-Zakariya Yahyaibn Zayan Al-Wattasi.

In Egypt and Syria, among the Burji Mamliks—(1)

Ashraf Saif-ud-Din Barsbai (2)

Al-’Aziz Jamal-ud-Din Yiisuf ibn Barsbai (3) Az-Zahir Saif-ud-Din Jaqmaq (4) AlMansir Fakhr-ud-Din ’Usman ibn Jaqmaq (5) Al-Ashraf Saif-ud-Din Inal (6) Al-Muayyad Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad (7) Az-Zahir Saif-ud-Din Khushqadam (8) Az-Zahir Saif-udDin Bilbai (9) Az-Zahir Timurbugha (10) Al-Ashraf Saif-udDin Qaitabai.

In Azarbaijan among the Qara-Quyunlis, the Turkoman clan known as the Black Sheep from the device on their standards—(i) Sikandar ibn Yiisuf (2) Muzaffar-ud-Din Jahan Shah ibn Yusuf (3) Hasan ’Ali. Among the AqQuyunli’s, the Turkom4n clan of the White Sheep—(1) Nurud-Din Hamza ibn Qara Yilug (2) Mu‘izz-ud-Din Jahangir (3) Uzun Hasan ibn ’Ali.

The Sharifs of Mecca at the time were—-(1) “Aliibn “Inan (1423 a.c.) (2) ‘Ali ibn ‘Ajlan, (3) ” دوزداشAl-Hasan (4) Abu’] Qasim ibn Al-Hasan, and (5) Muhammad ibn Barakat.

Bad Shah’s attitude towards Hindus.

_ Among measures adopted by the Sultan, there were certain laws relating to the Hindus which vouchsafed to them

& 0 ade mistration anda trial of their cases according to their own laws. The Tabaqgdé-1-Akbart! says the Sultan took an agreement from Brahmans that they would not act in contravention of what was written in their books. After this the odious measures of persecution instituted bv Malik Saif-ud-Dim, Sikandar's prime minister, were revoked, und a general toleration of all religions was proclaimed. The Brahmans and other Hindus who had migrated during the last régime were recalled. Coinplete religious independence was granted. Some of the temples which had been demolished جاthe last reign were re-built, and permission was uecorded to erect new ones. Within the palace known as

Siddhapuri, Bad Shah repaired dilapidated temples by props, or re-built them. savs Crivara.? Pathashdlas were opened for Hindu boys to study their own scriptures. Scholarships were .warded to students for the study of Sanskrit and they were deputed to the Deccan and to Kashi (Benares).2 The Sultan remitted the poll-tax and granted jdgirs or assignments to Hindus and discountenanced the killing of cows. He further encouraged his Hindu subjects by taking into his service such of them as deserved his patronage and recognition. It is also remarkable that the Karkun (state service) and Bachh Bat (priestly) classes* of Brahmans came into being, and obtained recognition in this reign. These two sections continue to be two distinct groups and do not intermarry even to this day. A third section is the Jotish or astrologer class which intermarry with the Karkun. According to Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug (The Ta@'rikh-i-Aquam-i-Kashmir, Vol. I, p. 48) the Brahmans who first took to the study of Persian and Muslim learning in Kashmir were the Sapris, the forefathers of the

caste that in our day produced (2) the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal whose family embraced

Islam in the days of Aurangzib ’Alamgir, and migrated to Sidlkdt, (i) the Right

Honourable Sir Te] Bahadur Sapru whose family migrated from Kashmir, according to Sir Te] himrelf, “about 130 years or more and settled down in Delhi,” and then moved to Allahabad.

Hindu and Muslim subjects of Bad Shah lived at peace معحٍeb سر with each other undisturbed by religious dissensions. In case there occurred any occasional friction it was De’s Calcutta edition of 1945, Vol. 3, page £36. Kings of Kashmira, page 142. The Hamdard, Srinagar, 25th January, 1942. The Valley of Kashmir by W. Lawrence, 1895, p. 192.

amicably settled by panchayats at which the monarch* himself presided. Bad Shah’s suavity in effecting reforms. The Sultan provided his subjects with a code of laws, and had them all engraved on copper-plates and placed in public markets and halls of justice. He was in this respect, perhaps, the first systematic lawgiver of Kashmir. He abhorred every kind of bloodshed and never put to death any one for a petty crime. It is recorded of him that he gave away some camel loads of money and cloth for the repose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because he had been guilty of the wanton death of his wife. Perhaps Jonaraja refers to this case. ‘ Though the king was kindhearted,” writes Jonaraja, “ yet for the sake of his people, he would not forgive even his sons, or a minister, or a friend if he were guilty. Mereshaya the Yavana (z.e., Muslim) was once drunk, and lalled his wife without any fault, and though he was the king’s favourite, yet the king caused him to be executed.”? Similarly, according to Firishta, Bad

Shah executed his own foster-brother Sher on Sher's killing his own brother Mas'tid. Arbitrary fines imposed by pro-

vincial governors were abolished, says Firishta. The Sultan released all the prisoners of former kings. When the Chaks set fire to his grand Zaina Dab, a magnificent palace twelve storeys high, he drove them back and had their leader Pandt Chak flogged to death, but took his younger son, Husain Chak, the younger brother of Himmat Chak, into favour.

We shall meet this Husain Chak later in our history when he becomes Shi'a under the influence of Mir Shams-udDin 'Iragi. This mildness of temper and leniency shown to people did not, however, encourage any crime in the country though perhaps, in later days, strife among the Sultdn's sons could be said to have been due to this undue mildness of disposition.

A system of prison industries like pottery and others was instituted.

The brandishing of prisoners was stopped, and they were required to work on road construction. He devoted particular attention to the agriculturist class, and adopted many measures which enormously improved their condition. He did not even spare himself. He personally *Major H. 8. Jarrett, B. S. C., Note on an inscription found in

Bashmir, J..4, 8. B., No. 1,—1880, page 22.

\ supervised the construction of several bridges, canals and aqueducts, rendering thereby a large portion of Kashmir arable and irrigated. His Zaina-gir canal has beenrecently reconstructed. He added to the length of the jar7d or the chain, and the yard but the detail is not available. What the Tabaqat records is: " In kindness to the ra'tyat he increased the length of the yard measure and of the chain beyond what had been customary."' In simple language we may

understand that he standardized the jarib and the yard. Land assessment was revised, being reduced to a seventh insome places. Village-folk and farmers were further protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts. The price. of commodities were regulated by monthly notifications. Sale deeds were stamped with the king's seal. Rest-houses were built on principal roads, and shelters were set up within forests. The Sultan took a further stride in raising the status of those placed low in life.

Bad Shah's sources of income. 'For a great court, for a galaxy of eminent scholars, for a number of structures, some of which were indeed magnificent and for his army, the Sultan needed money. - This he found by the working of copper mines, the collection of gold dust in the Ladakh rivers, and the construction of an extensive system large tracts of arid land.

of canals which irrigated [To every one does not come such strength of resolution]. That he can keep the plant of his time verdant.

Zain-ul-' Abidin and Akbar compared. Historians have sometimes drawn a comparison between

Zain-ul-'Abidin and Akbar.

It is essential, in the first place, not to forget that they were not contemporaries. Zainul-'Abidin was, moreover, the Sultan of Kashmir, and parts of Tibet and of the Punjab, while Akbar held under his sway a kingdom which far exceeded many times that of

Zain-ul-'Abidin.

There is, therefore, no comparison bet-

ween the two in the matter of the extent of their king-

doms.

Zain-ul-'Abidin did not lack Akbar's enterprise and physical vigour, but the field for their display was comparatively limited for Bad Shah. A very great point of similitude between the two was the popularity, particularly with Hindus, enjoyed by both. A more careful observation, however, will clearly show that, even in gaining popularity, their approach was quite dissimilar to each other. Akbar had favoured the development of an eclectic faith of his own to which he gave the name of " Divine Faith' and matrimonial alliances with Rajput princes. Zain-ul-'Abidin's greatness lies in this, that without compromising his religion, or having recourse to any of such measures of policy, he was able to command as much love and respect from his Hindu subjects, perhaps more than

Akbar did. In his aims and objects, the monarch stood for what Akbar always pursued and kept in view. As Sir Wolseley Haig has well put it, Zain-ul-'Abidin "' possessed a stock of learning and accomplishments fromwhich Akbar's youthful mdolence had, to a great extent, excluded him, his views were more enlightened than the emperor's and he practised a tolerance which Akbar only preached."

شہنشاء ۰ ۱ ۳ ۰ آئین جہانیاق کیا اکر ے جس سے tko wifالاہدس ہبڈ شاہ زین کسب

° eey H. Beveridge! who spent over twenty years in translating the historical part of the Akbar-nama feels driven tosa that Akbar has been over-praised. Akbar had the defects of his age and race, and of his own idiosyncrasy. He was both ruthless and self-indulgent. He ordered a lamp-lighter to be flung over the battlements for the crime of having fallen asleep in the imperial bed. He flung into the river a man who failed to trace out a ford on the Indus on one occasion. On another

occasion, Akbar in anger at a person, coming into his presence drunk, had him drenched with cold water with the result that the poor man eventually died of shock. V. A. Smith's special study of Akbar made him assert that, on many occasions, Akbar would get rid of people he considered dangerous by assassination or secret execution.? It is true that Akbar, after he became half a Hindu or half a Parsi, expressed horror at Jahangir's cruelties but 1, English Translation of the Akbar-nima of Abu'l Fazl, Vol. III, Introduction, page 1-٥٩ ٠ rablA eht taerG lugoM yb ٧٠.A ,htimS dnoces ,noitide ,7391egap it was Akbar, points out Beveridge,t who hanged the innocent and able Mansiir Shirazi, and it was he who killed or connived at the killing of his old and once venerated teacher! Zain-ul-'Abidin's life was free from such cruelty.

He was no Tartar. His veins were not tainted with blood from the bloody Chingiz.

Akbar's own son, Jahangir, writing about the piety of Zain-ul-'Abidin says that he passed many periods of' forty days' in his Zaina Lank, and adds that the Sultah is said to have performed many miracles (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, page 306).. Akbar experienced trouble from Jahangir. Zain-ul-'Abidin had likewise trouble from his sons.

The family lives of Bad Shah and Akbar.

Akbar had_more than 300 wives.2 Bad Shah had but two. Zain-ul-'Abidin possessed the virtue so rare amon medieval monarchs whether of the East or of the West, of contenting himself, as just noted, with only two wives because the first one had no male child. Akbar's own historian, Bakhshi Nizim-ud-Din Ahmad writes that Bad Shah" never looked at the face of a strange woman." The following incident throws further light on this aspect of Bad Shah's character. "

Tributary Hindu chiefs observed the practice of sending a daughter to the harem of the lord paramount, and it 1s related that Sundarasena, the chief of Rajapuri (the ancient name of Rajauri) whose accession 18 fixed at about 1450 a.c., sent his eldest daughter, Rajya Devi, to Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin. On her arrival in Kashmir, the king was engaged in sport on the Wulur Lake.

Seeing the ladies' party coming, he asked one of his attendants the question: "What mother's 0622 is that ?" On hearing that 1t was the Rajapuri princess sent to him, he said, * As I have already called her mother how can I receive her as a wife?' She was sent over to live with the ladies of the harem, where she afterwards became a Muslim. The Rajwir, or Rajauri Kadal, a bridge over the Mar canal in Srinagar, was built by her."4

1. The Akbar-naima, Introduction, page XV. 2. 1648. page XVIII. 3. A kind of palankeen or covered litter for a person, usually carried by four or five men, \ 4. J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, Journal of the Panjab Hestorteal De, Society, Vol. IX, part II, page 145. ~

"The king's beloved queen named Vodha Khatona died,""? writes Pandit Crivara. 'She was to the family of Saidas (Sayyids) what the moonlight is to the sea. It was by union with her that the king had thought his life happy, and now by her separation his body became burnt with sorrow and all things appeared to him as nothing."*

The grave of Makhdima Khatin, the Queen of Sultan Zain-ul-"Abidin or Bad Shah, is situated in the Mazé&r-i- Kalan or Hazrat Baha-ud- Din Ganj Bakhsh Mausoleum, among the graves of the

Baihagi Sayyids.

She died in 830 A-H, (1465 • This Vodha (or Bod, meaning big) Khatona was Taj Khatiin Baihagi Begam, the daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Baihagi Kandhami. She lies buried in the ziydrat of Qutbul-'Alam Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Ganj Bakhsh, outside Nagarnagar, Hari-parbat, Srinagar. Her tomb is now a protected monument.

Baihagi Begam had two daughters, one was married to Sayyid Hasan Baihagi, her own nephew, and the second was married to the Sultan of Pakhli. Baihaqi Begam had no son.

Zain-ul-'Abidin, then, married a second wife. daughter of the ruler of

She was the Jammu, and by her Bad Shah had four sons: (1) Adam Khan (2) Haji Khan (3) Jasarat Khan

4. Bahram Khan. Jasarat probably died early as we hear nothing further about him. The tomb of the Dogra queen of Jammu, the second wife of Zain-ul-'Abidin, is beside the grave of her eldest son Adam Khan according to Crivara.

died in_856 a.H. (1452 a.c.) if the inscription on this grave, peat Adam's, correctly refers to her. 2 *Kengs of Kashmira, page 157,

Bad Shah and Akbar in thetr general habits. Unlike Akbar who spent freely of public funds, Sultan

' Zain-ul-'Abidin expended only the proceeds of his own copper mines for his private use. Akbar was fond of hunting. Zain-ul-'Abidin forbade hunting. In fact, during the month of Ramazan, he never ate flesh, and never executed persons for theft : in this respect, in Rodger's words, ' he was three hundred years ahead of England.' In Jonar4ja's language

‘beauty dwelt in his person, and the goddess of learning on his lips, fortune rested in his breast, and patience in his mind.”* Such, in brief, was this kng—princely in appearance, the patron of arts aud crafts, a friend to the cultivators, promoter of learning and scholarship, and benefactor of the Hindus. And truly he was the ‘Glory of the Devout’ or the ‘ Ornament of the Adorers’ as his name implied.

To borrow the words of Col. Malleson used for Akbar, when we reflect, what Zain-ul-’Abidin did, and the age in which he did it, we are bound to recognize in the Sultan one of those illustrious men whom Providence occasionally sends in the hour of a country’s need to re-conduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of its inhabitants.

& ابدین 5اا دبع اہ بھیob لوٹ ال ,cwfa دیکھہ پھں رکو کشیic

فوقga daB s’hahS gnisolc syad dna .htaed Zain-ul-’Abidin’s life was somewhat embittered towards its close owing to jealousy among his sons. Unfortunately they didnot prove the worthy sons of the worthy father. The wise king realized, with dismay, that it would be better to separate them._He, therefore, probably in 1451 a.c., placed the eldest son Adam Khan, whose manners always repelled the king, at the head of a large army, and charged him to invade Ladakh or Western Tibet. In those days, Tibet was to Kashmir what Algiers or Tunis was to France durin g

*Kengs of Kashméra, Vol. III, page 76, the latter part of the nineteenth century. Haji Khan, the second son, was ordered to proceed against Lohkét in Pinch; the youngest, Bahram Khan, remained with the king.

Both sons were victorious and returned covered with glory. Haji Khan who was also the king’s favourite son, turned his arms against his father. The two armies

met on the plain of Pallagili in Badgiam Tahcil in 1452 4.0. (856 a.H.). Adam Khan, the elder, stood by his father who, at first, tried to bring round the rebellious son through persuasion. Haji's army attacked the Sultan's and the fight continued from sunrise till sunset. Haji being unable to withstand the royal forces, fled to Hiirapdr? about seven miles south-west of Shupiyan. Thence he fell back upon the town of Narwan which stands on the road leadin into Kashmir by the Biidil? pass. Adam Khan followed him, but orders from the Sultan restrained his pursuit.

The Sultan, however, ordered Adam Khan to march against Sop6r, the fort of Kamraj—which place was reduced to subjection. Such of its inhabitants as had instigated Haji Khan to rebellion were remorselessly executed. This last step caused a good number of Kamraj soldiers from Sopér in Haji's army to desert him. Adam Khan was declared the king's successor for his gallant behaviour at this critical juncture. But he proved a failure. His maladministration of Kamra] was repeatedly reported to the Sultan to whose admonitions he sent an unfilial rejoinder by raising the standard of revolt at Qutbuddinpér. He invited co-operation, who tried to turn the situation to his own advantage by attacking the elder brother, but suffered a severe reverse at ۵۵۶۲, The Sultan, then, sent his army against Adam Khan. It was now Adam's turn to sustain a defeat with considerable loss, after which he fled to Sopér hotly pursued by the Sultan. Haji followed the fortunes of war with shrewdness and at this time arrived at Baramiila. The Sultan sent his youngest son Bahram ی

Briggs, Vol. IV, page 471.

It might be assumed that the object Jahangré, daughter of Shah Jahan, built a hospice at Hiirapdr.—

The Bidil (Budhil) or Sedan pass crosses the Pantsal range to-

of this move was Adam Khan, as the two brothers were never on good terms with each other.

The Badshah-nama of 'Abdul Hamid, Vol. IT, page 469. Population 1535. wards the south-west corner of the Valley of Kashmir. Bidil is the name of a village (Population 827) situated to the south of the Pir Pantsal on ome af the upper tribntaries of.the Ans River. It has given its name to the pass,

He SULTANS OF KASHMIR Khan to welcome him on his arrival.

isi Adam Khan sought safety in flight to the banks of the Nil-ab, the Kashmiri name of the Indus. Haji, now penitent and submissive, was declared heir-apparent in place of his elder brother, and also tried to make amends for his past misbehaviour. The Sultan, however, was sorely troubled to observe that his favourite son paid no heed to his admonitions, and persisted in his licentious habits and drinking. He further showed a total disregard of statesmanship in taking to a course of bloodshed. His opponents, now thinking the time opportune, secretly invited Adam Khan, but the Sultan refused to pardon him when he came to the capital. However, the eldest son was not dismayed by this, and continued his intrigues and his propaganda. The nobles, now in view of the desperate situation and the declining health of the Sultan, urged him to nominate his successor. Haji Khan, being supreme at the capital, and still retaining the Sultan's favour, was proclaimed successor to the throne.

Shortly after this, the Sultan passed away in his sixtyninth solar year in 1470 4.c., or 874.4.H., after a * reign of fifty-two years," at noon on Friday, the 12th day of the moon, in the month of Jaishtha (corresponding to June-

July) with prayers on his quivering lips as noted by Pandit Crivara.1 The Pandit saw the dead body of the king, and noticed “the beauty of the flowing black beard on his. face.’ ” At the time of his death,” writes Pandit Crivara, “ Fortune seemed to abandon all his limbs and appeared on his face, and I saw him in that state. His face methought was the dwelling place of the Goddess of Fortune, and perspiration issued from it, even like a stream of good luck. His breath left him, taking his life with it, and as if afraid of having stolen that jewel. After life had departed, tears still issued from his eyes, as if his eyes, which were like the sun and the moon, melted away and his affection for his subjects trickled down.”

The Sultan Sikandar.

was “A Jong buried crystal beside stone his father, Sultan was placed on the grave, it was the highest,”’ says Crivara,? “among those that were there, and was like the figure of the king in a recumbent position, and it was illumined with verses.”

The tomb is below the fourth bridge called the Zaina Kadal. 1. Kings of Kashmira, page 175.

2. lbid., ٣0 179.

The locality is called Bad Shah, after this great sovereign.

But the condition of the tomb evoked from the late Pirzada Muhammad Husain ’Arif, ex-Chief Justice, Kashmir :

العاہدین کا مقرہ دیکھا شکستہ حال زین dnA guaF sah eht :gniwollof

که روشن تھی مہابان سے هر جا جس SLB کے wAپتھی کا وہ آئینہ تا روضے Sca
نہ وہ اشعارSS کی

شا دینا .هه io که پڑھ لئے اگر laSھٹ جائی یہ تو soliS کته ھ وہ رہ مگر اب

نغمہ-۹ صلاعی> که Keمرت بھی شکل حات جاوداں aT بری عظمت کی بت کو گرار “Zain-ul-’Abidin was deeply mourned by all his subjects.

’ Poets and historians wrote to commemorate his unprecedented reign of peacefulness and glory. The following chronogram,* while aptly eulogising the king, also gives the year of his death, 874 ۵.۲. (1470 a.0.)— و

سلطان زین المابدین زد خیمہ « و و ss در ۶ et و برین

۰ 2 dasyK(مش ؛ از eloاندر جہاں «ہے ور شد تاج شد ارض رس ۶ ۰ ے سر شدہ پم تار eel x

» mot طیط وحثم » ٤ء صلح و ضنط a »وحکم de (لوکےم ۳ kilaM radiaH arudahC dna rignahaJ evah dedrocerna interesting miracle about Zain-ul-’Abidin.

The Sultan had gone out for a pleasure trip to the Wulur Island.

His elder *In the second line of the second couplet, the first letters of all words as well as the four 4 should not count ; the numerical value of the remaining letters should be taken and added to obtain the date of the

Sultan’s death, viz. 874 a.n. The words given in Hasan’s History are not quite correct as they total up 879.

Aes and جاءin his chronogram should have been replaced by حکمand band gon accompanied him on this occasion. He advised the Sultan to enjoy a trip in a boat, calculating the chances of throwing him overboard and thus doing away with him. The Sultan evinced no suspicion. After covering a mile, he asked

Adam Klin to fetch his rosarv which he had left behind in his praver-room. On his return to the prayer-room, the prince observed with consternation that the Sultan himself sat in the room, and was deeply absorbed in meditation. He returned to the Sultan and confessed his cuilty intention. whereupon the former pardoned him, but at the same time recited this couplet* and how true it roved in that Adam, though the eldest, was not destined to succesd lis father :—-

وگ شاید پد رکش بادشاهی را شاید« ey‌شش مہ نپاید [A patricide does not deserve to wear a crown. Even if he does, he cannot hold his sceptre for more than six months.|

This recalls to mind Aurangzib ’Aamgit’s letter to one of his sons who likewise prayed for his royal father’s death and did not succeed to the crown. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has put it in verse: I

شید صد luc بیس دید و سنجید و بست وکشود دردناله ال

ایورب درد اسر ہدام دما مه نو Taبود زدان ۳ کشید

زما سینه چاکان ۲ گردد ɣlyاض که ۰ دای تره خاله4 از

سییام ior aT ue میندار Fo نه از SA دیرینہ ید لٹا پسرکعان حسچر گر کب

Adam Khan once again exerted himself to secure the throne. But Haji Khan’s resourcefulness and the timely appearance of his son, Hasan Khan, on the scene, again shattered Adam Khan’s schemes and he was forced to fly to Hindustan. *Ta’rikh-t-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chidura, page 152. Jahan has also repeated this incident with a slight variation.-Hlliot and Dousen,

Vol. VI, page 306.

[874 to 877 A.H. or 1470 to 1472 A.C.]

Haji ascended the throne with the title of Haidar Shah. According to Firishta, the Sultan, following the family tradition, appointed his younger brother, Bahram Khan, his minister with Nagim as his jagir. His own son, Hasan Khan, was nominated as his successor, as well as Amir-u]Umara' or Chief of the Noblemen, with the district of Kamraj as his personal estate, bestowed upon him in perpetuity.! From the very outset the new king abandoned himself to a life of debauchery and licentiousness. He proved himself to be, in every way, the reverse of his father, and left the administration of the country entirely in the hands of

Bahram Khan.

Haidar Shah's fame was tarnished by the undue favour he showed to a barber, Lili? by name, who secured the beheading of Hasan Kuchche, treasury officer, who had worked on behalf of the Sultan in securing his accession to the throne.

Adam Khan, the Sultdn's eldest brother, tried to take advantage of this incident, but was killed by a party of Mughuls.

His body, however, received a decent interment at the hands of

Haidar Shah.

The Sultan Sadr-ud-Din.

The tomb of Prince Adam Khan is situated at Sehyar, Srinagar, opposite to that of

Nau Kadal, nobles, at this time, offered to help Bahram Khan if he wished to seize the throne. He had arrived at no decision. In the meantime Hasan Khan, the Sultan's son, who had conquered, according to the Tabagdat-i-Akbart, many fort168809 in India, but according to the Cambridge History of

India- had been raiding the Punjab, and had acquired much booty, appeared at the court with the so-caHed intention of laying at the feet of his father the spoils he had collected from his expeditions. But his real aim was to try his fortune. His sudden appearance filled the minds of the nobles with suspicion, and they advised the king, say Firishta and Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din, not to give audience to him.* The Sultan's behaviour cannot be clearly understood except that he was afraid of Bahram.

Vol. 5 vont ماتIV, page 475. Also the Pabagat, De's Translation,

Pandit Crivara calls him Riktetara in one place and Pirna in another, and says this "cunning man kept concealed, by the sweetness of his tongue, the hardness of his heart, which led him to oppres s the people." —Kings of Kashmira, page 186.

'on. De? Translatio Tab gat, De's page 476. Also80 the'the' Tabagat, IV, pes gs, Brig n 675.Vol. 3; page Vol.3,

During this time confusion and turmoil prevailed in Kashmir. Intrigues and plots were rampant.

The begin-

ning of the decay of the rule of the Sultans of Kashmir was n who, after marked by the death, in 1472 a.c., of this Sulta a terrace whilst a brief reign of fourteen months, fell from intoxicated. But Pandit Crivara, the Sultan's contem-

porary, however, says people suspected that a certain Yogi gave Haidar Shah medicine which contained poison. Crivara praises the king for his love of music and poetry. SULTAN HASAN SHAH [877 to 889 A.H. or 1472 to 1484 A.C.]

With the active support of Ahmad Abi or Aswad,} the commander of forces, Hasan Khan, Sultan Haidar Shah's son, ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Hasan Shah. Crivara describes (page 208) Hasan Sh&h's coronation in glowing terms, and says "all the wealth of his father, his grandfather (Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin) and his uncle (Babram Khan), flowed to this fortunate king even as rivers flow to the sea."? Hasan Shah on this occasion, liberated the captives taken by his father and grandfather from the Bhotta country. Hayat Khatiin, according to Qrivara, was the Sultin's beloved queen. She came of the noted Sayyid family, and was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi son of Savyid Nasir-ud-Din Baihagi of Bad Shah's days. When she gave birth to prince Muhammad Shah, 'silk clothes were distributed to the poor." Hasan وظ11801 was made a minister.

In return for his services to the Sultan, Ahmad Aswad received the title of Malik and the office of prime minister while his son, Nauriiz, was' appointed Amir-i-Dar® or the Lord Chamberlain. Bahram Khan, the uncle of the king, consulted his safety in a self-imposed exile to Hindustan.

Hasan Shah revived the edicts and practices of his grandfather, Zain-ul-'Abidin, which had suffered temporary abeyance during the brief reign of Haidar Shah. Crivara says that Hasan Shah learnt the six schools of

1. Firishta and Bakhshi write Ahmad Aswad. Aswad, besides 'black,' means ' powerful' and ' illustrious.' 2. The Amir-i-Dar was analogous to the Vakil-i-Dar in the Sultanate of Delhi who controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff.

The queens, the princes, the kitchen and even the stables were under his care. It was he who reported all affairs requiring royal sanction. In fact, the Vakil-i-Dar exercised great influence, and in many respecte was considered to be the king's deputy.

١ ١ ٠ philosophy, and "the different works of these six schools became one in him' (page 208). This looks as if Hasan

Shah was anticipating the uncrowned Dari Shukih after Akbar. Rajanaka Citi Kanth wrote several books and sanskritized? several others from Arabic aud has spoken well of Hasan Shah for his wise and liberal rule. The Kusmdanjals (Offering of Prayer-Flowers) was written during this time. Baba Isma'il Kubravi, a scholar and saint, was the Shailkh-ul-Islam. The Jami' Masjid and Shah Hamadan's Khangah that had been destroyed by fire were re-built. The year of the erection, 885 A.H.=1480 a.c., of the mosque attached to the

Khangah is embodied in these words :— 2 ١ جد سجد آسن عل النقوى

٥ ehT[euqsoM desiar no eht noitadnuoF fo]yteiP The words were, later on, versified as follows —: we 9 J ى اللئثو leb سجد اس

oA 12 ١ متا نقاء امسر شمدان است Evidently some malcontents wanted to turn the new order of things to their own advantage, and did not favour the revival of the beneficent old practices. They summoned Bahram Khan, the king's uncle, to occupy the throne. He accordingly penetrated Kashmir as far as the province of Kamraj. ٠ Malik Tazi Bat who held the office of Guardian of the Crown Prince Muhammad Khan, however, stemmed the tide of Bahram's advance, and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. Bahram Khan expected active support and cooperation from the notables of Kashmir, but these failed him at the last moment.2, He fled to Zaina-por, but he and his sons were soon taken prisoners

and brought to the capital where Bahram's eyes were put out. He did not survive this violence more than three days. Historians refer to increasing jealousy between the minister Sayyid Hasan Baihagqi and the commander, Malik Ahmad. Ahmad's end is, however, sad. He died in prison. ۱ elo

ارگ با جبانداران جبان بگذاشتم ال جهاں ز J a3دل

دست از اعتی بستم پنداشتم tiL ما در ری اے Li The Hamdard, Scinager, dated 25th January, 1942.

2 Briggs, Vol. IV, page 478.

This inscription on the grave of Malik Ahmad testifies to his tragic end. The Sayyid's party was powerful. And yet Sayyid Amin Uwais?, a great poet and saint of this period, also lost his life in a skirmish in 1484 ۸... Before his death he said —

reS عد وراف w رت صو اب ز فرم ۳ aP lp یکساں حوشتراست LETهمچو من laL

About 1483 a.c. or 888 4.H., the Sayyid dispatched an expedition to conquer Baltistan and Ladakh under

Jahangir and Nasir, two Sayyid commanders. Both did not act promptly together. The result was the failure of the invasion and the defeat of the Kashmir forces at the hands of Bhéttas. The consequence of this miserable defeat was that the soldiers of Kashmir were never more sent on raiding expeditions into Ladakh during the rule of the Shah iris.?

Malik Haidar Chadura tells us that Hasan Shah's court had twelve hundred Hindustani musicians, and an equally large number of concubines.2 The king ignored his duty to his subjects. He neglected the administration of justice, and left the inspection of his army to certain of his nobles. حثم

قیصر شاقان لقب I ylo yo عدم و افسوس آں سلطان حسن

وش و sebماه و ee ے دل شد از اندوه sP از زم زمن و

یك نم ےن بلنذشت .LJ ty از طرب ناژ و ادا رقص و

از تاریخ حسن بہ ٹرمیم The last line gives the date, viz. 889 letters of words and wdévs are omitted.

ےھ if the second The struggle between Muhammad Shah and his father's cousin, Fath Shah, for the throne of Kashmir

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (i) [889 to 892 A. H. or 1484 to 1486 A.C.)

• Sultan Hasan Shah, on his death-bed, instructed Sayyid Hasan Baihagi, his father-in-law, and Bad Shah's son-in1.

The Indian Anitquary, July 1908, pages 190-191. 1۸6 Ta'rekh-+-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadqura, page 189. Ss

ا Kasptir law, and prime minister of the state, to set on the throne either Fath Khan, son of Adam Khan or Yisuf Khan, son of Bahram Khan. But, obviously spurred by ambition, the minister set up on the throne in 889 A.H. or 1484

A.c. Prince Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Hasan Shah and Hayat Khatiin, the minister's own daughter. The prince was then a child of seven, having been born in 1477 A.C. or 882 دہ.Sayyid Hasan's regency on account of the king's minority excited considerable jealousy, and resulted in hostile activity among the malcontents. Encouraged by- these factions and with the collusion of Tazi Bat, Fath Khan collected a force and attacked Kashmir. Jahangir Magre with the strong support of the Sayyids was able to inflict a defeat on Fath Khan. A second

attempt proved equally futile. After these failures, Fath Khan occupied Jammu, whence he launched a far more formidable attack.

This attempt, too, proved fruitless.

Fath Khan, however, did not despair. He again advanced with an army. In this battle which occurred in 895 a.H. (1489 a.c.), Jahangir Magre was wounded. He had to retire from the field, and Fath Khan gained a complete victory in consequence of which Muhammad Shah, after his nominal sovereignty of two years and seven months, vacated the throne.1 He and his entourage.sought refuge in flight, but were captured and handed over by certain zamind4rs or farmers to Fath

Khan who kept Muhammad Shah in close confinement. “Just about this time in England,” writes Rodgers,* “Edward V and his young brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Shah was not so bad as Richard III. He ordered the food and drink of the prince to be prepared according to his order, and gave him a place in the palace.” It is perhaps, in gratitude for this early fostering care that

Sultan Muhammad Shah honoured the interment of Fath Shah’s last remains by a befitting burial on bringing his dead body from Naushahra near Bhimbar on the Pir Panjal route. These kings, despite their differences and depositions, did not cease to be human to each other.

Rather their 1. Lt. Newall, too, in his article, A Sketch ofthe Muhammadan History of Kashmir, has placed Muhammad Shah’s first dethronement two years and seven months after his accession.—J. A. Λ5. B., No. 5, 1854, page 417.

Firishta, on the other hand, assumes it to have taken place in 902 ·

(1496 a.c.} in the eleventh year after accession.— Briggs, Vol. IV, page 486. 2. ° The Square Stlver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir.—d. A. S. B.,

No. رش1886, page 110.

١ depositions, though, no doubt attended with bloodshed, look more like the fall cf ministries in France or the changes of cabinet in England.

SULTAN FATH SHAH (i) [892 to 898 A.H. or 1486 to 1493 4.C.]

Fath Khan ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Fath Shah in 1486 a.c. It could have been expected that, with a new king on the throne, who possessed grit and strength enough to contest the crown, all dissensions would cease, and all disintegrating elements in the kingdom would be controlled.

But, as a matter of fact, Zain-ul-'Abidin's successors lacked the necessary qualities of administration and leadership. Fath Shah was unequal to the task of restoring peace and tranquillity. His weakness brought the Chaks to the forefront. This led to the undoing of his own authority, and finally the extinction of his family as the dominant and ruling factor in Kashmir.

Malik Saif-ud-Din Dar or Saif Dar was the king's chief minister. He conducted the affairs of the state wisely and in a statesmanlike manner.

In his pay was the redoubtable Chak, Shams-ud-Din, who, at first, had entered the service of Sayyid Muhammad Baiha qi, the son of Sayyid Hasan Bajhagi, and then took Malik Nauriiz son of Malik Ahmad for his master, and finally joined the service of Saif Dar. Shams-ud-

Din Chak married the daughter of his uncle Husain Chak, gaining strength from the alliance. After this, he began to traffic in intrigue.

He won over Shankar or Shringar or Sarhang Raina and Misi Raina, both brothers, descended from Ramachandra the father of Kota Rani. Shams-ud-Din Chak openly set them up as rivals of Saif Dar. Fath Shah, too, withdrew his favour.

Soon the factious struggle ended in the death of Saif Dar and one of his rivals, Sarhang Raina. Shams-ud-Din Chak succeeded to his master Saif Dar's share of authority and administration. He was not satisfied with the removal of one master. He dreaded Sayyid Muhammad Bajhaqi whom he brought into clash with Kaji Chak and others. The Sayyid soon realized the parvenu's intentions. Consequently, he entered into an intrigue with the deposed king, and also won over to his side Ibrah im

Magre, Haji Padar, and Malik 'Idi Raina son of Misa Raina. An engagement fought in the vicinity of the tomb ef Bulbul

Shah resulted in the flight of Kaji Chak and Shams-nd-Din Chak to Kamraj. Sayyid Muhammad gave them a hot pursuit for some distance, and, on his return, burnt down their homes. Fath Shah, too, left for the Punjab. Shamsud-Din Chak now better known as Shams Chak returned to avenge himself. On finding Muhammad Shah and other opponents, he, however, abstained from an open fight. He carried out a night attack and, suffering defeat, rejoined his former master, ex-Sultan Fath Shah, in the Punjab, who, after a sway lasting for two years and eleven months, was again a fugitive.

The struggles of Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah during the period of 32 years from 1484 to 1516 a.c. show that history was repeating itself in Kashmir. Both of them remind us of the disgraceful struggles of Partha and Chakravarman for 31 years from 906 to 937 a.c.

It was, as it were, a re-incarnation in Kashmir of the ferocious Wars of the Roses lasting for 32 years from 1455 to 1487 a.c., when English kings Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard ٢٢٣ were enthroned and dethroned by factions.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (ii) [898 to 911 4.57. or 1493 to 1505 4.0.]

Muhammad Shah, now 16 years old, re-gained his throne through the exertions of his maternal uncle Sayyid Muhammad Baihagi. Sayyid Muhammad Baihagi's keen eye did not fail to detect the rising power of the Chaks. He discovered the further possibility of danger from the same tribe in their Shiite tendencies. which had been successfully promulgated among them by Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi. This religious leader had found asylum in Kashmir from the exile inflicted upon him by the governor of Khurasan. So successful was his propaganda that all the big chiefs among the Chaks particularly, and several of the public too had willingly em-

braced his doctrines. Therefore, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi perceived a danger in his preachings which, he thought, would add religious fervour to the fire of Chak opposition, the embers of which were still smouldering. He, therefore, banished Mir Shams-ud-Din توقجا. But as this step was taken too late, the Chaks keenly felt the compulsory exodus imposed upon their religious leader. In their turn, they retaliated by starting an intrigue with Fath Shah and Shams Chak. Fath Shah and Muhammad Shah again met on the battlefield-of Khampor, in Tahsil Pulwama. Sayyid Muhammad Baihagi's. bravery, a first, seemed to decide victory in Muhammad Shah's favour, but owing to Baihaqi's accidental fall into a ravine, the tables turned. The adversaries, taking courage in both hands, charged and routed the royal forces. The natural consequence was that Fath Shah again seized the throne, and wreaked vengeance on the family of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi.

Malik Haidar Chadura ascribes the Chak defection* to Muhammad Shah who, on account of his meanness and parsimony, failed to give due reward to Masa Raina for his brave services which had, to a great extent, contributed to the defeat of Fath Shah.

It was in 1505 a.c. that Pandit Crivara sanskritized Mulla 'Abdur Rahman Jami's Ydasuf-u-Zulatkhé for the edification of Sultan Muhammad Shah as the Sultan's courtpoet. Sir A. Berriedale Keith's misstatement that 15 was written under Zain-ul-'Abidin has already been pointed out in the footnote on page 167.

SULTAN FATH SHAH (ii) [911 to 920 ٨4.7. or 1505 fo 1514 A.C.)

On re-ascending the throne, Fath Shah rewarded Shama' Chak by appointing him his minister, and also invested

Miis&é Raina with considerable authority. Shams Chak could not brook the presence of وrival at court. He, therefore, tried to encompass the downfall of Miisé Raina, but only succeeded in finding himself entangled in the meshes of the net he had spread for his rival. He was disgraced, arrested in the open court, and thrown into prison. Misa lost no time in disposing of so formidable and scheming a rival. Armed men were sent to the prison to kill Shams Chak who, however, first killed quite a number of them, before he fell under the relentless blows of his assailants.

This feat of Shams Chak has been made famous in the gniwollof telpuoc سے

بچوب و بسنگ و بخشت و عشت حس چك شصت كس را بكشتho [By stick and by stone, by brick and by blow Did Malik Shams Chak lay sixty men low.]

*Ta'rikh-i-Kathmir by Malik Haidar Ohadurs, page 851ب _ ٣ the

Misa Raina, however, was too astute a person to take blame of this murder upon himself.

He managed to lay the blame at the door of the Magre notables who were therefore exiled.

Misa Raina filled the position which Shams Chak had occupied. His accession to power was a signal to Mir Shams-

ud-Din 'Iraqi to return from Skardii. The latter soon inaugurated a religious campaign for the spread of Islam among the Hindus. In this respect, he tried to emulate Malik Saif-ud-Din, the minister of Sultan Sikandar. These religious persecutions carried out by the Shi'as continued unchecked by Misa Raina, and justly aroused the anger of Tbrahim Magre who now stood as the leader of the Sunnis. The king, himself being unable to do anything, secretly warned Ibrahim to settle matters with Misa Raina who was forced to flee towards the Punjab. In his precipitation and hurried flight on horseback, Mts& Raina got his neck so inextricably entangled in a vine-creeper and the horse took such fright, that he died on the spot in 1518 ۵,

Now it was Ibrahim Magre's turn to enjoy authority. He recalled Malik 'Usman, Dani Malik and others of his tribe who had previously been accused of bringing about the death of Shams Chak, and had been banished. But, after a space of forty days, he vacated his post for Malik 'Usman. Malik 'Usman, too, was forced to withdraw after three months. These constant changes of ministers were as baneful as those of kings. Fath Shah seemed to be no more than a figurehead, and was powerless to keep one minister long enough. He felt so overpowered that, accompanied by several councillors, he left for Hindustan. Ibrahim Magre took advantage of this situation and instituted himself as minister. He, then, recalled Fath Shah. Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padar, the king's adherents, retired to

the Punjab. In the meantime, Muhammad Shah's army came into conflict with that of Fath Shah at Ghazikot, in Pakhli, with the result that Fath Shah's army had to retreat.

For & year, the situation remained unchanged. Ibrahim Magre, however, continued to wield authority as minister. Malik

'Usman, who had been. set free by Ibrahim Mag re, then replaced him. 1 On revinguishing his post, Ibrahim Maer? accompant y Kaji C and Jahangir Padaz;– joined.

Mubammad Shah.

A coup cleverly carried -out by. . "All THE SULTANS 'OF KASHMIR

Raina, however, decided the day in Muhammad Shah's favour. Hath Shah had to flee again, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, during which period revolutions and constant changes of ministers had sapped the very foundations of authority and administration.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (iii) [920 70 921 4.7. or 1514 to 1515 A.C.]

Although installed Iv Ibrahim Magre, Muhammad Shah was not able to hold the throne for more than five months. When Fath Shah made his appearance with a large army, Muhammad Shah retired in safety to Naushahra • with Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi, son of the late minister, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi.

SULTAN FATH SHAH (iii) [921 to 922 A.H. or 1515 to 1516 A.C.]

The third phase of Sultan Fath Shah's rule lasted for a period of one year and one month. Remembering his old trouble, he resolved to divest himself of all regal authority, and divided the country into four parts. Three of these he -

handed over to Jahangir Padar, Kaji Chak and Sunkur Raina, and retained only one portion for himself, hoping thereby to pass his days in peace. His co-partners, however, soon revolted against him, and invited Muhammad Shah together with Ibrahim Magre to fight for the throne. The result of the battle which took place was, in no way, favourable to Muhammad Shah, because Ibrahim Magre, who was the mainstay of his power, was slain with his sons.

Muhammad Shah did not lose heart at his discomfiture. He sought help from Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. In the mean-

time, Jahangir Padar and Sunkur Raina also weleomed: Muhammad Shah. They enabled Muhammad Shah to drive: out Fath Shah who died in exile at Naushahra a town on the Pir Panjal route—after three years in 925a.H.or 1519

A.C. Fath Shah fand is the satirical chronogram. Muhammad Shah caused his remains to be interred by the side of his father Adam Khan, Bad Shah's son. The cap: which was.a gift from Mir Sayyid 'Ali Heamadani (Shah Hamada) was.

according to Fath Shah's wishes, also buried with him. The grave of Sultan Fath Shah lies in the burial-ground? of Bag Shih. Fath Shah, in all, ruled over 17 years. Pandit Cuka® closes his account of Fath Sh&h with these lines: '"‘ The great king Phatah Shah (Fath Shah), the moon among sovereigns, died in a country outside Kashmira. Mahmadashaha (Muhammad Shah) did not take his meal on the day in which he heard of this event, nor did he sleep or bathe, but spent his time in thinking ofthat king. Where could be found a king like him experienced, truthful, patient, a great politician, a lover of men of worth, and one who loved his servants? The king was bomin a country outside Kashmira, and he died there. The work of fate is extraordinary! The corpse was then placed in a litter, and was brought here within a few days by his servants and chiefs in order to give it its last funeral rites."

Muhammad Shah, now about 39 years of age, or 40 according to lunar months, gained the throne for the fourth time through the ability and exertions of Kaji Chak. In reward for his services the king appointed him Madar ul-Muhaémm or the chief minister.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (iv) [922 to 934 24.7. or 1516 to 1528 4.0) Kashmir, it seems, had now become fertile soil for jealousy, dissensions, rivalry and blood-thirstiness. Factions grew up, temporarily strengthened themselves and caused constant feuds among the nobles. Kaji Chak became the target of a faction of nobles which included Nusrat Rajya, Lohur Magre and Jahangir Padar. Kaji Chak was, however, able to inflict a defeat on his opponents and kill Nusrat

Raina. This confederacy being broken, Abdal Magre, then, began to devastate the country, and was put to flight by Mas'id Chak, Kaji's son. Soon after this, another body of nobles consisting of Sikandar Shah, Fath Shah's eldest son,

1am in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VI, page 37, says:

۶ On the same night, Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani appeared to a fagir, and told him that the cap had been given by him to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din for good luck, and that, along with it, the kingdom had been transmitted father to son down to the present generation; but that, as Fath Shkb had now taken the cap with him to the tomb, so likewise had the kingdom gone to the tomb and departed from his family.'—The Andent Comage of Kashmir is the title of the article. 2. Re of Kashmira, page 354,

سس ١i 7 page 354, Jahangir Padar, Lohur Magre and 'Idi Raina made its appearance with the avowed object of securing the throne for Sikandar Shah.

Mas‘id Chak was again dispatched to suppress the rising. The insurgents secured no tangible results bevond the death of Mas‘tid Chak, and the king was left again in peace for some time. It was during Sultan Muhammad Sh&h’s reign that

Babur, the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India, took advantage of internal confusion, and sent his army to attack Kashmir. Kaji Chak, who had already retired from state affairs, was fired with patriotism, and taking an army went out to meet the invaders who had to retire before the onslaughts of Kaji Chak. This success re-installed Kaji Chak in the king’s favour. But Kaji Chak now ceposed the king and put Ibrahim Shah, Sultan Muhammad Shah’s son and his own nephew, on the throne.

١ The great scholar Shaikh Ya‘qib Sarfz was born in 1521 a.c., during this reign of Sult&n Muhammad Shah. We shall hear of the greatness of Sarfi later.

SULTAN IBRAHIM SHAH I [984 to 985 4.7. or 1528 to 1529 A.C.] According to Firishta, durmg Ibrahim’s reign, Abdal Magre? who, after his flight, resided at Babur’s court, appeared on the scene. He came with a large army officered by “Ali Beg and Muhammad Khan, two Mughul nobles. Nadiz Khan, the younger brother of Sikandar

Khan and the son of Sultan Fath Shah, was used as a pawn in order that the Kashmiris might not imagine that a foreigner was being imposed upon them as their king. Sultan Ibrahim Shah’s army marched out to meet the

Mughul army, but suffered a heavy defeat at Tapar, below Patan, in Tahsil Barimila, and Ibrahim fled from the country.

SULTAN NAZUK SHAH (i) [935 to 936 A.H. or 1529 to 1530 A.C.] Nadir Khan then ascended the throne as Sultan Nazuk

Sh&h, and appointed Abdal Magre as his chief minister. The officers of the Mughul army were also generously rewarded, and they afterwards returned to

1. Briggs, Vol. LV, page 491.

0۲8, Vol. IV, page 4992, Hindustan.?

KASHIR ~ Abdal Magre maintained the pursuit against' Kaji Chakuntil he fled from Kashmir. Abdal

Magre, curiously enough, then re-instated Muhammad Shah,? having sent for him from Lohkot, where he was a prisoner. Evidently as a pawn in the game, Nazuk had served his purpose and was no longer required.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH (v) [936 to 943 A.H. or 1530 to 1537 A.C.]

The fifth or the last phase of Muhammacl Shah's reign might appropriately be called the Magre domination, inasmuch as Malik Abdal, the Magre chief, after his elevation to the post of prime minister, divided Kashmir among his adherents and influential partisans. Abdil thns reduced Muhammad Shah to the subordinate position of a stipendiary.

If one compares the glorious past enjoyed by Kashmir with the sordid plight to which she had now been reduced, one cannot help being amazed. A succession of incometent rulers, and ambitious nobles—constantly engaged in internecine warfare, and all its concomitants—left the country a prey to foreign invaders. Babur twice directed his cohorts against her with a fair measure of success. Then, with Humayiin's consent, Kamran led an expedition of thirty thousand horse from Nanshahra? in 1531. Mahram Beg—

wrongly called Mujrim Beg—and ’Ali Beg, his generals, penetrated within sight of Srinagar, whence Mahram Beg sent a congratulatory poem to Kamran, of which the following lines have been quoted by Malik Haidar Chadura? :— فہم فےدوس

خو نی دھد نعام دوس sew شم آسان شود حم عش یادشا ے ۶۳۰

فی فتج که که از گفتا خرد شهر کشمبر یح بتار

او نم فتح کردم سو ہے کردم سی چو Briggs, Vol. IV, page 492. Naushahra is a town on the Pir Panjal route into Kashmir, and is 27 miles north of Bhimbar and 122 miles south-east of Srinagar. There is a fine old Mughul saraiin the middle of the town, a part of which is now an official residence. Naushahra has a cantonmert of 511 sepoys.

3.. The Ta’rikh-i-Kashmir,page 175. Malik Haidar Chadura quotes only ۵۹, weHasan (in his History, folio 134) has quoted the third line which is nAcme, out interest. Parikh

I am giving giving the قطعہas it appears ppeass-in-in1 the

It is noteworthy that, while Kashmir nobles at this time cdisplaved a tendency to cut each other’s throat, they did not exhibit any want of patriotism for their country. And in spite of personal feuds and grievances, they were able to rally round an outeast leader to defend their country.

Kaji Chak cume to the rescue on this occasion.

He rallied all the disaffected or hostile nobles, and led his forces so capably that Mahram Beg had to retreat after concluding peace. Scon after this,

disintegration set in again. The result was that, Abii Sa‘id Mirza, king of Kashghar, sent hi: second seu Sultanzida Sikandar Khan accompanied by

Mirza Haider Dighlat froin Tibet Ly way of Lar with a cavaliv twelve thousand strong to conquer Kashmir. Mirza Haidur calls the Sultanzida Iskandar Sultdn.

In this project, Iskandar Sultén was fortunate.

He won his spurs by effecting a triumphant entry into the capital. The victorious army satiated their lust for rapine and plunder. According to the Tabagdt–Akbart, the Kash-

ghar army ”razed the grand edifices which had been built by the old Sultans to dust, and set fire to the city and the villages.” The treasury was plundered. Buried treasures were searched and seized. All the soldiers loaded themyelves with goods and gold. Kashmiris were pursued, and slain or imprisoned. These hordes remained in occupation for three months according to the Tabagdt. In the following spring, a new spirit was infused into the benumbed Kashmir nobles who united themselves to drive the foreign-

ers from their land.

But in this attempt, they sustained a signal defeat involving considerable loss of life. Not disheartened by this defeat, they again combined under the leadership of Kaji Chak and Abdal Magre, and pressed the invaders so hard that they were compelled to sue for terms of peace. Firishta does not assign victory to either side. Mirza Haidar giving details of this campaign (pp. 437—442, English Translation) says: “In a word the Khutba was read and coins were struck in the exalted name of the Khan

(Abi Sa‘id Khan Mirzi). was due to the Mughuls, The revenue of Kash mir, which we took.

One of Muhammad Sh&h’s daughters was wedded to Iskandar Sultan.

And evervone, according to his rank, made acquaintance with the Sultan or Maliks of Kashmir.

I, for example, estab-

lished contact with Muhammad Shah.

In accordance with the Mughul practice we called each other ‘friend.’

contact was established between Mir Similar وق ’Ali (Mirza

Haidayr’s lieutenant) and Abdal Magre..... Baba Sarik Mirza and Kaji Chak..... Numerous presents and offerings were interchanged.” (p. 441).

Mirzé, Haidar Dighlat* sent his congratulations to Sultan Abi Sa‘id of Kashghar, and a court-poet of Kashghar rendered them into verse:

IAL دوران EbG سلطان سکندر شاه عادل آں دم از لاف بزدان Fu تادر

الق هس « تاریخ فتحش .عداء در روز هجا کان ماه شمان چبارم از۲ روز | ور کر است After concluding a peace so advantageous to themselves, the invaders departed from Kashmir. On return from Kashmir, Mirza Haidar was naturally, in his own words, most affectionately welcomed by Abi Sa‘id Mirza, king of Kashghar. But the Mughuls left b-hind them such traces of desolation and hunger, as revived the memories of Zulchii or Dulcha’s sojourn in this fair land. Two comets rose on the horizon.

A famine, too, ensued.

Thousands perished of hunger and hundreds of thousands were rendered homeless. The next crop, however, provided some sustenance, and saved the remainder of the population from starvation. Sultan Muhammad Shah also befriended his perishing subjects in their struggle against starvation. Untortunately he did not live long to sustain these ameliorative efforts. Struck with typhoid fever, he died on Thursday the first of the month of Jayaishtha, in the bright fortnight, in 943 a.H. or 1537 a.c., at the age of 60, "having given away all the gold that he had to the poor and the needy." In his chequered reign of over thirty-four years—or to be precise—thirty-four years, eight months and ten days, he had faced many changes of fortune, as have rarely been the lot of any other king perhaps in the whole history of royalty in the world.

SULTAN SHAMS-UD-DIN 7 [943 to 944 4.7. or 1587 to 1538 A.C.]

Shams-ud-Din II was Muhammad Shah's second son. Like his father, he retained the character of a stipendiary "The Ta'vikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chidurs, page 179.

king, being guided by his all-too powerful minister, Kaji Shams-ud-Din is the Second, because Shah Mir the Chak. founler of this dynasty is Sultan Shams-ud-Din the First. During the reign of Shams-ud-Din 11 there was the usual strife between the Chaks and the Magres, but this was successfully controlled by Kaji Chak.

It was due to the sagacity and foresight of Kaji Chak that he established matrimonial relations with the ruling family. This diplomatic move ultimately led to accession of power to his own family.

SULTAN ISMA'IL SHAH I [944 to 945 4.7. or 1538 to 1539 A.C.) Sultan Shams-ud-Din ٢٢ was succeeded by his brother, Isma'il, who was Kaji Chak's

son-in-law. The veteran

Chak continued to retain his position and influence as the prime minister, but his overbearing attitude towards the other nobles eventually destroyed his influence. For safety he fled towards the Gakkhar hills, whence, aided by Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi, he returned and regained his power. On his return, he divided Kashmir into three equal parts, two of which he assigned to the Sultan and Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi retaining the third for himself. The Sultan's position, therefore, remained entirely unchanged; and he was no more predecessors.

than a stipendiary like his immediate When Kaji Chak considered himself to be free enough, he imposed on the whole of Kashmir Shi'ite doctrines, promulgated by Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Tragi. In this respect, he took upon himself the réle of Mtis&é Raina, and offered a treatise of Mir Shams-ud-Din as a code of law for all the subjects.

After a brief reign of eighteen months, Shah I passed away.

SULTAN IBRAHIM SHAH II Isma'il [945 to 946 4.57. or 1539 to 1540 A.C.] Ismail I was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim

II, Muhammad Shah's son being Ibrahim I. The brief reign of four months of Ibrahint Shah II was characterized by two noteworthy events. The first of these was Kaji Chak's flight due to his own high-handed behaviour to others. The second event was of far greater importance. It was the third attempt on the part of Babur's descendants to conquer

Kashmir.

The Magres sought help from Humaytin to get rid of Kaji Chak. That monarch was himself sorely harassed by Sher Shah Sir at this time. But, however,

Humaytin allowed Mirzi Haidar Dighlat to lead an expedition to Kashmir on behalf of the Magres. Mirza Haidar was a cousin of both Babur and Sultan Abi Sa'id Khan of Kashghar. Besides being وsoldier, the Mirza was also a scholar and well-known as the author of the Ta'tikh-1-Rashidi. The Kashmiris were engaged in fighting against each other at the time. Therefore, Mirza Haidar had what might be called an easy victory over all the desperate resistance offered by Kaji Chak, who, after his defeat, was astute enough to appear at the court of Sher Shah Sir for help against his adversaries. Meanwhile, the brief reign of

Ibrahim IT was terminated by his untimely death.

Mirza Haidar effected no change in the division of the country already brought into force by Kaji Chak. The Mirza retained but one-third for himself. The remaining twothirds were shared by Abdal Magre and Malik Raina, probably as a reward for their services.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat As several references have been made to Mirza Haidar Diighlat in the course of this book, a brief note on his life will not be inappropriate here, when we are discussing the period during which he played an important part in the history of Kashmir.

هتdammahuM radiaH talhgiD ro( )talhgO !nagruG iatahgahC ,ltihguM ot evig mih sih lluf ,eman saw nrob ni eht raey 509 ?9941=.H.a ta—.c.a ,dnaqhsaT dnekhsaT ro ,tnikhsaT eht latipac fo eht ecnivorp neht nwonk sa hgahS ro(.)hcahC siH ,rehtaf dammahuM niasuH niagruG,talhgiD dah neeb edam ronrevog fo hsahS emos xis sraey erofeb yb ,diimhaM eht ralutit nahK fo natsiluhgiM dna .rahghsaKnO sih rehtom bihK ragiN s'manahK ,edis azriM radiaHsaw detaler ot eht rorepmE .rubaB bihK ragiN saw arethguad fo suniY nahK luhguM dna a regnuoy retsis fo hgultuQ ragiN ,manahK eht rehtom fo

.rubaB 1, Information given here about Mirz& Haidar and his History is extracted from the Introduction by Mr. Ney Elias to Sir Denison Ross's

English Translation of the Ta'rzkh-1-Rashidt and from Babur's Memoirs. Rees's is وgood translation, on the whole, except that certain passages have been mistranslated.

1. 2 سس sobaally 1500 4.0., as the year 905 began on 8th August, 1499

١ ١ Mirza Haidar began his life 'in the midst of strife and adventure." His father —a treacherous and intriguing man

—had been convicted of a mischievous plot against Babur at Kabul, but had been pardoned on account of his blood relationship. After some time, Muhammad Husain Gurgan Dighlat was murdered at the instigation of Shahi Beg Khan, otherwise known as Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek leader. In 1508, when about nine years of age, Mirza Haidar was taken charge of by one of his father's faithful friends, who took him to Khan Mirza, a cousin and dependant of Babur. Here Haidar remained for a year, when Babur summoned him to

Kabul.

On his arrival at Kabul, Mirza Haidar was made a member of the royal household, and seems to have been treated with much consideration.

It was about the beginning of 920 a.H. or 1514 A.c., that Mirza Haidar, led away by youthful ambition, left Babur to go to Andijan, then the capital of Farghana.* Here he entered the service of his kinsman, Sultan Sa'id Khan. It is in regard to this period that Babur writes: " Haidar Mirza excels in penmanship, in painting, in fletchery, in making arrow-heads and thumblets for drawing the bowstring. He is remarkably neat at all kinds of handiwork. He has also a turn for poetry,

and I have received an epistle from him the style of which is by no means bad." Abu'l Fazl adds music to the Mirz4's accomplishments. Though at this time only 15 years of age, Mirza Haidar was raised to a high position, and thus began the most active part of his life. For the ensuing 19 years of Sultan Sa'id Khan's reign, the Mirza served him in various capacities, but chiefly as a soldier.

While in the service of Sultan Sa'id, Mirza Haidar undertook an invasion first of Ladakh, then of Kashmir, and then.of Baltistan, and afterwards of Tibet proper.

After subduing Ladakh, a rapid march was made into Kashmir in about 1531 a.c., but the Mirza, was obliged to leave Kashmir.

Later, Mirza Haidar marched towards Lhassa and fought with the Nepalese. most remarkable exploits.

steps because of mortality It was one of his But he had among his to retrace his horses, want of supplies, and of the general distress caused by cold and

Farghana is a province of Turkistan and consists mainly of a valley surrounded by high ranges of mountains and traver sed by the Sir Darya and its tributaries. The area of Farghana is 55,483 square miles and the population is about 2,169,600. 18 20٠+ ١

The present capital of Farghana high elevation. It was in the early months of 1534 ٠ that he reached a position of safety in Ladakh. From Ladakh, it appears, that he repaired to Kabul by way of Badakhshan on account of Sultan Sa'id Khan's death, which occurred in 1533.

Mirzi Haidar thereafter 'abandoned Kashghar and transferred his services to the Mughuls in India and proceeded to Lahore.

Here Mirzé Haidar was received by Babur's son, Mirza Kamran, who raised him to a position of honour and dignity, namely, the governorship of the Punjib. Mirza Haidar resided at Lahore for a year, when differences arose between Mirza Kamran and Humayiin. Mirza Haidar became an adherent of the latter. When Sher Shah Sar pursued Hum&yitin to the Beads and Mirzi Haidar was governor at Lahore, he suggested to Humaytin to conquer Kashmir. At this time, Mirzi Haidar according to his own statement was approached bv Kaji Chak, Abdal Magre and

Rigi (Ross's Translation has Zangi) Chak of Kashmir, who were at variance with the reigning Sultan and had found refuge in the Punjab. They endeavoured to procure, through Mirzé Haidar's influence, the assistance of a body of Mughul troops to invade their own country, and expel the obnoxious ruler. The scheme seems to have commended itself to the Mirza's judgment. After some delay, he was able to descend into the Valley in about November 1540 a.c. or 947 Haidar says he

ى. The chronogram of this date Mirza • م" discovered in Julis-t-Dér-ul-Mulk-1-

Kashmir.' He obtained possession of Kashmir without striking a blow, thus at once becoming, to all intents and purposes, king of the Valley. As, however, the fate of umayin was uncertain, Mirza Haidar, on account of his faithfulness to Humayiin, did not declare himself king of Kashmir, nor did he think it discreet to declare Humayiin as the overlord of Kashmir.

During the ten years, counting from the battle of 2nd August 1541 a.c., over which Mirza, Haidar's regency ex-

tended, he is stated, in the Akbar-ndma,* to have devoted himself, when not actively engaged with his enemies, to the restoration of the Valley and the

improvement of its resources. It is said that he found it in a state of ruin and desolation, and raised it into a land abounding in cultivation ڈور

“Persian text, Oaloutta, 1877, Vol. I, and flourishing towns. He extended the frontiers also, and ruled with moderation and justice. “’He (Mirza Haidar) sent for,” writes Abu’l Fazl, “ artists and craftsmen from all quarters, and laboured for the renown and prosperity of

Kashmir.

Especially was music in brisk demand, and varieties of instruments were introduced. In short, the outward condition of the country, that is, its worldly state, acquired solidity.’* The government of Kashmir was, however, carried on in the name of Sultin Nazuk Shah.

This was the time when Humayiin was a refugee in Iran.

The Tarikh-1-Rasiidt. It was during these years of his stay in Kashmir that

Mirza Haidar Dighlat wrote his Ta’rtkh-i-Rashidt which is a history of the Mughuls of Central Asia, the eastern branch of the Chaghatais or the Mughuls proper. The first part of the Ta’rtkh-t-Rashidi is called by its accomplished author

Ta’rtkh-1-Ast, or the Real History.

It was written in Kash-

mir in 1544 and 1545 a.c., and was completed about Febru 1546, or five years after his installation as Regent of Kashmir. The second part which the Mirza styles Mukhtasar or the

‘Epitome,’ was written in 1541-42 a.c., and is twice the extent of the first. The first part was written after the second part had been completed, and the History was named alter ’Abdur Rashid Khan, the ruler of Kashghar and the eldest son and successor of Sultan Sa‘id Khan. It was Sultan Sa‘id Khan who dispatched Mirzi Haidar to Kashmir with his second son Iskandar Sultan. The

Ta’rtkh-r-Rashidt ends with the year 948 ۵.5. (1541 a.c.).

The Ta’rikh-1-Rashidi was not written “for effect or for the indulgence of a taste for literature.’ The work is an earnest one.

The author, no doubt, intended that it should be, before everything else, a clear and complete exposition of the times he had set himself to chronicle.

Babur has been represented as at once a soldier, a historian and an autobiographer. His kinsman Mirza Haidar may justly be described in the same way. Babur, however, was a better autobiographer than Mirza Haidar, and was incomparably a greater soldier. Mirza Haidar, on the other hand, may clearly be acknowledged a better historian. While Babur made history incidental to his *The Akbar-nima, Persian text, 1877, Vol. I, page 198.

Memorrs, says Mr. Ney Elias, in his Introduction to Sir Denison Ross’s translation of the Ya’rtkh-i-Rashidi, the reverse was the case with Mirza Haidar. The Mirza, continues Mr. Klias, wrote the history of his race and family with a definite purpose; and when he came to his own days, he wove in his personal adventures as those of an actor and participator in the events he was recording—making the one illustrate the other ; so that it may, with truth, be said that his life belongs to history. The Mirza wrote in Persian.

Babur wrote in the Chaghtai Turki.

Mirza, Haidar was 16 years younger than Babur and was killed at the age of 52 near Khanpor, 12 miles from

Srinagar, on the old Mughul road. He was buried in 1541 a.c., in Srinagar. Babur died at the age of 48 at Agra in 1530 a.c., 11 years before Mirzé Haidar, and lies buried at Kabul.

SULTAN NAZUK SHAH (1) [946 to 958 2۸4.۳. or 1540 to 1551 A.C.]

Mirz& Haidar did not feel himself secure enough to assume kingship. He thought it safer to have a titular king on the throne, and himself to enjoy all real power. He, therefore, elevated Nazuk, the son of Fath Shah, to the throne, and ruled the country to the entire satisfaction of almost all sections of the people for a period of time.

Barely a year had passed after the marriage of his niece with Sher Shah Sir that Kaji Chak obtained from him two elephants and five thousand horsemen commanded by

Husain Khan Shirwani and ‘ Adil (or sccording to the Akbar-néma ’Alawal) Khan, and invaded ’Kashmir. Kaji Chak now found Kashmir stronger and better able to defend herself against a foreign invasion. He therefore lost the day. Inthe words of Mirz& Haidar, ’“’at noonday prayers on Monday, the 8th Rabi‘-us-Sani 948 (2nd August, 1541 a.c., and not 20th Rabi‘ Il=—16th Avgust as noted in Beveridge’s Akbar-ndma, Vol. I, ٠

403), we routed an army of 5000 cavalry and_ several thousand foot with a body of only 300 men. Fath-tMukarrar: or ‘ Victory Repeated’ (948 a.H.=1541 a.c.) composed by the Khatib of Kashmir, Maulana Jamal-udDin Muhammad Yisuf,? yields the date of Mirzi Haidar’s 1. 6 2.

Abu'l Fazl's Akbar-néma, Persian text, Calcutta, 1877, Vol.

وpage 198. Also Roas's Eng. Trans. of the Ta'rikh-t-Rashtdi, p. 485. * Repeated Vietory"® has reference to Mirz& Haidar's previotis successful mvasion of Beshwiras the agent of

هاKhan, the ruler of Kishghar.

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victory. Two years later, Rigi Chak rebelled and, suffering a defeat, fled from the country and joined Kaji Chak. The two then united their forces and marched again upon Kashmir. Mirza Haidar was again able to inflict such a crushing defeat upon them as hastened the death of Kaji Chak, whose date is embodied in the expression Faut-tSarddr, 951 A.H.==1544 A.c.

Free from all anxiety of rivals, Mirza Haidar tried to revive the industrial glories of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin's reign. By his territorial conquest, he again added Little Tibet, Pakhli, Rajauri and Kishtwar to the kingdom of

Kashmir. He further resorted to various measures to revive and re-establish the industries for which Kashmir liad created a name for herself.

In statesmanship, too, he tried to follow in the footprints of that illustrious monarch, and very largely succeeded in his object by meting out equal treatment to all sections of the people. He successfully reconciled public opinion and pacified the qualms of those who regarded him as a foreigner. But unfortunately peace did nct continue for long.

Rightly or wrongly, Mirzé Haidar conceived the idea that the prevailing religious schism was solely responsible for all the intrigues and dissensions which marred

the progress of Kashmir. The trcuble caused by the inroads of Kaji Chak and his comrades was there. The

١١١٣26 also observed that the adherents of the new Shf'ite faith had made themselves conspicuous in all reactionary measures. In the words of Abu'l Fazl,* " the Mirza transgressed the laws of justice 'the watchman of dominion' and let fall from his hands prudence and forbearance, the two arms of felicity."' He, therefore, resolved to crush out cf existence this new faith ; hence his changed attitude and changed line of action. He quarrelled with

Malik Rigi Chak, whose fall was precipitated by the factions of Malik 'Idi Raina and Husain Magre. They at first, helped

Mirza Haidar but, later on, filled the whole of Kashmir with stories of Mirzi, Haidar's oppression and high-handedness. No wonder this incident chafed the Mirza, and further strengthened him in his attitude of hostility towards all adherents of the Shi'a faith. Mir Daniy4l, the son of Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi, was executed after a year's imprisonment, according to Hasan, on the fatwa (ruling) of

Qazi *The Akbar-nama, Persian Text, Calcutta, 1877, Vol. I, page 199.

Ibrahim, Qa2zi'Abdul Ghaffiir. The promising career of usefulness of the voung man was thus rudely cut short. Daniyal's date of death is touchingly Dashi-i-Karbald (957 A.H.=1549 a.c.). The grave of Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi at Jadi-bal was desecrated and hence the transfer of the dead body of Mir

Shams to Chadura. Malik 'Idi Rina or Raina, Husain Magre, Malik Muhammad Naji and Khwaja Haji Bande formed a faction—possibly aided by Islam Shah Sir, which the Mirza thought it was his duty to crush.

Qara Bahadur Khan, the Mirza's cousin,! accompanied by a combined army of Mughuls and Kashmiris, was dispatched to reduce to subjection Muhammadkdt, their stronghold, which might be located in the hilly tract, higher up Khanpor or Awanpér, near about Rajauri. On his arrival there, Qara Bahadur Khan found the Kashmiris wavering and the nobles disaffected. He, therefore, warned Mirza Haidar against the folly of the measures he had embarked upon. But Mirza Haidar felt that he could not now retract the step he had already taken, and therefore ordered an assault which ended disastrously. Qara Bahadur Khan and his followers fell captives to the Kashmiris. Aggravated by this failure, the Mirza resolved upon a night attack to release Qaré Bahadur Khan, when an arrow from his own armour-bearer Shah Nazir, struck him fatally.2 Malik Haidar Chadura,®? however, asserts that, while the Mirza was in the act of entering the gate of the fort a butcher or;'according to another version, Kamal Dili (wrongly transcribed in Abu'l Fazl's and Nizam-udDin's versions as Kamal Dibi), who happened to be at the gate, challenged him. The Mirz&'s ignorance of the Kashmiri language proved fatal. Dili discovered that the Mirza was a Mughul because of his foreign accent and brought down his heavy axe upon him. Since, however, only an arrow wound is stated to have been visible on the dead body of Mirz4 Haidar, the strong presumption is that it was Shah Nazir who by mistake killed 1. Some writers call Qaraé Bahadur Khan, Mirzi Haidar's brother, others call him his nephew. Pand't Quka calls him Humfyiin's son in one place, and Mirzi Haidar's servant in another. Even Abu'l Fazl calls him Haidar's پرادرinthe Akbar-néma, Persian Text, Vol. I, page138 (Ce 8 this ہانہدب٥7 بہBeveridge's English Translation, Vol. Il,

ید Briggs, Vol. IV, page 508.

igi).

&. The Ta’rikhi-Kashmér by Malik Haidar Chidura, page 188. See ’glso Lieut. Newall’s article entitled: A Shetch of the Muhammadan History of Kathmér, ¥. 4. 6· B., Volume 28, No. 5—-1854, page 424.

his own master by an arrow in a dark cloudy night. Ney Elias says the locality where the Mirza fell ’* must have been somewhere near Baramila on the Jhelum.”? This is wrong. Mirzi Haidar fell near Khanpér onthe old

Mughul road. Khanpor is pronounces by Kashmiris as Khampor and is in the Pulwama Tahsil. Khanpor is now a small village of 100 souls and is about 12 miles from Srinagar.

The fire of strife thus ignited could not be quelled without claiming its full due. Mulla Qasim, Mulla Baqi, Mulla ’Abdullah Samargqaindi, Muhammad Nagar and Yisuf Mirza,

Mirza Haidar’s foster-brother, who were among the foremost and most gallant of the Mirza’s nobles, and had respectively recovered Little Tibet, Pakhli, Mangli? (between Mansehra and Abbotabad), and Kishtwar, also suffered at the altar of a policy which aimed at the total extirpation of the Shiites in Kashmir. The conceiver of this policy himself fell. The date of Haidur’s death, viz. 958 a.H. (October 1551 A.C.), is expressed in the following chronogram :—

شبادت زده کوس شاهیslo lay ی حیدر ا مرژ ن رگا گر شه lis وملش تفا بے ده ئ الم

Pe tog cer قفا البی It is said that the rebels had decided to treat Mirza Haidar’s remains with disrespect. The dead hody of Mirza Haidar could not be buried at Khanpor where he fell, or Awanpdor (with 221 souls, now in Tahsil Badgam), where an engagement also seems to have taken place.

K 8١٢8 and A wary Sr‘ t only two miles from Chadura (population 1,064,

Be dgam Tahsil), the residence of noted Sli‘as. But when the reb: ls found their confederates of the Sunni faith resolved to resist them, they had to give way. They, however, wreaked their vengeance on Mirza’s descendants. Firishta is silent on this point. But Malik Haidar Chadura (page 188) asserts that, accompanied by Mirzi Qaraé Bahadur Khan, Mirza Haidar’s family, his sons and others were allowed to repair with honour to their home, Kashghar, with all their property untouched. Chadura’s statement is not accepted in its entirety for the reason that he also espoused the Shi’ite faith. It is not improbable that in the flush of victory 1. Lhe on Ta’rikh+-Rashidi—English Translati _Introdueti rome BR g ranslation by Ross and

Unless Danagal, a Ghakkar hill fort on the lower Jhelum, is Fazl’s notes, Akbar-nama, Vol. III, page 627. w meant.

Elias Pak li as Abu2’] of Pakh But the locality of Mangli was in the outskirts of and goaded by bigotry, the Chaks did not act as chivalrously as could be desired. We learn from Hasan, that Sayyid Muhammad Baihagi had to guard the Mirza’s grave for a month against its possible desecration by the Chaks. According to the Tabdgai–Akbari the remnant of the Mughul following of Mirzi Haidar fled back to Andark6t where the Mirza’s wife Khanam and his sister Khanji were staying. The Mughuls fortified themselves but Mirz&’s wife and sister said to the Mughuls : فش Mirza Haidar has gone away from us, it is better to have peace with the Kashmiris.” All furniture and goods from Andarkdt were removed by the victors. The remains of Mirz& Haidar are buried outside the enclosure of the graves of Bad Shah and others in Srinagar. The grave was repaired at the instance of William Moorcroft,* *William Moorcroft, English traveller, was born in

Lancashire about 1770 a.c. He was educated at Liverpool in medicine and then turned to the study of veterinary science, which he later practised in London. In pursuit of veterinary work he went over to France for a time and then returned to London. Forced by his private circumstances he became Inspector of the Bengal stud of the Hast India Company in 1808. In this capacity he undertook a journey into Central Asia to obtain a stock of Turkomén horses as he regarded the Turkoman horses from Balkh and Bukhara superior to the Arab variety. With Captain William Hearsey (afterwards General Sir John), he left Josimath, well within the mountains, on May 26, 1812. Crossing the frontier pass of Niti, they struck the main upper branch of the Indus near its source, and on August 5 arrived at the sacred lake of Manasarowar, Returning by Bhutan, he was detained some time by the Gurkhas, and reached Calcutta in November. Moorcroft set out on a second journey in October 1819. On August 14 the source of the Beas (Hyphasis) was discovered, and subsequently that of the Chenab. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, was reached on September 24, and a commercial treaty was concluded with the Government of Ladakh, by which the whole of Central Asia was virtually opened to British trade, Kashmir was reached on November 3, 1822, Jalalabad on June 24, 1824 Kabul on June 30, and Bukhara on February 25,1825. At Andkui, in Afghan Turkistan, Moorcroft was seized with fever, of which he died on August 27, 1825 and was buried outside the walls of Balkh. His companion George Trebeck,—the son of a London solicitor settled in Calcutta interested in the preparation of geographical notes, survived him only afew days. But according to the Abbé Huc, Moorcroft reached Lhasa in 1826 and lived there 12 years, being assassinated on his way back to India in 1838: In 1841, Moorcroft's papers were obtained by the Asiatic Society and published under the editorship of H. H. Wilson, under the title of Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh

and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 fo 1825.—{Based on the Encyclopadia Britannica, 14th edition, London, 1929, Volume 15, page 782,] Mr. H. L. O. Garrett in the Asiatic Resiew for Ovtober 1941 (page 785) says:, " Most probably he was an meiigenee officer sent to Bukhara to spy out the land'? (Central Asia)

the traveller. in 1823, and a stone slab with an inscription set up on it by 'Izzatullah Khan, an attaché of Moorcrott. Mirzi Haidar Dighlat entered Kashmir with the sword and the spear, but ended his sovereignty with the fire of religious strife and burnt himself by it.

From the Akbar-ndma,! it appears that Humaytin had resolved to invade Kashmir, an intention he had cherished for years. His officers, however, thought it inadvisable. Humayin sought an omen from the Qur'an. It chanced that the story of Hazrat Yisuf came up. Khwaja Husain Marvi, a courtier, submitted that Kashmir was likened to a well or a prison as was the fate of Hezrat Yisut (Prophet Joseph). Humayin was thus compelled to abandon his intention of invading the Valley. Had the courtiers desired to invade Kashmir, they could certainly have interpreted the omen as referring to Yisul's subs: quent sovereignty of Egypt!

After the death_of Mirzi Haidar, power devolved on to the shoulders of 'Idi Rina or Rama who had long been desirous of it. Under him, Kashmir was attacked by Haibat Khan Niyazi, who was deputed by Salim Shah Sir? the son and successor of Sher Shah Sir after Niyazi had patched up his quarrel with Salim Shah Stir. Daulat Chak, the chief commander, heat the enemy back and won distinction for his exploits. Then followed a hard tussle for power between

'Idi Raina and other Chaks led by Daulat Chak.? Most of 'Idi Raina's partisans deserted him.

Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim Baihaqi and Husain Magre who remained faithful were captured by Daulat

Chak.

The inevitable conse-

quence of the resultant disintegration of 'Idi Raina's party was a defeat which ultimately ended in 'Idi Raina's death

2 Srinagar in 1551 a.c., and the ascendancy of the aks.

This ascendancy definitely marks the beginning of their accession to power. Daulat Chak having taken all authority 1. The Akbar-néma, Persian text, Volume I, pages 329-30. _2. Lieut. Newall asserts that the party had Ghazi Khan, Husain Khan and 'Ali Khan, Kaji Chak's sons, as their leaders.—J.A.8.B., No. 5

—1854, page 424. 3. Salim Shah Sir had a Kashmiri wife and had a daughter by her. The wife and the daughter proceeded to Hajj with Bairam's caravan.

Bairam was killed by an Afghan en route.—Akbar-nama (English translation by Beveridge, Vol. IT, page 201).

in his own hands now released Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim Baihagi and Husain Magre, and made them his councillors. His assumption of power was so certain that he actually dethroned Sultan Nazuk Shah in 1551 a.c.

SULTAN ISMAIL SHAH II [958 to 961 A.A. or 1551 to 1554 A.C]

Firishta! differs from Malik Haidar Chadura about the next succession. Firishta asserts that, after Nazuk Shah, his son Ibrahim, was placed on the throne, but was 4 after a reign of only five months, and Isma'il Shah II, son of Ibrahim Shah

I, who was the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah, was raised to kingship. Firishta designates Ibrahim, Nazuk's son, as Ibrahim

• Daulat Chak imposed his will and the Shiite tenets on the country in a high-hauded manner, compelling the imams (priests) of mosques, on pain of death, to recite the names of the Twelve Imams of the Shi'as in Friday sermons. But his ascendancy did not last long. In those days of decentralized kingship, intrigue had become an integral part of the temperament of the Kashmiri nobilitv, and it was carried on irrespective of considerations of caste and creed. Ghazi Chak and Daulat Chak, although both Shivas, were greatly at variance with each other, because the latter had the hardihood to marry? Kaji Chak's widow, 7.e., Ghazi Chak's mother.

Daulat Chak had to flee, but was caught and handed over by a shepherd to Ghazi Chak's soldiery and put to death. Many stories are related of Daulat's deeds of prowess • and strength. It is said that once he caught with one hand a fallmge beam twenty-four yards long and two yards thick.

When at Delhi, he caught an elephant by the tail in the presence of Sher Shah Sir, and the animal could not move at a Daulat is also credited with having shot an arrow two

• As soon as Daulat Chak's star waned, Ism&'il's reign also came to a close.

Briggs, Vol. IV, pages 505-06.

Lieut. Newall,—J/.4.S8.B., No. 5,—1854, page 424, THE LAST OF THE

SHAH MIRIS. [961 to 962 ʌ4.77. or 1554 to 1555 A.C.]

h and placed on the Ghazi Chak deposed Isma'l Sha h the son of Ismail throne his own nephew, Habib Shaan ammad Shah. Shah II. tle grandson cf Sult

Muhhis temporary Habib Shah had also, in 945 ارنه owed accession to Kaji Chak who, in turn, had his own selfish as the desions for it. Habib Shah goes down to history cted last of his line, though, strangely enough, he expe more of his dynasty to follow him as this inscription shows

ابات شاهان SotlaS ٌعنقر بب a و و در زیارت روضۀ اجداد شود سلطان حبیب
مقه و دررازه دیئر 4 ,eac ys we دید وگفت ۳

تعمیر hAنصیب گاه نوشنیدم از سروش _ Sl آ روضه نهگرده هیچ alبه

هف سلطان حریب انی yls سال اربجححخش Ever since the days of Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah the descendants of the great Shah Mir were mere figure-

heads, who were enthroned or dethroned according to the whim of the noble in power. The Chaks, however, at first entertained no ambitious designs to usurp kingship until the accession of Habib Shah. This, it seems, was now their objective and for this they staked their lives and their purse.

Ghazi Chak now began to work out his policy.

He siarted by accusing the Sultan of various misdemeanours and possibly of acts of faithlessness. The Sultan was powerless to say or to do anything. At last, one day in open court, Ghazi Chak's brother, "Ali Chak, took off the crown from the king's head, and placed it on his brother's. The courtiers hailed Ghazi Chak as their monarch. Habib Shah was removed from the throne and kept as a prisoner

All this happened in 963 a.H. (1555 a.c.).

This event in Kashmir history is not unlike that in English history, when seventy years earlier, Richard IIT's crown, struck from his head on Bosworth Field

(August 22, 1485), was presented to Henry Harl of Richmond who became Henry VII. There appears to be no cause for lamentation over the displacement of the Shah Miri dynasty in Kashmir. Its rulers had become quite effete. They sadly lacked the essential qualities of initiative and capacity to command. They also displayed weakness of character, and were not, therefore, capable of holding their place. It was only by a, divine mercy, or it might be said, the diffidence of the Chaks, that they were allowed to maintain the réle of supernumerary kings under Chak domination. As a matter of fact, they should have long been displaced to make room for kings of vigour and virility.

Addenda to Chapter IV A short note on Lahul, which is mentioned on page 170, is given here. Lahul, with its rich pastures for sheep and the famous pashmina goats, 18 a mountainous country between Western Tibet and North

Punjab, and never descends below 10,000 feet. It is a Waziri or canton of the Kuli sub-division of the Kangra district, in the East Punjab. Qn the north, Lahul is bounded by the Ladakh province of Kashmir, and on the west by the Chamba State. The population in 1901 was 7,205. Hiuen Tsiang notices it as a district lying north-east of Kult and calls it Lo-hu-lo. The Lahulis hold in their hands the trade between Ladakh and Central Asia, and also of Kuli and the East Punjab. The rigours of climate and country have produced a sturdy people. A Lihul woman's choice of jewels on festive occasions i$ an amazing collection of amber, turquoise, coral, and silver ornaments daringly worn together.

i, THE SHAH MIRI DYNASTY [Chronology and Genealogy of the Muslim Kings of Kashmir by بدJ.R.4.8., 1918, page 468. This same is T. W. Haig, reproduced in The Camhridge History of India, Volume ITI, Turks and Afghans, edited by Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. 698, 699 and 700.] A.D.

٨.1. 747 750 ٩ 760 730 796 819 823 875 876 Shah Mirza, Shams-ud-Din Jamshid

Mir Khan, ’Ali Shah | Shahi Khan, Zain-ul-’Abidin Haji Khan, Haidar Shah

947 Muhammad Shah, restored · Fath Shah, restored .. Muhammad Shah, again restored Ibrahim Shah I ١ Nazuk Shah · Muhammad Shah, again restored Shams-ud-Din Shah IT Nazuk Shah, restored

“47 958 959 962 Mirza Haidar Dighlat, usurper Nazuk Shah, again restored Ibrahim Shah 1 Isma‘il Shah

964-968 19 Alabih Shah 971 977 986 993-997) ات ہرehW 968

1420 Nov.-Dec. Dec. 1471 or Jan. we Hasan Shah Muhammad Shah Fath Shah

903 il 903-04 12 904-05 11 932 933 941 · ’Ali Shir, ’Ali-ud-Din Shirashimak, Shihib-ud-Din Hindal, Qutb-ud-Din Sikandar. Butshikan

894 894 935 13846 1349 1350 1359 1378 1393-94 1416 1470 1472 1489 1489 1497-98 1498 1499 1526

1527 1529 · 1534-35 June-July, 1540 Nov. 22, 1541 1551 1552 1555 1557-1561

THE CHAK DYNASTY Ghazi Shah Nasir-ud-Din Husain Shah Zahir-ud-Din ’Ali Shah Yiisuf Shah · Ya‘qitib Shah · (Mughul Emperors)

1561 1563-4 1569-70 1578-9 1585-1589 Note.—K. de Zambaur in his Manuel de Généalogie et Chronologie pour U Histoire del’ Islam(Hanovre, 1927),—Part II, page 293, has differen t dates; for instance, 735 a.n. for the accession of Shams-ud-Din Tahir Mirzii Switi, 820 for that of Zain-ul-’Abidin, and 80 On.

213 ACCORDING TO THE ‘A’in-ieAkbari’ OF ABU’L FAZL.* Thirty-two princes reigned 282 years, 5 months, 1 day. A.H.

ALC.

Rinjan of Tibet, a native of that country, سب 10 years and some months,

THE SHAH MIRIS 715 1315 Sultan Shams-ud-Din, minister of Sinha Deva

750 752 765 785 799 1349 1351 1363 1386 1396 Sultan Jamshid, his son

Sultan ’Alé-ud-Din, son of Shams-ud-Din Sultan Shihab-ud-Din

Sultin Qutb-ud-Din, son of ٠+ ud-Din(?) Sultan Sikandar, his son, whose name was Sankar

Sultan ’Ali Shah, his son Sultan Zainu’l ’Abidin, younger brother of

819 826 1416 1422 877 902 1472 1473 1486 1496 911 1506 Sultan Hasan Khan, his son .. Sultan Muhammad Shah, his son Sultan Fath Shah, son of Adam Khan, son of Sultan Zainu’l ’Abidin 7 Sultan Muhammad Shah, a second time ..

1535 Sultén Muhammad Shah, a third time Sultan Ibrahim, his son ٠ Sultan Nazuk Shah, son of Fath Shah

Ali Shah 878 891 942 948 1541 Sultan Haji Haidar Shah, his son

Sultén Fath Shah, a second time Sultan Muhammad Shah, a fourth time .. Sultan Shamsi, son of Muhammad Shah. Sultan Ism&’il Shah, his brother Sultan Nazuk Shah, a second time Sultan Isma‘il Shah, a second time Mirza Haidar Girgan

Sultan Nazuk Shah, 8 third time ٧٢.

M.D.

11 25 18 13 0 0 5 2 2-7 ٥ 1 0 9 9 1 0 11 1 8 2 0 0 8 10 2 0 9 0 9 0 5 0

THE CHAKS 971 1563 Ghazi Khan, son of Kaji Chak Husain Chak, his brother

“Ali Chak, brother of Husain Chak .. 10 *Cf. English Translation by Colonel H. 8. Jarrett, Vol.

IT, pages 379-

Period of reign AC.

AH.

1578 Yusuf Shah, his son 986 Y. M. • Sayyid Mubarak Shah, one of his دمهلمامه. Lohar Chak, son of Sikandar, son of Kaji

1 8 لات2 0 5 3 0 0 0 ١ Chak Yiisuf Shah, a second time Ya‘qib Khan, his son

ا Notr.—The Kashmir Sultans, as given in Princep’s Tables,t follow the above order of the A’tn-i-Akbart of Abu’l Fazl except that, between 948 a.u.-=1441 a.c., and 971 a.H.=1563 a.c., we find— A.H.

A.C.

960 963 964 1552 1555 1556 Ibrahim Tsma ’il Habib Also that a few details of names of rulers are omitted between 891 a.H.==1486 ٥.0, to 911 4.H.=1505 a.c., which are given by 1

Fazl.

DATES OF THE SHAH MIRIS AND CHAKS ACCORDING TO JONARAJA, CRIVARA, PRAJVABHATTA & CUKA.

[See the List of Kings at the end of Vol. IIT of Kings of Kashmira by Jogesh Chander Dutt, Elm Press, Calcutta, 1898, pp. XXI, XXII, NNUIT and XXIV at the end.]} A.C. Period of reign Rinchana (Sultan Sadr-ud-Din)

1320 O ۵0 10(?) 18)8(THE SHAH MIRIS Shahamera alias Shamshadena (Sultan Shamsud-Din I, Shih Mir) 1339 Jamsara (Jamshid) .. 1342 Alavadina (’Alf-ud-Din) — .. 134 Shahavadina (Shihahb-ud-Din) .. 1854 Kumbhadina (Qutb-ud-Din) .. 1373 Shekandhara (Sikandar) .. 1889 Alishaha (’Ali Shah) 4. 1418

Jainollabhadina (Zain-ul-’Abidin)

۱ Haidara Shaha (Haidar Shah)

1420 (By calculation 50 vears)

1470 1 The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir by C. J.

J.A.8.B., Volume XLVI, Part I, No. 4, 1879, pages 283-4.

۲ on ی یبی یبی oooO Mahmada Shaha (2nd time) Phataha Shaha (2nd time) Mahmada Shaha (3rd time) Tbrahima Shaha (Ibrahim) Najoka Shaha (Nazuk Shah) Mahmada Shaha (4th time)* Samsha Shaha (Shams-ud-Din IT) Habhebha (Habib Shah)

|تب ت هه Mahmada Shaha (Muhammad Shah) Phataha Shaha (Fath Shah)

1472 1484 1486 1514 1515 1516 1528 1529 1530 1537 1560 لس Hasana Shaha (Hasan Shah)

نں | نے ھ ھ ھوOro ss 216 oooO مہ بت soC 1579 1587

لس 1578 | نت نمtep |‘ ہے 1578 1578 OC 1569 —

Lahvara Chakka (Lohur Shah) Yosobha (2nd time) Yakobha (Ya‘qiib Shah)

1562 نت تب Momara Khana (Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi)

1560 سس Gaja Shaha (Ghazi Shah) Hosaina Shaha (Husain Shah) Ale Shaha (’Ali Shah) Yosobh Shaha (Yisuf Shah)

ہ ہ THE CHAKS

Chapter V — Kashmir under the Chaks

From a perusal of its history, Kashmir appears to be a land of hospitality. Shah Mir, the founder of the Shah Miri dynasty, and Lankar or Langar Chak, the progenitor of the Chak dynasty, were well received. Though Lankar or Langar himself had not the distinction of wearing a regal crown, his descendants gradually so strengthened them-

selves that they were able to exert very great influence on the politics of Kashmir: to enthrone and dethrone kings, and finally to wield the sceptre.

The history of the Chaks,1 to whom a Dardic origin is ascribed, bears a strange resemblance to that of the Marathas.

[For the history ofthe word Dard, see Chapter VIII, sec-

tion Kashmiri language.] The Chaks—called the Chakregas or Chakras in the Kashmir Chrontcles—gradually rose from obscurity, and forced their existence even upon the attention of a wise ruler like Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin,? whose penetrating eye enabled him to predict the sovereignty they finally acquired. They sought and entered service with the nobles. They thus strengthened and consolidated their position till, at last, they were able to assert themselves under the redoubtable leadership of Kaji or Qazi Chak

(called by the Chronicles Kafichana Chakreca or Kacha Chakra) and became an important factor in the politics of Kashmir. omens,

1, The word Chak is written by Sir Wolseley Haig as Chakk but the more correct Kashmiri pronunciation is something like Tsak or Tschak. 2. Lt. Newall's4

Sketch of the Muhammedan History of Kashmir.— J. A. S. B., No. 5,—1854, page. 146

217 It is noteworthy that the rise of the Chaks synchronizes with their conversion to the Shiite doctrine promulgated by Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi, whom Malik Haidar Chadura calls Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Muhammad 'Iraqi, in the first reign of Sultan Fath Shah when Husain Chak became a Shi'a. And Husain's descendants continued to be Shi'as. To clarify the link it may be stated that Lankar or Langar Chak's fourth descendant, named Pandti Chak, had flourished as a feudal lord in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin.

Pandii had two sons, Himmat and Husain. Husain, as we said, became Shi'a while Himmat remained Sunni. Himmat, however, had no sovereignty among his descendants, though they occupied high positions in civil and military employ. Shams, Rigi, Mas'id and Bahram are notable instances in this line of Himmat. It would be incorrect to say that change over to Shirism by Husain's line had fired the Chaks with an ambition for the throne. History has not yet proved it. The fact must not, however, be omitted that they were already strong enough to interfere in the trend of events and exert their influence when internecine war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah gave them time to make hey. All through their career,either as partisans of a particu-

lar king, or as wielders of regal authority, they did not give much promise of their statesmanship. They showed narrowmindedness too. No Shah Miri showed, such religious bias against Shi'as as Ghazi Chak and Husain Chak displayed against the Sunnis of Kashmir. The bitterness of feeling resulting in a number of serious clashes between Shi'ag and Sunnis—and their number is put down at eighteen—earned for the Shi'a of Kashmir the notoriety of Bé Pir like

the Sunni of Balkh. The Chaks were clever at intrigue too. But it must be admitted that they were good soldiers on the battlefield.

Their exploits cannot be easily forgotten.

Their patriotism and martial spirit were a great advantage to Kashmir.

One can, therefore, emphatically suggest that but for them, Kashmir would have fallen an easy prey to

_ the ambition of Haidar Dighlat or Babur and his immediate successor, in rivalry of whom the Chak rulers took the title of Badshah in place of Sultén adopted by the Shah Miris

[962 to 970 A.H. or 1555 to 1563 A.C]

It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which installed Ghizi Chak as the first ruler of his line. He started his regal career with discretion, and devoted his attention to the removal of evils which had, for long, paralysed the administration of the country.

Ghazi Chak re-conquered or annexed such territories as In this attempt, he had fallen off from the kingdom. attained marked success in recovering Skardu, Gilgit, Kishtwar, Pakhliand Mangli (near Pakhli), besides bringing into subjection the chief of the Gakkhars. In order to ensure efficient administration of these territories, he appointed experienced and intelligent governors to control them.

[Ladakh or Ladag or Great Tibet is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Cultivation is sparse and is carried on uplands ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet high. The climate is very dry and healthy and the air is invigorating. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning|. Leh is the only place of

importance. The people style themselves Bhots. With the exception of one village of Shi'a Musalmans in Chhachkét and of the Arghins or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist among whom polyandry prevailed till recent years; itis now stopped hy legislation. The Arghiins are the result of the union between

Ladakhi women and Kashmiris or Yarqandis. There are also some Turki caravan drivers and Dogrés. In the waterless wastes of sand, says Major Gompertz (Magic Ladakh, 1928, page 45) are to be found the remains of old towns, of old civilizations, paintings and writings in scripts whose very names are unknown.

Baltistan, or Little Tibet, is a tract under the Wazir-i-Wazarat of Ladakh. The rainfall is abont 6 inchesin the year. The air is dry and bracing. The snowfall is often considerable and is of great importance to the villages which depend on the snow for their irrigation. The old rulers of Baltistan were known as Gialpos or Rajas. 'Ali Sher Khan built the fort which lies in the tahsil of the same name which is an important tract of Baltistan.

In the early seventeenth century, 'Ali Mir, chief of Skardu, successfully invaded Baltistan. stock as the Ladakhis.

The Baltis are of the same Though Ladakh and Baltistan are geographically similar, and their people ethnologically the same, the Baltis are generally Muslims while the Ladakhis are Buddhists.

Tibet proper, the land of the Lamas, is called Tibet only.]

Ghazi was a just but somewhat stern ruler. In meting out justice, he showed no compassion even to his kith and kin. Once a servant belonging to his son, Haidar Khan, plucked 'unndb (fruit of the jujube tree) while accompanying the Sultan. The Sultan observed this act of pilfering, and had the delinquent's hands cut off,

a punishment which both grieved and incensed Haidar Khan. Later on, when Ghazi Chak sent Muhammad Malik, the youth's uncle, to admonish him for the sullenness he had displayed, the youth, in a fit of rage, stabbed his uncle. On this, Ghazi Chak caused him to be hanged, and his remains were exhibited on the gibbet for eight days.

Ghazi's sternness roused his own tribesmen against him. Nusrat Chak and Yisuf Chak, sons of Rigi Chak, rose in rebellion against him, but were successfully repressed, Later on, Shankar Chak, Bahram Chak and Fath Chak, sons of Rigi Chak,—who by the way, had seven or more sons— raised the standard of revolt at Sopér, but were defeated and dispersed. Then, Shams Raina, son of "Idi Raina and the grandson of Misi Raina, whom we met under Fath Shah in his second term on pages 191-2, proceeded to Delhi to seek help from Humiayitin.

Unfortunately for him, however, Humayin died as the result of a fall on the da of his arrival. On his return, he met Abu'! Ma'ali,

Humayiin's favourite, who had been driven out by Bairam Khan, and had found refuge in the mountains of Gakkhar. Shams Raina induced him to invade Kashmir. Encouraged by the previous success of Mirza Haidar Dighlat, 1 Ma'ali proceeded to invade Kashmir without hesitation. Ghazi Chak, however, won over Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi and his followers to his side, and successfully defeated the invaders. Shams Raina's brother Muhammad Raina next year led a joint insurrection of the Rainas and some disaffected Chaks, but sustained a defeat.

_ dn 1559, Ghazi's possession of the throne was again disturbed by Qara Bahadur, cousin of Mirzi Haidar

Dighlat, whom Yisuf Chak the son of Rigi Chak and others had induced to fight.

It is stated that Qara Bahadur took 10,000* horse with him.

Rajauri mountains.

The battle took place in the Ghazi Chak advanced in person to meet the enemy, and promised his men a gold coin for each head captured: The king was completely victorious, and 7,000 heads were presented to him after the engagement.

It is said that he exceeded this promise and disbursed two gold coins per head. *f.4,S2B., No. 5,—1854, page 426.

Ghazi Chak was an able and energetic ruler.

He was also a poet.* After reigning for over eight years, he abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Husain Chak on account of a very severe form of leprosy which prostrated him for about two years after which he died. His pride in his Shrite doctrine is expressed by Mulla Mir 'Ali Sazrft in the following quatrain:

گی دوسدان موالی DAPigادد ae گہ نظمغان بہ رفض مرا نام ردہ اند IJ و ٔی حیدر w

شکر ۰ و ۲ ۲ ۰sal ۶ط دشومن بہ اتفاق کہ دوست Some time after his abdication, he divided equally his effects and gave half to his son and other descendants, while he sent the other half to the merchants for sale. The price he demanded for these effects from the merchants was so exorbitant that they complained to Husain Shah, who, on: taking the matter up with Ghazi Chak, so angered him that he sought to re-establish himself but was cleverly checkmated by Husain Shah. Some time later, Husain Shah, for reasons of personal safety

and removing a rival from his path, thought of putting out the eyes of Ahmad Khan, Ghazi

Chak's son.

Ghazi naturally interceded for his son but failed, and died of a broken heart. He had already severely suffered from virulent leprosy as stated above.

HUSAIN SHAH CHAK. [971 to 978 A.H. or 1563 to 1570 A.C.)

Husain Shah ascended the throne in 970 (رم1563 A.C.). Khusrav-i-'Adl is the chronogram of his accession. He was, comparatively speaking, a mild ruler, less bigot ed than his brother, and solicitous about the well-being of his subjects. He regulated the efficient organization of his state finances.

In the year 972 a.n. (1564 «.c.), Husain Shah sent his brother Shunkar Chak as governor of Rajauri. The brother gathered an army and rebelled to seize the throne for himself. He was defeated by the mini ster Malik Muhammad ما grandfather of Haidar Malik

Chadura, our historian,—and the king's younger brother 'Ali *Malik Haidar Chadura's History of

Kashmir, page 201.

Khan Chak. This victory secured considerable favours for Malik Muhammad Naji from the king. The trouble, it appears, did not end here. Next year, in 973 A.B. (1565 4.c.), the Badshah happened to be hunting at Vethnar, in Tahsil Islamabad (Anantnag). In his absence, Fath Chak, called also Khwaja Fath Baqqal and surnamed Khan-uz-Zaman, a minister of the state, rebelled with his son Bahadur Khan. Fath Chak attacked the king's palace to seize the treasure and proclaim himself king.

Malik Muhammad Naji who had been left in charge of the palace was, however, able by recourse to a clever stratagem to beat back Khan-uz-Zaman, and to kill his son.

In the course of this contest, Mas‘tid Nayak, an officer of the king’s bodyguard, made himself conspicuous by his gallant and fearless behaviour. Khan-uz-Zaman was taken prisoner. Onthe Badshah’s return he was led in chains to his preseuce. The Badshih rewarded Mas‘tid Nayak with the title of Mubariz Khan, and the pargana of Phak on the Dal as his jdgir or assignment. Khan-uz-Zaman was, of course, executed for his treachery. Mubariz Khan, however, became rather proud of his power in course of time. The king had therefore real cause not only to be jealous but also to be afraid of him. On Some pretext, the king imprisoned him, and appointed

Malik Lili Lon* in his place. Lili, too, did not enjoy his new office for long. He was detected in an attempt to embezzle forty thousand sharwar of 6812 or unhusked rice and was dismissed.

minister.

’Ali Koka was then appointed prime ١ In 976 2.8. (1568 A.c.) Yisuf Mandav, a Shi‘a fanatic, attacked and somewhat seriously wounded Qazi-ul-Quzzat Sayyid Habibullah Khwé&rizmi, a Sunni Khatib (or Sermonizer) of the Jami‘ Masjid, who was saved from being killed by Maulana Mir Kam4l-ud-Din, his son-in-law. .We shall later meet Mir Kamal-ud-Din as Mulla Kamal the teacher of ’Allama “Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani and ’Allémi Sa‘dullah Khan in Chapter VIII under “ Men of Learning.” The king issued orders for Yisuf’s arrest. A jury of divines consisting of Mulla Shams-ud-Din Almis (known also as Mulla Yisuf) and *Lond written by mistake by Bakhshi Nizim-ud-Din in his Tabagat-.

Akbari, litho, pp. 626-27 and De's Persian Text, Vol. 3, page 493.

Mulla Firiz Ganai appointed by the king, had Yiasut Mandav stoned to death.

Soon after this, there arrived in Kashmir an embassy from Akbar's court led by Mirza Muhammad Mugim and Mir Ya'qith, both of Shi'a persuasion. The Badshah welcomed them in person, and had his own tent pitched for their reception at Hiirapér.* They then proceeded by boat to Srinagar, and were lodged in the house of Husain Magre, a nobleman. 8 Mugim committed an act of | ereat indiscretion by interfering in the matter of the stoning to death of Yisuf the Shi'a fanatic, referred to above. Purely an internal affair, it should have been settled by Husain Shah himself. But unfortunately Husain Shih absented himself from the city on this occasion to escape the clamour of the contending Shi'a and Sunni parties whose passions were now roused against each other. Mirzi Mugqim instigated making over the divines, who had acted as judges in Viisuf's case, to Fath Khan, a Shi'a official. Fath Khan had them executed, and dragged their dead bodies through the streets.

After his return to the city, Husain Shah, in his anxiety to avoid misrepresentation by Mirza

Mugim at the court of Akbar, and lest the Emperor should be displeased at Husain Shah's own hesitation to punish the divines, gave them suitable presents.

Husain Shah also agreed to give his own daughter for the emperor's son

Salim to wed. A deputation of Kashmiris, headed by Haji Ganai, waited upon Akbar to report the disgraceful treatment of the dead bodies of the divines, and seek redress at his hands. The deputation was successful in rousing Akbar against Mirzi Mugim and against Husain Shah Chak. On Mirza Muqim's return, Akbar

had him executed for religious bigotry, and sent back Husain Shah's presents. The emperor also sent back Husain Shah's daughter. Husain

Shah received such a shock at Akbar's insult that, as a result of it as well as of his son's death, he did not survive more thanafew months. Cuka, however, states that Husain Shah died of epilepsy.

Husain Shah seems to have had, in general, very catholic views.

He set aside three days in the weck to listen to the discourses of Muslim and

Hindu religious scholars and *Hitrapor village in the Pir Panjal valley is about seven miles south-

west ۵۶ Shupian. The ancient name of Hiirapor was QCiirapura. Hurapor is the entrance and exit to and from Kashmir towards Rajauri.

pulation 1535, Po-

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

before a particular 'Id—

The Badshah wrote back the following line —:

فهم را نے آں eFاین رسد نے این رسد Khwaja A'zam and Pir couplets of Husain Shah—

Hasan Shah و ۰۹ quote other ايد ان قركت ال پوس سوار سمند مد

یہ ۰ آید بستنم خاجر بار می چاثل کردہ بخ و و یتم کار می اید دلا برخیز و کارے کن کہ جان در It was the set practice of Husain Shah, after Friday prayers, to order his treasurer to put aside a sum which he gave away in charity. Cuka says: "' The goddess of wealth, though insulted by large expenditures, went with him."' The

Tabaqat-t-Akbart says, Husain Shah founded a college and lived in the sociéty of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the pargana of Zaina-por as their

7+.

Before he died, the nobles at the court began to intrigue about the next successor. Some favoured a choice between Husain Shah's brother, 'Ali Khan and Sayyid Mubarak

Baihaqi, while others preferred to have the youthful prince Yisuf Khan as their next king. 'Ali Khan retired ۱۲ ۵ and returned with an army. Daulat Chak then advised the king to send the royal insignia to 'Ali Khan to avoid bloodshed. The king followed his advice, abdicated on account of epilepsy in 1570 a.c., and thenceforward remained at Zaina-por where he passed away in 1572 ۰

Pa'rikh-i-Kashmir by 2 Ibéd., page 202.

Malik Haidar Chadura, nad page 203.

'ALI SHAH CHAK [978 to 987 A.H. or 1570 to 1579 A.C.]

'Ali Khan ascended the throne as 'Ali Shah Chak.

Like his brother Husain Shah, 'Ali Shah too was a just and wise ruler. He showed great respect towards saints and friars. As Baba Da'tid Khaki says—

پور او شهزاده چوسف با حاه و حلال cullٹوستدارصالحان * توران علی شاه hguohtlA eht skahC erew ,sa‘ihS dna eht sa‘ihS fo rimhsaK era denmednoc ekil eht sinnuS fo hklaB ni eht laciritas naisreP -—telpuoc

در اند پیر بے جهان وo49,5 دو it appears on the testimony of a great Sunni leader, the heutenant of Sultan-ul-’Arifin Shaikh Hamza Makhdim, namely, Baba 0304 Khaki, that this ruler was good to the Sunnis. An impostor from [ran dressed in the garb of a darvish and named Shah ’Arif came to Kashmir. He claimed relationship with the reigning Safavi king, but was found out.

to Soon after his accession, all feuds among his nobles.

‘Ali He Shah put appointed an end Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Baihagi, who was a Sunni, as his prime minister. Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi was the grandson of Sayyid’ Muhammad Baihagi whom we have known in the course of the struggle between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah. Sayyid Muhammad

Mubarak was the son of Sayyid Ibrahim Baihagi. These Baihaqis descended from Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi, the father-in-law of Bad Shah and had migrated to Kashmir during the time of Sultan Sikandar from Baihaq a district to the North-West of Nishapur in Tran. They took a very prominent part in the days of the Later Shah-Miris.-

politics of Kashmir during t curing me Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi, ’Ali Shah’s prime minister a brave man indeed, seems to have been a pers on singularly disposed towards peace, and settling affai rs by tact.

He showed great wisdom on several occasions: notahly • in securing the king’s pardon for ’Ali Chak, son of Nauriz

Chak, who had been imprisoned for rebellion. He also restored peace and amity between the monarch and his son

Yiisuf Khan who had killed, in an altercation, [brahim Khan, popularly known as 1002 Khan, the son of Ghazi Chak. -

Bahadur Singh, the raja of Kishtwar, who had ascended the gaddz in 1570 a.c. was defeated twice in succession. After his first defeat in 1572 a.c., the raja offered to the Badshah's grandson, Ya'qgiib Khan, his sister Shankar Devi. This lady, later on, gained the sobriquet of Fath Khattin and subsequently took her husband, when he was defeated by Akbar, to Kishtwar. The raja also promised to maintain the annual tribute.

When he was defeated the second time in 1574, the raja gave his son Narain Singh as hostage, and renewed his pledge for payment of tribute. The same year, 'Ali Shah received Qazi Sadr-ud-Din and Maulana 'Ishqi, Akbar's ambassadors, with a message of matrimonial alliance. He thereupon sent his niece, Husain Shah'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 Khan and Salim Khan, sons of Nazuk Shah, allied themselves with certain nobles of Hindustan and proceeded to invade Kashmir in 1575 a.c. 'Ali Shah 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 Salim Khan and put him to the sword, at which Haidar Khan fled. Thus ended this final attempt of Shah Mir's descendants to regain the throne.

In 984 aH. (1576 ac.) Kashmir suffered from a famine which lasted for three years. Food had become so scarce that, at times, people actually stooped to cannibalism. Zaiti Chak, popularly known as Zait

Shah, was a zealous darvish and a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Mekhdtim. When ’Ali Shah asked Zaiti how long the famine

- was to last, Zaiti 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 ’ldgah, as the pommel of his saddle entered his stomach. Before his death, however, he saw his son, Yiisuf, crowned king to prevent Abdal Khan Chak, his own brother, from creating any mischief. Abdal Khan Chak was eventually killed by Sayyid Mubarak Baihagi, the Vazir-i-A‘zam.

YOGSUF SHAH CHAK (i) [987 ʌ.77. or 1579 4.01 Yiisuf Shah continued to have Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi 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 Bat was appointed in his place, and the king continued indifferent to the state.

The nobles banded themselves together and sought help from Sayyid Mubarak Baihagqi who advised them to avoid rebellion. At the same time, he sent word to the king through Baba Khalil, a Shi‘a divine, requesting him to treat theinsurgents mildly in order that the revolt ma not growin volume. The king exhibited a lack of diplomacy when he asked Sayyid Mubarak Baihagi, 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 Naj? advised the king to be generous in order to win over to his side even his opponents. But to this Yusuf would not listen. On the other hand, he dispatched soldiers undertwo Sardars, Habib Khan Chakand Muhammad Khan Chak, to fight Sayyid Mubarak Baihagi. Malik Muhammad Naji lost his son in this contest. The king too lost his throne. Malik Naji pined and died within a few weeks. Yusuf relinquished the insignia of royalty and betook himself to the mountains of Brifial-Lamar between Tahsil Kulgim and the Pir Pantasal range. [Sayyid Mubarak Baihagi is known in Kashmir history as Sayyid Mubarak Khan Baihagi, the title of Khan being applic able in Kashmir to those notables who were concerned with the control of the army, and to princes of the royal blood. Khan may be supposed to be, more or less,

English usage except that a somewhat analogous to Duke dukedom is hereditary but khanate in Kashmir in that sense.]

C.J. Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1885, page 135. The Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadure, page in not a

217, [986 4.7. or 1578 A.C.]

Sayyid Mubarak, 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 Yiisuf Shah. Sayyid Mubarak however, sent Da'id Mir, a courtier, with an invitation to the exiled king, who sent his sons, Ya'qib Khan and Ibrahim Khan, intending to follow them himself. But he was secretly warned against this by Abdal Bat, the commander of forces, who explained that the invitation was a ruse played by Sayyid Mubarak. Eventually, however, he gave battle and was severely defeated, whereupon he disappeared behind the Brifial hill in Tahsil Kulgam.

Abdal Bat, the commander, manceuvred successfully that he threw both Yiisuf Shih and Sayyid

Mubarak into utter confusion, and also caused them to fight each other. The result was that Abdal's clever machinations secured the throne to Lohur Chak, since Sayyid Mubarak willingly offered to abdicate, after a sway of six months and two days according to Hasan, and eight months and fifteen days according to Khwaja A'zam, though Haidar Malik Chadura and Khalil Marjanpuri set down the period as two months and fifteen days only.

Sayyid Mubarak at his abdication recited the following lines :

w ازگو خواه از ما و خواه نیست وفائے را دنیا کہ ۰ ۱ ۳ Yisuf was balked of the prize of kingship for which he had been invited. The death of the Baihagi took place in 1591 a.c., five years after the advent of Mughul rule in

Kashmir.

۱ LOHUR SHAH CHAK [987 4.17. or 1579 A.C. to 988 A.H. or 1580 A.C.]

Badi'-ud-Din or Gauhar Shah, better known as Lohur Chak, was Yisuf Shah's cousin, being the son of Shankar Chak. Abdal Bat received the coveted office of prime minister under the Padshah.

۱ ۱ Yisuf Shah Chak, on losing the crown which seemed to be within reach, repaired to Akhar's court at FathpurSikri, 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 Raji Man Singh and Mirza Yisuf with an army with the exiled king, and they were jomed by Muhammad Bat, Yisuf Shah's vazir, at Lahore with an army one thousand strong.

Yisuf Shah, on Muhammad Bat's advice, suspected that Akbar would usurp the kingdom himself, and was now smitten with remorse for unnecessarily seekmg foreign help. He left Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yisuf behind, on the pretext that 16 would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. We shall meet Man Singh later.

Through the efforts of Muhammad Bat, Yisuf was able to rally four thousand men around him before reaching Kashmir. He crossed the river Jhelum, near the village Dalna, seven miles from Baramila, to avoid Yisuf Dar's three thousand soldiers deputed by Abdal Bat. Yisuf Shah entered Srinagar triumphantly. Abdal Bat 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 eyewitness, remarks that plenty ruled the land and that a kharwér of shalior unhusked rice was available for a falas (pice), and the people enjoyed prosperity.

YUSUF SHAH CHAK (it) [988 A.H. or 1580 A.C. to 994 A.H. or 1586 Λ.0•7
After an exile of a year and a half, Yasuf Shah established himself on the throne.

re-

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 Mubarak Khan Baihaqi to whose son he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Malik Haidar Chadura, the historian, entered Yiisuf Shah's service and continued in it for twenty-four years in Kashmir and in Yisuf's exile in Bihar.

It was Yisuf Shah who used to visit Gulmarg during the hot weather, and changed its name from Gaurimarg (the marg or path or pass of Gauri, wife of

(iva) or popularly Gurmarg or Horse's Meadow (from Gur, a horse) to Gulmarg,

'the Meadow of Flowers.' He used to visit Sonmarg, Abrabal, and Achabal too. Yisuf had his Zulikha in

Habba Khatin to whom he was attached as a prince, Their love romance is one of the most poetic episodes in the romantic literature of Kashmir. On one brief separa-

tion, Yisuf Shah, cried out—

و ۹ و و شد ثار سر و مار سر از گریہ دو چشمم [Tarsar and Marsar are two lakes in the pargana Phak.

Tarsar is stated to mean the lake of Tara, a goddess. Marsar is the lake of Cupid.] Habba or Hub will receive notice, later on, among the 'Noted Women of Kashmir' in Chapter ۱۱

(Gulmarg is about 28 miles east of Srinagar, and 13 miles due south of Baramitila. 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 thana mile. Itis enclosed, on all sides, by hills densely wooded by deodar. 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 Srinagar and yet it is not more than twothirds of that of Murree. Jahangir and Nir Jahan, itis said, used to itch their tents for picnics on the stream that winds through Gulmarg, as, before them, Yusuf Shah and Habba Khattin used to enjoy life in their own days.. Gulmarg is thus a land of Kashmir's royal lovers.]

Peace did not reign long. Yisuf Shah's nobles soon began to show restiveness on account of his indifference to state affairs. Prominent conspirators like Shams Chak, 'Alam Sher Magre and Sayyid Yiisuf were hauled up. Later, Muhammad Bat, the Vazir, and his brother Husain Bat, along with Yiisuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, were suddenly discovered in their designs against the king, and were imprisoned. But Yisuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, escaped from prison, and joined Haidar Chak, a commander of Lohur Chak's troops, at Lahore, whence they quietly decided to proceed to Ladakh or Western Tibet.

From that country they attacked Kashmir, but were defeated, captured, and punished by having their eyes put out. The king's son Ya'qib Khan also rebelled and joined Haidar Chak. Both were defeated, but Haidar Chak fled to Lahore to Raja

Man Singh. The Raja already owed Yisuf Shah a grudge for the manner in which the latter had spurned his help. To checkmate Haidar Chak's designs, Yisuf Shah sent

Khwaja Qasim with presents to Raja Man Singh. -The Khwaja, on his return, pretended to have achieved success in his political mission, while Raja Man Singh had already assigned the districts of Naushehra and Bhimbarto Haidar Chak as jagir. ١ A little detail from Abu'! Fazl about this campaign will be reproduced here. "When the envoys,* Mir Tahir and Salih 'Aqil, returned from Kashmir, Akbar dispatched shah Rukh Bahadur, Raja Bhagvan Das, Shah Quli Mahram, Madhi Singh, Mubarak Khan and others under the charge of Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shahi, Shaikh Ya'qiib Kashmiri, Haidar Chak and others... . When the army marched to conquer Kashmir, 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 Pakli route where snowfall is less." (p. 723).

"On this news, Yiisuf Shah 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 Kunhar, 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 Baramila by six kds. To the good fortune of the Mughul army Yisuf Shah, 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. Yisuf Shah accordingly revised his plan.

But Yisuf Shah learnt rather late that Akbar's dele"gation had arrived near Pakhli or Hazara, and the Mughul troops had traversed heights and hollows, and had come near Biliyasa (old Bolyasaka, perhaps now called Bunyar) on the right bank of the Jhelum some 50 miles away from Baramiila and six marches to Abbottabad. The expedition of Muhammad Shah Rukh and Raja Bhagavan Das 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 Kashmir. Jahangir refers to this when he says (he Tiizuk, Vol. II, p. 132) that Ya'qib Shah fought

*Based on the Akbar-nama, Beveridge's English Translation, Vol.

للا, Chapter LXXXV, pages 715-25.

with Bhagavan Das' army at Biliyasa which he calls Bhilbds and which he says is the boundary of Kashmir. The fact is that Yusuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted hig army and country. Ya'qib, 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 Timir Beg to Yiasuf Shah. Yusuf Shah, in turn, sent his son Ya'qib Khan, who had now composed his differences with his father, with presents, to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sikri. On receiving the news of the death of Mirza Hakim, Akbar's step brother, then governing at Kabul, the emperor resolved to proceed thither, and desired to interview Yusuf Shah on his way. When

Yisuf Shah failed to_put in an appearance, Akbar directed Mir Tahir and Salih 'Aqil Diwana to present Yisuf at court. Ya'qiib Khan reached Kashmir after forced marches to apprise his father, who, spurred on by Khwaja Qasim, was very angry atthe insult Akbar had offered him. Yaisuf Shah's nobles dissuaded him from going to Akbar's court. Yisuf was not actually materially helped by Akbar in gaining the throne of Kashmir. But, at the same time, it is true Yisuf would not have been successful so easily had it not been known that Akbar was prepared to aid him. Akbaz's historians henceforth treat Yisuf as.a vassal and call him Yusuf Khan. Yisuf'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 Raja Bhagavan Das, Shah Rukh Mirza and Shah Quli Khan to advance upon Kashmir.

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 lieute nants wisely. The three generals sent on the Kashmir camp aign quarrelled. One of them was " Birbal, a mus ician, a poet, a jester, rather than a soldier or commander."

Akhbar could hear the loss of eight thousand men mor e calmly than as he talked or sang in the evenings of the loss of Birbal who was killed in the engagement. Birbal, his dear Birbal, his merry companion, whose voice *Akbar by Lawrence Binyon, Peter Davies verses his own

Ltd., 1932, pages 134-35, composition, was still in his ear: Birbal, for whom he had built so beautiful a house at Fathpur-Sikri: Birbal, the one Hindu who had embraced the emperor's new religion of the Divine Faith.' But according to the Siyar-ulMuta akhkhirin (Vol. I, page 192), Akbar had drawn lots between Abu'l Fazl and Birbal. The latter's name came up and consequently he had to go. As success from the military point of view could not be claimed, 8

Bhagavan Das tried to save the situation diplomatically by proposing terms, whereupon Yiisuf Shah visited his camp. Taking advantage of Yisuf's absence, the Kashmir nobles placed Ya'qib Khan on the throne, and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting a great loss upon it.

Raji Bhagavan Das was obliged to make terms with Ya'qiib, the chief of which was the annual payment of tribute by Kashmir to Akbar. The Akbar-ndma says that the Kashmiris offered to agree that "the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shahinsh&h and that the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial. A superintendent or dariigha should be appointed for each department and then the army should return. ... His

Majesty ,... . accepted the agreement." The Raja took Yisuf Shah to Akbar's court. But Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Raja Bhagavan Das had made, and broke faith with Yisuf by detaining him as a prisoner.

Bhagavan Das, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide.

Yisuf Shah Chak ceases, here, as a ruler.

He was generous. He was cultured. He was a liberal Shia. 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. Yisuf showed bravery in returning the attack of Sher Afgan Khan, whom he killed near Burdawan in Bengal.

YA'QUB SHAH CHAK. [994 A.H, or 1586 4,0, As Habib Shah was the last of the Shih Miris, the descendants of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir, Ya'qib Shah was the last of the Chaks. On his accession, Ya'quib made 'Ali Dar, a prominent official, his minister, and himself took to a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule naturally followed.

934.

'Ali Dar, the first minister, rebelled, fled the city, and suffered death by drowning. The second minister, Muhammad Bat, relentlessly persecuted the Sunnis. Qazi

Misa, the Chief Qazi, was ruthlessly done to death by Ya'qib Shah. Ya'aqib, it seems, wanted the Qazi to retain the name of Caliph 'Ali to the exclusion of the other three Caliphs of the Prophet in the public prayer. Qazi Misa objected to it. He said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qib was

offended. He sent for the executioner and put Qazi Mtisa to death. Qazi Miisa's house was also plundered.* The Sunnis were naturally so alarmed that Shaikh Ya'qib Sazfz and Baba 0 Khaki petitioned Akbar for help and entered into the following covenant with him :—

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

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

That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way, or ۲ exacted.

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

Qasim Khan was ordered to march on 28th June, 1586 4.0., upon Kashmir with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rajauri and proceeded to SrinagarTM Ya'qiib made several attempts to retrieve the situation, but met with no success. The flight of Yusuf and Ya'qitb has been satirized in the couplet —:

نہ از پوسف شان دیدم؛ .نی از یعقوب آنار < ۰ following و eo 4 5. ۰

شد یعقوبرا بارے عزبران پوسف ارگم شد؛ چہ *A full account will be found in the Nawadir-ul- Akhbar by Rafi'-ud-Din Ahmad @hafil in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, Add. 24,029, page 299. See note on the Nawddir-ul-Akhbadr on p. 236, footnote,

Mirza, Qasim entered Srinagar in 995 a.H. (1586 a.c.). From that date Kashmir came under foreign domination. She now embarked upon her career as a Mughul province.

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

Shah Mir was a foreigner to Kashmir, but, as we said, he saved Kashmir from subjugation by the Tughluqs. The Chaks brought about the defeat and death of Mirza Haidar Dighlat, and prevented Babur and Humayiin from forming Kashmir into a principality of theirs. Kashmir was conquered by Babur's grandson, the great Akbar no doubt, but this conquest was due more to causes inside Kashmir than to Akbar's military might. Akbar's own Prime Minister, Abu'l Fazl, had at one time admitted that if the ruler of Kashmir fortified Kashmir'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 Shah Mir lost Kashmir 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 Shi'as had suffered from Mirza Haidar Dighlat. The Chaks confined recruitmentto the army mostly to the Shi'as. And thus they made the army loyal to themselves alone, but not fit for the general defence of the country as a whole.

Lalitaditya-Muktapida (725-753 a.c.) had warned Kashmir rulers against raising troops from a single district— implying thereby any single clan or caste. It was wise advice. The Chaks disregarded it. They raisedtheir army and recruited or

promoted their army officers mostly from among the Shi'as. The Chaks had themselves become the re-incarnation of feudal Damaras of yore. By their heroism the

Chaks overthrew the Shah Miris.

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 Kashmir, led to an invitation to Akbar to rid Kashmir from fanaticism and oppression. There is a lesson from the history of Bulgaria, to which reference cannot but be made. A quotation from the و torians' 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 (2) medieval feudalism that promoted fights and factions among feudal lords, and (7) 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 original two elements, a good and anevil,a kind imported from the Hast.]

on the of Manichaeism Let us now bury Ya'qiib Shah before we turn to the birth of Mughul rule in Kashmir.

We know Ya'qiib was married to Shankar Devi, the daughter of Bahadur Singh, the raja of Kishtwar, in 1572 • Shankar Devi, as already stated, became Fath Khatin. In his defeat in 1586, Ya'qtib betook himself to Kish twar, to the land of his devoted queen.

From here he made one more attempt to recover Kashmir in 1887, but failed.

In 1588 Ya'qiib died* at Kishtwar and is buried towards the *Reff'-ud-Din Ahmad bin 'Abd-us-Sabiir bin Khwaja Muhammad

Balkhi Kashmiri, takhallus Ghafil, the author of the Nawadir-ul-Akhbar, & history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the conquest of Akbar, and completed by the author at Shahjahanabad in the month of Safar 1136 (1723 a.c.), says that thedeath of Ya'q tib Khan Chak wascaused by

"nyeans of اہ شاہsent by Akbar.—Riéu's Catalogue, Vol I, 1879, page 300.

south of the tank of Sirkdt on the Chaugin, outside Kishtwar town. Fath Khatiin constructed a water-course in memory of her husband. This water-course must have been a great blessing to Kishtwar as it is afflicted with shortage of water. She also constructed a tank, and another watercourse from Kali Nag to the village Zewar.

The last resting-place of the last independent Muslim ruler of Kashmir 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 Kashmir, Ya'qib Shah Chak, in a field in Kishtwar.

A

مار ها بر و ۰ ۰ ۳ ۰ ۱ ہے بر پروانہ سوزد ہے صدائ yebo۰ گے ے چمراغے سے بلباس

Pakhlii—The footnote 1, on page 87, treats of Pakhlf, which occurs ەدmany times in this Chapter also, some more information about it is, therefore, given here, “An ancient Sarkar or district of the Mughul Sabah of the Punjab, now included in the Hazira

District of the North-West Frontier Province, Pakhii 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 Kashmir. In the Kashmir chronicle called the Rajatarangini, it appears, now as a separate kingdom, now as tributary to that State. In it lay Agror, the ancient Atyugrapura. In Babur’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 Gibari Sultans of Bajaur and Swit; andthe tract derives its name from Pakhli one of these conquerors. In the Ain-i-Akbari it is described as bounded on the east by Kashmir, on the south by the country of the Gakhars, on the west by Attock, and onthe north by Kator (Chitral). Under Durrani rule, Saidat Khan, was chosen as chief of Pakhli, then a dependency of Kashmir. He founded the fort of Garhi Saddat Khan, which was the headquarter of Azid Khan’s rebellion against Timir Shah. Early in the nineteenth century Pakhli comprised three districts; Mansehra in the south and south-east. Shinkiari (subdivided into Kandhi and Maidan) in the north-east, and Bhir-Kand in the centre, The valleys of Kagan Bhogarmang and Agror were dependent on it.”—Zhe Imperial

Gazetteer of India Vol. XIX (New edition), Oxford Press, 1908, p. 18-19] “ The Pakhli 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 afertile, highly cultivated tract, especially in the western portion which is izrigated by the Siran river.” — Cazetteer of the Hazara 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 Kashmir. [1586 a.c. TO 1752 A.o.]

aH.

Jalal-ud-Din Akbar, 1556 to 1605 a.c.=963 to 1014 Conquers Kashmir in 1586 a.c.

Niir-ud-Din Jahangir 1605 to 1627 a.c.=1014 to 1037 A.H.

3. Davar Bakhsh son of Prince Khusri, the eldest son of Jahangir, 1627 a.c.=1037 نمKhusrii had died in 1622.

Shihab-ud-Din Shah Jahan, 1628 to 1657 a.c.=1037 to 1068 ٨.⋅

Murad Bakhsh, the fourth son of Shah Jahan, 1657 A.C.=1068 ⋅

Shah Shuja,° second son of Shah Jahan, 1657 ⋅ ==1068 ⋅ 7. Muhyi’d Din Aurangzib ’Alamgir, 1658 to 1707

A.C.=1068 to 1118 ⋅ 8. A‘zam Shah, second son of Aurangzib ’Alamgir, 1707 A.c.=1118 ٨.⋅ |

Kam Bakhsh, fourth son of Aurangzib ’Alamgir, 1707 A.c.=1119 ⋅

10.

Qutb-ud-Din Mu‘azzam Shah ’Alam Bahadur, 7 to 1712 a.c.=1119 to 1124 ·

11. ’Azim-ush-Shan, second son of Shah ’Alam Bahadur, 1712 A.o.==1124 ·

12. Mu‘izz-ud-Din Jahandar Shah, eldest son of Shah ’Alam Bahadur, 1712 ^01194 a5.

13. Muhyi’d Din Farrukh Siyar, son of Shan, 1713 to 1719 a.c.=1124 to 1181 · 14,

° Azim-ush-

Rafi‘-ud-Darajat, son of Rafi‘-ush-Shin and third nephew of Jahandar Shah, 1719 a.c.=1131 a.z. 239

15. Rafi‘-ud-Daula Shah Jahan II son of Rafi‘-yshShan and second nephew of Jahandar Shah, 1719 ao=— ١

1131 0· 16, Nasir-ud-Din’ Muhammad Shah, son of Jahan Shah the fourth son of Mu‘azzam Shah “Alam Bahadur, and nephew of Jahandar Shah, 1719 to 1748 a.c.=1131 to 1161 AH.

١ 17. Muhammad Ibrahim, son of Rafi‘-ush-Shan and nephew of Jahandar Shah (simultaneously with Muhammad Shah), 1719 to 1720 A.c.=1131 to 1132 ·هـ

18. Mujahid-ud-Din Ahmad Shah Bahadur, son of Muhammad Shah, 1748 to 1754 a.c.=1161 to 1167 ·١

Kashmir then goes to the Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shah Durrant in 1752.

Chapter VI — Kashmir under the Mughuls

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 Kashmir since they have already been related in the preceding Chapter. They begin with Babur, continue with Humayiin and Mirza Haidar Diighlat, and are successful with Akbar. Akbar started interference with the affairs of Kashmir in the time of ’Ali Shah Chak. Then he helped Yisuf Shah Chak against Lohar or Gauhar Shah Chak. Later he detained Yiisuf, and finally ousted Yiisuf’s son, Ya‘qiib, and annexed Kashmir. The Mughuls held Kashmir for 166 years. Disintegrating forces, however, gathered strength under the Emperor Muhammad

Shah, and Nadir Shah’s invasion in 1739 a.c., hastened the disruption of the gigantic fabric of the Mughul empire. Nadir Shah annexed Afghanistan. After his death, Ahmad Shih Durrani obtained complete control over Afghanistan and added Kashmir to his dominions when the Emperor Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, was on the throne of Delhi.

The last effort of the last of the Chaks. After its conquest by Akbar in 1586 a.c. Kashmir did not readily submit to Mughul rule. Ya‘qib Shah, the ex-Chak king, was still exerting himself to regain his lost kingdom. Ibrahim Chak, Ya‘qib’s brother, and ’Ali Malik Chadura, the brother of Malik Haidar Chadura, joined him. They took the Mughuls unawares at Chér-wani* (in the Badgaém Tahsil). Ya‘qib Shah Chak re-entered Srinagar as king. *Chér-wani and Chér-udar are two

names that appear in the Persian histories of Kashmir in regard to the same place. Chér-wani means the garden of Chér or wild apricots, Chér-udar means the Udar or Karéwa orthe alluvial plateau of wild apricots. The place 241

Sayyid Abu'l Ma"ali Baihaqi, the second son of Sayyid Mubarak Khan Baihagi,

Shamsi Chak, Sayyid Husain Baihaqi and Shams Duli next worsted the Mughuls. The whole country was up in arms and the loss of Kashmir was imminent.

[The Baharist@n-i-Shahi is a history of Kashmir 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 Kashmiri, Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ali Baihaqi, to whom he gives a prominent place in the later period of his history. This Sayyid, Abu'l Ma'ali, was the second son of Sayyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi who was raised for some months to the throne of Kashmir in 986 a.a. (1578 a.c.), and diedin exile at ٣٣022020 in 999 عم.(1590 a.c.). Abu'l Ma 'ali played an active part in the frequent broils which disturbed Kashmir for some years before its conquest by Akbar, and was thus placed under the command of Raja Man Singh under whom he served for four and twenty years. After the latter's death in 1021 ٨.۴. (1612 a.c.), he was presented, with Haidar Malik Chadura, to the Emperor Jahangir who conferred upon him a mansab.

This Abu'l Ma'ali, therefore, should not be confused with Abu'l Ma'ali whom Badayini calls ' of noble Sayyid extraction and of the country of Kashghar,' and was one of the Amirs of Humayin. He married Mah Kiichak Begam's daughter Fakhr-un-Nisa, had quarrels with Bairam Khan, and was ultimately strangled to death by Mirza

Sulaiman at Kabul during the 'Id of Ramazan in the ninth year of

Akbar's accession. Abu'l Ma'ali, too, according to the Tabagat-1-Akbari (De's English translation, p. 734), and the Akbar-nama (Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 154), did come on a raid to Kashmir in the first year of Akbar's accession and was at Naushahra, a town between Bhimbar and Rajauri.

Abu'l Ma'ali marched on to Bara-

milla and was defeated at Markalah near Patan by Ghazi Chak, and "turned his face to flight." Shah Abu'l Ma'ali's incursion is noted by Pandit Shuka in the Kings of Kashmira (p. 389)].

Qasim Khan, Mir Bahr, the conqueror and viceroy of Kashmir, 'at last sought help from Akbar who dispatched Sayyid Yisuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi with a strong force of is four miles fram Badgam, the headquarter of the Tahsil of the same mame.

Badgaim itselfis nine miles from Srinagar.

There was a fort at the end of the Karéwa or the Udar. Itisin ruins now. Chér-wani or. Chér-udar appears to have been a convenient battle-ground between Pinch 'and Kashmir, as it lies on the route between Srinagar and

'Posha-maidan and thence to Pinch. Ohér-wani or Chér-udar is 13 miles from Srinagar and 15 miles fram Tosha-maidan. Diwan Jawila Sahii, the Chief Minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh, populated it, and gavé it the ngme of 12۴512067. Its population in 1941 was 769, twenty-five thousand horse. The Emperor further instructed

Muhammad Bat and Baba Khalil, two influential Kashmiri nobles then residing at his court, to accompany Sayyid Yiisuf and render him all possible help. These

nobles won over several powerful Chaks to their side. At the same time, Ya'qtib's indiscreet behaviour towards his nobles and his unfair treatment of Hindus and Sunnis brought about his final overthrow in August 1589. After three years' struggle with Akbar, Ya'qiib, then, surrendered to him, and retired to Kishtwar accompanied by Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ali Baihaqi and Ibrahim Khan called Iba Khan. The independence of Kashmir was thus completely ended in 1589. Qaédsim Khan, Mir Bahr, came to the court with several Kashmiri nobles, leaving Sayyid Yisuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi as governor in his place. The end of Ytisuf Shah Chak.

Yiisuf Shah Chak was exiled to Bihar, where he was de-

tained under the charge of Man Singh, the governor.

A year or so later, Yisuf Shah Chak was appointed to the 'command of 500,' a rank carrying a salary? ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month and a grant in Bihar. Although this appointment was far from being commensurate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign, yet Yiisuf Shah served in that capacity under M&n Singh for several years. The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded by Akbar's historians. But Haidar Malik Chadura says that Yisuf died in Hindustan on account of acute insanit and deep melancholia, separated, as he was, from his own land, from his own kingdom, and accomplished Queen Habba Khitin.

from his own 1. The Ta'rikh-i-A'emi, Ta'rikh-i-Hasan and Ta'rtkh-i-Khalil Marjanpiri all spell this name as Eba Khan, while Pandit Narayan Kaul

'Ajiz, writes Amina Khan.

Lhe History of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1122 a.u. (1710 a.c.) is by Niriyan Kaul 'Ajiz.

The author was urged by Kashmirian nobles to write its history which he began in the fourth year of the reign of Shah 'Alam in 1122 a.m. (1710 a.c.).

'Arif Khan, a Kashmirian who was the Na'ib and Diwan of the Siibadar, had collected the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmir, and Ibrahim Khan, afterwards 'Ali Mardan Khan, wished to become acquainted with their contents. before him the history of Malik Haidar Chadura.

The author had also Narayan Kaul condensed all this material from Sanskrit and Persian into the present abridgement known as the Ta'rikhi-Kashmir by him. Narayan Kaul. was also ورfine poet of Persian.

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

The treatment of the ex-ruler of Kashmir 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 Ytieuf Shah was to test his fitness for restoration to Kashmir. But there is no evidence that Akbar ever proposed to make amends for the wrong which he had done to Yisuf Shah Chak — that Yisuf who disposed of Sher Afgan for Jahangir and corrected Akbar's great singer Miyan Tan Sén, according to the testimony of Malik Haidar Chadura as already noted!

It is believed in Kashmir that Akbar caused a change to be effected in the dress of the people, and the effeminate pheran (from the Persian patrahan, the long, loose shirt)

was thus introduced together with the Kdng77, or,in Kashmiri, Kangar,* 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 Kashmir by travelling on horseback or on foot. To be precise like Abu'] Faz, 'His Majesty planted his standards in the city of Srinagar on 25th Khurdad, (5th June, 1589) after 8 hours 4 minutes." Pandit Cuka mentions that " Jalal-ud-Din on the seventh bright lunar day of Ashadha pleased the Brahmana boys with gifts of gold, and they blessed him. He then went to Martanda and gave cows adorned with pearls and gold to Brahmanas. He was glad to see Kashmira with its vines and walnut trees and of high and charming woods." (Kings of Kashmira, Vol. III, page 417.)

Three well-known Qasidas on Kashmir. Akbar spent a month visiting springs, and streams, of which the towns, villages, most important

*The statement that Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin "in his effort to reduce the proud spirit of the Hindus, insisted on the use of the kangar, and the مع " is incredible on the face of it, in view of the Sultin's well-known attitude towards Hindus, and his invitation to those Hindus who had left the Valley for fear of Malik Sihabhatta to return and re-settle,

The Jami' Masjid at Pampar which is noted for saffron and lies on the Jhelum, about 9 miles from Srinagar.

۰ حدیو جلوس a4 اواسط شرداد ۳ عالمکیر چهارم و

جچ۰ ۱ اپندام زان صد و نود و هفت ود ماه رجب- سی بسالی

چنیں تیسیر که یافت کوکب اتبالِ ار فیضی ام ثنا گوبت ساخن شناسا من
پپاض ساخن مدحتت کہ بر باقہالت SFتعریر

مرا زدانش EWOو لے هید اگرچی ہے ست خبیر slد م

دگر سخن حرف احبر چنانکی نظم شود مننظم بہ مہ۳ SLA yleخواهم کرد -جلد سو م -صقاعی

۲ - مطموغی کلکنہ- woldباکر The poet ’Urfi also accompanied the emperor, and wrote the well-known Qasida the first two lines of which are :— یم

و بکشمیر در هر سوخنی جانے که بح و see اید ۰۹

گر مر غ کباب است کہ با شود گوهر یکتا کہ زفیضشی چه bJو پر ا ید

yK 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 “امتاis not alone,—two centuries after ’Urfi, 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 Kashmir climate had revived him.

Munshi Ghulam Husain Tabatabai in his Styar-ul-

Muta’akhkhirin, (Volume I, page 199) notes the following lines in praise of Kashmir at Akbar’s visit in the 34th year of his accession :— os

و گماری سشی بر چندانکی جاری نیست AN e 742 و

پلیل ۳۳ اواز نظر یم اب SA Iی گل do زسرد

پر nib و کلنتی oY ow یوش اید کی o> 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 Shihabud-dinpor or Shadipdr about nine miles in a direct

line to the north-west of Srinagar, and himself halted in Bagh Hasan Shah Chak, Khwaja Bazar, Nauhatta, Srinagar. On the representations to the Emperor of the

Sibadar, Sayyid Yisuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi, that the assessment was excessive Qazi Nirullah and Tota Ram* 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 HKmperor were considerably hampered in their task.

Nirullah Qazi reported the matter to the Emperor, who dis-

patched Hasan Beg and Shaikh 'Umar to help him. The Qazi fixed the pay of the Kashmir army in cash instead of kind. This precipitated the storm that was already brewing. Cuka also blames the Qazi for his harshness which was responsible for quarrels caused among the Mughuls themselves (Vol. 111, p. 418). The Siibadar's officials and landowners both united. And Yadgar Mirza, his cousin, left in charge to act as Nazim in the absence of Sayyid Yusuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi who had himself escorted Akbar out of the Valley, was declared as king. Kashmir was once againin revolt. But it did not take long to suppress the rebellion, which lasted only fifty-one days. Yadgar

Mirza was taken prisoner and beheaded. Prince Salim interceded on behalf of Sayyid Yiisuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi, whom the emperor pardoned. As a result of this insurrection Akbar asked Shaikh Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli, Khwajagi

*It issometimes said that the Mughuls did not employ Kashmiri

Pandits in any high capacity. It is not so. Pandit Tota Ram was the peshkar or deputy of Mirzi Yusuf Khan and Pandit Mahadeva was "Ali Mardin Khan's peshkdr to whom he entrusted all powers of ad-

ministration.

١ Muhammad Husain to scrutinize the accounts of Mar-raj, while Khwaja Shams-ud-Din Khafi and Kiar (Kafiwar) Man Singh were sent to examine those of Kam-raj. Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill tomake an estimate of it. uka notes that, at this time, the Emperor ordered Shaikh Faizi ۴ to distribute one thousand pieces of silver among Brahmanas and beggars who dwelt in villages and in woods, and in other places." (P. 423). Akbar appointed Qalich Khan governor of Kashmir. Qalich continued in this office for six years. He spent this period chiefly in extirpating the Chaks and suppressing the malcontents.

The building of the Nagar-nagar.

During the first visit, Akbar had directed Sayyid Yisuf Khan Rizavi Mashhadi, his governor, to build the Nagarnagar, or Naga-nagari as Quka puts it (page 426), around the slopes of the Hari-parbat or the Kiih-i-Maran (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. Quka 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 super-

vised by a Kashmiri, Mir Muhammad Husain Kant by name, and completed during the reign of Jahangir. In the palace there was a little garden with a small building in it in which Akbar, according to Jahangir, used constantly to sit. As it was out of order, Jahangir deputed Mu'tamad Khan to put the garden in order and repair the building. 1Iwas "'adorned with pictures by master hands" so that

it was “the envy of the picture gallery of China.” And Jahangir called the garden Nir-afza. (The Tazuk, 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 Kashmir in 1592 a.c.—1000-1001 A.H., Akbar directed operations against Aju Rai, the ruler of Tibet Kalan (major) and Khurd (minor), parts of Little Tibet (Baltistan)—-who offered resistance. The latter was consequently replaced by ’Ali Rai who held a principality in that vicinity. Jahangir refers to ’Ali Muhammad, the son of

’Ali Rai, deputed by his father to be attached to the Mughul court (Vol. II, p. 288.)

On this second visit, Akbar was accompanied byBakhshi Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, the author of the Tabagdt-1-A kbari. [Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, whose year of birth may he taken as 958 4.8. or 1551 A.c., was the son of Khwaja Muqim Hiravi (of Herat). Khwaja Muqim was one of Babur’s officials and about the close of his reign was Diwan-i-Buyitat or Barrack Officer, or perhaps, Steward of the Royal Household. Khwaja Muqim acted as Vazir of Humayiin, and was an official of Akbar’s government too. In addition to being a student of history, Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, his son, was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry. The interest of Khwaja Nizim-ud-Din Ahmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact, points out Dr. Baini Prashad, in his Preface to B. De’s English translation of the Tabagai-i-Akbart, that when Akbar ordered the preparation of the History of the Kings of Islam or the Ta’rtkh-i-Alfi in 990 a.H. (1582 a.c.), he employed the Khwaja as one of the seven authors.

The Khwaja’s interest in Sifiism and theology is indicated by his association with Stifis and Shaikhs and religious people in general. As Blochmann says, ‘‘ Nizam-

ud-Din wasa 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 Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badayini is pleased. In addition to being a scholar, Nizim-ud-Din 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 • (1572 a.c.), the Khwaja was appointed Bakhsht in Gujrat 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 Gujrat, the Khwaja was honoured with the gift of a horse, a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later, the Khwaja carried on a successful campaign in Sorath in the Ran of Kachh. He was, after this, appointed Bakhshi in the year 1000 • (1591-92 a.c.). The Mir Bakhshi, according to the A'in-i-Akbar?, was one of the nobles of the state.

Nizim-ud-Din was a great favourite of the Kmperor at this time when he accompanied Akbar to Kashmir. The Khwaja says his account of Kashmir 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 schol arly notes, has made the whole work very intelligible and quite clear.

Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad utilized, for the compilation of the Tabagdt in respect of Kashmir, as he himself notes: (¢) Ta'rtkh-1Mirza Haidar and (i) Ta'rikh-t-Kashmir. The first is the Ta'rikh-iRashidi and we have already discussed it. The other is the Ta'rikh-tKashmir, the author of which is not mentioned. But Dr. Baini Prashad in his Preface (p. xxx) says that this is probably the

رامترنگنیtranslated from Sanskrit into Persian for Akbar in 998 • by Mulla Shah Muhmmad of Shahabad not far from Ver-nag, Kashmir, and re-written in an easy style in 999

مه.(1590 a.c.) by Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badayini. This manuscript is in the British Museum (Riéu's Catalogue, VolumeI, page 296, Add. 24,032). [Reference to it will be found on pages 163-4 of Kashir.| The Tabagdt closes with the year 1002 a.n. Firishta and others come after the author of the Tabagat. •

[While staying at Lahore in attendance on the Emperor, Khwaja Nizim-ud-Din 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 Ravi, on 14th Safar, 1003 ۸.۲. (19th October, 4

A.C.) when he was expected to rise much higher in Akbar's favour.

5دنیا رفعت (گوهر بےبہا A priceless pearl has left the world) gives the etad fo sih].htaed

Akbar spent the summer of 1597 a.c. in Kashmir, introduced a lighter assessment of revenue and returned to Lahore in the early winter. Towards the close of Akbar's reign, a severe famine occurred in Kashmir. It developed to such an alarming extent that the emperor had to transport grain and cereals from Sialkot to alleviate the misery of the sufferers. ۱۳۵ priests, Father Hierosme Xavier, a grand-nephew of St.

Francis Xavier, and Beroist-de-Gois who accom-

panied Akbar at his request to Kashmir, 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 com-

passion 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 baj tamgha, resulted in an

Bhimbar Bhimbar is a small town situated in the plains, on the nght bank of a stream of the same name, which flows into the Chendb near Wazirabad. It is about 29 miles north of Gujrat, 22 miles east of Jhelum, and 50 miles north-west of

Sialkot.

The place is of some importance, as being the point of departure from the plains for Kashmir ; it is distant about 150 miles from Srinagar, by the Pir Panjal or Pantsél route. The town, which is mostly built of stone, is surrounded on all except the south side by alow hill, about 500 or 600 feet in height. There is an old Mughul sar@s in the middle of the town, and a brick garht or fort of no strength on the north ; the former building is used as the thanah 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 zad?. This stream

is usually shallow and fordable, but is liable to freshets. Bhimbar was anciently governed by an independent Raja; the last of the line, Sultan Khan, opposed Ranjit Singh's designs upon Kashmir, and is stated to have been blinded by Raja Gulab Singh wlio, in his early career, was an employé of Sultan Khan,

The ruins of the palace of the old Rajis of Bhimbar may traced. near the village, on the left of the road towards Kashmir.

be ١ This small mosque, on the reverse, has a fagade 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 facade 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 bajra which again was superimposed by a thinner one of gypsum. The last served as the background of the paintings. "The mosque is a very

Kashmir Archaeological Report.

interesting relic."—Eatrach from See also page 520.

the increase of revenue, which, as recorded by officials, amounted to over a lakh of kharwar. A kharwdar! was equal to 3 maunds and 8 seers of Akbar's reign, and was reckoned at 16 dams of Akbar's currency. In normal times, a maund of

rice could be purchased for five annas. In the reign of Akbar the Sibah of Kashmir included Kabul and

Qandahar, according to the A'tn-i-Akbart (Vol. II, p. 134). ١ The re-alignment and construction by Muhammad Qasim Khan, Akbar's chief engineer, of the great empire route by way of Gujrat, Bhimbar and Shupiyan ensured the regularity of traffic with India. Faizi referring to such improvements says:

بعکم خسرو والا شیر هزار جو رواں کرد صاف ثر از خاره را 5 245کوة کنان
چنان بکوه و Spقراشیدند

بفر دولت ام taGکه بهر موکب شاهی سزد سربر پایها royومسیر

.rignahaJ Jahangir was essentially a lover of Nature and Kashmir, therefore, appealed to him particularly. He paid eight visits to Kashmir two of which were in the company of his father and six during his own reign,.viz. 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 218. Jahangir was accompanied by his beautiful Queen Nir Jahan "whose? 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 Dal lake

1. Kharwir, literally meaning an 'ass-load,' is the standa rd measure for weighing large quantities in Kashmir.

khar (or hart of the Rajatarangini).

The word is abbreviated as Nowadays a فد ۵۳equal to a little over two maunds. See footnote in Chapter X, Sectio n ‘ Weights and Measures.” 2. Lieut. Newall’s Sketch of the Mahomedan History of C

J.A.3.B., No. V, 1854, و.436, / ord of ۵ must have reflected brilliant illuminations and fantastic fireworks, and the air must have “ re-echoed to the sound of song and dance.” Akbar, Jahangir and his Nir Jahan, says Mrs. Stuart,! are far more vivid personalities in India than Hlizabeth or the Stuart sovereigns are in England. To please his consort, Jahangir is said to have introduced the chindr*® or the plane tree from Iran, her native country.

But this iswrong.

The Kashmiri word bawayn shows the existence of the chinar in Kashmir before Jahangir, who himself refers to the girth and spreading shade of chindrs with wonder. Jahangir’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-

Gardens of the Great Mughals, London, 1918, page 176.

2. The Chinar.—Shams-ul-‘Ulama’ Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi traces the plane-tree to Iran. He finds its mention in the Pahlavi

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 ZendAvesia]. Herodotus refers to the plane-tree as being held in estimation by the Achemenian kings like Kerxes and Darius, the father of Xerxes. Later Persians

call the plane-tree Darakht-1-Fazl or ‘the Tree of Grace.’ Teheran, 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 ib was transplanted into Sicily and later to Italy, where it was planted as “‘a most singular, rare and special tree”’ throughout the peninsula. 1ا was carried to Terwin and Tournay in France, where ككit 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 ٣

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 Sovtety 1901-03, No. 8, pages 427434.

of Bombay, Volume VI, Jahangir also notes large plane-trees in Kashmir. He says: “J myself was riding ona horse, with five at her saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it,’—English Franslation, Vol. II, p. 154. The chinar is also a native of Farghana, Central Asia.

houses. He completed the construction of the celebrated Shalimar Gardens. The ruins of palaces at Manas-bal, Acha-bal and Vér-nag, etc., attest to Nir Jahan’s

taste in selecting picturesque sites.

The late Justice Shah Din has beautifully described the scene in his well-known poem Shalamar—

اور قد من جیس سرو لب dat ٹورجہاں جو حسن وEEBهه و تیلی ٹور ی
جوٹئبار هو

yS آکر پهان ۶ قربان جسی پہ جان سے سو لالہ زار هو پرست elSتهی وه دلفربب
کا اور آنا اُسکے ساتیهه شہ م

اور وه عشرت ی سامان عیشی erm جسکی نگه سے چشم طرب میں ار هو

هو جن پہ روز درخشان نار وهLC Baron Schonberg* give: us a moving picture, perhaps of these days, when he writes: "‘ Kashmir, 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 Kashmir 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 Jahangir and Nir Jahan in the vale of Kashmir in beautiful poetr y 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 preferredin 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 asleepin 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 heavenin 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 themin the sun lay sighing, Had been by magic all set flying

Everything young, everything 4 fs From East and Westis blushing there, Except —except—O Nourmahal Thou loveliest, dearest of them all,

The one, whose smile shone out alone, ﻫ5070a world the only one !

*Of Paphos, وcity 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? 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 nuts sweet and Prunes of Bokhara, From the far groves of Samarcand, And Basra dates, and apricots, Seed of the Sun,? from Iran’s land ;— With rich conserve of Visna cherries, ® Of orange flowers, and of those berries That, wild and fresh, the young gazelles

Feed on in Erac’s* 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,‘—the bright dew From vineyards of the Green-Sea gushing; ® And Shiraz wine, that richly ran As if that jewel, large and rare, ـ The ruby, for which Kublai-Khan’ 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,

Qazvin, in fran, is on the main route to Europe. 16th and 17th century travellers spell it as inthe 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 Turkistan.

Erac now written ’Iraq.

But‘here the reference is probably to the district of ‘Irdq-i–Ajam in Iran, situated to the west of Qamm between Hamadan and Isfahan. 5. Rosolio is the name of an Italian liquor, Here perhaps the meaning i3 Rosolli of amber colour, viz., yellow wine. 6. Green-Sea. The allusion is to the Persian Gulf. 7. A Mongol emperor)2. 1216, d. 1294) was the grandson of Changiz Khan. Kublai Khan ruled as emperor 9’ China and Centra]

Asia from 1259 to 1294 ٨, ٠ That soon shall leave no spot undrown’d, For Love to rest its wings upon. ٠» 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.

aed¢ ہک و 232 و و جلوس خسروی قرما رها اورتگگ اکجر

ک I ودwe کی | ٠ وارت ادھر a ۔ ہے کھدا رها

080 ٣ ewa(sed سے با } دکیھا یا کو دیoL جا رھا 6 6 6 eae

”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.

وکeyو عشقی siمعلی مرقع 2فروع ۲ ۳ I عارض ۔مهرالنسا و و

وڈ قارkeiبربط 3ج درب سے ea رگ جاں مج doدوڑا رها ۳.1ے ۰

وه raکی دربار ی شان اشکارا enaSخدا boوم ۰ مج گ ۰ آرها

چم قرما رها EKACسروش نفشی دیکیهکر یوم شهی کا yv است

همی است و همی است و همی است ly وسس>رو در در ق etoc(

۰ BBP ۳ ؛سچوهدری حوشی د [۰ صقعات ۰۹ Jel. Yuasa.. نعهی قردوس

ULS (Malik Haidar Chadura.—Malik Haidar Chadura, whose 7astory we have utilized, must here come in for a few words. Malik Haida r wrote his History of Kashmir from the earliest times to his own, in

Persian, in 1027 aH. (1617 4.c.), the 12th year of the accession of Jahangir. The total number of pages of the copy used by me on loan from Khan Bahadur Maulavi Zafar Hasan, B.A. (Alig.), 0.B.E., Retired Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Nashema n, Delhi Gate, Delhi, is 235, the number of folios is 118. The size is

7”xX4”, the written portion of the folios being 54”X 23”. The number of lines per page is 17. This manuscript is a copy of the manuscript dated a.H.1117=1705 ao. There is another date: Rewari, 16th September, 1893 .c.,

Bhadon 8. 1950, 5th Rabi‘ 1, 1310 ٨٥.١٢, 0 this manuscript which may presumably be the date of its transcription from the 1117 ٢٠, copy. The British Museum MS. Add. 8906, (Vol. I, page 297), has 224 folios, size 103” by 64”, 12 lines per page

ودlong in nasta‘lig, dated Shavval an. 1216 (4.c. 1802), and

Add. 16,705 (page 298), has 230 folios, size 84” by 42”, 16 lines per page, 3” long, in cursive nasta‘liq, prob ably in the 17th century A.c.

Agha Hakim ’Alf, B.4.-P.B., Ds. (Milan, Italy) Director of Sericulture,

Srinagar, secured me another copy of Haidar Malik’s History which originally belonged to the late Malik Asad ullah and is now in possession of Haji Mohd. Jawad of J adi-bal, Srinagar. This copy is very clear and has 262 pages, size 93°64”, 13 lines per page, in cursive nasta ’lig, dated 1297 ٨.8, 1879 a.o.

Malik Haidar and his brother Malik ‘Ali were Kashmir noblem en descended from Malik Muham mad Naji, the minister of Hu sai n Sha h Chak. In the latter part of his History, Malik Haidar say s that he had spent four and twenty years of his life in the ser vice of Yisuf Shah Chak whom he followed in his banishment to his jagir in Bihar. Malik Haidar carried out wit h great success, as Fanjdar of Ja’ is, (Ja’is from jaish *وcamp’ is a tow n, on the rail, in the Salon Tahsil of the Rai Bareli district of the United Provinces, on the road from Lucknow to Sultanpur. وتوoriginally had a fortre ss cal led Udyanagar or Ujilekanga r) an expedition again st Raja Balbhadr, and was personally engaged with Shir Afgan Khan in the attack in wh ich the latter succumbe d in 1016 A.H. (1607 4.c .). With his brother, “Ali Malik, he protec ted Shir Afgan’s wido w Mihr-un-Nisa Begam (afterwards Nar Jahan) against all dangers and even received wound. Haidar was a warmly recommend ed by her to J.ahangir who bestowed upon

him the titles of Chaghatét an d Re’is-ul-Mulk, with ani office in the go vernment of Kashmir. The La’rtkh-i-Khalil ntions that Mihr-un-Nisa actually entered tho house of Yisuf Shah Ch ak for perso

Marjanpiri (p. 166) me nal safety.

When the Jami‘ Masjid at Srinagar was consum ed by fire during the reign of J ahangir, Malik Hasan, the fathe r of Ma lik Haidar who was a Shi‘a, was accused of having been concerned, alo ng with other Jeading Shi‘as, in th e conflagration. I+ is saidthat, at the in stance of Nir Jahan, Haidar consequently re-built it at his own expense بو the following chronogram illustrates :—

8سید هاجرت از ٹہ و پست و هزار بغاریخ هد ہس کہ گ “a ave

eNS در دانی ad ۰ go سوحنہ بیyaB eN بروز erA

da رٹیسی درحیدر المللیohB ۰ جهانگیری عهد ۲۶و ۶ a

۰ ۰ ۰ LS obo نو زاlدlo و و غیبیی ۳ قربانی عبد روزeliBdaD ربخ
جستبناتشmoB و ھ sh sk ls باز ۳م

۳ ۹ weL laeL دو زایls ۳ The Jami‘ Masjid, that was originally built by Sultan Sikandar was twice partially destroyed by fire previous to the reign of Jahangir and was re-built by Sultan Hasan Shah and later by Ibrahim Magre Malik Haidar conducted several works of improvement and utility in Kashmir. His brother, ’Ali Malik, is given the credit of the conques:

of Kishtwar in 1029-30 ۵.1. (1619-20 a.c.).

The grave of the histerian Ra’is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik at Tsodur or Chadura about 10 miles from Srinagar

Chadura, to which Malik Haidar belonged, is pronounced i Kashmiri as Tsddur and written Chadura. It is a village in th Nigam pargana about a mile from Nagim itself; and is som ten miles south of Srinagar. The Khangah (tomb) of Mi Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqi, originally built by Daulat Shah Chak, ۵ also re-built by Malik Haidar.

_. On Sunday, the 7th of Urdibihisht, I rode to the village o

Chadura which is the native country of Haidar Malik,"

writes th royal visitor, Jahangir.* "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 Niirpir (the City of Light)." This is an allusion to Nir Jahan and to Niir-ud-Din Jahangir. "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 Rawalpir, 24 kds from the city towards Hindustan, there is a planetree, burntin 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-nadma that my father took thirty-four people inside and made them stand close to each other.'"]

A Dutch Protestant's view of Kashmir under Jahangir.

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 ٨.0. 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 Kashmir in Jahangir's reign (pp. 33-36). Though the observations are not quite accurate in all detail, and there areseveral 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.,

Srinagar) 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 (Vér-nag), Achiauwel

(Acha-bal) and Matiaro (Matan, 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 [Sdlur or Salura village, at one time was onthe Anchar Lake— 14 miles from the large spring of Tulmul! Tiratha. Solur is 134 miles from Srinagar] 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 *English Translation of the Tazuk-1-Jahaingirt by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge, 1914, Vol. TI, pages 154-565,

\ 3 or 4 kos from Swindesseway (the Sind river of Kashmir, which passes the village Gadur, about eight miles from Srinagar 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 Hast 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 Hast. 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 Khan was some time governor of Delhi. From his childhood he was always in Jahangir’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

⋆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 Kashmirin 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 (Kishtwar), 10 kos (2?) 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 (1.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.”’

Qalich Khan and Sa‘adat Khan, governors under Jahangir, suppressed the Chaks witha 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‘tiqad Khan imposed severe, unjust restrictions upon the agriculturist class. He mtroduced 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. Shah Jahan, however, revoked these practices by issuing a special farmdn (command) after his accession.

Jahangir did not neglect the welfare of his subjects.

In 1621 a. 0. (1031 A. H.) he abolished the vexatious tax Rasiim-1-Faujdart “to ease the subjects and soldiers.” He prohibited in Rajauri 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 Jahangir 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 *The History of Jahangir by Francis Gladwin, edited by Bahadur مکV. R. Aiyangar, Paul & Co., Madras, 1930, page 92.

Rao Muslim girls to Hinduism and then their cremation with Hindu husbands at one time was as large as 4,000 in Rajauri and Bhimbar.t Shah Jahan followed his father’s policy in the matter. In Shah Jahan’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’ran and, oppressed the Muslims. On the report of the investigating official, Shaikh Mahmiid Gujrati, an order was issued that, if a Hindu wanted to be converted to Islam, his family should not place any obstacles in his way.* During the present Dogra rule a Hindu, on conversion to Islam, loses right to his share of the family property. Owing to difficulties experienced in his journey, Jahangir ordered suitable lodgings to be constructed for himself and the harem at convenient stages. He further ordered a garden to be builtat the Vér-nag Spring. In this garden, there was a picture gallery in which the pictures of Humaytin, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah “Abbas of Iran were painted.

According to the contemporary, Francisco Pelsaert,? Ver-nag was "'the most delightful pleasure-resort where the King had the best hunting grounds in the whole of India."" Dilawar Khan and IJradat Khan, two of his governors, also constructed gardens on the Bararinambal lagoon fed by the Mar-nalaand situated in the southeast of Srinagar, and at Naopdr a village five miles south of Sopor. Seven? Sibadars or governors were appointed by Jahangir, one after the other, to govern Kashmir. With the exception of Qalich Khan (1606) and Iradat Khan (1620), all were just, and numerous are the instances of their justice. The Hindus of Kashmir complained against Qalich Khan to the Emperor

Jahangir who'

communicated, after the epigrammatic style of Ja'far Barmaki (see Al-Kamil alMubarrad, Lahore, 1337 A.H.=1928 a.c., Vol. I, p. 301), the following warning to him :— یم

داد خواهان تو بسیان شکرگذاران توع حکومت ! پناها" 0 آب سحعاب ad ae

Fd * 1. Qazvini's Baddshah-ndma, pp. 444-5, also 'Abdul Hamid Lahauri's Badshah-néma, Vol. I, sectionii, page 58. 2. 'Abdul Hamid's Badshah-nama, Vol. I, section ii, page 585. 3. Jahangir's India : The Remonsirantie of Francisco Pelsaert, 1925, page 33. 4. Muhammad-ud-Din fFaug, Mukammal Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir,

Part II, page 198.

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

The Dabistadn' says that Pandit Cri Kanta, a Kashmir conversant with Hindu sciences and knowing the Shastras was invested by Jahangir 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, Jahangir married . Kashmiri lady. ‘ After him, by the daughter of the princ of Kashmir who was of the society of the Jégis, I ha another daughter, who died a year old.” As regards territorial extension, Jahangir’s reigy witnessed the conquest of Kishtwar. A description of thi conquest in the language ৫৮ the royal diarist is worthy o reproduction. It reads almost like the dispatch of a moderr war correspondent— “On the tenth of the Ilahi month of Shahriwar, in my 14¢] year, Dilawar Khan with 10,000 horse and foot, determined ti conquer Kishtwar. He appointed his son, Hasan by name, witl Gird ’Ali Mir Bahr to guard the city and administer the territory. A Gauhar Chak and Aiba Chak laid claim to Kashmir as heirs, anc were stirring up strife in Kishtwar and were wandering in the valle} of confusion and ruin, he left Haibat, one of his brothers, with a fore at Desu, which is near the Kotal of the Pir Panjal, by way of caution Dividing his forces at that place, he himself hastened with ؛ force by the road of Sanginpir, sending his son Jalal, with Nasrulla! “Arab, and ’Ali Malik Kashmiri and a band of Jahangiri servants bj another road, and his elder son Jamal with a band of zealous youn men as an advance-guard to his own force. At the same time, hi 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 some with him, but left nearly all his sipahis’ horses behind and sent then to Kashmir (7.e. Srinagar). The young men girded the belt of duty on their waists, and went up hills on foot. The ghdzis of the arm} of Islam fought from post to post with the ill-fated unbelievers as fai as Nark6t, which was one of the enemy’s strongholds . . . . The ill-fated Aiba Chak with many of the people of ruin were slain.

By the death of Aiba, the Raja became powerless and without heart, and took the road of flight, and, crossing by the bridge, stopped at Bhandark6t which is on the other side. . . . . Dilawar Khan drew up his forces at Bhandarkdt. . . . Inshort, for four months and ten days, Dilawar Khan having planted the foot of courage at Bhandark6t made endeayours to cross over. . . . Jalal, Dilawar

1. Shea and Troyer's Translation—pages 164-165.

The Valley of Kashmir, page 194, footnote 2.

band of Khan's son, with some of the servants of the Court and a unaw ares Afehans, about 200 in number, crossed over in safety, made an attack on the Raja, and blew loudly the trumpets of victory The men rushed on the Raja and made him prisoner . . . Dilawar

Mandal Khan . . . having crossed the river (Marti) came tofrom the Badr which was the capital of the country, and is three kos river. The daughter of Sangram, Raja of Jammu and the daughter of . . . . Siraj Mal son of Raji Baso were in the Raja's house (i.¢., married to him). By Sangram's daughter he had children. Before the victory he had sent his family for refuge to the Raja of Jaswal and other Zamindirs . . . Dilawar Khan took the Raja with him, and came to kiss the threshold, leaving Nasrullah 'Arab with a body of horse and foot to guard the country.

;;ehT elohw emocni fo eht ajaR stsisnoc fo ,senif dna rof a llams ecneffo eh sekat a yvaeh .mus morF reveosmohw si yhtlaew dna ni elbatrofmoc secnatsmucric eht ,ijaR no emos ,txeterp sraelc tuo lla taht eh .sah morF lla secruos sih emocni si tuoba .sR .000,001 nI emit fo raw 000,6 ro 000,7 nem no toof tcelloc .rehtegot erehT eratub wef sesroh gnoma .meht ehT ajaR dna eht feihc nem evah tuoba ytiff neewteb .meht I dewotseb a s'raey eunever no rawaliD nahK by way 08 ۴

During the régime of Dilawar Khan, 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 Jahangir himself describe it : " On this day (Wednesday, 17th Isfandarmuz, 12th year of Jahangir's reign=1617 a.c.) a report of the chronicler of events arrived, that the plague had taken firm hold of the country (Kashmir) 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 Tézuk-t-Jahangirt, 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." "ہthis day (Wednesday, the first of the month of Azar=March 1617 a.c., the 12th year of Jahangir's reign) Kashmir 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.'"? During the time of Jahangir, Kashmir yielded a revenue amounting to

7,46,70,000 dams, which undoubtedly indicates the increase of prosperity enjoyed by Kashmir during his rule.

Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan visited Kashmir 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 Shah Jahan arrived in Srinagar on June 5. "The enchanting beauty of this province hypnotized Shah Jahan," writes the author of History of Shahjahan of Dihli,? "and though he had no ماهof painters with him to reproduce its natural beauty, he had a number of excellent writers at court who have described Kashmir in glowingly picturesque language, which is poetic in spirit though prose in form." The. des-

criptions of Kashmir written by Mirza Aminai Qazvini (Padshéh-nama, British Museum, Or. 173) and Jalal-ud-Din Tabatabai (Pddshah-ndma, British Museum, Or. 1676), the versified narratives of

Qudsi and Kalim are instances.

Mirza, Amina4i Qazvini was in the royal retinue on this occasion. Shah Jahan'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 Shah Jahan returned to Lahore. It was at the time of Shah Jahan's first visit that the Hindu raja of Bhimbar announced the adoption of Islam, and was given the title of Raja-1-Daulatmand (or the Raja of Riches).

1. The Téeuk-i-Jahangit, 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. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1932, pages 314-17.

Shah Jahan appointed nine governors altogether, of whom two, namely, Zafar Khan and ’Ali Mardan Khan were re-appointed. I‘tiqad Khan, who had been appointed by Jahangir, continued in office till his high-handedness and oppressive rule brought about his removal. Prince Murad visited Kashmir in 1640 a.c., and remained as governor for a year, being followed by ’Ali Mardin Khan. During his stay, Prince Murad married a daughter of the Maliks of Shahabid. Shahabad was formerly called the Vér-nag pargana, according to Hasan, and was re-named shahabad by Shah Jahan.

Zafar Khan’s original name was Ahsanullah Khan Ahsan. Zafar Khan was the title conferred on him by Shah Jahan on account of his triumphant courage and coolness. He succeeded I‘tiqad Khan. In reality, Ahsanullah’s father,

Abu’l Hasan Turbati, 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 Khan. Its brief detail is this. Chaks were given asylum in Little Tibet (Baltistan). Jahangir’s Siibadar of Kashmir, Hashim Khan, son of Qasim Khan Mir Bahr, attempted to reduce “Ali Rai Marzbaén (Warden of the Marches) of Skardu to submission but failed.

In Shah Jahan’s time, Abdal, “Ali Rai’s son, gave protection to Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak. Zafar Khan, therefore, persuaded Abdal to acknow-

ledge Mughul sovereignty and to read the Khutba in Shah Jahan's name in 1634. years, repudiated his

But Abdal, within the next two submission.

Shah Zafar Khan to subjugate Little Tibet.

Jahan ordered With 2,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, Zafar Khan forced Abd&l to resume submission and to pay an indemnity of one million rupees. In the course of the fight, Abdal's son, Daulat, a lad of fifteen, showed considerable pluck in sallying out of his fort at

Shakar on the other side of the Nil-ab or the Indus, in Little

Tibet, but was driven back by Mir Fakhr-ud-Din of the Mughul army. Daulat, on being overwhelmed, escaped with his father's cash and jewellery. Zafar Khan, howaver, brought Abdal and the families of Habib Chak and

Ahmad Chak to Kashmir and left Muhammad Murad, Abdal's Vakil, in charge of the country. Zaiar is chiefly remembered for the removal of hardships which I'tiqad Khan! had imposed upon the people of Kashmir, and which were beautifully brought to the notice of Shah Jahan by a Kashmiri poet in a striking and significant poem in honour of the Emperor's birthday :— ۰

I Blgm اهل کشمیر اند در دیواین عدالت داد را ۶ ۰ ۰ گوپدد حندان سازد اندهناکlo}st

گربه بچع بیگناه آمدند از زعفران در 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 ate made to weep on account of saffron ! To this effect, Zafar, therefore, obtained a farman from Shah Jahan which was engraved on a stone

and put into the masonry of the gate of the Jami‘ Masjid in Srinagar and is there still. The translation? of this farmdn 18 : Gop Is GREAT Shah Jahan the King, Defender of the Faith.

Copy of the auspicious order of His Majesty, Solomon-

like in dignity, Sahib Qirin the Second (or Lord of the Conjunction), which was recorded on the 7th of Isfandarmaz (February) Wahi, (or according to Akbar’s calendar), at the request of the humblest of dependants who is known by the name of Zafar Khan, with reference to the removal of the wrongs done in the time of former Stibadars in beautiful Kashmir, and were the cause of the misery of the subjects and inhabitants of these regions.

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

I‘tiqad Khan Mirzé Shahpiir was the son of I‘timad-ud-Daula and the brother of Asaf Khan and of Nir Jahan.

In the 17th year of Jahingir’s reign, he was appointed to the governorship of Kashmir. Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak revolted and created trouble, but were forced to flee to Tibet.

I‘tiqad died at Agra in 1060 a.m. (1650 a.c.).

2. Modtfied from the English translation by (1) Rev. 1. Loewenthal, Journal of the Astatte Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1865, Volume X XXIII, No. 3, 1864, pages 288-90, and by (2) Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, 1926 Volume TI, 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 recelve proper wages. And whatever grows on lands granted mn Jagir, let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the Jagirdar that he may gather it ashe 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 autho-

rities of the place two sheep annually. I'tigad 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 takem nor money in tneir 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 4 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'tigad Khan be redressed, and that people should not act in accordance with it. Anot her 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 them selves 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 offici als of this and future times in the province of Kashmir should con-

sider these orders as lastmg and enternal, nor shou ld they admit any change or alteration in these regulatio ns. Who-

ever admits any change or alterations, will fall under the cursa the of God, and_the anger of the King.—Written on

26th (March)

Azar calendar).

Ilahi, (or according to Akhar's Ahsanullah Khan planted several gardens to add to the beauty of the country. He also introduced varieties of new fruits and flowers in Kashmir. He was وtalented person and patronized Mirza Muhammad 'Ali 8010 of Isfahan, who afterwards became the poet-laureate of Iran whence he wrote to Zafar Khan— ۳ ہی

۹ کند می اف خود غمر بچاے ہے so ۰۰۰۰ و ۳

نحل هر ۰ yw and received a reward of five thousand rupees from him. Zatat, too, was grateful to Sa'ib for literary advice—

قیض braطرز صاثب استbO 'kwسسسسسسسست احسی بعد اڑیں مقبول یست

و از او A ea گوڈیہائے تازہ Zafar Khan has himself left behind a Masnavi called the

Haft Manzil in praise of Kashmir, which he presented to Shah Jahan on his third visit at the picturesque waterfall of Ahrabal, Tahsil Kulgim. In one place, in his Masnavi, Zafar Khan says اد سے

گلزار کشمیر baG a لن جمن را I حراساع sop مد

بود 30392٠2 هرچہ بهرکس ٠ دہ ogla.الهی بے سغن

١ و مرا کشمیر تا ٠ ob] ٠ [While Kashmir lasts, 0 God ! Remind not me of the Garden Of my طط. To each man grant his wish— To the nightingale the garden And to me Kashmir ڑا

« برrafaZ s'nahK owt rehto sivansaM era osla .nwonk Oné is Jakva-i-Naz and the other is Matkhdna-i -Rdz. nosaer yhw eht zdN-i-awlaJ si os deman —si JF

Fa.

٥ یہ کے 172 ehT zdR-1-andhkiaM —sah YEW بب

ماہ این نساخہ منظومگشت‌راز موسوم گشت ش بہش The Ahsan-ul-Hikdydi, a collection of thirty-one anecdotes by Hafiz Muhammad Riz4, was written nm Kashmir during

Ahsan's régime.

Zafar Khin's son, Muhammad Ashnd, whose title was 'Inayat Khan, held the Dariigha-i-Kutub-Khana or

Tahir the office of Keeper of the Imperial Library. Ashna was a poet and also wrote the Mulakhkhas, a history of the first thirty years of the reign of Shah Jahan. It was Zafar Khan's patronage of poetry and learning that Abi Talib Kalim wrote in his Pddshéh-ndma—

• ⋆⋆ ot Ms من making a reference to Zafar Khan's expedition conquest of Tibet in 1046-47 a.H.=1636-37 • for the

[Zafar Khan " Ahsan."—Perhaps a short note on Zafar Khan is needed here. Khwaja Mirza Ahsanullah's takhallus was Ahsan. He was the son of Khwaja Abu'l Hasan Turbati (7.e. of Turbat-i-Haidari, a town south of Mashhad in Khurasin,

Iran).

Khwaja Abu'

Hasan was at one time the Adviser of Prince Daniyal, and the Diwan of the Deccan, and later Mir Bakhshi, and had the title of Rukn-us-Saltanat. In the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, 1033 • (1623 a.c.), Ahsanullah was appointed Governor of Kabul, and received the title of Zafar Khdn or the 'Lord of Victory' with the mansab of 1,500 which was subsequently raised to 2,500.

In the fifth year of Shah Jahan's reign, 1041 a.m. (1631 a.c.), he was deputed to Kashmir as the lieutenant of his father who was nominated to the governorship of Kashmir. This position, according to the Bankipur Catalogue (Vol. III, p. 117), Ahsanullah held to the twenty-sixth year of Shah Jahan's reign, after which he was transferred to Tattah. But Zafar Khan was really the lieutenant of his father for one year, and twice governor of Kashmir, first in 1042 A.H. (1632 a.c.), for seven years, and the second time in 1052 • (1642 a.c.), for four years as supported by the Madthir-ul-Umar@ of

Shah Nawaz Khan (pp. 757-59).

Ahsanullah was dwarfish but very keen and quick-witted. father was a staunch Sunni,

His but he himself was a zealous Shi‘a.

Absanullah married Buzurg Khanam and had a son, Mirza Muhammad Tahir Ashnd, who was given the title of ’Indyat Khan, as noted above.

Absanullah died in 1073 ۸.۵۰ (1662 a.c.), at Lahore, and was buried near the grave of his father in Mughulpura. ’Inaiyat Khan died in 1081 ۵.15. (or 1670 a.c.) in Kashmir. Mirz4 Khurshid was the brother of Ahsanullah.}

Khwaja Khawand Mahmid of Bukhara came tc Kashmir during Zafar Khan’s régime, and gave. impetu: to the. Naqshbandi ۵22 when the poet Mashrabi wrote—

پر = ran ry دوران AAA(همہ 1 ۰, . هسبت ” atS شادماتی زآنکم در کشمیریاں
قطب نہ aبحلاخق

قیی:| ؛ جچود ۱ نکہ oe Pate Pan Wola والا گہر . خواجه

و از فحودش ظاهروباطن بہ مشتاقان رسید Ibrahim Khan who became afterwards known as “Ali Mardin Khan was originally an Iranian. He is said tc have come by a treasure at. Qandahar, but not willing to surrender it to his master, the Shah of Ivan, sought Shah

Jahan’s protection.

“Ali Mardin was just and generous.

So lavishly did he spend his money that even Shah Jahan was astonished. ‘Ali Mardin -was thus, no doubt, popularly credited with the possession of the philosophers’ stone. As Lawrence! notes, it was believed that through this stone he was enabled to build splendid serdis on the Pir Panjal route to India. Pandit Mahadev was the secretary employed by “Ali Mardin Khan during his second

tenure of office. Pandit Mahadev also profited by his master's generosity considerably. ١

Besides planting gardens, 'Ali Mardan raised a number of serais.or inns, and also repaired the Hiirap6r 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 Kashmir. And when a severe famine broke out in the days of Tarbiyat Khan, the Emperor appointed capable officers to organize relief measures.

Tatbiyat' Khan, being unable to cope with the task; he was removed...

Corn was exported from Lahore, J ullundur, 'Sialkot, Kalanaur, and other districts of the Punjab, to be distributed free among the sufferers. All thé queens and princes voluntarily contributed towards the relief fund started for the purpose. Durin 8 the régime of Lashkar Khan, the last governor under Shah Jahan, the country, however, enjoyed such a spell of prosp erity that

2 hag of shalz or unhusked rice could -be had for ٠ 7 ط ٠- Phe Valley of ٢006, page 195.

The 16-٢2 folio 192, و Tavernier was not, therefore, wrong when he said that

Shah Jahan "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 Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Kashmir shone with a galaxy of famous poets like Kalim,' Qudei,? Auji,?

Tughra,4 Mir Ilahi,® Nadim,* Fasihi,?' Fahmi,? and Khwaja Mimin.® Their verses are often quoted by lexicographers.

Some of the poets were, of course, of Persian origin ; but they loved Kashmir more than their own native land, and there lived their lives. Zafar Khan,?° in the preface of his

Divan, particularly mentions the names of Maulana Haidar Muhammad, Muhammad Mugqim Jauhari, Qazi Muhammad Qasim better known as Qazi-zadah as distinguished poets of his time in Kashmir. The presence of so many men of culture and learning contributed to the intellectual attain-

ments of this country in literature and belles lettres. Aurangzib ’Alamgir

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzib ’Alamgir visited Kashmir only once. He became seriously ill in the summer of 1664 a.c., and came to Kashmir in the following months to restore his health.

accompanied the Emperor.

Princess Raushan Ara 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 Chinab river was a scene of confusion. Again, in the Pir Panjal 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. Jan Muhammad Quds7, the poet, was not wrong, therefore, when he said : eerS -

ے ہ ۰ ۶ موے زنگی رھم پچچیدہ ثر از WHGچوں دم DEفرنگی

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

Of Hamadan.

Of Mashhad, . Of Kashmir. Of Kashmir, 10.

Of Mashhad.

Of Kashmir.

Of Asadabad near Hamadan.

Of Herat. 8. Of Kashmir. The Bankipur Catalogue, Vol. 111, page 118,

’Aqil Khan has, as it were, replied to it: I I نداره کشمیر

گلشن ره همواره‌ئی Nawwab Zafar Khan Ahsan says— Bly ee *

دربن ره عمر خضرو صبر | ,و یوب uS که letکندحر حضری هم گم

۳۹ سرا اندیشة راهیست و ۳ بهم پچیده میگردد چو مکذوب ae as ۰ جانکاءه

The progress to Kashmir of Aurangzib ’Alamgir 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, Aurangzib “Alamgir arrived in Kashmir. The beauty, the cool and salubrious air of the country induced ’Alamgir 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 • 300 per month in the service of Danish-mand_ Khan, the Emperor's Foreign Minister) attended on 'Alamgir and helped him in the restoration of his health. The summer Bernier visited Kashmir, Fidai Khan, grandmaster of the artillery, 'Alamgir's trusted foster-brother, was stationed as a guard below the pass at Bhimbar until the heat was over and the Emperor returned.

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

*Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dow's History of Hindostan, London,

1772, Vol. ITT, pages 354-55, to an unremitting application," wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow* in 1772 4.c., 65 years after Aurangzib'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 Aurangzib ’Alamgir, was fourteen, of whom Ibrahim Khan held the appointment thrice, while Saif Khan was sent twice. It was in the time of Ibrahim Khan, the son of ’Ali Mardan Khan, that the poet Mirza Darab Jaydé, born in Kashmir, flourished. In (2و Divan, the ghazals open with—

چوں طاؤمی کن دل 4این مدهوش غاقل را و حود اص ۱ الهی ره نما سوثخ ۳
ارا PE ز دردت جامہ زب In spite of pressure of work and personal attention devoted by the Emperor to all departments of the state, he was earnestly concerned

’Alamgir’s remark in os the welfare of this province.

کشمیری دربن yeیی ثبست کہمقرر [There isno Kashmiri in this province whom Imay appoint] in the Ruqa‘dt-i-’Alamgirz, page 95, must be a reason for pride to the Kashmiri coming, as the remark does, from an. exacting hard taskmaster of the high standard of ‘ Alamgir. Nothing escaped ’Alamgir’s vigilant eye. And he did not hesitate to introduce effective measures to improve the condition of the people. Ibrahim Khan was twice removed *Lt.-Colonel Alexander Dow’s History of Hindostan, London, 1772,

Vol. 111, pages xxvi-vii.

from governorship for backing the Shi‘as in sectarija feuds. Similarly, Muzaffar Khan paid dearly for his impc sition of heavy taxes. Hence it cannot be said tha Mughul Siibadars had a free hand in Kashmir. The subject were treated mildly and justly, and the Sibadars were, wit the rare exceptions of Muzaffar Khan and Abii Nasr Khan vigorous advocates of justice. Saif Khan caused Khwaj

Muhammad Sadiq Naqshbandi to be flogged to death fo inflicting a like punishment on a Hindu official charge with defalcation in state accounts. Saif Khan was th brother-in-law of Shah Jahan, their wives being sisters He acted as governor twice. Qivam-ud-Din Khan ز famous for his invention of the Takhtah Kulah or Kulah a-Takhtah 'the Wooden Cap,' presumably on the analog: of the Fool's Cap, for criminals. I'timad Khan, Iftikhar Khan, Hifzullah Khan, Islan Khan and Fazil Khan, governors one after the other, actec in an impartial manner and did their best in personally dealing out justice, and in looking after the people. Saif Khan, 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 Kashmir 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'sreign in 989 A.H.=1581 ميم, 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 jagirdar of the time, Chaudhri Mahésh 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. Fazil Khan is associated with a well-known

Madrasah.

It was in his time that the Sacred Hair of the Prophet was tions.

'Inayatullah was, perhaps, the first of the brought to Kashmir by

Khwaja Nir-ud-Din Ishbari. Fazil Khan recommended Kashmiris for mansabs and the Emperor approved of his recommendaKhwaja

Kashmiri Mansabdars.

He rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in Siyar's time.

1717 ١ . Fire, famine, earthquake and flood, each in Farrukh 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 todoso. After the Kawdora' fire, Aurangzib 'Alamgir sent Ibrahim Khan 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 Jami' Masjid, which had also perished in the fire.

Sectarian fights between the Shi'as and Sunnis were not uncommon in those days.

As a matter of fact, it isa 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 Kashmir where Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Iraqis successful propagation of Shiite doctrines had proved fruitful. The minds of both Shi'as and Sunnis were, therefore, in a state of frenzy. Moreover, as fresh converts the Shi'as must have been very zealous, at times, fanatical. The Chaks, who were Shi'as by faith, had lost their domination only recently. The aggrieved minds of the Shi'as looked upon this fact both as personal and religious grievance. It is, therefore, not

surprising that riots and disturbances between the Shi‘as and the Sunnis were not unusual. Regarding external affairs touching Kashmir, there are several deserving notice. For instance, the Qalmugqs,? invaded Tibet Kalan (major). Daldal Namjal, the ruler of Tibet Kalan, himself being unable to defend the country, sought help from the Emperor of Delhi. Consequently, Fidai Khan was ordered by [brahim Khan, 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 Khan. Subsequently, he embraced Islam,

1. Kawdora is the name of a big mahalla or ward near the shrine of Makhdiim Sahib in Srinagar. 2. Qalmugq, Qalmag 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 قلمق بدمخلوقor Qalmugs of evil creation. The Qalmuggs followed Buddhism in contra st to the Dungans —speaking Chinese, who adopted Islam.

and returned to Tibet where he built a grand mosque. Similarly, the raja of Rajauri became a convert to Islam after his defeat, when his kingdom was restored to him in the third tenure of Ibrahim Khan’s governorship. The raja of Jammu broke out into open revolt, and was reduced to submission by Hifzullah Khan who had _ succeeded Ibrahim Khan in 16864. c. “Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Kashghar, passed through Kashmir 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 Nawazish Khan. ’Abdullah Khan was received and entertained in a royal manner b

Mubariz Khan the governor, the successor of Saif Khan.

And when, very much later, Arsalan Khan, ’Abdullah Khan’s nephew, came to Kashmir for help against his own son, the matter was referred to ’Alamgir by Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir during 1701 to 1706 ac. On receipt of orders, Ibrahim Khan communicated the Emperor’s wishes to the fugitive prince, asking him to seek help from the governor of Kabul. As a matter of fact, ’Alamgir had the intention of conquering Kashghar, but he was dissuaded from entering upon the campaign.

Kashmir, this shows, was at that time a strong outpost of the Mughul Empire.

Lalla Rookh.

At the mention of ’Abdullah Khan of Kashghar, 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 (Ldla Rukh or Tulip Cheek), though the hero and.the heroine and their parentage and marriage are all purely imaginary. “Thomas Moore

(May 1779 a.c—¥February Says Moore ;* 1852) was an Irish poet and musician.

In 1798 Moore graduated, and in the next year left Success In London.

But his social for England to keep his terms at the Middle Temple.

He was a 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 roma nce on an Eastern subject. neighb in the retired to a cottage

Moore ٥ neighbourhood of Donington Park, where thethe help of Lord Moira's with with library he read himself slowly into fami-

liarity with Hastern scenery and manners. According to Florence Parbury, (the author of The Emerald Set with Pearls, vide its Notes), ** the particu lars of the visit of the king of Bucharia to Aurangzib are found in Lt.-Ool.

"In the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzebe, Abdalla, King of Lesser Bucharia, a lineal descendant from Alexander Dow's History of Hindostan, London, 1803, Volume 111, pages 418-19. I reproduce it below for the information of the reader :— " An opportunity offered itself to his (Aurangzib'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. Hesent 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 Siirat where he embarked for Arabia."'

The Lalla Rookh was published in 1817. It was an immediate success. Moore's fame speedily became European. "(ٰٖ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). '" Kashmir 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 dela 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

Latia 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 splendow to Surat, where he embarked for Arabia. During the sta} of the Royal Pilgrim at Delhi, a marriage was agreed upor between the Prince, his son, and the youngest daughte1 of the Emperor, Lalla Rookh—*a Princess described by the* The Oxfard Companion to English Interature (compiled and edited by SirPaul Harvey, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937, page 439) will accordingly be read with interest سب 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 Vetled 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, onits 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.—aA peri, one of 'those beautiful spirits of the air who live on perfumes,' offspring of fallen angels, is promised admission to patadise 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 this opens the gate.

God, and 7. #he Ftre-Worshippers, a tale of the Ghebers or Persians of the old » Who maintained their resistance against the conquering Moslems.

دgnuoy ,rebehG sllaf ni evol htiw ,adniH rethguad fo eht rimH poets of her time as more beautiful than Leila, Shirie, Dewildé,* or any of those heroines whose names and loves embellish the songs of Persia and WHindostan. 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. Krom 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 silverrimmed kettle-drums at the bows of their saddles; the costly armour of their cavaliers, who vied, on this occasion,

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 cartied 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.

١ with the guards of the great Keder Khan,* 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-Din) Great NaAzir or Chamberlain ofthe 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 evenin 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 clearas the waters of the Lake of Pearl ; sometimes under the sacred- shade of a Banyan tzee, 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, 80 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 slaye who sung sweetly to the Vina, and who, now and then, lulled the Princess to sleep "Khigin of Turkistan at the end of the eleventh century.

with the ancient ditties of her country, about the loves of Wamak and Hzra, the fair-haired Yal 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 ٩٩٦٠, - .-. 070 " 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 con-

ferred 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 . . .

" ىلإ eht esoprup fo gniveiler eht sesuap fo noitaticeryb ,cisum eht gnuoy nairemhsaC dleh ni sih dnah a *—ratik hcus ,sa ni dlo semit eht barA sdiam fo eht tseW desu ot netsil ot yb thgilnoom ni eht snedrag fo eht —arbmahlA dna

gnivah ,desimerp htiw hcum ,ytilimuh taht eht yrots eh saw tuoba ot etaler saw dednuof no eht serutnevda fo taht delieV tehporP fo ,nasarohK ohw ni eht raey fo eht arigeH ,361 detaerc hcus mrala tuohguorht eht nretsaE Empire... . ’They had now arrived at the splendid city of

Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where Death seemed to share equal honou rs 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 Shal imar 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 thei r 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 قیتارmeaning @ guitar or lyre or harp, so many lovely eyes, and were beautiful still, though thoge eyes could see them no longer. This place, with its flowerg 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-tzees, till they tremble all over. When the Hast 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-7-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."

Aurangzib 'Alamgir did not remain in Hindustan 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 Kashmir was for three months only.

Mulla Tahir Ghan7, the great poet of Kashmir, died during the reign of Aurangzib 'Alamgir. The ance stors of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who were Kashmiri Brah mans of the Saprii caste, embraced Islam in this reign.

Nawazish Khan Rimi, the governor-elect, was on his way to Kashmir when he received the news of ’Alamgir’s death.

After a year, Ja‘far Khan succeeded Nawazis h Khan Rimi. Ja‘far Khan proved to be a tyrant and a drunkard.

He died of hard drinking after having been governor for one vear and three months. Governors and high officials on assumption of office in Kashmir were welcomed by hereditary singers by grand receptions held in honour of such occasions. This was stopped by ’Alamgir. During Ja‘far Khan’s governorship, Qazi Haidar, surnamed “Qazi Khan,” a Kashmiri by birth, who held the important office of the Qazi-’l-Quzat or Chief Justice under ’Alamgir, passed away. The Qazi’s remains were interred in his own garden in the village of Bachhapdr in the Phak pargana, on the Dal.

The death of ’Alamgir 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 Shah ’Alam was at Jamrid, near Peshawar, when on 22nd March, 1707, he heard of his father’s death and set out for Agra, crowning himself as Bahadur Shah at the bridge of Shah Daula, 24 miles north of

Lahore. Meantime A‘zam Shih after hastening to his father’s campat Ahmadnagar had ascended the throne on 14th March. But, in their fights, A‘zam lost the day and lost his life in June. Kim Bakhsh: who had crowned himself at Bijapur was disposed of some four miles outside Hydarabad, Deccan, on January 13, 1709. Bahadur Shah then reigned till February 1712 and died on the 27th of that month. Later Mughuls

At the time of Bahadur Shah's death all his four sons Jahandar Shah, "Azim-ush-Shan, Rafi'-ush-Shan and Jahan Shah were with him at Lahore. The brothers fought. Ultimately Jahandar Shih was victorious. . But he gave him-

self up to pleasure. And in January 1713, therefore, Farrukh Siyar, the son of 'Azim-ush-Shan, enthroned himself and ruled till 1719, when the Sayyid Brothers 'Abdullah and Husain 'Ali intrigued. They strangled Farrukh Siyar in April 1719. Rafi'-ud-Darajat, a youth of twenty, was set upon the throne, but was a consumptive and therefore was made to-give room to his elder brother, Rafi'-ud-Daula, on

4th June, 1719. He lived within the fort almost a prisoner of the Sayyid Brothers when Raushan Akhtar, the son of Jahan Shah (the fourth son of Bahadur Shah), was crowned under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah on

28th September, 1719.

During Muhammad Shah's time the Sayyid Brothers set up Prince Muhammad Ibrahim, a brother of Rafi'-ud-

Darajat and Rafi'-ud-Daula on 14th October, 1720. A coin was actually struck in Ibrahim's name. But he was arrested and carried before Muhammad Shah who received him royally, and kept him under watch and ward. Nadir Shah, then, appeared on the scene. His invasion of India naturally weakened Mughul authority. And Delhi experienced a terri-

ble massacre. But Ahmad Shah Durrani's invasion was repelled near Manupur, 10 miles north-west of Sarhind, by Prince Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, in 1748.

On the death by dropsy of Muhammad Shah, Prince Ahmad ascended the throne of Delhi on 29th April, 1748, as Mujahid-ud-Din Ahmad Shah Bahadur. In 1751 Ahmad Shah Durrani demanded and obtained the cession of the Punjab and Multan from Ahmad Shah the Mughul ruler of Delhi. The acquisition of the Punjab enabled the Durrani to take Kashmir in 1752 in the course of his third invasion of India.

The governors under Shah 'Alam, Aurangzib 'Alamgir's son, had begun to send representatives in their place to rule the country. The practice acquired considerable vogue in later years. Amanat Khan and Musharraf Khan were both representatives of Khwaja 'Inayatullah who had been appointed to succeed Nawazish Khan Rimi. Other than this, there is very little of importance to chronicle in the brief reign of Shah ' Alam (Bahadur Shah

_I) which terminated in 1712 a.c.

The only notable incident which took place in Kashmir at this time was the revolt of Raja Muzaffar Khin Bamba in 1124 ٨.٣۴٠ (1713 A.C.), and his taking possession of Darava* and Karnava (modern Karnah) both fiefs of the Siibadar of

Kashmir.

'"Inayatullah Khan, the governor, was unable to reduce him to subjection owing to the death of the Emperor Jahandaér Shah in 1124 au. This task was, however, performed by 'Ali Muhammad Khan in the reign of the next ruler, Farrukh Siyar. The same Sibadiar also punished Abu'l Fath, the zamindar of Pinch. But 'Ali *The Ta'rikh-t-Hasan, folios folio 234.

258-59; Ta'rikh-i-Khalil Marjanpiri Daravais the name of a pargana which formed part of the possessions of the rajis of Karndo, 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. Dariva lies in the valley of the Kishanganga river, a tributary of the Jhelum. Karnav or Karnah is now a tahsil in the Muzaffarabad district, lying north-west of Kashmir to the south side of the Kishanganga river.

Muhammad Khan did not prove to be a good governor. He was recalled for levying unjust taxes. Farrukh Siyar's mother, Sahiba Niswan, was a Kashmirian lady. Her brother Khwaja 'Inadyatullah had the title of Shaista Khan.t_ When Farrukh Siyar's marriage to the daughter of Ajit Singh of Jodhpur took place in 1715 A.c., Shaista Khan was sent to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur to Delhi. 'Inayatullih 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 Aurangzib's time.'? This raised him a host of enemies.

Muhammad Murdd Kashmirt. Muhammad Murad Kashmiri rose to the status of Hafthazari and ten thousand sowdrs, with the title of Rukn-udDaula I'tiqad Khan Bahadur Farrukh Shahi, and had the sarkar of Moradabad as his siba re-named Rukn-abad. Muhammad Murad entered employment under Mir Malik Husain Khan Jahan Kokaltash the foster-brother of Aurangzib 'Alamgir. Later, he was attached to the camp of Shah 'AlamI. It wasin the time of Jahandar Shah in 1713 a.c. that his rise began and reached its climax in that of Farrukh Siyar. Murad was second Mir or Marshal of the Empire of Delhi.. The emperor said one day to the great nobles in darbar: " You have heard, have. you not, I'tiqaid Khan is related to my exalted mother."" Murad became an enemy to the intrigues of the Sayyid Brothers in his loyalty to Farrukh Siyar, and was imprisoned in Sayyid Husain 'Ali's house. On the 12th of Ramazan 1139 ʌ.3,

(2nd May, 1717 a.c.), Murad died in Delhi at the age of seventy-two.® Immigration of the ٧٠

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

William Irvine's Later Moghals, Sir Jadu Nath Sark4r's edition,

Vol. I, page 144 and page 304. 2. Lhe Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, page 337. 3. William Irvine's Later Moghals, edited by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Volume I, page 342.

4. ~Sawahertal Nekru—An Autobiography, John Lane, the Bodley

. Head, London, Reprinted January, 1941, page 1.

d Nehrii family ⋆of Allah aba later came to be known asti the and produced Pandit Mo Lal Nehri and his son Pandit

Jawahar Lal Nebri. Muhammad Shah.

the throne Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah ascendedوMuh ammad of Delhi in 1719 ac. A youth of and Shah was extremely handsome, large yofandlimbsexu al strong. Buthis sedentary life of inactivit he became excess soon impaired his constitution, and 40. a confirmed invalid by the time he was only this The evil was aggravated by his taking opium, and at last it drug habit made him weak and emaciated till became impossible for him to move from his palace. 8 the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muhammad Shah, says Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar,* a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of fagirs 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 Bengal as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went into Nadir Shah’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 Shah and his nobles abandoned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure. Aurangzib ’Alamgir had left a completely settled empire at his death, says Colonel Alexander Dow. Its disintegration commenced in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 a.c.) who is said to have once thrown an urgent report of an important conspiracy into a barrel of wie as ’useless bother— f

ناب اولی oA غرق بے معنی دفنرlic dammahuM hihS did ton revocer morf eht stceffe fo sih ygro llit owt syad .retfa

Muhammad Shab, 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 Reviéw of Calcutta, December, 1931, page 611.

outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundation of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhamma; Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be calle the last of the rulers of Babur’s line, as after him the kingshi had nothing but the name left to it.” (Seyar-ul-Muta’ akhirin, 111, 25). Muhammad Shah 0160 in 1748, havin been on the throne for 29 years.

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

Mir 'Indyatullah Khan • Muhammad Shah invested Mir 'Inayatullah Khan wit the governorship of Kashmir. 'Inayatullah Khan was Kashmiri by birth, and was descended from Qazi Mis Shahid who was killed in Ya'qib Shah Chak's days. "Inaya ullah was originally Mir 'Inayatullah, and later becam known as Mir 'Inayatullih Khan. He had srx sons of who1 the more notable were :)(the elder Hidayatullah know first as Vazarat Khan, thenas Sa'dullah Khan M7r-7-Sdma and (si) the younger son was 'Atiatullah Khan who. ws given as title his father's name 'Inayatullah Khan. M 'Inayatullah is known in Kashmir as Yanna Sér as he bui the wall or sérof Hazrat Makhdiim's mausoleum, (۶ being nicknamed from 'Inayatullih. His mother, Hafiz

Maryam, taught the ladies of the royal seraglio in tl days of Aurangzib 'Alamgir, notably Zib-un-Nisa. Hafiz Maryam's mother Jan Begam, the daughter of Mulla Shar Mir "Adl, taught the princesses in Shah Jahan's tim

Aurangzib 'Alamgir had such great confidence in 'Inaya ullah's ability that he made him Vazir-i-A'zam whe Nawwab 'Umdatu'l Mulk Madar-ul-Mahamm Ja'far Kha the Prime Minister of the realm, was compiled the Ahkim-i-Alamgiri.

ill.

'Inayatullé All signed royal con mands were collected and edited by him under the tit of Kalimat-1-Tayyibat. 'Alamgir had a high opinion |

’Inayatullah’s literary attainments and was impressed 1 his diction, style and mode of calligraphy. ’Inayatulli was handsome, good-natured, grave, and scrupulous honest. He was simple in his habjts and loyed to m with fugara@ or friars, ١

1 “‘Inayatullah? himself” seems to have been a conscientious man and selected his 7V292۶ or deputies with a view to proper government of the country22 His ٨V۵20 Mir Ahmad Kh4n, made honourable amends for the excesses of his predecessors by his good and equitable administration. But trouble arose from a strange quarter. Mulla ‘Abdun Nabi Muhtavi Khan or Mahbib Khan, who was given the title of Dinddr Khan by his followers, had risen on account of his learning to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir in the time of Shah ‘Alam Bahadur. “Muhtavior Mahbib Khan Mulla ‘Abdun Nabi” is mentioned in the Madthir-ul-Umara (Vol. 111. 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 Mulla was also a big landlord. A case of cor-

ruption by Pandit revenue clerks demanding gratification from the agents of Mulla Muhtavi brought forth from him summary orders of ostracism for the corrupt clerical caste. Pandit Majlis Rai, Sarraf-i-Padshahi or the Royal Cashier, reported these restrictions to Shahptir: Khan, Mir Bakhshi of Kashmir. The Mir Bakhshi was a Shi‘a. It appears that disputes developed. And Pandits and Shi‘as joined hands to opposethe Shaikh-ul-Islam. Riots ensued. Mulla Muhtavi Khan was murdered by a faction of the Shi‘as.

His two younger sons were also put to death.

Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din, ’Abdun Nabi’s son, stepped into the shoes of his father, and kept up trouble. Mir Ahmad Khan, the Na’ib of the Stibadar Mir

’Inayatullah Khan, could not control the situation and was consequently replaced. The second ٨٧٢٥٠٥٥, ’Abdullah Khan, also failed, and was replaced by Mimin Khan Najm-i-Sani, the third

Nab, who likewise failed in restraining the Shaikh-ulIslam. Insurrections were still prevalent. ’Inayatullah resigned his post as Stibadir. The

Mughul Viceroy of Lahore, ’Abdus Samad Khan Ahrari Saif-ud-Daula Bahadur Dalir Jang who defeated Band& Bairagi, and was the father of Zakariya Khan the governor of Lahore during 1720-26, was appointed to fill it in

1720 ac.

’Abdus Samad Ahrari had ’Abdullah Khan Deh-bidi (originally from Deh-bid, a village almost midway between Shiraz and

Isfahan, Tran) as his Na’ib.

1. The Ta’sikh-i-Khalil, folio 254, also Ta’rikh-i-Hasan folio 265.

page Lientenant Newall, J.A.S.B., No. 5, 1854, page 442. te Muntakhab-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan, Calcutta, 1874, Part JJ,

١, KASHIR | Saif-ud-Daula proceeded from Lahore with a larp army. He took summary action against Mulla Sharaf-ud Din, Shaikh-ul-Islém (the son and successor of Muhtay Khan) who’ had become the leader of the insurrectio. after his father. Saif-ud-Daula put the Mulla to deat} and hanged fifty insurgents. He also removed the restric tions imposed by the former Shaikh-ul-Islam, Mullé Muhtay Khan, 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 Jats and Lohanas of Brahamanabad, the then capita of Lower Sind, by the Brahman ruler Chack or Jajj: (History of India as told by its own Historians—Ellist an Dowson, Vol. I, page 151). Thisaction was so mucl esteemed by the Pandits that one of them sang of Saif-ud Daula 'Abdus Samad in Kashmiri :—

" Haqga ! av Samad phutran zin, "Na rid kunih Sharaf, na rid kunih Din." [Verily Samad came swiftly, and Sharaf-ud-Din was nowhere Interally, " Sharaf-ud-Din came breaking the saddle, and there re mained neither Sharaf (His Highness) nor Din (7.e., nor his zeal for hi faith) anywhere."']*

In 1724 a.0.=1137 a.m. 'Indyatullah was re-appointec governor of Kashmir, third time but died after a few month: at Delhi. Agqidat Khan, the next governor-elect, appointec Mir Firiiz-ud-Din Nawwib Abu'! Barakat Khan Firiiz Jans Safi, to give him his full subsequent title, his N@'ib bu he proved a failure. Aghur Khan succeeded 'Aqidat Khar in 1727 A.c. Aghur came himself to Kashmir, but began tc oppress the people, and sent Abu'l Barakat, who opposec him, as a_prisoner to Delhi. The people became so incense¢ against Aghur for his oppression that they finally chased hin out. He escaped to Baramiila where he received orders ۵ his dismissal. Dil Dilir Khan Panipati, Fakhr-ud-Daula Bahadur, and 'Atiatullah known as 'Inayatullah Khan the second, the younger son of the first Mir 'Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, succeeded one after the other. Abu'l Barakaét, who had been removed from the office of the Na'ib, appeared, on release from Delhi, as the champior of popular cause in times of fires, floods, earthquakes and windstorms and helped them. He rose against the governor, 'Inayatullah the second, conspired with the leading

*The Kashmiri Pandit by Pandit Anand Kaul Bamizai, page 50.

landlords of Pinch, Muhammad Zaman and Wali Muhammad, and had the governor killed on 16th Shawwal, 1154 A.H.=1741 a.c., at the hands of Pandit Day& Ram, their accomplice. The Mughul Naibs or deputies fought either with the neighbouring chiefs and nobles, or with their own master, as was the case of Abu'l Barakaét when he was the ١١2 10 himself.

Beginning of the transfer from Mughul to Afghan rule. Nadir Shah's presence in Afghanistan and his subsequent invasion of Hindustan exerted an unfavourable influence on al! provinces, particularly Kashmir, which was not far away from Afghanistan, the home of Ahmad Shah

Durrani, Kabul and Qandahar being included in the Sibah of Kashmir under Akbar as already noted before. When Nadir Shah placed the crown of Hindust&n on the head of Muhammad Shah, the Emperor bowed and offered the provinces of his empire west of the river Indus from Kashmir to Sind. Kashmir proper, however, does not appear, to have been annexed by Nadir Shah. But the

Ta'rtkh-1-Kashmir by Mulla Khalil Marjanpiiri and the Tarikh-i-Hasan by Pir Hasan Shah assert that Fakhr-ud-

Daula obtained order of appointment as Stibadar of Kashmir in 1152 A.a.=1739 .هـ١٥٢from Nadir Shah, and ruled for forty days im Nadir's name and gave currency to Nadir's coin as well. Subsequently, however, Fakhr-udDaula, probably on revised orders from Delhi, accepted 'Inayatullah Khan the second as the Siibadar of Muhammad Shah and left Srinagar. Circumstances then combined further to unsettle authority, and caused anarchy to become rampant in Kashmir. The situation did not improve under Ahmad Shah who succeeded

Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi in 1748 A.c., a year after Nadir Shah's death.

Such was the condition of Kashmir when, in 1747 A.c., some ofthe nobles wrote to Ahmad Shah Durrani, who had taken the place of Nadir Shah, to annex Kashmir. When this letter fell into the hands of Afrasiyab, the Mughul proconsul, these nobles broke out into open revolt, and asked Ahmad Shah, the Mughul emperor of India, to appoint a governor. Consequently, Mir Mugim Kanth was appointed as such, as a temporary measure, but he was soon driven out by Abu'l Qasim, the son of Abu'l Barakat.* In 1752 ৯৸... when Ahmad Shah Durrani was at Lahore preparing *The Ta'rikh-4-Hasam, folio 287.

for an invasion of Hindustan, Mir Muqim and Khwaja Zahi Didamari of Kashmir craved his assistance. Thereupon Ahmad Shah Durrani dispatched 'Abdullah Khan Isha) Aqisi with a considerable force. After some ineffectua negotiations, Abu'l Qasim, the Mughul Nazim, fought th Afghans at Gund-Ni'mat (near Shupiyan) for fifteen days His commander-in-chief, Gul Khan Khaubari, desertec him, whereupon Abu'l Qasim, the last Mughul governo of Kashmir, fled and was taken prisoner. The Valleyo Kashmir passed on to the Afghans. Summary of the benefits of Mughul Rule. Before we turn to the Afghans, we must sum yy 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 anc encouraged its industries. The Mughul empire, suggest Mr. W. C. Smith,! was allied to the middle class, and durin; its most flourishing period it had middle class commerce ai a secondary and very important basis of income, its primar} basis being land. It appears that copper mines wer worked during Jahangir's time in Kashmir, and _ the Emperor made a grant of these mines to a private individua to be worked.? Jahangir 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 Kashmir was under the Mughuls, there are, out of 63 governors, only six instances of high-handed treat, ment of the Kashmiris. According to Colonel Alexande! Dow,' an Orientalist, and a civil servant under the East India Company in 1772 4.c., whom we quoted before, " the uncommon abilities of most of the Princes with the mild and humane character of all rendered Hindustan the most flourishing Empire in the world during two complete centuries." Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar mentions' the following six gifts of the Mughul Empire to India: (1) the uniform administrative type throughout the Sabas: (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 ot four years ; (5) the frequent march of large armies from province to province, and (6)

deputation of inspecting Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, October, 1944, page 362. G.T. Vigne's Travels, Vol. I, page 337.

History of Hindostan, Vol. IIT, page 23. 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. Sachchidananda Sinha! the scholarly ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and ex-Minister,

Bihar, on the Mughuls in Kashmir. " Ever since Akbar added Kashmir to his dominions,' says Dr. Sinha, "the Valley cast its spell upon him and his descendants. Kashmir 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 Kashmirsummer. And Jahangir, when stricken with his fata] illness, knowing that his hour was near, turned to this one spot of all his wide Indian dominions, and died at Bebramgul,? 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."' مس ٠

ے ھ ٠ و ت 1. Kashmir: ٩ The Playground of اما " by Dr, Sachchidananda Sinha, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Allahabad, 1943, pages 5-6.

Bahrim-Galah is a small village in the Mendhar Tahsil of Pinch and has a population of 328.

It was Jahangir'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 Jahangir 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 Jahangir 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.

moment he sunk into despair.

Thanna and thence to Rajauri, commencing in the afternoon as usual.

From that He proceeded from Bahram-Galah to his stage about three o'clock

He breathed withi the utmost difficulty during the night, and expired on Sunday morning} It was the 28th of Safar A.H. 1037 082ط October, 1627 a.c. Jahangir was in the sixtieth year of his age and twenty-second of his reign. ١ q's

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Chapter VII — Kashmir under the Afghans

KASHMIR UNDER THE AFGHANS [1752 a.c. To 1819 a.c.| Before we present the position in Kashmir under the Afghans, it is necessary to know who the invader from among the Afghans was, his successors, their fights for power in Aighanistan, for Afghan politics naturally had their repurcussion on the course of events in Kashmir during this period. We did not do this in the case of Mughul rule as the invader came from. Agra, and the broad outline of

Mughul history in general reader.

India is In the case fairly well known to the of the Afghans it is not

Agra or Delhi but distant Herat, Qandahar and Kabul, that affected the destinies of the people in the Valley of

Kashmir. Therefore,a bird's-eye view of the happenings in Afghanistén will enable the reader of Kashar to understand the background of the drama staged in Srinagar. Ahmad Shah Durrani. Ahmad Shah Durrani who conquered Kashmirin 1752

A.C. was the son of Muhammad Zaman Khan, an Afghan of the Sadozai clan of the Popalzai branch of the Abdali tribe living in the province of Herat. Zaman Khan's father 'Abdullah Khan was the son of Hayat Sultan. The Sadozai clan was so called on account of its chief Sado who had obtained certain concessions from Shah 'Abbas the Great of Iran in the sixteenth century. Sado's companion was Muhammad. From Muhammad, Haji Jamal Khan, the father of Painda

Khan—whose son Amir Dist Muhammad Khan later ruled at Kabul—descended. Zaman Khan had migrated to Multan 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 he considered approximate. The Sadozais to whom Zaman Khan belonged were—it is said—Shi'as, and hence a surmise that they derived their name from 'Abd-i-'Ali or the

Servant of Caliph 297 'Ali.

Sayyid Jaméal-ud-Din Asadabadi, widely known as Afghani, accordingly spells the name 'Abdalt. As, however, the AbdaAlis Toten turned strict Sunnis, the second version is that they were called Abdali because they were descended from Abdal, the: founder of this clan, who was so called by his own pir

Khwaja Abi Ahmad Abdal Chishti,1 a saint.

Abdal had three grandsons called Popal, Barak, Haloko and Masa. Popal had six sons, of whom the third was Bami. Bami 's eldest son was Sado. The two principal clans of the Durranis whose government, Mountstuart Elphinstone? Says, was at all times democratic, were the Popalzais and the Bara kzais.

The Sadozais, or the royal race, was one of the branches of the Popalzais. The Bamizai in which the vizdrat was vested was another branch of the same clan. Second in influence to the Popalzai and greater in extent was the tribe of Barakzais. The elder brother of Ahmad Khan was

Zulfiqar Khan. _ Before the advent of Nadir Shah, there was trouble in Iran when Zaman, Zulfiqar and Ahmad returned to Herat from Multan.

The Afghans revolted against Nadir Shah. He defeated them. By way of punishment Nadir removed the Ghilzais inhabiting Qandahar to Herat and forced the Sado zais from

Herat to Qandahar. of Afghans, Zulfiqgar During the execution of this transfer and Ahmad were taken prisoners presumably on account of some protest agai nst, or inter-

ference in, the orders of Nadir by them.

Zulfiqar and Ahmad struck Nadir as promising youths. The elder brother rose to the command of a large clan in 1737 and was In course of time made governo r of Herat, where he lost his life in a fight with the Ghilzais. Ahm ad was enlisted in the personal staff of Nadir on account of his bright features, his keen intellicence and conspicuous gallantry.

Nadir Shah was murdered near Mashhad in eastern Tran on the night of 9th J une, 1747. In the confusion that ensued, Ahmad Khan seized a maj or part of the treasur and the famous diamond, the Kuh or Koh-i-Nir, 'the Mountain of Light,' and hasten ed to Qandahar. En route in October, 1747, the Afghan chiefs elected him their leader and called him Ahmad Shah. Haji Jamal—the father of See

The Wagi'at-i-Durrani of Munshi 'Abdul Karim, a contemporary

An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, of King Zaman Shah, translated into Urdu by Mir Wari s 'Ali Saifi, the Nizimf Press, Cawnpore, 1292 4.H., page ۰ London, 1815, page 542. اڈ

Painda Khan and grandfather of Dist Muhammad Khan— who was also a candidate, withdrew in favour of Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah was crowned in the

mosque at

Qandahar by pouring on his head a measure of wheat which to the Afghans is symbolic of abundance and prosperity. Ahmad Shah was thus the first to lay the foundation of the kingdom of Afghanistan. Haji Jamal first, and later Shah Vali Khan Bamizai, was appointed Ashraf-ul-Wuzara or the prime minister. ١ How Ahmad Shah Abdali became 'Durrani' is explained by the circumstance of his ptr Muhammad Sabir Shah calling him Durr-t-Dauran, 'The Pearl of the Age.' But

Ahmad Shah preferred to be styled Durr-i-Durran, or ' The Pearl of Pearls,' states the Haydt-i-Afghant of

Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan (page 129), hence the name Durrani applied to the Abdalis. 776 Encyclopaedia of Islam, however, discards the version about Durr-i-Daurdn and accepts

Durr-t-Durran. Ahmad Shah was about 25 then.

Ahmad Shah claimed the provinces that Nadir had wrested from the Emperor Muhammad Shah as a part of the

Durrani kingdom, which included Qandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Hazara, Peshawar, Derajat, Multén and Sind. Ahmad Shah invaded India ten times; it was the fifth invasion which brought about the defeat of the Marathas at the third battle of Panipat in1761. It was in the course of his third invasion in 1752 that Kashmir was annexed under the circumstances already narrated at the close of the prece ding chapter of Kashir.

In 1757 during his fourth invasion Ahmad Shah married Timtr to Zuhra Begam the daughter of 'Alamgir 11, and himself married Hazrat Begam the daughter of

Muhamma d Shah emperor of Delhi.

Without going into the details of the busy life of Ahmad Shah here, suffice it to say that he died in October 1772 (1186 a.H.) of complications arising from nasa l gangarine.

He was highly esteemed by the Afghans who calle d him Ahmad Shih Baba, respecting him as a saint. His mausoleum at Qandahar is declared a bast or a sanc tuary where not even criminals can be touched.

In the words of Elphinstone, Ahmad Shah " was himself a divine and an author and was always ambitious of the character of a saint,"

Timur Shah.

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his_son Timir Shah, born in December, 1746, at Mashhad in Iran, when Ahmad Shah was serving Nadir. Ahmad Shah's three other sons were: Sulaiman Shah, Sikandar Shah and Parviz. Shah Vali Khan, the Vazir, wanted to enthrone Sulaiman who was his son-in-law. The Vazir was therefore killed at the instance of Timtr Shah. Qazi Faizullah was nominated prime minister.

And Sardar Painda Khan, who was the son of Haji Jamal Khan and the chief of the Barakzais, was given the title of Sarfraz Khan. He came over to the side of Timir having deserted Shah Vali Khan. Painda Khan, as already stated, later becomes famous as the father of Amir Dist Muhammad Khan. Painda Khan really replaced his own brother, Rahim-did Khan, whose testy emper did not appeal to the people. Timir transferred his capital from Qandahar to Kabul as more peaceful, but usually wintered at Peshawar. Timir invaded India five times. When he was occupied with his fourth invasion, mostly with the Sikhs in the

Punjab, Azad Khan, the governor, revolted against Kashmir. Of this we shall hear later.

his authority in Timir Shah defeated Murad Shah, king of Bukhara

(Turkistan) who was preparing to invade Afghan territory in December, 1790.

According to Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Afghani,* Timit had three hundred women in his harem and not one of them was Afghan, and that he left 32 sons.

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

Zaman · Zaman Shah with the support of Painda Khan Barakzai obtained through Timiir's favourite queen, succeeded Timur He was about 23 years of age and his empire comprehendec Kabul, Ghazni, Qandahar, Herat, Khurasin, Balkh

Peshawar, Kashmir, Sind, Multan, Bahawalpur an *The Ta'vikh+-Afghanistan, translated from Arabic into Urdu b Maulavi Mahmiid 'Ali Khan of Bhopal, Islamia Steam Press, Yak Darwaza, Lahore, 1342 a.n., pages 60-61.

the Derajat of Ismail Khan and Ghazi Khan. Zaman Shah however had his troubles.

Usually they were from his brothers and nephews and from Iran. The principal brothers were in order: (1) Huméyin, (2) Mahmiid, (3) Zaman, (4) "Abbas, (5) Shuja,' (6) Shahpiir and (7) Firiz. Then Humaytn had his son Ahmad. Mahmiid's sons were Nadir Mirza and Kamran. Zaman had four sons: Haidar, Qaisar, Nasir and ·

Agha Muhammad Khan, the founder of the Kayar dynasty of Tran, at one time demanded Balkh, but had to give up the idea on account of the Russian invasion of his own country. Zaman Shah's advances in India were the cause of alarm to the British in India, particularly when he was at Lahore in 1797. In 1798 he re-visited Lahore and appointed Ranjit Singh to be the raja of

Lahore to the exclusion of unpopular Afghans, and return-

ed to Herat to meet the threat of Fath 'Ali Shah Kajar, the successor of Agha Muhammad Khan Kajar, and installed Shujé-ul-Mulk, his own brother, as governor of Herat.

The policy of Zaman, 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 Barakzais, of the Qizilbash or the Iranian settlers in Afvhanistin, and other notables were accordingly alienated. According to Elphinstone, the source of Zaman's emors was his choice of Rahmatulléh Sadozai with the title of Vafadar Khan for the office of Vazir (page 568). And Vafadar used his power against Sariraz Khan on the allegation that Sarfraz Khan Was plotting against Zaman and working for Sha h Shuji',

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About the close of 1799, a conspiracy was organized in Kabul by the leading chiefs owing to the insolent behaviour of the Prime Minister, Vafadaér Khan. The plot was betrayed. The conspirators, including Sarfraz Khan, the leader of the Barakzais, were executed. Fath Khan, the eldest of the twenty-one sons of Paindé Khan, escaped to Khurasan where he joined Prince Mahmid, Timir’s second son. Mahmiid, on Fath Khan’s advice, advanced against

Zaman Shah.

Zaman’s chief ally Ahmad Khan Niarzai was won over with the result that Zaman had to fly for his life.

Wafadar Khan was executed. Zaman took shelter with ’Ashiq Khan Shinwari, a staunch supporter of his, in Ashigq

Kh&n’s castle, which is located in Shinw4ri area, about 25 miles west of Jalalabad. But ’Ashiq Khan betrayed him. It wasin ’Ashiq’s castle, Elphinstone says, that Zaman secreted the Koh-i-Nir in the wall of his apartment whence it was afterwards extracted on Shuja‘’s accession. Asad

Khan, Fath Khan’s brother, accompanied by a surgeon, caused the destruction of Zaman’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, presented a curious spectacle of fallen must have 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 news-

paper record or a paragraph in a state pape r.” Zaman, according to Kaye, came to Ludhiana, survived his blindness for nearly half a century, and remained a neglected pensioner of the British. But according to Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Zaman proceeded to the Amir of Bukhara whe re his beauti. ful daughter was married to the Amir. Fath ’Ali Shah

Kajar of Iran received him in Teheran whence Zaman moved to Baghdad whose ٢٧215 at the tim e was Da'iid, and at last died in the Hijaz. But the fact is that Zaman died at Ludhiana as a British pensioner getting Rs. 4,000 per mensem, and is 'buried close to his wife under a big dome in

Sarhind.

Shuja' was over twenty at the blinding of Zaman, Shuja'-ul-Mulk.

On the fall of Zaman Shah in 1801, Shuja'-ul-Mul}, who was holding his post at Peshawar, marched on Kaby in September 1801 after having proclaimed himself king o

Afghanistan. Fath Khan defeated Shuja.° Mahmid, th ـelder brother of Zaman and Shuja,° after seven years و waiting, conflict and misfortune,, ascended the throne ہو Kabul in 1801 a.c. He showed generosity to the 81 and to hischiefs. Vazir Fath Khan, whom we have alread: known as the eldest son of Padinda Khan (Sarfraz Khan) was given the title of 'Shah Dist." He is the Warwick o Afghanistan or its King-Maker. Sher Muhammad Khan son of Shah Vali Khan Bamizai, was named Mukhtar-ud

Daula. Sardar 'Abdullah Khan Halokozai, called bi Kashmiri historians Alkiizai and by some 'Alikizai—fathe of Yar Muhammad Khan—who had been confined in th: Bala Hisar of Kabul by Shah Zaman, was released fron this fortress, and made governor of Kashmir. Kamrai Mirza, his own son, was sent out to fight Shah Shuja', wh fled to the fastnesses of the Khybar Pass. Mahmiid's tw rivals, Shah Shuja' and Prince Qaisar, Zam4n's son, whi had lost Herat which he held during his father's time, wer now out of the way. Mahmiid ruled in peace. There were however, riots twice between Ghilzais and Durranis bu they were quelled.

Two years and six months after Mahmiid's accessio1 Shisa-Sunni or Qizilbash and Afghan clashes at Kabul stirre:

the country. Mahmtid was indolent and Fath Khan wa absent from the capital trying to track out Shuja'. In difference to the Sunnis on the part of Mahmiid disappointe: them. Fath Khan returned to Kabul to find the situatio: out of control. Shuj&° was endeavouring to subsist himeel and a few followers by the sale of royal jewels in the Afrid country, when an express was sent to him to come to Kabu. On his arrival the revolution was complete. Mahmid wa imprisoned in Bala Hisar, Kabul, and Shuja' was enthrone inthe same city on 13th July,1802. Fath Khan fled. 'Ashi

Khan Shinwari who had betrayed Zaman was executed an thus met the doom he deserved.

Shah Shuja,' in his autc biography* written by him at Ludhiana in 1826-27, says

_ "Biographical sketch of Shah Soojah, ex-King of Cabul, written 1 himself at Loodianah in 1826-27. Translated by the late Lieutenal

Bennet of Artillery.

The Calcutia Monthly Journal, 1839.

"Shah Mahmid ... . . . after swearing on the Qur'in 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 Khan likewise sought pardon and was given the same. Shuja' then set out to overawe Kashmir as 'Abdullah Khan

Halokozai was assuming independence. While Shuja' was so occupied, Fath Khan set on Prince Qaisar to contest his uncle's throne. Shah Shuja° naturally

returned in haste to meet this new danger, and quelled it. On theintercession of Zaman, Qaisar's father and Mukhtar-ud-Daula who had deserted Mahmiid to join Shah Shuja', the young Prince was pardoned. It was about this time that Elphinstone's mission came to Peshawar and halted from the 25th of February to the 14th of June, 1809.

Finding things unfavourable in Kabul on a repulse at Nimla by Mahmiid in August 1809, Shah Shuja' dispatched his harem and his blind brother Zaman Shah to Rawalpindi. He made " new efforts to splinter up his broken fortunes."

But he met failure after failure.

He marched on Peshawar and took Bala Hisar or the royal fortress there from the governor of Peshawar, Muhammad 'Azim Khan Barakzai, but was carried away in 1812 by Jahandad Khan first to the fort of Peshawar and afterwards to the Valley of Kashmir through the bribery of the Sihadar of Kashmir, Jahandad's brother, 'Ataé Muhammad Khan Bamizai, the son of Mukhtar-ud-Daula. Shuja' appears to have remained in Kashmir for about a year. "When Shah Mahmid heard of the way in which we were treated,'? writes

Shuja,"

"the latent feelings of fraternal affection were aroused within him and he immediately sent a force into the Barakzai country. After plundering the whole tribe of 'Até Muhammad Khan, 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 Kashmir under Fath Khan." 'Ata Muhammad advanced to give him battle. But his own men went over to the

Vazir. When threatened by Fath Khan early in 1813, 'Ata Muhammad implored the assistance of his captive. " Seeing his escape could not be effected without

our aid, he came,"

says Shah Shuja', "to our place of confinement, bare-headed, with the Qur'an 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 Khan had asked for Ranjit Singh's assistance. Mohkam Chand who led the Sikh expedition accordingly advanced on Kashmir. Fath Khan was invading Kashmir from another direction. The rebel Nazim submitted. Shuja* says:

" Mohkam Chand, on the part of Ranjit Singh, informed us that his master was anxious that we should proceed to Lahore as soon as at liberty, and visit the residence of our seraglio in that citv. He also mentioned that hig master's fame would be enhanced by our going. According to Fath Khin's petition, we agreed to this and marched towards Lahore with Mohkam Chand and other Singhs, whilst Fath Khan returned to Shah Mahmiid in Kabul."

Ranjit Singh, it soon hecame very possession of the Koh-i-Nir diamond.

clear, coveted the On the second day of arrival in Lahore an emissary from Ranjit demanded the gem in the name of his master. The fugitive monarch asked for time to consider the request.

"We then," writes Shah Shuja,' " experienced privations of the necessaries of life and sentinels were placed over ou dwelling. A month passed in this way. Confidential servants of Ranjit 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 Ram Singh brought 40,000 or 50,000 rupees and asked again for the Koh-i-Nir which we promised t procure when some treaty was agreed upon.

after this Ranjit Singh came protestations, he stamped a in person.

paper with Two day:

After friendh safflower ani swearing by the Granth of Baba Nanak and his own sword he wrote the following security and compact—That h delivered over the provinces of Kot Kamalia, Jhang ٥٩ and Kalanaur to us and our heirs for ever: also ٥0 assistance in troops and treasure for the purpose of agai recovering our throne. We also agreed if we should eve ascend the throne, to consider Ranjit Singh always in th light of an ally.

He then proposed himself that we shoul exchange turbans, which is, among the Sikhs, a pledge o eternal friendship, and we then gave him the Koh-i-Nar,

According to John William Kaye (Vol. 1, pages 110-1)

Ranjit Singh stripped the wretched monarch of everythin that was worth taking, and " even after this," says Shuja "he did not perform one of his promises."' As a matter.c fact, indignities were heaped on the unfortunate Shah. Spie were get oyer him.

And guards surrounded his dwelling "We-thought of the proffered friendship of the British

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

After all, Shuji‘ foiled Ranjit’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 Lahore, instead of proceeding towards Ludhiana, Shuji‘ made forJammu, was joined by some Sikhs discontented with Ranjit Singh, and reached Kishtwar, the raja of which offered hospitality. ’“ Tired of an idle life,”? Shuja‘ frankly says, “ we laid plans for an attack on Kashmir.”” The raja of Kishtwar offered help with men and money. But, in Kaye’s words, it was not written in Shah Shuja’s book of life that his enterprises should result in anything but failure. His attack on Kashmir closed in defeat and disaster. He himself says:

“We were only three ومfrom ’Azim Khan’s camp with the picturesque city of Kashmir (v2z., Srinagar), full in view when the snow began again to fall, and the storm continued with violence without intermission, for two days. Our Hindustanis were benumbed with a cold unfelt in their sultry regions, the road to our rear was blocked up with snow and the eupplies still far distant. For three days our troops were almost famished.

Many Hin-

dustanis 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 raja of Kishtwar, Shuja‘ remained during nine months beneath his host’s hospitable roof. Then he marched through Kuli, crossed the Sutlej for a journey to Ludhiana and joined his family in the month of September 1816. He spent two years of quiet. The Durrani empire was rent by intestine convulsions. The Barkzai Sardars were dominant at Kabul. Shah Mahmid and other princes threatened his domination. In the meantime, ’Azim Khan invited Shah Shuja‘ to re-assert his claim to-the throne of Kabul. Shuja‘,

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 Shah Shuja‘ was in Ludhiana, Fath Khan he set out to meet the Kajar invasion from the west Afghanistin. While engaged on this expedition, the fooli behaviour of Dist Muhammad Khan, Fath Khin’s young brother, in Prince Kaémran’s palace by tearing the jewelk waist-band from the person of Taqiya Begam, Prin

Kamran’s sister, drew an oath from him to avenge th outrage. Dist Muhammad fied to Kashmir to his broth ’Azim Khan for safety, and Kamran wreaked vengeance) Fath Khan by first blinding him and then hacking him pieces. Shah Shuja‘ does not allude to this outrage.] merely says that Fath Khan grew ambitious and want to take the reins of government into his own hands, whe

Prince Kamran ended the minister’s life. Dist Muhamm resolved to avenge his father’s murder. ‘Azim did n agree upon the plan, nor did he undertake its executx but gave three to four lakhs of rupees to defray the charg of the expedition. Prince Jahangir, the young and beautif son of Kamran, was the nominal ruler of Kabul at this tim But the actual administration of affairs was in the hands ‘Ata Muhammad Khan Bamizai, ex-governor of Kashmi who had instigated Kamran to kill Fath Khan. Di Muhammad Khan advanced on Kabul and encompassed tl death of ‘Ata Muhammad Khan Bamizai, and made himse master of Kabul though he put Prince Sultan ‘Ali, one. the sons of Timir, nominally on the throne. At th Mahmiid and Kamran marched down from Herat ar ‘Azim Khan came from Kashmir. Shah Shuja’ in 1818 wi again invited from Ludhiana by ’Azim Khan, saying that ¢

Fath Khan’s relations swore to restore him and that ’Azi Khan would march to Peshawar to receive him and he him with all the troops and treasury of Kashmir.

By stratagem Mahmiid and Kamran were made to flee.

Shuj was balked of the crown. Dist Muhammad Khan retain Kabul and Ghazni and gave away the other provinces 7 his brothers.

At this stagze,we close the connexion betwee Kabul and Kashmir in 1819 when Sikhs conquer Kashmir

The. Afghan' s bad start in Rashmir. "The Afghin's made a bad start in Kashmir. 'Abdulli

Khan Ishak Aqasi,! the Afghan governor, ruled Kashmir 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. Before his departure from Kashmir, 'Abdullah Khan appointed Sukh Jiwan Mal administrator, A'zam Khan,? paymaster of the Afghan forces in Kashmir, and Khwaja "Abdullah alias Khwaja Kijak? (distortion of Kichak)! the administrator's Nab or deputy. He also made Khwaja Abu'l Hasan Bande Sukh Jiwan's adviser. On his return to Kabul, 'Abdullah Khan presented his master with a crore of rupees which he had wrung from the exhausted people of Kashmir. He also took to Kabul Abu'l Qasim Khan Safi, the former Mughul Na'ib, Mir Firiz-ud-Din Nawwab Abu'l Barakat Khan Firiz Jang Siifi's son, to whom Ahmad Shah Durrani showed considerable favour.

On the departure of 'Abdullah Khan Ishak م78٨ from Kashmir, the country was ruled by Sukh Jiwan as Nazim or administrator. Khwaja Abu'l Hasan Bande acted as chief adviser to the Nazim. It is unfortunate that, under Afghan rule, several of the total of fourteen governors tried to sever their connexion with Kabul, and to establish themselves as independent rulers of the country because

of the preoccupations of Afghan rulers in Iranian or Indian campaigns, or internecine struggles for the throne of Afghanistan.

Some of these Ndzims enjoyed a brief spell of independence but were, at last, reduced to subjec‘tion. Sukh Jiwan was the first to assert his independence With the aid of Abu’l Hasan Bande a Kashmiri notable. The reason, it is said, was a heavy financial demand by Ahmad Shah Durrani for his campaigns which Sukh Jiwan felt could not be met with as ’Abdullah

Khan had already drained off from the Valley as large a sum as_one crore of rupees.

Khwaja Kijak,5 Malik Hasan Khan [rani, A‘zam Khan and Mirza’ Khan opposed him, but were defeated at Baramila by Sukh Jiwan who established touch with ’Alamgir II at Delhi. Sukh Jiwan next 1. Sh&hghasi, a Mongolian rank, presumably introduced into Central

Asian courts from the descendants of Chingiz Khan, Chamberlain. 2. The Ta’rikh-t-Hasan, folio 305. 3. The Ta’rikh-i-Khalil, folio 292. - 4. The To’rikh-t-Hasan, folio 305. 5. Ibid., folio 306.

means Lord repelled the attack led by ’Abdullah Khan Ishak تقو. Ahmac Sukh Jiwan was tempted to assert independencetheof Pun jat shah Durrani on account of his campaigns in and the subjugation of the Marathas in the third battl of Panipat that took place in 1759-61.

A severe famine engaged Sukh Jiwan’s attention fo some time. Abu’l Hasan Bande proved himself ver ricke! capable in alleviating the miseries of the famine-st people. He prevented many deaths from starvation 0 advancing loans of seed grains. These loans were onl!

realized in full as late as 1250 a.H. (1834 A.C.).' Finding the Punjab in a disturbed condition, Suk!

ba Jiwan Mal attempted? the conquest of Sialkot, tBhim and Akhnirt But he suffered a heavy defea at th· hand of Yar Khan, governor of Sialkot, owing chiefly the jealousy of Ranjit Dev, the raja of Jammu.

Sukh Jiwan quarrelled with Abu'l Hasan Bande o account of the machinations of Mir Muqim a notable, drov him to Pinch, wreaked vengeance upon his kinsmen an appointed Mir Mugim himself in his place. But Sukh Jiwa also suffered. The reason is that Sukh Jiwan Mal ha a tivalin Raja Ranjit Dev who was induced by Sha Vali Khan, the Durrani prime minister, to come to 114 and guide an expedition to recover Kashmir. The Afgha troops numbering about 3,000 supplemented by × continger of Ranjit Dev were placed under the command of Nt ud-Din Khan Bamizai. This small expedition, led in Jun failed as all the passes leading into Kashmir were strongl guarded, and it was found difficult to cross the floode rivers and swollen streams. The second expedition organi: ed in October 1762 ٨.٥, on a larger scale achieved complet success. The Durrani army entered Kashmir by the Tosh Maidan. Sukh Jiwan Mal came to oppose the invaders ٤ the head of 50,000 troops but, just at.the time of battl he was deserted by his commander-in-chief Bakht Ma

Sukh Jiwan Mal was, therefore, easily defeated and capture after he had governed for eight years and four. month by a lancet and was sent t He was immediately blinded

The Ta'rikh-t-Hasan, folio 306. Lbid., folio 306.

Ibid., folio 307, and the Ta'rikh-i-Khalil, folio 294.

the Chinab, is 18 miles from Jammu. on ir, hn Ak population is 3,398.

Its prese!

$11 Lahore where Ahmad Shah Durrani was then halting. Sukh Jiwan was brought in chains before Ahmad Shah who caused him to be trampled to death. The severity of this punishment is understandable

Jiwan revolted against when we remember Afghanistan despite that Sukh repeated warnings, having kept on defying his master for about nine years. Later,he had entered into conspiracy with ’Alamgir 1 to restore nominal Mughul rule in Kashmir and to seek per-

mission to strike his own coin, and resumed all jdgirs of mansabdare. ’Alamgir had conferred the title of Raja on im.

Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal was a Khatri, born and educated at Kabul. His family traced its origin to Bhera in Khushab, Punjab. He took service under Shah Vali Khan the vazir of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and rose to the position of governor of Kashmir, having once previously been commissioned to realize tribute from Mu‘in-ul-Mulk the sibadar of the

Punjab.

In the beginning of his régime Sukh Jiwan Mal appeared to be a good governor. In fact, he showed great, consideration to Muslims. The author of the Khizana-i-

’Amira, Ghulam ’Ali Azad Bilgrami, Sukh Jiwan’s con-

temporary, writes about him :

مشار«9الیہ جوان خوشرو * ekah بہgolG شائستہء قرب اسلام

بیع مزاراتِ بزرگان و bSکشمیر را ٹرمیم نمود -و ہر روز بعد

فراغ از دیوان دو صد کس مُسلمین را بروش خود الوان اطعمہ میخوراند - بود-

و دز هر حالlaدوازدهم و بازدهم طعام نیاز چاخته به مردم تقسیم می مود eis stots وارد و elpرا چہ درویٹی و چہ غبر ‘loهرکس مراعاٹی می در خور محجلس-وپاچ کس از شعراق نامی 9و در ai eyبر مشامره مقر کرد ahplago می مستعدان کمی معجن کرده یود امر کس از یکے dawشیلانی میکشید در آخر ازیٹها ده ده را کہ با هر سر

ERوازقاربخ کشمیر فرمود که) بتدای آبادی تا زمان او تعریر tg leB ام -و بُود کسی پا goeGکہ توفیق تاخلص میکند امروز در موزونان کشمیر نظهر - to etSلالہgeeبزبان کشمیر است-ندارد

{”He was a handsome youth, سمطیوعی ثولکشور-کانچور = ۸۱<ء۱-۱۱۵ صفاعہ possessed of good qualities an:

inclined towards Islam.

After finishing court business, he fed tw hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day. On the 1165 anc 12th of every month, he got sacramental food cooked and distributec among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to thi court whether he was poor or not. Once in every week he held ؛ poetical conversazione. It was attended by all the well-known poets At the end of it he gave adinner. He engaged five (seven اث of the best scholars to complete a history of Kashmir from the earliest habitation to his own time. Hach writer was provided wit ten assistants. -The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufic with Taufig as his nom de plume, and was known as Lalaji in Kashmiri He is a poet unrivalled in Kashmir today”].

Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal appears to have been the forerunner of another great Khatri, His Excellency the late Maharaja Sir Krishn Prashad Bahadur, Madar-ul-Mahamm of Hydarabad, Deccan, in his love of letters and culture and refined taste. After his quarrel with Abu’] Hasan Bande, Sukh Jiwanalsoreplaced Mir Muqim by Pandit Mahanand Dar at whoseincitementhe became an oppressor, and subjected Muslims to considerable hardships, forbade even the call!

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:

در و حون غلطبدة پہ elS ان ٹا دیده به سز بسر اخوال

هرکه hye egrUعاقبت جهان پوشیده پم چشم از وضع من داشت جا بر فرق کل

۳ .

2M عبرت چیده SNUSزین چمن ام زین سیہ مار جهان ترسیده بہ

چون گدایان در:باز اگر چشم بہ Ne ag Ole دهد زهرت عوض «گر تهی شپرش بدر گردید ۰

۰ ,I نا کردتی ۰ پاید نی کردن تا دید آخر نا دیدنی را

چند هر SSF sdi . 2 ۰۰ as ۰ دنی را ۰ Z کرده eOروڑے حود ماشا

تفس سرکٹینشنیدازمن این fin passant it is interesting to observe that Ahmad Shah Durrani had, at one time, offered the governorship of

Kashmir to Mughlani Begam, the governor of Lahore during ۳۹ ۳

1054-17606. Raja Sukh Jiwan promised her annual The Ta’rikh-i-Hasan, folio 308.

. Lahore, pages 144-5.

7 the Panjab by 2 Later Mughal - History: of the Panjab by ree

Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, tribute. This prevented her from accepting the offer of the courtiers of Kashmir who conspired against Sukh Jiwan.

The promised tribute never reached Mughlani Begam from either side.

The re-assertion of Ahmad Shah Durrani's sovereignty over Kashmir is expressed in this couplet:

oe ۵۷۳ کشمیر باز مود و 1-00-و I esa هی dm قدع ۰lo

Khan appointed governor in He ruled Kashmir oe تاریخ ۰ وا

۰ ۰ و ۰ هه ے گر sia‘ فرمود زبان Muslih-ud-Daula succession

۰ ae Bamizai_ to Raja Sukh was Jiwan.

for some time,! and endeavoured to restore the exhausted country.

The people were, whole, happy and prosperous under him.

on the His 'successor Buland Khan remitted unjust taxes,? treated Hindus and

Muslims alike. In 1765 Nir-ud-Din Khan Bamizai was again appointed governor. Mir Muqim Kanth and Pandit Kailash Dar were his councillors, the latter being responsible for the revenue of the country. Mir Mugim induced Nir-ud-Din to demand daily payments of revenue from Pandit Kailash

Dar who, however, encompassed? the death of his antagonist through an accomplice, Hakim Mir. When the secret became known, Nir-ud-Din 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 Jan Muhammad Khan in his place, Niir-ud-Din proceeded to plead his case at Kabul:

Meanwhile, La'l Khan Khatak displaced Jan Muhammad Khan, and began a career of terrorism and oppression.. Khurram Khan was dispatched from Kabul to fill Nir-ud-Din's place, but his entry was resisted by La'l Khan Khatak who was defeated, and retired to the fort at Biru situated to the

Patan.

-west of Srinagar, near Faqirullah, Mir Mugim Kanth's son, who was seeking an opportunity to avenge his father's murder, now made his appearance at-Sopor with the army of Sultan

Mahmid 1. There is a difference of opinion about the durat ion"of his _ first' régime. Lt. Newall (J.A.S.B., No. 5, 1854, page 447) states it to be 8 years, the ٢٥ rikh-t-Hasan reduces it to only three months. The Ta'rikh-

t-Khalil and Diwan Kirpa Ram's Gulzar-i-Kashmir give two years.

2. Lt. Newall, J.4.8.B., No. 5, 1854, 'page • 3. The Ta'rikh-t-Khalil, MS., folio 298. se 4. The Gulzar-i-Kashmir, page 234, Ta'rikh-tKhalil, folio

١ 298. -

Bamba. La'l Khan Khatak opposed him but, on being defeated again, retired to his fort with the loss of an eye. Faqirullah, therefore, suddenly found himself in the governor's seat in 1767 a.c. His allies among the Bambas oppressed the people. Kashmir knew no authority for a period of eleven months. It is indeed strange how Ahmad Shah Durrani could allow such a state of affairs. At last, in 1769 a.c., Nir-ud-Din was, for the third time, appointed governor, aS no other

person was considered capable of enforcing order in the country. Faqirullah sought refuge with the ruler of Muzaffarabad after an unsuccessful engagement against Nir-ud-Din near the village of Gauripor (or Gandipor, population 212) in Tahsil Pulwama. Fagqirullah was intending further resistance when he was seized with a severe malady due to excessive drinking and died at Shadipér. Niar-ud-Din ruled for two years, and suppressed the malcontents with a strong hand.

Pandit Kailash Dar had induced his patron, Khurram Khan, to try for the stbadarship of Kashmir during his stay at Kabul. In this project he, at last, succeeded in

1770 a.c., and relieved Nir-ud-Din of the charge. Khurram Khan showed inability to rule, and when he displayed timidity also, Amir Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher Qizilbash, his commander-in-chief, drove him out, and installed himself as governor. Rather than seeking help from some outside prince in a future contingency, Jawan Sher organized the Hanjis or boatmen, a sturdy class of people capable of serving his purpose. Amir Mohammad Khan Jawan Sher built the fort of Sher-garhi,! till recently the residence of the Maharaj4é Bahadur of Kashmir, and also the bridge known as Amira Kadal. Kadal in Kashmiri means a bridge.

The re-construction of a building on the island called Sona Link, and the Amirabad garden are also this governor's memorials.2 But he committed vandalism in pulling down the royal palaces and other buildings including

Akbar's Darshani Bagh and the Jhardkah-i-Shahi on the Dal, which the Mughul emperors and their nobles had built.

1. Shergarhi is re-named Narsinghgarh by Maharaja Hari Singh. Amira Kadal, on re-construction, was called " Pratap Kadal," but the people continue

the old name. The same is the case with Shergarhi. ft remains Shergarhi in popular parlance.

Lt.

Newall, J.4.8.B., No. 5, 1854, page 448.

Kashmir, page 237.

١١ The Gulzdr-t-

The death of Ahmad Shah Durrani on 13th April, 1772, A.c., emboldened Amir Muhammad Khan Jawan 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 Mir Muqim by killing Pandit Kailash Dar. His rule thenceforth became notorious for oppression and high-handedness, due to his Peshk&r or Chief Secretary, Mir Fazil Khan. Srinagar at this time suffered very much owing to a flood in the Jhelum.

At last in 1776 a.c., Timir Shah, Ahmad Shah Durrani's son, appointed Haji Karimdad Khan Bamizai, to the governorship of Kashmir. The Haji hailed from Qandahar. He had taken part in the battle of Panipat by leading his cavalry. After defeating Amir Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher, the Haji sent him in chains to Kabul, where he remained in prison for a considerable time, but was, at last, pardoned by Timir Shah.

"Amir Khan, a Persian, one of the late governors of Kashmir, erected a fortified palace on the eastern 'side of the lake" (the Dal), wrote George Forster* in 1783. ٥60 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.' Amir Jawan Sher was a Qizilbash, born and brought up in Afghanistan.

Haji Karimdad began his régime by reducing to sub-

jection Murad Khan, the raja of *Journey, Vol. IT, pages 15-16.

Skardu, from whom he exacted tribute and demanded hostages. For this achievement, Timir Shah conferred upon him the title of Shuja~ulMulk. Next, Karimdad defeated Ranjit Dev, the raja of Jammi, who had invaded Kashmir with an army of 30,000 strong. He further directed his forces against Mahmid Khan, the chief of Muzaffarabad, who had hampered him in his-expedition against Amir Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher. In this operation, Karimdad had to suffer considerable chagrin owing to the treachery of Fath Khan, the chief of Kathai (now in Tahsil Uri), who led Tar Quli Khan and his army into a close defile, where he despoiled them of all their weapons and equipment. Tar Quliwasat once put to death on his return. In 1195 a.H. (1780 ʌ.0.(Karimdad Khan himself conducted an army against Mahmid Khan, but was beaten back by

Bahadur Khan, son of Bira Khan Kakar. Next year, he was more fortunate in conquering Kishtwar.

Haji Karimdad was rather heartless and killed alike Hindus and Muslims on provocation. His exactions, through Aslam Harkara! his unscrupulous tax-collector, exceeded even those of the notorious I'tiqid Khan, the Mughul stibadar, and compelled many to leave the country. Zari-1-Niydz, a tax on mansabdars and jagirdars, was exacted from officials and landlords, Zar-i-Ashkhds, another tax, from merchants and bankers, Zar-i-Hubib a tax on grain (hubub, of which the singular is habb,.means grain) from farmers. Certain Pandits who were concerned in ﻭconspiracy with the Bambas against Karimdad were exposed to suffocation by smoke.

For liberating them Karimdad realized a large indemnity called Zar-2-Dad. Did means smoke. He was advised by Dilaram Quli to extort ddgh-shal,? 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 Jami' Masjid from out of the rents of the mosque waqf, and in visiting the tombs of saints. He avenged the murder of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Naqshbandi, the Sajjddanashin of the Khanqah-i-Nagshbandiyya (situated in the Khwaja Bazar of' Srinagar), by executing Anwar Malik Shahabadi and his accomplices who had killed the Khwaja. The Khwaja was murdered during the time of Amir Jawan Sher who was a Shi'a. Karimdad treated the Shi'as harshly I.

Harkdra literally means a messenger or a process-server. The Dagh-shal, or shawl marking, has also. been the name of the

State department controlling shawl trade, mst and devastated Amirabad founded by Amir Jawan Sher, on the Dal, near the Nandpér village in the Mir Bahri pargana. Under Karimdad's régime, the country suffered from

earthquakes for three months at intervals, and many men were rendered homeless. He died in 1197 ٨.٢. (1783 A.c.), after a term of office of seven years. His son, Azad Khan, being away on an expedition, his death was kept a secret till the latter's arrival.

Azad Khan succeeded his father, Haji Karimdad Khan, 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! 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 smokethe hookah. Buthe is ferocious and bad tempered." It is for his bad temper and ferociousness that he is called the Nadir Shah of Kashmir. He was capricious in that, while he dressed his slaves and followers magnificently, he himself wore very simple clothes. He frequently went out hunting.

Azad appointed Dilaram Quli as his Peshkar or Chief Secretary. He employed three thousand Sikhs, and reorganized hisarmy. He turned his attention to extend his influence among the neighbouring chiefs.2 The raja of

Kishtwar was the first to be made to submit. Rustam Khan of Ptinch, being unable to withstand him, abandoned the city, which was pillaged fora week. But Rustam Khan subsequently appeased him by offering rich presents, and later Rustam's daughter was married to Azad. Subsequently a son from this marriage was named Fath Jang

Khan. The raja of Rajauri was also reduced to submission. Azad Khan tried but failed to make a canal to irrigate the Mayasum plain then outside Srinagar proper. He commandeered the services of the village-folk of Mar-raj and Kam-raj for that purpose, but could not complete the work.

Azad Khan wished to free himself from his allegiance to Timtr Shah who was occupied with his fourth invasion of India in 1785. Timfir, however, dispatched a state notable Mirza Muhammad 'Ali entitled Kifayat Khan Nusrat to£ ee

Journey, pages 30-31. The Ta'rtkh-i-Khalil, folios 309-10, and the folio 322.

Ta'rtkh-i-Hasdn, exact tribute from him. Kifayat Khan returned with three lakhs of rupees,! but his mission was not altogether a success. Timir Shah then deputed Azad Kh4an's elder brothers, Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan, to chastize Azad Khan. They were, however, defeated after three days' fighting, and were prevented by famine and cholera from making another attempt. Consequently, Azad Khan continued his career of independence. Azad Khian's cousin Pahlwan Khan 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 Azad Khan'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 Timiir Shah earnestly entreating him to act promptly for their relief. Elphinstone puts this event during the interval between Timiir's expeditions to Sind in 1786 and against Bahawa] Khan of Bahawalpur in 1788. Saif-ud-Daula Madad Khan Durranj and Painda Khan Barakzai came with fifty thousand horse and foot.2 From Muzaffarabad one detachment under Painda Khan_was dispatched by way of Baramtila, where he engaged Azad Khan. Madad Khan Durrani himself advanced with the other by way of Karnah, and effected his entry into Srinagar. Azad Khan, thereupon, fell back on the Khushipor Karéwah adjacent to Zaina-k6t and Hakursar Lake, where he was deserted by his chiefs. Reduced to hard straits, he fled to Pinch. 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 Hiigel,® 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.”

١ Satf-ud-Daula Madad Khan Durrani then ruled for nine months—likewise badly. A Kashmiri Pandit poignantly put the situation in half the line—

رسید مدد کا آزاد را (Madad out-Heroded Azad) 1. The Ta’rtkh-i-Hasan, folio 323. 2. The Ta’rtkh-1-Khalil gives the strength of the punitive army as 4,000 horse and foot, folio ١٠

2: Lravels, page 11, Before he could restore order and tranquility, he was relieved by Mir Dad Khan. This nobleman ruled for seven months and imposed unjust taxes. He reduced. Mir Ja‘far Khan of Kam-raj to submission. Mir Dad died in 1788 a.c.

Juma‘ Khan Durrani Halokozai was the next important governor who held office for four years. The

Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh of Qazi Aziz-ud-Din, the Mufti-i-A‘zam, Kashmir, notes that Juma‘ Khan left Kabul on 27th Sha‘ban 1202 (1787 A.c.) for Pakhli, whence he dispatched his nephew in advance. Juma’ Khan himself entered

Kashmir in Ramazan. He set Mir Ja‘far Kanth free from his prison. Munshi Bhawani Dis Kachru, a poet of note, supplied Juma‘ Khan with a beautiful monogram for his seal :

٩٠ چو حق تقسیم روز تیک و بد کرد. جدnagرا متخصوص 29کرد < yw و

Hasan 'Ali Khan Bamu of Kam-raj, Rustam 'Ali Khan of Pinch, Karamullah Khan of Rajauri all showed signs of restiveness and were successfully defeated. Juma' Khan's chief sin lies in realizing, through contracts, the dues pertaining to the offices of the Qazi and the Judge. Under his order the Shi'as were prohibited from observing their " passion week."" The parts of the city known as Khanayar* and Rainawari suffered from a heavy flood caused by the Qazizide Dam, now called Sadd-i-Qazizida or the Suthu, giving way to heavy rush of water. Juma' Khan Halokozai died of dysentery in 1793, and was buried in the compound of the tomb of Sayyid Qamr-ud-Din Khwarizmi (who died in 907 A-H.=1501 a.c. inthe precincts of Shergarhi). Later, however, his body was removed to Qandahar.

Rahmatullah held the governotship temporarily till the arrival of Mir Hazar Khan in 1792 a.c. In Hazar's tenure Timir Shah passed away on 18th May, 1793, ۵۴ Kabul when he was preparing to invade India for the sixth time. Zaman Shah, the next ruler, confirmed Mir Hazar Khan in his post. Mir Hazar Khan, however, set himself up as an inde-

pendent governor, and imprisoned his father Mirzi Khan who had been deputed from Kabul to advise him to desist from declaring independence. Mir Hazar was hard upon the Shi'as and the Hindus and imposed jizya on the latter. *Khana-yar, literally, means the ward-or mahalla of the Khans,

Ahmad Khan Shahinak-bashi, the general, and Rahmatullah Khan were appointed by Zaman Shah 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 Kashmir (page 566). A number of Mir Hazar's nobles having deserted him, he took sanctuary in the Khangah-i-Mu'alla, but

was subsequently enticed out and imprisoned. His régime extended over a period of one year and two months.

In 1794 a.c. Rahmatullah Khan ruled for four months, but was recalled for gquarrelling with Ahmad Khan Qhahinak-bashi. Kifayat Khan succeeded him in 1794. Kifayat was a generous, well-meaning person. During his brief stay of one year, the Sunni-Shi'a quarrels were stopped. He suppressed a rebellion of the Bambas in Kam-raj. He is associated with a garden in Khanayar. A serious quarrel among his nobles, however, led to his dismissal mn 1795. Arsalan Khan was next invested with the governorship of Kashmir. Following the practice of the later sibadars under the Mughuls, he sent Amir Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher to rule in his place. Some of Muhammad Khan's relatives, who were officers of a body of the Jawan Sher tribesmen, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the Shergarhi fort. A compromise being arrived at, Muhammad Khan shared his authority with them. Soon after this, Hafiz Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daula, the son of Shah Vali Khan, the prime minister of Ahmad Shah Durrani, having been directed from Kabul, arrived in

Kashmir. He took all the contending parties with him to Kabul. This Mukhtar-ud-Daula subsequently became the prime minister of Zaman Shah.

١ 'Abdullah Khan Halokozai filled the vacant post اه governor in 1795 a.c. He ruled the country for about eleven years. For the first three years of his régime, thé country was governed by one or other of his brothers who it seeme, performed their duties sincerely and conscientiously In 1913 (بطم1798 A.C.) on returning from Kabul, h systematically began to strengthen himself and enterta ambitious designs, apparently when he saw that governmen in Kabul was changing hands rapidly. He first manage to free the capital from the presence of the chiefs and noble likely to be inimical to him.

Next, he appointed men ’¢ humble origin to higher posts. He also enlisted-an-arm of thirty thousand men, and entered into alliance with th neighbouring chiefs. It was in this connexion that he married the daughter of Fath Khan Bamba, the chief of Muzaffarabad. He ruled the country mildly and justly. ’Abdullah Khan quarrelled in 1800 a.c. with hiz Diwan, Har Das who was a protégé of Diwan Nand Ram. Nand Ram was the favourite of Rahmat Khan with the title of “Vafadar Khan” conferred by Zam&n Shah, and was the prime minister at Kabul. Nand Ram rose to be a minister at Kabul in the time of Zaman Shah and hence gave an occasion to his own people to say. ١

شرب از ندد رام سیم از * ٤ و ٠ معبود Nand Ram’s position so emboldened the Kashmiri Pandit as to say, even though secretly, in national pride— ٠

٠ ٠ .

سکی زد دزKheکاپل w ٠ نید رام و ٠ elرام! مسلماتاں بخوانید رام ! و

’Abdullah Khan’s quarrel consequently resulted in his recall, and finally in his imprisonment in the Bala Hisar at Kabul. Before leaving Kashmir, he set up his brother, ’Ata Muhammad Khan, in his place and secretly wrote to him as well as to the chief of Muzaffarabad to hold the country for him, and resist the new governor. The vazir of Kabul, Vafadar Khan, appointed as governor ‘ Abdullah Khan’s brother, Vakil Khan, who was then in Kashmir, and sent Mulla Ahmad Khan to execute his orders. ’At&é Muhammad Khan first killed Vakil Khan, and then defeated and captured Mulla Ahmad Khan.

In 1261 ٨.۴. (1801 a.c.) Zaman Shah was seized and blinded, and his brother Mahmiid Shah, ruler of Herat, was declared king of Afghanistan. These circumstances . encouraged the insurgents all the more. Further, ’Abdullah Khan conspired, and escaped to Kashmir with Jan Nisar

’Ali Khan, the commandant of Bala Hisar at Peshawar whom he presented witha lakh of rupees. He then attended to his affairs in Kashmir, 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 Kashmir during ’Abdullah Khan’s time may explain the latter’s affluence.

At this stage, Kabul wae undergoing a change of rulers. Mahmid Shah who deposed Zamgn Shah was himself deposed

by 7٤8 brother Shuja‘-ul-Mulk.t Shuja‘ in 1806 ٠, dispatched Hafiz Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daula to bring Kashmir to subjection. Sher Muhammad Khan arrived at Muzaffarabad and pretended negotiations chiefly with the object of taking his adversary unawares. After receiving reinforcements from the neighbouring rajas, he made a sudden attack on ’Abdullah Khan’s army which retreated, but offered battle at the village Do&ab-gah below Sopér at the junction of the Poliur and the Jhelum, whence he fled to his fort at Biru. ’At&é Muhammad Khan, son of Hafiz Sher Muhammad Khan, was ordered to besiege that fort. During this siege; im 1807 a.c., ’Abdullah Khan died. As Elphinstone says, ’Abdullah Khan was a man o!

good ‘talents and great courage. He was liked hy ١٥ Afghans and Kashmiris. “ 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 wa: also a great encourager of learning and poetry. Perhap: no Durrani has left a character so generally admired’ (pp. 595-96). Elphinstone’s mission to Kabul arrived a Peshawar on the 25th of February, 1809, and left Peshawa on the 14th of June.

Tn 1809 Kabul was again a scene of strife and strugg1 throne. Mahmid sh Lutween various claimants to the Zaman's son, and Princ was set free, whilst Prince Qaisar, Kamran, Mahmiid's son, waged wars against each othe! In these internecine struggles,

Hafiz Sher Muhamma Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daula son of Shah Vali Khan, vazir « Ahmad Shah Durrani, was killed, and Shuja'-ul-Mulk we deteated by 'Azim Khan and took asylum under Ran] ingh.

١ _ Hafiz Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daula, befo:

being killed, had left Kashmir after a sojourn of five month appointmg his son? 'Ata: Muhammad Khan as his Na' with the sanction of Shah Shuja.' 'The year of his install: tion, viz. 1221 aH. (1806 a.c.), is obtained from tl chronogram A/fzdl-1-Rahmdani. ١ ١ 'Ata Muhammad Khan's excellent régime is like a lar, oasis in the desert patches of the Afghan sovereignty 1. Zaman Shah and Shuja'-ul-Muik were from the same moth a lady of the Yiisufzai tribe. , . '2, Lt. Newall writes that this governor was the son of the 1

وين 'Abdullah Khan on page 452, while on page 450 he calls. ط

- brother of the same person.—_J..4.9.B:, No. 5, 1854.

Kashmir. The people prospered under him.

١ 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 dis-

puted 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 Charar Sharif are still there. About 1810 Nidhan Singh Atha,! disgusted with Ranjit Singh, quitted the Punjab, and entered the service of ’Ata Muhammad Khan.

In 1810 ’Ata Muhammad Khan declared his independence because Shah Shuia‘ and Shah Mahmiid in turn sent چم peditions against him. هناشstruck coin in the name of the saint Shaikh Nir-ud-Din Rishi with a very appropriate legend on it which the reader of Kashir must have seen on page 101. Akram Khan, Ata’s successor-designate, - and ھ177 Khan were dispatched by Shah Shuja‘-ul-Mulk to divest him of his authority, and to reduce him to submission.

They were severely defeated at Shahdara,2 in the Rajauri Tahsil. And ’At& Muhammad returned to his capital in triumph. He now built fortifications at Sopdr, Baramila, at the summit of the Kih-i-Maran, and constructed several smaller forts and bastions in other strategic localities from Muzaffarabad onwards. He also laid stores of ammunition against future emergency.

Through Diwan Nand Ram and his own brother Jahandad Khan, he played the stratagem of inviting Shuja‘-ul-Mulk from Talamba, a town 60 miles north-east of Multan, in the Punjab, on the confluence of the Ravi and the Chinab. Here Shuja‘ was halting having been ousted from Afghanistan by Mahmiid Shah—the second son of Timir Shah. Shuja‘ came to Kashmir with

Hasan Khan and هلابHidayatullah. ’Ata Muhammad confined the ex-king Shuja‘ in the Kth-i-Maran (Hariparbat) fort, and dispatched his brother Jahandad Khan to take possession of the Attock fort. ٣٣٩

194 2.

941.

Hiigel's Travels, page 369. Sh&hdara is a village with a population of 773 at the census of

١ ١ How Ranjit Singh was unterested in ٧٠ Fath Khan, the vazir of Shih Mahmiid, resolved to punish the governors of Attock and Kashmir fo, the assistance they had given to Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja*. In this manner, from the proximity of the territories, Fath Khan and Ranjit Singh were broughi into close communication. In 1813 they entered into رو agreement. By this agreement it was stipulated that Ranjit Singh, in consideration of a "share of the plunder—a presen of eight lakhs—and some prospective advantages, would no only allow Fath Khan a free passage through his terri tories but furnish him with an auxiliary force of 0 Sikhs. ''As both parties were adepts in fraud," say Henry Beveridge in A Comprehenswe History of Indi (Vol. TIT, p. 227), "each endeavoured to turn the agreemen to his own sole advantage." Fath Khan, having recovere Kashmir, refused to share the plunder alleging that th Sikhs had not assisted him according to promise. An Ranjit Singh, by means of an intrigue, made himse master of Attock, and refused to part with it. It appeai that, though Fath Khan wanted Ranjit to observ benevolent neutrality, he did not like Ranjit's army enterin the Valley. Fath Khan, therefore, hurried into Kashm ahead of Ranjit's troops led by Mohkam Chand. Bi Mohkam too reached by a short cut. Fath Khan refuse to reward the

Sikhs because they did no fighting.

chief gain to the Sikhs was the securing of the person :

Shah Shuja.‘ For the broad details of this affair let us refer to Ranj Singh’s historian Kanhayya Lal, the author of the Zafa nama-i-Ranjit Singh,* who writes :-—“’At this time Ha Khan, who governed the district of Peshawar on behalf the sovereign of Afghanistan, sent an envoy with preser to Ranjit Singh to inform him that ’Ata Muhamma governor of Kashmir, had cast off his allegiance to the th ruler of Afghanistan (Mahmid Shah), and had been join by the fugitive Shah Shuja‘ who hoped to recover his thro by his aid: but that the governor of Kashmir might once be reduced to obedience if the forces of Ranjit Sin were to co-operate with those of Fath Khan and inva

Kashmir. Accordingly Ranjit Singh ordered his command in-chief Diwan Mohkam Chand to march at once to Kashm

*Mr. H. Rehatsek’s English translation in the Indian November 1887, pages 339-40.

Antiqui and when the latter reached the frontier, Fath Khan likewise arrived from the direction of Peshawar. However, when they crossed the Pir Panjal they found that all the chiefs and rajas of the mountains had become unfriendly, and being unwilling to meet them had gone out of their way. When the united forces reached Hiirapor, the first point across the pass in the Kashmir Valley, they first met with resistance at Ballapér near Shupidn, but defeated ‘Ata ‘Muhammad, who thereupon retreated to the fort of Shergarhi which they beleaguered, and took it only after they had occupied Srinagar and established an Afghan administration. When the fort of Shergarhi was taken, both ‘Ata Muhammad and Shah Shuja‘ became prisoners, and Fath Khan, 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 tothe Tartkh Sultani

233-35)

Fath Khan surrendered Shah Shuja‘ to (Mohkam Chand. Kanhayya Lal continues: “‘ The Afghan general immediately dispatched a courier to Ranjit Singh, with a request to order both these exalted prisoners to be given upto him. The question, however, being a knotty one the Maharaja did not wish to decide it hastily. And whilst Ranjit was considering what answer to send, a messenger arrived from Talamba with presents from Shah (or Wafa)

Begam, the spouse of Shah Shuja,‘ who had taken up her residence in that town. The lady expressed her anxiety and requested the Maharaja not to surrender Shah Shuja‘ to his enemy, Fath Khan, but to receive him at the court of Lahore, in which case she promised to present Ranjit

Singh with the famous diamond, Kith or Koh-i-Nir, which she described as a gem of priceless value, and indeed

“Mountain of Light.”

a [The diamond Koh-i-Nir weighing 900 ratis, or 7874 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 Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan.

When Tavernier handled this diamond in Aurangzib ’Alamgir’s treasury in 1665, it weighed 3194 rafts or

269 °/,, 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-Nir wa re-cut at Amsterdam reducing the weight to 1064 carats. The diamond was on the famous peacock throne which Sha

Jahan constructed. When Nadir Shah after his conquest of Delhi took possession of the throne, and broke it up, the Koh-i-Nir coul not be found. At

last, however, the discovery was made through : woman of the harem of the Emperor Muhammad Shah thai he had concealed it in his turban. Accordingly, Nadir Shah 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 Nadir Sha who gave it this name in 1739. When Shah Zaman, who ha obtained it, was a fugitive, he concealed the diamond in the chin of a wall, but Shah Shuja‘ who had recovered it, was compelle to give it to Ranjit Singh or Ranjit seized it as the price \ hospitality. Inthe end, the Koh-i-Nir came into the possessio of the Hast 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. Hlizabeth’s crown at present.

The Koh-i-Nir is however, in Quee The gem was valued at £140,000. It is on account of the Koh-i-Nir and other diamonds that t] word ‘Golconda’ has come to be a synonymin 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 Maharaja, delighted with the offer, willing granted the request of Shah Begam.

Meanwhile a lett arrived from ’Até Muhammad, who likewise prayed not | be surrendered to Fath Khan. He further desired to pla his services entirely at the disposal of the Maharaja, ar offered him the fort of Attock, which was yet held | Jahandad Khan. the commandant whom he had hims« appointed to it. Hereon thé Maharaja sent a ve complimentary“letter to Diwan 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 Shab Shuja° to Lahore with all due honour, to tre 'Ata Muhammad with the greatest consideration, and make arrangements with him for taking possession of Attoc all of which the Diwan undertook to effect. "In due course of time the commander-in-chief, Diw

Mohkam Chand, arrived with the army in Lahore, bring'

also Shah Shuja° who met with a friendly reception, a obtained a provision for his maintenance. Faqir 'Aziz-udDin having been dispatched with troops to take possession of Attock, was received with demonstrations of submission by Jahandad Khan, who at once yielded, and a Sikh garrison having been quartered therein, its works were likewise repaired. The Maharaja was so pleased with this successful transaction that he made 'Ata Muhammad a present of a lakh of rupees and a dress of honour. Ranjit Singh now bethought himself of the Koh-i-Nir, promised by Shah (or Wala) Begam spouse of Shah Shuja,' and desired to obtain ossession of it. She had indeed joimed her husband, but the " Mountain of Light" was not forthcoming until the supplies were stopped, whereon Shah Shuja" at last surrendered it. This happy event Ranjit Singh celebrated with a great banquet.

'"The carousals of the Maharaja had not yet come to an.end when a courier arrived with the information that Fath Khan was besieging the fort of Attock, and that the garrison, being in great distress for food, expected reinforce-

ments. Accordingly Diwan Mohkam Chand and Ghazi Khan 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 Afghans, 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 Lahore, where the Maharaja overwhelmed him with honours. Having made a vow to perform a pilgrimage to Jwalamukhi in the lower Himalayas after the prosperous termination of the Afghan campaign, the Maharaja now hastened to fulfil it. After performing his adorations to the goddess, replenishing her treasury, and spending large sums in alms, the Maharaja determined to surprise the ruler of Kashmir; 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 Pir

Panjal Pass, it was found to be blocked up with snow. Therefore Ranjit Singh marched back to Lahore. It had

$98 been reported to the Maharaja that Shah Shuja' 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-Nir. 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, 'Shah Shuj&° 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, wherehe made himself known, and met with a kind reception.". It is a serious blot on Ranjit's character that he should have behaved in this shabby manner towards Shah Shuja', whose elder brother Shih

Zaman had appointed him ruler of Lahore in preference to an Afghan governor. Moreover, Shah

Shuja 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 ! ”

Vazir Fath Muhammad Khan Barakzai was ruling Kashmir under orders of Mahmiid Shah for some months. Fath Muhammad Khan, Dist Muhammad Khan and Yar Muhammad Khan and ’Azim Khan and several others were brothers as already noted. Fath Muhammad left his brother Sardar “Azim Khan in his place. He himself returned to

Kabul. Thence he led a huge army to dispute the possession of Attock, but returned defeated.

In 1813 Sardar Muhammad ’Azim Khan assumed charge of governorship. He allowed Pandit Sahaj Ram to continue in the post of Diwan, and at the same time appointed Diwan Hira Das as Sahib-i-Kar or administrator.

als 7 bs تو اب Sardar Muhammad ’Azim Khan, Governor of Kashmir from

1813 to 1819, who repelled Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s invasion of Kashmir in 1814.

١ In 1814 Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir with 10,000 Sikhs to realize the second instalment of eight lakhs of rupees which had been promised him by Vazir Fath Khan. Ranjit Singh himself stayed at Pinch, while his army reached the village Salh by unfrequented paths. Another detachment reached Rayar (15 miles from Badgam) by way of

Tosha Maidan, which is ten miles south-east of Gulmarg, and is one of the most beautiful marghs or meadows of Kashmir. At first a detachment of the Afghan force was repulsed. The town of Shupian wasattacked. But the assault failed. The Sikhs retired to the mountain passes.

'Azim Khan proved himself equal to the occasion, and confronted the mainarmy.

The Sikhs were considerably hampered by adverse conditions caused by heavy rain and intense cold, and Hiigel adds, want of supplies.

On receiving information that his Hiirapér army had perished to the last man, Ranjit Singh himself had to flee almost alone to Mandi on 30th July, 1814, after the complete los; of his baggage, and a great portion of his army. 'Abdullal Khan pursued him up to the Kotli pass in the Mirpu district, and returned with much booty which includec Ranjit Singh's favourite horse, the Laili.1

Ranjit Singh'

departure unnerved the Sikh army which retreated afte fighting for eight days.

[The historical importance of the Tosha Maidan route? is best illustrated by the fact that 1t was chosen on two occasions for expedi tions aiming at the invasion of Kashmir. Mahmid of Ghazna, in 1021 a.c., invaded Kashmir when Abii Raihan al-Biriini accompaniec him. Mahmiid failed. Ranjit too failed in this, his first invasion ٩ Kashmir. Hiiien Tsang visited Pinch by the Tosha Maidan route about 633 a.0.]

Let us hear this campaign from Kanhayya Lal, the author of the Zafar-ndma-r-Ranjit Singh? "Ranjit Singh's desire of subjugating Kashmir having again become dominant, he determined to attack Muhammad 'Azim, the Afghan governor of the Valley, and went against him in Samat 1871 (4.c. 1814) with

numerous rajas of the mountains, accompanied by their forces. He remained for some time at Sialkot, till he was joined by his allies, and then marched into the mountains where also 'Az Khan, the chief of Rajauri, came to meet him, paid him homage and tribute.

Then Ranjit Singh went on to Dera Bahram, 1...

Bahram Gala, near the Pir Panjal 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 (Laili) had cost him 60 lakhs of rupees and 12,000 soldiers, having been the occasion of several wars. It was the property of Yar Mohamimad 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 toa plan devised by

General Ventura that it was eventually Travels, London, 1185, page 333.

obtained."—Baron Hiigel's Moorcroft, when he met Ranjit on 8th May, 1920, at Lahore, saw such a large body of horses as money alone could not buy. The Maharaja had obtained from Fath Khan and his brothers of Bukhara, as presents and by purchase, some of the horses of his stud.—The Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society, April 1933, page 90. ١ Ranjit's passion for horses amounts almost to insanity, 'wrote W. G. Osborn in 1840 (page 91). 2. Dr. Stein's Ancient Geography of Kashmir, 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 Pinch, where he halted several days and sent an envoy to Muhammad 'Azim,

requiring him to submit. The latter replied that he was not subject to the Maharaja, but to the Shah of Kabul, who had entrusted him with the government of Kashmir, which he was pre-

pared to defend. Ranjit Singh now determined immediately to attack him. Crossing the Pir Panjal range, Ranjit marched to Hiirapér, were he found numerous Afghan and

Kashmiri 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 Punjabis so much, that they were defeated; three of their high officers being killed, namely, Guri Singh, Mahesha Singh, and Dasa Singh. Whilst the battle was yet raging, the treacherous 'Az Khan, who had joined the forces of Ranjit Singh only on compulsion, informed him that 'most of the troops left by him at Hiirapir had been slain or captured.

This news was false.

Sikhs to be true.

But it was believed by the And Ranjit forthwith retreated in great haste to Bhimbar on the frontier of Kashmir. But on ascertaining that 'Az Khan had made a mendacious statement, he desired immediately to return and subdue Muhammad 'Azim. The sardars of his court, however, made strong representations to the contrary, boldly giving him the advice to retreat with his forces to Lahore which he was ultimately compelled to adopt. They also suggested that in Lahore preparations might be made for renewing the camp aign if necessary, but that meanwhile the Maharaja ough t to send to the Afghan governor of Kashmir a conciliatory letter, mixed notwithstanding with threats, counselling him to abandon the siege of Htirapér, and to allow the Sikh garrison

to depart. This Ranjit Singh did, and was in a short time joined by the garrison of Hiirapdr, which had capit ulated, and brought a friendly reply from Muhammad 'Azim . The march back to Lahore now began immediately, but Diwan Mohkam Chand, who had already falle n sick in Kashmir, expired on arriving in the capital of the Punjab. His loss was much deplored by Ranjit Sing h, who appointed his twosons Ram Dyal and Moti Ram to succ eed him as Diwans, and put them. in charge of various military expeditions."

Colonel D.

Ochterlony,* Agent, Governor-General, *Punjab Government Records, 191 1, Vol. 2, pages 390.

"Loodeana,"' reports Ranjit Singh's roat to Mr. J. Adam, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, on 13th of August, 1814, in the following dispatch ے ج "TI 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 Nazim'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 ersonal 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 him 323 the enemy opposed to

After this victory, 'Azim Khan naturally called to account those leading Pandits whom he considered solely responsible for inducing Ranjit Singh to undertake

the invasion of Kashmir. 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 'Azim. At this time, the inhabitants of Kashmir suffered from a famine, which claimed a heavy toll of human lives.

Shuja'-ul-Mulk, having freed himself from the grip of Vazir Fath Khan, found himself involved in trouble with Ranjit Singh, who took from him the Koh-i-Nir diamond and other precious stones. Afterwards, Shuja'-ul-Mulk betook himself to British territory and resided at Ludhiana, whence he proceeded to Kishtwar, and made an abortive attempt or two to conquer Kashmir. At last, after obtaining help from Lord Auckland, he re-captured

Kabul and Qandahar, but was assassinated after a brief reign of two years.

"Azim Khan had entrusted the \ task of collecting the revenue tothree Pandits, namely, Birbal Dar, Mirza Pandit, and Sukh Ram. The first-named had an amount of one lakh outstanding against him. When called upon to. pay it, he addressed 'Azim Khan impertinently. But the latter ranted him a respite to pay the arrears on Mirza Pandit

© fering himself aS surety. Pandit Birbal Dar utilized the im midrespite in fleeing from the country. Birbal's flight, winter in 1818-19, across the snow-covered mountains, it is said, was made possible on account of the support of Malik Namdar and Malik Kamdar of >7 The influence of Raja Dhyan Singh, the brother of Gulab Singh, procured Birbal Dar an easy admittance to Ranjit Singh's court. Pandit Vasa Kak, the director of communications, conducted Birbal's wife to a place of safety. But those who had aided Birbal Dar in his flight were traitorously betrayed by his own son-in-law, . Pandit Tilok

Chand.

Naturally ’Azim Khan was hard upon them.

Birbal’s wife, Kud Mal Ded, put an end to her life.?

In 1819 a.c.

Vazir Fath Khan, whose eyes had been put out by Shah Kamran (son of Mahmiid and grandson of Timtir Shah) ruler of Herat, sent for ’Azim Khan from Kashmir to assist him in carrying out his ministerial duties and to fight Kamran. ’Azim Khan sent all his property with Sahaj Ram to Kabul. He handed over the governorship to his brother Jabbar Khan and started for Kabul. 1. Inside Kashmir, page 177. 2. In Kashmir people still speak of Birbal’s wife having killed herself by swallowing a piece of diamond, some actually assert by licking almas. K.B. Miyan Afzal Husain, m.sc. (Panjab), u.4. (Cantah), Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, drew my attertion to the untenability of this theory. On referring the matter to Dr. 8. D. Muzaffar, m.sc. (Panjab), Ph.p. (Cambridge), Professor of Chemistry, the Panjab College of Engineering and Technology, Mughulpura, Lahore, I am grateful to him for an expression of opinion onthe matter in his letter dated 5th June, 1942.

This opinion is as follows کے You have anyone can die of eating a precious stone.

asked my opinion whether The position regarding this question is, that, medically speaking, none of the precious stones acts 88 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.

was powdered and eaten, it could act as But if the same stone a poison."

A well-known scholarly Hakim of Lahore also felt doubtful of the truth of dying by swallowing a diamond, ١

A large portion of Afghan troops was also dispatched to ١ Qandahar to beat Kamran.

Jabbar Khan was the last of the Afghan 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, Jabbar Khan was, however, extremely mild and just, but was ordained to rule for four months only !

It has already been stated how Pandit Birbal Dar had gone to Ranjit Singh's court. When the Pandit heard of 'Azim Khan's departure for Kabul, he urged Ranjit Singh to attack Kashmir. Remembering his previous failure, Ranjit Singh dreaded the suggested step. At last, Birbal Dar held himself responsible for all consequent loss in case of failure. As a guarantee, the Pandit surrendered his son Raj Kak Dar, who subsequently held a high administrative post during Sikh rule in Kashmir, as hostage to the 'Lion of the Punjab.' The Maharaja then agreed to follow Birbal's advice, knowing that a large part of the Afghan army of Kashmir was fighting in Qandahar against Shah Kamran of Herat.

An army of thirty thousand Sikhs led by experienced generals like Sardars Hari Singh Nalwa, J5 Singh,

Hukam Singh, Raja Gulab Singh and Diwan Misr Chand accordingly invaded Kashmir. The main body was led to Thanna, and a detachment was conducted by way of the

Darhal pass. Jabbar Khan arrived with his army at Hiirap6r, and also sent a detachment to Pir Panjal (Pantsal) to guard the road.

The Afghans repulsed the invaders, and mastered two guns. But they did not improve their success. The tallied Sikhs again attacked the Afghans, and, in the words of Captain Cunningham, won an almost bloodless victory. Owing to superiority of numbers on the side of the Sikhs, Jabbar Khan's soldiers lost heart. Their leader himself, however, fought desperately. Jabbar Khan, 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 Jabbar recovered consciousness. Later on, taking his precious property with

-him, he started for Kabul by way of Baramila, thus leaving the Sikhs in complete possession of Kashmir.

- The two factors that helped Ranjit Singh in tho conquest of Kashmir in 1819 were the acquisition by him of immense booty from the fall of the fort of Multan in 1818, and the withdrawal of almost all the veteran Afghan troops from the Valley to beyond the Indus in the internecine war of Afghanistin. Raw levies left in the Valley were no match against the re-organized Sikh army well provided by the loot of Multan. Lahore was illuminated for three days in honour of the event. But strange to say, Ranjit Singh himself did not enter Kashmir on account of a superstitious dread.

The version of this victory by the author of the Zafarndma-i-Ranjit Singh would bear repetition and is reproduced helow : ”Information having arrived from Kabul that Fath Khan, the vazir of Mahmiid Shah, had fallen into disgrace and been deprived of sight by the Shahzida Kamran, Governor of Herat, and that a civil war was raging in Afghanistan, the Maharaja considered this a good opportunity for conquering both Peshawar and Kashmir, the more so as the latter province was now governed by

Jabbar Afghanistan.

Ranjit Khan, whom Muhammad ’Azim had left as his Na’ib, or lieutenant, when he returned to

Singh accordingly marched in the direction of Peshawar.

In a short time he crossed the Ravi, the Chinab, 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 safel reached the opposite bank, conquered the fort of Khairabad and then the fort of Jahangir, whereon Firiz Khan, the chief of the Khatak tribe of Afghins humbly came to pay him homage. When Yar Muhammad, the governor of Peshawar, heard of the approach of Ranjit Singh, he forthwith retired to the Yiisufzai mountains. The Maharaja took possession of the fort, appointed Jahandad Khan commandant of it, and departed again after a sojourn of only: three days. Whilst encamped near Attock, Ranjit

Singh received the offer of a nazardna of a lakh of rupees from Yar Muhammad, who also promised annually to pay a similar sum on condition of being re-installed governor of

Peshawar, and the Maharaja consented. Meanwhile news arrived that Yar Muhammad had by the aid of Dist Muhammad nevertheless attacked Jahandad Khan, and expelled him from Peshawar, of which they took possession. The Maharaja 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 nagardna, and a profession of allegia on the part of Yar Mubammad. Having terminated 1 affair to his satisfaction, the Maharaja returned to Lah with the money he had obtained. But as his heart was 0 on the conquest of Kashmir he could not rest long. "The army having been got ready in St. 1876) it happened at the same time that Jabbar Khan, who ٦ at that time Governor of Kashmir, had not only dismis: but also disgraced and reduced to penury his Diwan, Pan Birbar by name. On this the latter hastened to Lahc breathing vengeance, and urged Ranjit Singh to subjug: Kashmir. The Maharaja consented to the proposal [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 Diwan sent letters to the Rajas, inviting thi to make profession of loyalty to Ranjit Singh, and in short time received satisfactory replies from maz Even 'Az Khan of Bhimbar, who had been an adversai now promised to support Ranjit Singh, as well as the ch of Rajauri and the commandant of Pinch, wherefore t army at once began its march. Devichand received ord¢ to hasten to the town of Rajauri and there to await t arrival of the Maharaja at the foot of the Himalayas, b meanwhile to carry on intercourse with the mounta chiefs, and to make sure of their allegiance. Ranjit Sin; went from Lahore first to Amritsar, where he perform his devotions in the temple of Ramdas, distributed abunda

alms among the holy men of that locality, and then quick marched to Kashmir. Here he met with a friendly rece tion, because he was accompanied by the fugitive 8 He nevertheless thought it convenient not to advance furth after reaching Bhimbar. “Having for some time remained in that pleasai town and concentrated his forces, Ranjit Singh عم Prince Kharak Singh, with Devichand for his lientenan to advance. They marched with friendly chieftains till the reached the Pir Panjal range of the Himalayas, where the encountered the enemy, and an action of several day.

duration ensued in which the Sikhs were victorious. Havin thus defeated the united Afghan and Kashmir forces, the continued their journey with the intention of conquerin Srinagar likewise. Samad Khan and Mihrdil Khan, th two principal Afghan officers of Jabbar Khan, the Governe of Kashmir, anxious to impede the further progress of th

KASHMIR UNDER THE AFGHANS _ Sikhs, attacked them, but were again routed, and Mihrdil was slain. Jabbar Khan now took refuge in the fort of Shergarh. At this Ranjit Singh’s army meeting with no further opposition, at once entered the city of Srinagar. After having regulated the administration, the Maharaja intended to attack Jabbar Khan, 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 Ranjit Singh greatly. Having thus conquered Kashmir, the Maharaja appointed Diwan Devichand to be Governor of it, spent a couple of weeks at Rajauri, then took the fort of “Azimgarh with its Kashmiri garrison by a single assault and marched back to Amritsar, where he made large presents to the temple of Ramdas and distributed alms. Lastly the Maharaja returned to Lahore, 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 Kashmir is contained in their war-cry, the letters of which correspond to the Bikrami year 1876 or 1819 A.c.

ss بولو جی واہ گرو جی کا خالصہ -پولو جی واہ گرو جی کی ehT dne fo milsuM elur eht-ni yellaV fo .rimhsaK So ends Muslim rule in Kashmir, It. began with the conversion of Rifichana in 1320 ھ۔The Shah Miris, the descendants of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir or Shah

Mirza, ruled from 1339 a.c. to 1555 ac. The Chaks succeeded them, and ruled till 1586 when Akbar conquered

Kashmir. The Afghans came in 1752 a.c., and their rule closed in 1819 a.c.

From a.c.

1820 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 Kashmir for nearly 500 years.

The Afghan who applied the lancet to the eyes of Humayiin the eldest:son of Timir Shah, and who applied it to those of Zaman Shah and yet.to those of Vazir Fath Khan applied it also to the relation between Kabul!

and: Kashmir. Had the Afghan siibadar followed: the ٣٣, 0009 Antiquary, Volume 17, January 1888, pages 19—21,

E. Rehatsek’s English translation. ١ .KASHIR example of the Governor-General of India in his attitu to changes of government in Britain, and been indiffere to

changes 0۶ Whigsand Tories or Liberals and Conservativy or Unionists and Labourites, he may not have ruined 1 own. line and ruined the relationship between Kabul ره

Kashmir. The fights of Qaisar and Kamran for pow brought about powerlessness to the Durranis. 1 stupidity of the Afghan, his greed and his exactio: are responsible for this loss to him. His poplar, his palac his puido or pilaff, his patronage of the Pandit's abili and the impetus he gave to pashmina (shawl or woolle fabric), and the effect his contact had on Indian dregs 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 : ۱

از ۳ پرسیدم و افغاں خراب کرد SLA یاغبان ز گلشن

افغان کشید و گفت که The only defence of the Aighan suggested is his quic disposal of state affairs which, after the looked rather rough and ready.

soft Mughu As Muslim rule closes in Kashmir, it is appropriat« here, to proceed to discuss the cultural value of the impac of Muslim State and Society in Kashmir. We shall trea the subject as an exposition of Muslim Polity in Kashmi The following three chapters, viz. ۷111, 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 ' Kashmir under the: Sikhs.'

Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri alias Aghé Hasan Jan. · A picturesque figure forces itself on our attention her and we digress a little.

Ramnath alias Pandit Mohan Lal, born in 1812 • of an offshoot of the Zutshi's who had migrated to Delhi was a remarkable man.

Mohan's father 'was Rai Brahn Nath whose father Pandit Mani Ram held a high rank بو the Mughul court in the reign of Shah 'Alam 11 (1759-1806), the son of 'Alamgir كل

Mohan Lal 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 1899 this college acquired a large accession of income by the munificent gift of Rs.1,70,000 from Naww ab

I'timad-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

Lal studied here for three years. In 1831, when about 19, he went to Bukhara as the Persian interpreter to Sir Alexander

The earliest Burnes on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per_annum.

classmate of Mohan was Shahamat 'Ali, 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 Peshawar in 1839. Shahadmat 'Ali accompanied Sir Claud in the military expedition on which he was sent to conduct Shahzada Timir, the eldest son of Shah Shuja'-ul-Mulk, with the Sikh auxiliary force, by the Khaibar Pass to Kabul,

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

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

Shah Kamran of Herat was delighted with his Persian.

Mirza 'Abbas of Iran created him, at the age of 20,a Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun. Shah Shuja'-ulMulk, king of Afghanistan, granted him an Order of the Durrani Empire. Maharaja Ranjit Singh presented him with Rs. 500 and arobe of honour. The Mughul Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shah conferred upon him a khil'at with some jewels on a turban which His Majesty tied with his own hands.

Mohan Lal was well received in England and other ball.

Frederick William IV of Prussia entertained him at countries of Kurope. adinner.

Queen Victoria invited him toa royal *Tife and Work of Mohan Lal Kashmirt 1812—1877 by Dr. Hari Rim Gupta, M.a., Ph.p., D.-tiTt., formerly Lecturer, Forman Christian College, Lahore, now Principal, Vaish Degree College, Bhiwani, District Hisar, Punjab. Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lakore, 1943. The above note is based mostly on this book,

١ ١ Mohan Lal 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 Euro At this same time, he published his life of Dist Muhamm: Khan, the Amir of Kabul, in two volumes. His style | English received a very favourable comment from the edit of the now defunct Englishman of Calcutta.

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

Nawwab Mirza ’Alé-ud-Din Khan (1833-1884), rulk of the Loharu State near Delhi, whose pen-name was ’Alé calls Mohan Lal, in a Persian poem, Agha Hasan Jan. Pand: Jawahar Lal Nehrii* says, that ’Mohanlal became a Musliz and in Iran married a girl of the royal family, hence hi title of Mirzi. Dr. Hari Ram Gupta says that a grandso: of Mohan Lal is Agha Hydar Hasan of Hydarabad (Deccan who states that Mohan Lal kept a diary from 1831 tall hi death though strangely enough Dr. Gupta omits to mentio1 the fact of Mohan Lal’s conversion to Islam. Mohan La had in all seventeen wives. Wherever he went he managec to take a new wife. Inhis later days away by the love of wine and women.”

“he was swept At Ludhiana Mohan Lal built for the Shi‘as what. i: known as Agha Hasan Jan’s Im@mbara. Close by it ther runs a road bearing his name. Mohan Lal died in 187% at the age of 65, and was buried in Delhi in his garden callec the Lal Bagh, near Azadpur on the Delhi-Panipat road There is no tomb, but only a platform, said to contain the bodies of Mohan Lal or Agh& Hasan Jan and his favourite wife Hydari Begam whom Mohan Lal obtained by implicatmg some male members of the Begam’s family during the confusion of the Indian Revolt. The platform is, in a dilapidated condition.

Mohan اور وfamily.

The garden no longer belongs to _ The fascinating personality of Mohan Lal gives us “intimate and revealing glimpses of the early days of British rule in North India, of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit

Singh, of the British campaigns through Sind. and. in Afghanistan, of the disasters in Kabul and of the prevailing conditions in Central Asia in the thirties of the nineteenth ٣

. “Jawahar Lal . Nehru—An : Autobiography—London ;’ Reprinted January 1941, page 14.

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY This Bibliography is divided into feur Sections. Section I notes most of the known original sources, period by period. Section gives a list of Manuscripts mostly Persian. Section III is a list of printed books on the subject in Urdu, Persian and English. Section IV is a list of periodicals relating to Kashmir published in and out of the Valley.

Section I SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ORIGINAL SOURCES The Pre-Islamic Period (from the Earhest Times to 1149-50 A.C.)

1. Sir Mark Aurel Stein's English Translation of Kalhana's Rajatarangint, Vols. [and II. 1150 A.C.). 18th May, 1900.

{From the earliest times to the year [French Translation of the Rajataranyint by M. A. Troyer. Vols. 1-11], Paris, 1840-52.) 2. Rajatarangini—The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir. Translated from the original Samskrt of Kalhana by Ranjit Sita Ram Pandit. 18th July, 1934. Note.—There are brief references in Al-Biraini's Jndia, and in Mas'idi's Murtij-uz-Zahab (Meadows of Gold), translated from the Arabic by Aloys Sprenger, M. D. (John Murray, London, 1841). Volume I only is available.

Also the French Translation with the Arabic text of the Muriij-uz-Zahab by Meynard and Courteille. Vols. 1-9. Paris, 1861.

The Early Muslim or the Pre-Mughul Period (1150 to 1586 A.C.)

The Shah Miris (1150 to 1555 A.C.)

Pandit Jonaraja's Rajdvali in continuation of Kalhana's Rajatarangint (From 1150 to 1459 A.C.)

Pandit Qrivara's Jatna-Rajatararigint (From 1459 +6 XXX1X x!

5. Pandit Prajyabhatte's Rajavalipataka (From 1486 to 1512 A.C.)
6. Ta'rikh-i-Nadtrt by Mulla Nadiri. MS. Written during Bad Shah's reign. Referred to by Haidar Malik Chadura, KhwajaMuhammad A'zam, and Pir Hasan Shah. Also TZa'rikh-1-Wagqa'

Kashmir by Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri, written at this time, 1s not traceable.

7. Tavikh-i-Qalamraw-i-Kashmir by Qazi Ibrahim son of Qazi Hamid, Mutawalli, Khanqah-i-Mu'alla, Srinagar. MS. Believed to have been written in Fath Shah's second reign, 200ﻭ 1505-1514 A.C.
8. Tartkh-i-Rashidi—Asl (1544-5), and Mukhtasar (1541-2)—of Mirza Haidar Dighlat.
9. Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Sayyid 'Ali bin Muhammad, Mutawalli, Khanqah-i-Mu'alla, Srinagar. MS. Believed to have been written in Muhammad Shah's fifth reign, viz., 1530-1537 A.C. The Chaks

(1555 to 1586 A.C.)

10.

Ta'rtkh-i-Kashmir by Mulla Husain Qari.

MS. Believed to have been written, during Chak rule, up to 1580 A.C,

The Mughul Period (1586 A.C. to 1752 A.C.)

11.

Pandit Guka's Sanskrit Chronicle entitled the Ra@jatrangeni.

(From 1512 to 1596 A.C.).

12-18.

A'in-i-Akbari and Akbar-nama of Abu'! Faz] 'Allimi.

14. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan Beg, MS., written in Akbar's time.

15.

TLabagat-1-Akbart of Bakhshi Nizim-ud-Din Ahmad.

16. Gulzdr-i-[brahimi or the Ta'ritkh-t-Firishta of Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
17.

Ma'dsir-i-Rahimi of Mulla 'Abdul Bagi Nihiwandi.

18.

Pdeuk-i-Jahangiri.

19. Ta'rthh-i-Kashmir written during 1027-30 A.H.– 1617-20 A.C., by Ra'is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik Chadura. MS. 20. Bahdristan-i-Shahi, author anonymous, but suppused lo be Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi, a Shi'a writer, on account of the special exposition of Shi'a tenets and the exploits of Shi*

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بج تحتheroes 21.

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Comparative Also Tables o es, Luzac & Co., London, 193 Section IV PERIODICALS

Miyan Muhammad 'Abdullah Quraishi, B.A., known in Kashmiri circles as co-author, with the late Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, of the Ta'rikh-i-Aqwamn-i-Kashmir, Volume III, has kindly prepared the following list of Periodicals that have, from time to time, discussed the various aspects of life in the Valley of Kashmir and of the Kashmiris abroad. This literature is valuable as throwing light, from a point of view a little different from that of a book ora manuscript on Kashmir, and should be helpful to the student of latter-day history, political, social and cultural, of Kashmir. With certain additions and alterations this list is given below سب 1. The Khair-Khwéah-i-Kashmir. Urdu weekly, published from Lahore and edited by Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta during 1882-83. Critical of Maharaja Ranbir's régime. Khasta was exiled by the Maharaja and lived in Lahore for some time. He ventilated his grievances through this paper. See page 348 and footnote 2 of Kashir, Volume II.

The Ravi, Lahore.

As above.

The Public News, Lahore.

As above.

The Akhbar-i-'Am, Lahore—Urdu weekly, established in 1881 by Pandit Mukand Ram Gurtu, subsequently edited by his son Pandit Gopi Nath. It was, later on, converted into a daily. It stopped publication some ten years back.

5. Lhe Murasala-t-Kashmir.—Anorgan of the Kashmiri Pandits, published weekly from Lahore during 1880 and 1890.

The Kashmir Prakésh—A monthly magazine of Lahore, edited by Pandit Manka Meshar. It began to be issued in 1898 and ceased publication in 1901. It worked for the social uplift of the

Kashmiri Pandits.

7. The Kashmir Darpan, Allahabad.—It was a bi-lingual monthly magazine in Urdu and Hindi edited by Pandit (now Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapri, M.A., LL. D., during 1898-1904. Some of its files are available in the Kazft Collection of the Panjab University Library, Lahore. 8. The Shumali, Rawalpindi.—It appeared from Rawalpindi some fifty years ago, and stopped publication after two years.

8. The Gulshan-i-Kashmir, Lahore—An Urdu weekly, edited by Maulana Taj-ud-Din Ahmad 777 in 1901. Now defunct, lex

9. The Panja-i-Faulad, Lahore—An Urdu weekly, edited by the late Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug during 1901-1906. It discussed affairs in Kashmir and Jammu. Its files are available at

Messrs, Zafar Brothers, Booksellers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sheranwala Gate, Lahore.

11, The Kashmiri Gazette, Lahore—An Urdu monthly, established by Chaudhri Jan Muhammad Ganai and edited by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din faug during 1901-1904. It worked for the social and political awakening of Kashmiri Musalmans. Its files are available with Chaudhri Allah Bakhsh of Messrs. Allah Bakhsh Jan Muhammad,

Book sellers, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

12. The Kashmiri Makhzan, Labore-—An Urdu monthly, edited by Khwaja Kaméal-ud-Din, ظط,LL.B., Muslim Missionary for England, and Munshi Mubhammad-ud-Din Faug during 1905 for the social uplift of the Kashmiris. 13. The Kashmirt Magazime, Lahore—An Urdu monthly, established by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug in 1906. It was converted into a weekly in 1912. It was devoted to the historical, social and political movements that agitated the mind of the people of Kashmir in the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh. Its files are preserved by Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sheranwala Gate,

Lahore.

14, _ The Akhbar-t-Kashmir, Lahore—-—This was the name given to the Kashmiri Magazine by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug in 1912 when converting it into a weekly. It ceased publication in 1935. It is a mine of information about Kashmir for about a quarter of a century from 1912 to 1935. Its files are available with Messrs. Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sheranwala Gate, Lahore.

15. The Safir, Lahore—Urdu monthly of the Kashmiri Pandits, edited by Pandit Lachhmi Narain Kaul during 1914-1916. 16. The Subh-i-Kashmir, Lahore—Urdu monthly, edited by Pandit Lachhmi Narain Kaul and Pandit Dina Nath Mast in 1916 onwards. It was the successor of the Safir, Lahore, and a bold critic of Kashmir politics.

17, The Bahar-t-Kashmir, Lahore.—Bi-lingual, Hindi, monthly of the Kashmiri Pandits' Association.

Urdu and It was edited, from time to time, by some of the well-known scholars and poets among the Kashmiri Pandits. It continued till the Partition of India. Some of its files are available with Messrs. Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sheranwala Gate, Lahore. 18.

The Raftq-t-Hindustan, Lahore—An Urdu weekly pub-

The A'ina-i-Hind, Lahore-—Urdu weekly, published by lished during 1885 and 1890-91.

19.

It discussed Kashmir affairs.

Babi Ghulém Muhammad in the beginning of Singh's reign against the policy of the Council

British Government in 1887.

Maharaja Pratap appointed by the lexi 20. The Hamdard-i-Hind, Lahore—— An anti-Pratap paper, edited by Pandit Sarab Dyal during 1894. It condemned Maharaja Pratap Singh and supported the rival partyand the Council. It was the first paper issued from British India, which was proscribed in the State.

21. The Rajput Gazette, Lahore—Urdu weekly, established by Thakar Sukhréam Chauhan in the beginning of this century. It continued till the Partition of India. During this long period, it discussed specially the affairs of Kashmir for many years when it was edited by Pandit Raj Narain Arman • 22. The Kashmir, Amritsar.—Urdu weekly edited by Khwaja Ghulam Mubyi'd Din during 1924-1927.

22.

The Kashmirt Musalmin, Lahore.) The Daily Ingdlab, 25.

The Maktib–Kashmir, 24, The Mazliim-1-Kashmir, Lahore. | Lahore,

Lahore. | wrote strong articles against the administration of Maharaja Hari Singh about 1929-31. When its entry into the State was banned, the Kashmir? Musalmadn was issued. When this paper was also banned in 1931, the Mazlim-i-Kashmir took its place. When this paper was also proscribed in the State, the Maktab-i-Kashmir took up the work. This paper was also banned. The Glancy Commission and the Reforms following it may be said to be due to the powerful writings of these papers coupled with the Ahrar Movement, the advice and assistance of the Kashmir Committee, and the agitation within the Valley of Kashmir under the leadership of Shaikh Muhammad ‘ Abdullah, Chaudhri Ghulim ’Abbas, and others,

So far, efforts were made from outside for the uplift of the people of Kashmir. But now the Kashmiris themselves began to issue periodicals from Srinagar, Jammu, Muzaffarabad, Pinch and Mirpur. The following is the list of some of the papers which were issued during this period, viz., 1932-1948. These are important in respect of current topics and noteworthy events that took place from time to time.

26. The Vatistd, Srinagar.—The firss Urdu weekly issued by Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz B.a., in 1931. After a suspension of many years, it has been converted into a Hindi monthly since 1947.

27. The Sadagat, Srinagar.—Urdu daily, published to support the movement initiated by Shaikh Muhammad ’Abdullah and his associates In

1932-33.

It was at ’Abdur Rahim, m.A., LL.B. recently in jail. Defunct, one city

7 ۳۳۳ time Judge OE edited by Srinagar, جح Maulavi but now

28. The Daily Hagigat, Srinagar.—It was a successor of the Sadaqat, Srinagar, which was believed to be edited by Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz, B.A., under the assumed name of 8: Q. Qalandar. It ceased publication in 1933-34,

RIHSAK ننععا 29. The Mériand, Srinagar—Urdu daily, published by the Sanatan Dharm Yivak Sabha since 1931. In the beginning it was edited by Pandit Keshab Bandhu, but till recently by Pandit Prém Nath Kanah.

30.

The Islém, Srinagar—Urdu bi-weekly, the party of Maulavi Yisuf Shah Mir Waʻiz.

belonging to It was started in 1933 under the editorship of Muhammad Amin but did not survive long. مان ehL ,didaJ–rimhsaK udrU—.raganirS yliad detide ybeht late Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Faug during .43-3391 32. Albarg, Srinagar.—Urdu bi-weekly, during 1935-40.

edited by M. A. Sabir 33. he Bekér, Srinagar.—Urdu weekly, brought into being by Mr. Sadr-ud-Din Mujahid in 1932-33.

34. Lhe Khalid, Srinagar—Urdu weekly, a successor of the Bekar, Srinagar, edited by Mr. Sadr-ud-Din Mujahid. It supports the cause of the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference. 35. Lhe Hidadyat, Srinagar—Urdu weekly, published the guidance of Mir Waʻiz Hamadani.

under 36. The Kesart, Srinagar.—Leaving the editorship of the Daily Mariand, Srinagar, Pandit Keshab Bandhu issued the weekly Kesar? till 1938, when he was imprisoned, and the paper was stopped. This paper used to write against Capitalism.

37. Zhe Desh, Srinagar—Urdu weekly, a successor of the weekly Kesari, Srinagar, edited by Pandit Keshab Bandhu since 1940. ١ Tt generally advocates Communist ideas. 38. Lhe Rahbar, Srinagar—Urdu daily, established by M. Ghulam Mubyi'd Din in 1933, now a weekly, edited by Pandit Dina Nath Mast.

38. Lhe Daily Hamdard, Srinagar.—Hdited and owned by Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz, فص since 1933. It is a strong supporter of Roy's Radical Democratic Party, and is anti-'Abdullah politics. It is well-edited and popular among Muslims. Its illustrated weekly issues have been informative regarding the history, sociology and literature of Kashmir. Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz is now imprisoned (1948), 40. 16 Daly Khidmat, Srinagar—Being edited since 1939 by Maulavi Muhammad Sa'id Mas'adi, Maulavi Fazil, lately lecturer in Arabic, Prince of Wales. College, now (1948) named Gandhi Memorial College, Jammu. It is an organ of the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference. Itis now edited by Maulavi Ghulam Ahmad Mir, Kashfi, Maulavi 2,

39. Phe Dehati Dunyé.—Urdu organ of the Rural Development Department, Jammu & Kashmir Government. It is edited by Shaikh Ghulam Qadir. It is devoted to ٥78: Sudhar or rural uplift, adult education, and the formation of Panchayats throughout the State.

49, The Paigham, Srinagar—Urdu weekly, edited by Quraishi Muhammad Yisuf and Nizim-ud-Din Chishti, zs. A., in 1939-40, 43, The Kashmir Guardian, Srinagar.—Urdu weekly, under the editorship of Pandit Baldeo Prashiad Sharma, B.a., now in the State Publicity Department.

44, The Islah, Srinagar—Urdu weekly edited by Chaudhri 'Abdul Wahid and Maulavi'Abdul Ghaffar, Maulavi Fazil, who are now refugees in the West Punjéb. It has been a strong supporter of the Muslim cause and is anti-'Abdullah. It was started in 1934 under the auspices of the Ahmadiyya Movement of Qéadian, Kast Punjab.

45, The Vakil, Srinagar.—Urdu weekly, published by Pandit, Shambu Nath Kaul since 1935. 46. The Mahabir, Hindu women.

Srinagar.—Hindi weekly, popular among 47. The Iituhad-t-Jagirdaran, Srinagar. —Urdu weekly started by the Jagirdars of the State but was shortlived. 48,

The Swastaka, Srinagar—A monthly magazine.

49, The Kashmir Times, Srinagar.—English weekly, owned Sardér 'Abdur Rahman Miththa of Bombay, and edited by by Mr. G.K. Reddi coming from the Madras Presidency. It had to stop publication on the recent change of administration in Kashmir. It advocated the views of the Communist Party and was anti'Abdullah. At one time owned by a Kashmiri Pandit, and edited by Mr. J. N. Zutshi, B.4., LL.B., who subsequently edited the Kashmir Sentinel.

50. The Kashmir Chronicle, edited by Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul, of Kashmir. 51.

Lhe Hurrat, Srinagar.—English weekly, رفظauthor of A Short History

Srinagar—Urdu weekly, published Maulavi Yisuf Shah Mir Wa‘iz’s party. It was a successor of the طز

Islam, Srinagar.

Srinagar.—English weekl , owned by y Pandi Pandit Prém Nath Bazaz, • It is now defunct, 1 52.

The Mirror, 53.

The 04.

Lhe ٧٥٣, Srinagar.—Urdu weekly, 1939 by Mr. M. D. Nar.

Ranbir, Jammu.—Urdu ٨ being weekly, g issued sj issued since began + published in 1923 by Lala Mulk Raj Saraf, BA It جحsubse quently converted into a bi-weekly. Some of its ‘special numbe rs’ have proved very interesting. It was the first paper in the State. See pp. 820-1, Vol. II, of Kashir. It generally wrote in favour of ٢1, H. Government and its high officials, and was generally favoured by them and was believed to be subsidized.

55. The Amar, Jammu—Urdu week ly, ١ representative of د = sabhaجists, Dogris met the 3,’and the Maha and was edited by Lala Sheo

56.

Lhe Chand, Jammu.—Weekly Urdu, was edited by Diwan brothers. It advocated moderate views, tried to uplift the poor and rura] population and labourers though the editors themselves were reported to be capitalists. Instructive stories published in this paper were read with great interest.

Now it is a daily in Urdu.

57.

The Désh Sewak, Jammu.—No longer in existence.

58.

The Sudarshan, Jammu.—Weekly, writes in favour of Nationalism

59.

The and Hindu-Muslim unity.

\ Dipak, Jaromu.—Bi-lingual, Hindi and English.

discusses political affairs in English and social affairs in Hindi.

Mr.

It 60. The Karn Kashmir, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, edited by Muhammad Shafi‘ Chak im 1931. Now defunct.

61. The Pasban, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, a successor of the Karn Kashmir, and a supporter of the policy of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. It is edited by Mi‘raj-ud-Din Ahmad since 1932. He is now (July 1948) a refugee in Sialkot. 62. The Ratan, Jammu,—Urdu weekly owned by Lala Mulk Raj Saraf, editor The Ranbir. It is sanctioned by the State for use in Schools. The Kzsén was also issued by Lala Mulk Raj Saraf from Jammu and is now defunct.

62. Lhe Jamhir, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, owned and edited by ’Abdul Majid Qarshi. 64,

Lhe Khurshid, 65.

The Inkishaf, Shirw&ni.

Jammu.—Urdu weekly, edited Jaramu.—Now defunct.

66. Lhe Nawawin, Jammu. Urdu Munshi Muhammad Husain 6/Λ027 in 1933. 67.

by Qais weekly issued Lhe Watan, Jammu.—lt was a fearless critic.

was forfeited by the State and it ceased publication. by a patriotic Sikh.

by جاsecurity It was edited 68, 1/6 Sadiq, Pinch.—It is edited by Ziya-ul-Hasan Ziyd and upholds the cause of the Muslims of Pinch.

69. The Parbhat, Pinch.—Its aim' was to support the cause of Hindus and Sikhs. It was edited by Lala 075 Nand Kapiir.

70. Al-Muwjaid, Pinch.—Urdu weekly, edited by Shaikh Nabi Bakhsh Nizami since 1933; it is now defunct.

71.

Sarvan The Aftab, Pinch—Urdu weekly Nath 460 since 1937.

12. Lhe Zamindér, Muzaffarabad —A disappeared.

13.

published by Hakim Sikh organ, but soon Ihe Tegh or Sher Babar, Muzaffarabad.—As above,

_ 4 The Sadaqat, Mirpur—Published 1V 1s an advocate of the rights of the Hindus, by Lala Gyan Chand,