

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Historians of medieval India have long recognized the significance of regional history. Of all regions in the Mughal Empire, the valley of Kashmir was perhaps geographically the best defined. There have been modern studies of the history of Kashmir under Mughals, notably by R.K. Parmu, P.N.K. Bamzai, G.M.D. Sufi; and there has been study also of particular aspects of the Mughal administrative and taxation system, e.g. by Mushtaq A Kaw. This thesis seeks to build on their work and try to offer an integrated study of the economy of Kashmir under the Mughas and their Afghan successors from 1586 to 1819.

The Mughal province of Kashmir was larger than the valley, but was certainly much smaller than the present state of Jammu and Kashmir. My work will concentrate on the areas, which were within the Mughal *Suba* of Kashmir, but especially concentrate on the valley.

Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1586. Though for some time it remained a part of the province of Kabul,¹ Kashmir assumed under Jahangir the status of a full fledged province (*Suba*).²

The period of my work, roughly starts with the Mughal occupation of Kashmir in 1586 and ends with the end of Afghan rule in 1819. In the Kashmir history, the intervening period has been extra-ordinarily important. The Mughal phase, (1586-1753) was not only longer but more important for Kashmir

1 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, 2 vols., Nawal Kishore's edition, Lucknow, 1879-80, & Its transl. vol. I, by H. Blochmann and vol. II-III (Bound in one) by H.S. Jarrett, New Delhi, 1949, Text, vol. II, p. 169: Abul Fazl in *Ain*, treats Kashmir as a *Sarkar* of the *Subah* of Kabul, which was comprised of Kashmir, Pakhli, Bimber, Swat, Bajaur, Qandahar and Zabulistan. Its capital was formerly Ghaznah and later Kabul; A *Sarkar* is a sub-division of a *Subah*. Each *Subah* constituted several *Sarkars* and each *Sarkar* was sub-divided into *parganas* or *Mahals*, *Ain*, II, (transl.), pp. 95-96.

2 Prof. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political And Economic Maps*, Delhi, 1982, sheet 3A, p. 6.

because of the possible interconnections between the larger imperial resources of the Mughals and the position Kashmir occupied in the imperial economic framework.

Owing to the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, Kashmir remained cut off from Delhi and in a very disturbed state until 1753, when Ahmad Shah Abdali annexed it to his kingdom.³ The Afghan governors held Kashmir in their ruthless grip. Afghan rule ended in 1819, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh defeated the last Afghan governor Jabbar Khan, and annexed Kashmir to the Punjab.⁴

The valley of Kashmir is a gift of the Himalayas.⁵ The *Jehlum* or *Behet*⁶ and its tributaries in the valley, Kishan Ganga in Pakhli, the Shayok and the Indus and their tributaries in Ladakh and Baltistan, Chinab, Tohi, Chandarbhaga and a network of streams and rivulets flowed through Kashmir.⁷ These multiple resources of water were very essential for agriculture.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy of Kashmir. Kashmir being an agricultural region, the bulk of its population lived in villages and was taken to agriculture.

The study of economic history of Kashmir during the Mughal period is important in the sense that the attempt is to take into account the aspects of the

3 *Majmuat-Tawarikh, Farsiya Akhbar*, MSS. No. 148, Manuscript Section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, 1835-36A.D., pp. 367-68.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 421-26.

5 According to *Ain*, It is encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges: *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 169; F. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

6 *Ain*, II, p. 171; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 292; Pir Ghulam Hasan Khoyhami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, [in Persian, completed, 1885], ed. Sahibzada Hasan Shah, 2 vols., Srinagar, 1954, vol. I, p. 68; Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1967, pp. 17-18.

7 *Ibid*, II, pp. 169-75; *Tuzuk*, pp. 298-99; F. Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-97; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-52.

mode of agricultural production, production relations, magnitude and settlement of land revenue, agencies involved in its collection, revenue assignments and grants etc.

Our proposed study would also look into the agrarian relations, including of three types of *Zamindars* i.e. village *Zamindars*, *pargana Zamindar* and *hilly Chieftains* or *tributary Chieftains* and discussed about their right on land as well as their role and functions. It would also include a study of peasant and nature of land rights, as well as material conditions.

Kashmir was well known for several crafts, notably textiles and wood works. There were other skilled professions as well, such as paper making, boat-making, etc. Our information about these activities is scarce. One of the objective of this study is to look at the role of craft production in the Kashmir economy, from the scattered evidence found in the sources.

Kashmir also grew commercial products such as saffron, fruits, forest products, paper, and also silk and carpets as well as other woollen stuffs which were exported to markets outside Kashmir.

One of the primary objectives of this work is to study the role of the Mughal state in the shaping of the regional economy of Kashmir. With Kashmir as the region of focus, we hope to analyze in depth the state-economy relations and look at the extent to which the state impinged on the economy. In a sense the Mughal conquest of Kashmir could have opened Kashmir to trade and commerce with northern India, in a way not previously achieved.

The thesis proposes to examine whether and if so to what extent the Mughal administration promoted industry and trade (i.e. export of shawls and woollen textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries) through the

security on roads and opening of better routes connecting far-fleeing areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders.

In compiling the information for this thesis I have made varied sources in Persian to which I could gain access.

The Manuscripts⁸ (Persian) which I have consulted, are preserved in Maulana Azad Library and in our Deptt. of History, Centre of Advanced Study, AMU, Aligarh.

As far as documents are concerned, I am very grateful to Prof. Mushtaq A. Kaw, that the most of the documents used by me were provided to me by him, in Xerox copies. I also collected documentary material from the Iqbal Library, Srinagar and Department of History, University of Kashmir.

Besides manuscripts, many of the sources have also been printed. I have naturally used the printed editions wherever these are available.

I offer below a survey of the sources I have been able to use.

Official and semi-Official *Chronicles* and other historical works written during the period such as *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* by Faizi, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Badauni, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Jahangir, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* by Mutamad Khan, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* by Khwaja Kamgar Husaini, *ShahjahanNama* by Qazwini, *Badshahnama* by Waris, *Badshahnama* by Lahori, *Amal-i-Saleh* by Kambu, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani* by Sadiq Khan, *Alamgirnama* by Muhammad Kazim,

⁸ Almost the Manuscripts (Persian) copies of many texts are preserved in Iqbal Library, Srinagar. But I have used the copies of the same works preserved in *Manuscripts* section, Maulana Azad Library (MAL) and in the library of the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.

Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Tazkiratu-s Salatin-i-Chaghta* by Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umara* by Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, *Muntakhabu-Lubab* by Khafi Khan, and *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh* by Munshi Sujan Rai Bhandari are well-known sources of our period.

Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl- It is a work unique in its nature. It is a mine of information for the administrative and economic conditions of Kashmir. It gives an account of Kashmir with details pertaining to its geography, climate, fauna and flora, innumerable water bodies, villages and *parganas*, houses, dress and diet of people, *bazaar* system, and above all units of weight, currency and measurement of land, agricultural products, their value, mode of revenue collection, *pargana*-wise revenue returns and local *Zamindar* castes.

The *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl in its third volume gives a detailed account of the relations between the Kashmiri and the Mughals which finally culminated in the annexation of Kashmir in 1586. Abul Fazl, also provides us an interesting account of topography, Mughal-Chak relations, Mirza Haider's rule in Kashmir. In his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl provides a description of the geography of Kashmir, description of routes and revenue settlement pattern, revenue rates, state share, medium of payment, land revenue organization.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri by Jahangir contains information about birds, flowers, fruits, agricultural and forest products, houses, dress, diet and manners of the people of Kashmir. The information about the routes leading to Kashmir is detailed and descriptive.

ShahjahanNama by Qazwini, *Badshahnama* by Lahori, *Badshahnama* by Waris and *Amal-i-Saleh* by Salih Kambu provides us with information about socio-economic and politico-administrative conditions. A detailed

description of the gardens and monuments of the period is very interesting. Qazwini has covered the first decade while Lahori the first and second, and Waris, the third. Salih Kambu gives a description of the whole reign of Shahjahan. In all these sources, Kashmir is frequently referred to routes.

Lahori in his account furnishes adequate information on Kashmir, its geography, agricultural products, grant of *jagirs*, *Jama dami* figures and the Mughal relations with the hill *Chiefs* of Little and Big Tibet. Shahjahan's visit to Kashmir and the relief measures adopted by him on the occasion of famines, also feature in Lahori's account.

Tarikh-i-Shahjahani by Sadiq Khan- This source treats the events that occurred during the reign of Shahjahan in India as well as in Kashmir. It furnishes the figures of revenue returns of various Mughal Indian provinces including Kashmir besides details out information on the grant of *jagirs* and *mansabs* to the nobles and other officials posted in Kashmir. A Rotograph copy is available in the Centre of Advanced Study, Deptt. of History, AMU, Aligarh.

The ***Alamgirnama*** by Muhammad Kazim, is the contemporary official historical account of the first decade of the reign of Aurangzeb in Kashmir, treating Kashmir in some detail when Aurangzeb paid a visit to it. This chronicle also deals with the relations that existed between the Mughals and the tributary *Chieftains* of Tibet.

Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Saqi Musta'id Khan is a very abridged history of Aurangzeb's reign but offers some information on Kashmir.

Tazkiratu-s Salatin-i-Chaghata by Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan. The portion of this history that is of original value.

Maasir-ul-Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan- In this chronicle, the author catches a view of the origin, role and functions of several nobles and *mansabdars* posted in different provinces of Mughal India from time to time. The information relating to the activities of the officials in Mughal province of Kashmir, is equally detectable from the given account. The work has been edited by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali and Maulavi Abdur Rahim.

Muntakhabu-Lubab by Khafi Khan- This chronicle gives a general account of Todarmal's land settlement, mode of revenue collection, grant of seeds and *taqavi* to the famine-hit peasants, etc. However, in context to Kashmir, the chronicle is fairly detailed; it discusses Kashmir in detail, its geography, climate, culture, flora and fauna, dress and food habits of the people, the erstwhile local *Chieftains*, etc. The chronicle also provides an exhaustive account of various agricultural products, practice of grafting, relief measures of Shahjahan and his periodical visits to Kashmir. In short, the chronicle is a useful source of information on Kashmir. The work has been edited by Maulavi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad.

Khulasatu-t Tawarikh by Sujan Rai Bhandari- It is a narrative of the socio-economic and cultural history of India during the later Mughal period. The work gives the description of Kashmir, its geography, climate, agricultural products with particular reference to the saffron, material conditions of the people, their dress and diet and similar other subjects. Much of the information contained in the account, however, seems to have been drawn from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. This has been especially done in terms of the subjects relating to the classification of land, method of assessment, state share, water resources, description of the hilly state of Tibet and the city of Srinagar. It has been edited by M. Zafar Hasan.

Among regional histories of Kashmir the following may be mentioned.

Rajatarangini by Suka and Prajyabhata- The compilation of Suka's *Rajatarangini* was continued by his pupil Prajyabhata till 1594. In essence, the work features the tradition of writing political histories on Kashmir. Nonetheless, the author depicts the socio- economic and administrative conditions that obtained in Kashmir around the 16th century.

Baharistan-i-Shahi (Anonymous)- It is a Persian work by anonymous writer. This Persian account tracks down information regarding the events which occurred right from the Hindu rule down to the reign of Jahangir in Kashmir. The chronicle affords a detailed account of several politico-administrative institutions that survived in Kashmir during the period under review. It also deals with the agrarian reforms of Sultan Zainulabidin besides caches a view of the events leading to the downfall of the Chaks and the establishment of the Mughal rule in the Kashmir. Apart of the work is meant to define the relations between the native *Cheifs* and the Mughal ruling class.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadoora. The chronicle is a comprehensive history from very earliest times to 1620-21. The author accompanied Yusuf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of *Chugta'i* and *Raisul Mulk*. The *Zamindari* of his native place was also assigned to him by Jahangir. Towards the end of this work, the author gives an account of numerous rivers, streams, etc. of the valley.

Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Narain Kaul Ajiz- It was compiled in 1710. It is a short history of Kashmir in *Persian* from earliest times to 1710. It contains details regarding the *pargana*-wise number of villages and the

assessment of revenue conducted in Kashmir by Qazi Ali during the reign of Emperor Akbar. As a source of information on political, economic and administrative affairs, the work appears to be the abridgment of the *Persian* works namely, *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Haider Malik's work.

Waqiat-i-Kashmir by Muhammad Azam Diddamari- It was written in 1746-47. It consists of three divisions. The first is based on the information of Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, the second deals with the Sultanate period, and the third with the Mughal rule. It is a biography of Sufis, Saints and Scholars, but side by side throws light on the administration of the period. The events of the Aurangzeb's reign are more comprehensive. In addition, it furnishes a detailed account of the conditions of the people in Kashmir. It also gives information about the repressive policy adopted by Itiqad Khan, the *Subedar* of Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Jahangir. The work also highlights the implications of several taxes and imposts besides furnishes information on the role and fate of erstwhile ruling families of Kashmir. The information regarding the grant of *jagirs* and *mansabs* to the provincial officials is equally detectable from the given account. It describes the impact of famines together with the raids of the marauding tribes of Muzaffarabad and Poonch. It also contains details regarding the *pargana*-wise number of villages.

Besides these above manuscripts we have few other manuscripts, which I have consulted such as *Majmuat-Tawarikh* by Birbal Kachru, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir* by Abdul Qadir Khan, *Mirat-al 'Alam* by Sheikh Muhammad Baqa etc

Majmu'at-Tawarikh by Birbal Kachru, The significance of the work lies in the fact that its author was an eye-witness to the events that occurred

during the period of our study. Written from the earliest times, the work was compiled in 1835-36. For the early part of his work, the chronicler appears to have mainly relied upon the Sanskrit and Persian sources like *Rajatarangini*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haider Malik, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Koul Ajiz, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam, etc. This work contains information on the history of the Mughal and the Afghan rule in Kashmir. Besides geography, climate, fauna and flora, trade and culture, the chronicle catches a view of the agrarian relations that obtained during the period under review. The role of the *Zamindars*, *Jagirdars* and a host of *Mansabdars* is substantially highlighted in the said chronicle. *Ijardari* and the *Jagirdari* system together with the relations of the Mughals with the tributary *Chieftains* of the bordering states also find mention in the said account. It also gives information about floods, famines and earthquakes along with their devastating effects. According to the author, the taxation policy of the Afghans proved to be the harbinger of misery to the peasants and other sections of the people

Tarikh-i-Hasan by Ghulam Hasan Khoihami is a late 19th century work, is the most comprehensive and coherent of all the indigenous *Persian* sources of Kashmir. It contains historical literature from the earliest times to 1885. It is in four volumes. Its first volume deals with the geology of Kashmir, its fauna and flora, archaeological remains, internal and external trade, sources of irrigation, agricultural and horticultural produce, revenue of Kashmir, under the Mughal and the Afghans, bridges, gardens, shawl trade, etc. Volume second narrates political history from the earliest times. Third and fourth volumes are devoted to describe the life of the Saints, Scholars and Poets who lived during the rule of the Sultan and the Mughals in Kashmir. The significance of this work lies in the fact that the events discussed therein are largely corroborated

by Persian sources authored by Narain Kaul Ajiz, Muhammad Azam and Birbal Kachru.

Besides above sources, there are many other Revenue Documents, Letters and Administrative Records preserved in the CAS, Deptt. Of History, AMU Aligarh, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh and also in Iqbal Library, Srinagar also provide very useful information on the agrarian economy of medieval Kashmir as well as contain valuable information on the subject relating to my work.

The period under revive is also rich in European travelers accounts for instance, St. J. Xavier and Bendict-de goes were the first known European travelers who set foot on the soil of Kashmir in 1597. The account of the Father's is very brief. The *Subah* of Kashmir at the time of their arrival was in the grip of a terrible famine. Their account though short, throws light on economic conditions of the people and the effects of the Mughal conquest have also been highlighted.

Pelsaert's account (*Remonstrantie*) about Kashmir is also sketchy. It furnishes quite useful information on Kashmir during the reign of Jahangir. Besides its geography, climate and culture, this account is quite indispensable for the study of agrarian history of Kashmir. Besides, this work also offers an account of the material conditions of the people particularly settled in the rural areas. It also gives us some information about the trade and commerce of Kashmir.

Travels in the Mughal Empire by Francois Bernier- The account is fairly comprehensive and deals with Kashmir, its climate, geography, social behaviour of its people, their culture, trade and lastly different routes

connecting Kashmir with the outside world. However, the information pertaining to the agrarian history is much more exhaustive. It also furnishes useful information about the agricultural products, sources of irrigation, ownership of land and revenue exacted thereon, practice of *begar*, Mughal relations with the tributary *Chieftains* of Tibet and arts and crafts production of Kashmir. This work has been edited and translated into English by A. Constable.

Storia do Mogor by Niccalao Manucci, mostly deals with the agricultural products of Kashmir, woollen stuffs, its soil formation and revenue returns etc. It has been translated into English by William Irvine in four volumes.

Desideri and Father Fryre came to Kashmir in 1714 on their way to Tibet. The Fathers remained in the valley for a number of months, which enabled them to give us an accurate account of social and economic life of the people. It is very important source as far as the trade and commerce of Kashmir with the little and Greater Tibet, Central Asia, Nepal and Bhutan is concerned. It also contains information about the political geography and the borders of Ladakh and Tibet also. De-Filipi has rendered its Italian version into English.

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

The accounts of travelers who visited the valley in the 19th century, like Moorcraft and Trebeck, G.T. Vigne, F. Younghusband, Frederick Drew and A.H. Francke, etc. give detailed information about social and economic life and the topography of the whole *Subah*.