

History of Kashmir Under Aurangzeb

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In order to expand the Mughal Empire Kashmir¹ was annexed in 1586.² Though for some time it remained a part of the province of Kabul,³ Kashmir assumed under Jahangir the status of a full fledged province (*suba*).⁴ Attracted by its exquisite beauty and pleasure-giving traits, Mughal emperors paid visits after brief intervals to this country; Akbar came thrice; Jahangir seven; Shahjahan three and Aurangzeb two times.⁵

Aurangzeb came to the throne of his father Shahjahan in the year 1658, who ruled from 1658 to 1707.⁶

¹ Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* A.D.1656-1668, transl. on the basis of Irving Brock's version by A. Constable, with notes, 2nd edition revised by V.A. Smith, Delhi, Reprinted in LPP 2005, pp. 400-1

² According to Abul Fazl, the annexation followed a series of intermittent wars between the Mughal forces and the Kashmiris, *Akbarnama* ed. Maulwi Abd-ur-Rahim vol. III, part I-II, Calcutta, 1886-87; & its transl. by H. Beveridge, vol. III, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1897-1921: Text, III, part I, pp. 318-19, 480-81, Also see its transl. III, pp. 465-66, 722-25, Text, III, Part II, pp. 496-97, 501-503, & transl. III, pp. 752-53, 762-65; Suka, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Transl. From Sanskrit, by J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Delhi, reprinted Delhi, 2003, pp.397-427; Khafi Khan in his *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, says that, one of the important factors that helped the Mughal forces to carve out their rule in Kashmir was manifest in the mutual animosity that obtained among the ruling families and Zamindars of Kashmir some of whom had already joined their hands with the imperial army: edited by Maulawi Kabir Al Din Ahmad, vol. I, part I, Calcutta, 1868; pp. 194-96.

³ 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.

⁴ Prof. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political And Economic Maps*, Delhi, 1982, sheet 3A, p. 6.

⁵ Fr. J. Xavier, 'Letters from Kashmir', 1593-1617, Eng. Transl. H. Hosten, *JASB*, No. XXIII, 1927, pp. 115-17; Francisco Pelsaert (1626), *Remonstrantie*, trans. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34; Nicolao Manucci, *Mogul India (1653-1708) or Storia do Mogor*, (in 4 vols. Bound in 2), translated with Introduction and notes by W. Irvine, Delhi, Reprinted in LPP 2005, pp. 100-1; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, ed. Abdu-r Rahim and Ashraf Ali, Bib. Ind. 3 vols., Calcutta, 1888-91; Eng. Transl. H. Beveridge, vol. I, Patna, 1979, & vol. II-III, Calcutta, 1952, 1964, vol. I, pp. 312, 355.

⁶ See Satish Chandra, *Medieval India From Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part Two, 'Mughal Empire (1526-1748)', New Delhi, Second Edition, 2000, pp. 267-275.

During his long, eventful reign of 49 years Kashmir, although remotely situated, could not remain unaffected by the social, political and cultural upheavals of Aurangzeb's reign. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb was earnestly concerned in the welfare of Kashmir. Aurangzeb Alamgir's remark in the *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri* 'there is no Kashmir in this *suba* whom I may appoint.'⁷ He did several effective measures to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses. When Aurangzeb visited Kashmir, all the luggage of the royal camp was carried from Bhimber to Srinagar by Kashmiri porters, were paid for.⁸ In 1696, the Emperor received complaints from the peasants of Kashmir to effect that the high grandees who had been granted *jagirs* in that *suba* had farmed their revenue collection to traders, who were making oppressive exactions and had thus ruined the cultivators. Aurangzeb immediately ordered all the *jagirs* in Kashmir to be resumed and made Crownland.⁹ Other important contribution was introduction of the *Mansabdari* system in Kashmir and appointment of a few most talented and deserving Kashmiris on Mughal *mansabs* for the first time, during the *subedari* of Fazil Khan (1697-1701).¹⁰ Ibrahim Khan¹¹ was twice removed from governorship for backing the shias in sectarian feuds. Similarly, both Muzaffar Khan and Abu Nasr Khan were removed from governorship, when Aurangzeb came to know of their maladministration.¹² Most of the *subedars*, laid out gardens, built as well as repaired mosques, *madarsah*, bridge, inns, *Khanqah*, and founded new towns, etc., during his reign.¹³

⁷ Aurangzeb, *Ruq 'at-i 'Alamgiri or Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, MS. No. 85, in CAS, Deptt. of History, AMU, Aligarh, p. 95.

⁸ Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 392: The wages fixed by the emperor were ten crowns for every 100 pounds weight. ⁹ *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, daily News Letters from the court of Aurangzeb, 9 Volumes Microfilm available in the Research Library, CAS, Dept. of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, *Akhbarat*, Jamadi II, 37,38,39R.Y. Also see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*, Oxford, 2000, pp.275, 328-29.

⁹ Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (C. 1746-47), Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, scribed in 1843-44, is preserved in Manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 175b-176a; Muhammad-din Faoq, *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, 2nd edition, Feb. 1991, Azad Kashmir, pp. vol. II, 573-74.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, ff. 152a-152b, 162b-163b; *Ibid*, pp. 560-61, 569-71; Pir Ghulam Hasan Khoyhami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan* [in Persian, completed, 1885], ed. Sahibzada Hasan Shah, 2 vols., Srinagar, 1954, vol. I, pp. 483-84.

¹¹ *Ibid*, ff. 174b-175a; *Ibid*, pp. 572-73.

¹² *Ibid*, ff. 152b-153ab, 155a, 157ab; *Ibid*, pp. 561, 564-67, 573-74; Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, pp. 304, 312, 339, 477.

Kashmir was administered by no less than fifteen *subedars* under Aurangzeb. Regarding external affairs touching Kashmir, there are some deserving notices. For instance, the Mughal claims of suzerainty over Greater Tibet were first fully admitted by the local ruler in 1665¹⁴ and a dual Mughal-Tibetan suzerainty came to exist, in practice, after the war of 1681-83,¹⁵ during the reign of Aurangzeb. The *subedar* or *nazim*¹⁶ was generally the head of provincial administration under the Mughals. The *suba* of Kashmir was placed under the control of a *subedar* appointed by the Emperor. He was answerable to the centre for any lapse in administration. He could hold his office as long as he enjoyed the confidence of his ruler or master. There were no hard and fast rules for their appointments, reappointments, removal, and promotion or the transfer. Aurangzeb appointed fifteen governors altogether of whom two, namely, Ibrahim Khan and Saif Khan were reappointed. For instance, Ibrahim Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir in 1661-62¹⁷ and in 1678-86 he was appointed *subedar* for the second term¹⁸ and again in 1701-06, he was appointed as *subedar* replacing Fazil Khan.¹⁹ In 1663, *subedari* of Kashmir was given to Saif Khan; in 1666, he was removed from Kashmir;²⁰ but in 1669, he was again appointed as a *subedar* of Kashmir and this time he held the post for two years only.²¹

¹⁴ Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, ed. Maulawis Khadim Husain and Abd-al-Hai, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1868, vol. II, pp. 920-23; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, pp. 482-83; Saqi Musta 'idd Khan, *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Maulawi Agha Ahmad Ali, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1871, Eng. Transl. J.N. Sarkar, *A History of Aurangzeb, 1658-1707*, Calcutta, 1947, Text, p. 52.

¹⁵ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 52; Hashmatullah Khan, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, Jammu, 1992, pp. 309-15.

¹⁶ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 109-10ab, 130ab, 146ab, 152-53, 155-56, 162, 174-75, 178ab, 192-95ab, 199ab, 210b, 215-18ab, 223ab; Birbal Kachru, *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, (C. 1835-36), *Farsiya Akhbar*, MS. No. 148, Manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 214-15, 255, 279; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 386.

¹⁷ *Alamgirnama*, vol. I, pp. 426, 564, & vol. II, p. 634; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (C. 1709-10), MS. No. 18, CAS, AMU, Aligarh f. 104b; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 152ab; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, vol. I, Part-I, pp. 295-301.

¹⁸ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.163; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a; Also see, *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 295-301.

¹⁹ *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 295-301; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 575.

²⁰ *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 832, 838, 843, 957; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, pp. 479-82; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 104b.

²¹ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 83, 112; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 104b-105a; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, p. 483-84.

Some of the *subedars* remained in their post for one and half years or two years, while some of them enjoyed his office for more than seven years. For example, the *subedars* like Qiwamuddin Khan,²² Muzaffar Khan²³ and Nawazish Khan²⁴ remained in his office only for one and half year, respectively. Islam Khan²⁵ remained in his post for two years and Saif Khan,²⁶ and Mubariz Khan²⁷ for three years and Fazil Khan²⁸ for three and half years; while Iftikhar Khan²⁹ and Hafizullah Khan³⁰ remained in his office for five years and Abu Nasr Khan,³¹ who enjoyed his administrative position for nearly four years and the *subedar* like Ibrahim Khan,³² governed the *suba* for a total of fourteen and half years (one and half years for the first time, eight years for second term and five years for third term). The *subedars*, as an administrative as well as executive head, looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary and general administration.³³ He maintained peace within his province looked after the welfare of the people, suppressed the revolts, adjudicated criminal cases, constructed roads, inns and other public utility works, extracted tributes from feudatory chiefs whose territories were within his province and collected revenue from other refracting *zamindars* and other taxes. The *subedars* used to welcome and receive the emperor and the imperial officials at the outskirts of the *subah* and at the time of departure accompanied him to give him a suitable send off.³⁴

²² Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 151, 163.

²³ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a.

²⁴ *Ibid*; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 178b-179a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 576, 578.

²⁵ *Ibid*, f. 104b; *Ibid*, ff. 152b-153a; *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 832.

²⁶ *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 957; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 104b.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1064; *Ibid*, ff. 104b-105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 63, 83.

²⁸ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 432.

²⁹ *Ibid*; *Ibid*, p. 151.

³⁰ *Ibid*; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 163b, 175a.

³¹ *Ibid*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 174b-175a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 573.

³² Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff.104b-105a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 152ab, 162b-163b, 178ab; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 163, 496-97.

³³ *Halat-i-Mamalik-i-Mahrusa-i 'Alamgiri*, (C. 1687-91), Add. Ms. 6598, British Museum, Rotograph No. 55, in CAS, Deptt. of History, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 144-6; Hidayatullah Bihari, *Hidayatu-l Qawa 'id*, 1714, Abdus Salam collection, 149 / 379, Manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 14-16.

³⁴ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 52; *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, MS. No. 148, pp. 306-08, 311-12; Abdu-'l Qadir Khan, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, (C. 1833), MS. No. 528 / 49, Abdus Salam collection, Manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 50-51; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, *Farsiya Tarikh*, ff. 152b-153a, Also see its Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, f. 188a, Also see its Urdu transl. Urdu transl. from Persian, Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, Lahore, 1995, pp. 350-51, 401 ; Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 419-21; Sharma, Sri Ram, *Mughal Government and Administration*, Bombay, 1951, p. 239.

In order to meet the requirements of the emperor's comfort during the travel, the roads, routes or passes and inns and *khanqah* were maintained and constructed.³⁵ Feasts, festivities, illuminations and *jashns* were also arranged by the *subedars*.³⁶ In the time of natural calamities, the relief measures were launched under the supervision of *subedars*. During Aurangzeb's reign,³⁷ untimely snowfall destroyed the crops in 1664-65. Seventy-nine thousand rupees were sent by Aurangzeb as relief. The following is an account of the governors of Kashmir during the reign of Aurangzeb with short descriptions of the regime of each: As already mentioned, the number of governors actually appointed by Aurangzeb, was fifteen. Lashkar Khan,³⁸ who had been appointed by Shahjahan in 1657 and remained the *subedar* of Kashmir till 1658-1659 during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign with an increase of 500/500 in his rank, which was enhanced to 3,000/2,500.³⁹

Ashraf Khan Mir Muhammad Ashraf⁴⁰ was the eldest son of Islam Khan Mashhadi. Aurangzeb appointed him the *subedar* of Kashmir vice Lashkar Khan, in 1659. As a man he was a learned theologian and a great builder. He laid out a very lovely garden. As administrator, he exerted his utmost to establish a just and beneficial government. He dispensed even-handed justice, and got almost all administrative and executive matters decided in his presence. He was accessible to all. He was adorned with piety, purity and peacefulness and held taste for Sufism.

³⁵ *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, MS. No. 148, pp. 297-98; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 130-31, 152b-153a.

³⁶ Muhammad Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Alamgiri*, Or. 1671, MS. 11589, Rotograph No. 45, in CAS, Deptt. of History, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 52b, 131b.

³⁷ *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 830.

³⁸ Muhammad Salih Kanbu, *Amal-i-Saleh*, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, 3 vols., ASB, Calcutta, III, p. 247; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527 / 48, ff. 130-32; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 554; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 168-71.

³⁹ *Alamgirnama*, p. 195; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 554.

⁴⁰ During the reign of Shahjahan, in the 26th year Ashraf Khan was made superintendent of the branding. When in the 27th year Prince Dara Shikoh went with a large army on the Qandahar expedition, Ashraf Khan had an increase of 500 and was made *diwan* of the force with the title of Itimad Khan: *Ma'asiru-l-Umara*, vol. I, Part-I, pp. 272-273; *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 196; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b.

⁴¹ *Ibid*; *Ibid*, pp. 196, 302; *Ibid*; Also see, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 146b-147a.

⁴² *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 564; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b.

He studied Maulana Rumi's *Masnavi*. He possessed humanly qualities.⁴¹ In 1661, he was removed from the *subedari* of Kashmir, and Kashmir was assigned to Ibrahim Khan.⁴² Ibrahim Khan⁴³ was the eldest son of Amir ul Umara Ali Mardan Khan. In 1661, he was made the *subedar* of Kashmir. He was a shia, and the shias of Kashmir, although a small minority, took undue advantage of his presence. They took possession of certain holy places belonging to the sunnis, particularly the shrine of Saiyid Jamaluddin and unnecessarily caused them offence. The sunnis got exasperated when Ibrahim Khan supported the cause of the shias. When these developments came to the notice of Aurangzeb, he appointed Qazi Abul Qasim to decide the case. The Qazi delivered his judgment in favour of the sunnis and Ibrahim Khan was dismissed from Kashmir in 1662 and Islam Khan, appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir.⁴⁴

Islam Khan's original name was Mirza Zia-ud-Din. He was an old household trooper of Aurangzeb. He spent his life in his service. In the 4th year (1661-1662), Aurangzeb made him the *subedar* of Kashmir in place of Ibrahim Khan. He held a rank of 5,000/3,000.⁴⁵ He was a painstaking and well-meaning administrator. He had a poetic bent of mind. He provided for the needs of the theologians and encouraged them to devote their time and energy to the spread of Islam. He rebuilt the Ali Masjid at Idgah, a sixteenth century dilapidated structure, and lined its extensive compound with *Chinar* trees.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid*, I, pp. 426, 564; *Ibid*; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 295-301; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 152a.

⁴⁴ *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 634, 823; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*; *Ibid*; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 217-220; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 152b.

⁴⁶ *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 217-220; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 152b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 561.

⁴⁷ There is confusion among authorities regarding the date, Saqi Musta 'idd Khan, in his *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 45-46 and Muhammad Azam, in his *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 152a, mentioned the year 1073 A.H. (1663 A.D.); While Muhammad-ud-din Faoq, in his *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, mentioned the year 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.), pp. 561-62; But Bernier's account mentioned 1665 A.D., which appears to be a clerical mistake or error, Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 358; See Also, Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 66; Sir J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V, Orient Longman LTD, London, Second Edition, 1952, pp. 317, 323.

⁴⁸ Aurangzeb visited Kashmir mainly to recoup himself in its cool and invigorating climate after a very serious illness. Princess Raushan Ara accompanied the Emperor Aurangzeb. The Emperor's experience of the journey was not, however, a happy one. The journey was rendered hazardous and troublesome by the precipitous mountain passes which lead to Kashmir. Several persons along with the animals they rode on were killed on the way and many were injured. Some elephants rolled down to the bottom of a *khad* or ravine. A number of men were killed and were injured seriously: *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam

But the most outstanding event of his governorship was the visit of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1663.⁴⁷ An interesting account of the emperor's journey to Kashmir⁴⁸ has been given by Francois Bernier,⁴⁹ a French physician in the employ of Danishmand Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb. He has left an eye-witness account of this journey which contains references to historical features, natural beauty and culture of Kashmir. He mentions Kashmir as 'paradise of the Indies'.

Aurangzeb stayed in the valley for three months and visited many pleasure spots and issued the following three *Farmans*⁵⁰ to stop unislamic practices being followed by the Kashmiri: 1-The cultivation of poppy should be stopped.

2-Kashmiri Muslim women should wear drawers.

3-“*Bhands*” should stop performing of their feast.

Islam Khan remained in his post only for two years, and the *subedari* of Kashmir was then assigned to Saif Khan.⁵¹ Saif Khan was the son of Tarbiyat Khan. His full name was Saif-ud-Din Mehmud Alias Faqir Ullah. During Aurangzeb's reign, he was treated with favour and given the rank of 1,500/700 on account of his role against Maharaja Jaswant Singh, which was later on enhanced to 2,500/1,500 and granted him the title of Saif Khan. He was fairly outspoken and would not even hesitate to oppose the Emperor. He was for some fault dismissed. But in the 5th year he was once again received with favour. In the 6th year (1663-64), Aurangzeb appointed him the *subedari* of Kashmir.⁵² Saif Khan was a formidable man of iron, an efficient and strict administrator.

collection, 527/ 48, f. 152a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 561-62; Also see Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp.357-429.

⁴⁹ Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-429.

⁵⁰ *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 132; *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1921, III, p. 89.

⁵¹ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b; *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 832; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 152b-153a.

⁵² *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 832, 838, 843; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, pp. 479-82; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b.

He struck terror in the hearts of lawless people and abolished corruption with a heavy hand. For instance, Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq, a revenue collector, was lashed to death for submitting false accounts. Similarly, in 1665, *Raja* of Tibet, for his unruly disposition, met the same fate, Saif Khan, arrested and presented him before the court of Aurangzeb where, in addition to reading *Khutba* in the name of the Emperor and embracing Islam, he accepted to pay *baj* and *kharaj* without any break.⁵³ over Greater Tibet were first fully admitted by the governorship.⁵⁴

Saif Khan during his first viceroyalty introduced innovations⁵⁵ in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the *suba* ordered by the Emperor (qasuri-i-farmaish), and (c) change in or deduction from men's salaries due. During the regime of Saif Khan, there occurred yet another incident of shia-sunni conflict. A certain incident led to the flare-up. When Shaikh Abdul Rashid Chickan, a leading sunni, was proceeding to Cherrari Sharif on a pilgrimage. At Tsodur he was shown disrespect by Hasan Malik, the top shia leader, and the son of the historian Haidar Malik. Hasan Malik further injured the sentiments of Chickan when he abused the first three *Khalifas*. Shaikh Abdul Rashid lodged a complaint before *subedar* Saif Khan, who held Hasan Malik guilty of blasphemy. However, to oblige certain influential elements in the country he delayed prosecution. But afraid of Aurangzeb, he submitted a detailed report of the case to him; and Aurangzeb ordered that Hasan Malik should be killed.⁵⁶ Saif Khan was a noble builder. He laid out the garden of Saifabad, on the banks of the Dal Lake and also built attractive fountains, cascades and spacious tanks.⁵⁷ In 1666, he was removed from Kashmir after completing three years and Mubariz Khan, appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir.⁵⁸

⁵³ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 52; *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, MS. No. 148, pp. 306-8; *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, ff. 50-51.

⁵⁴ *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 920-23; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, pp. 482-83; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 52: The Emperor learnt from the dispatches of Saif Khan, *subedar* of Kashmir, that in accordance with the imperial order Deldan Namjal, *Zamindar* of Greater Tibet, had accepted Islam, the *Khutba* had been read in the Emperor's name in the country, imperial coins issued and a high mosque built there. Also see, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 153ab; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 562-64; Hashmatullah Khan, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, pp. 306-07.

⁵⁵ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 153ab; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 561-64.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*; *Ibid*, p. 564.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

⁵⁸ *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 957; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.104b.

In the 9th year (1666-1667) of Aurangzeb's reign, Mubariz Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir.⁵⁹ He was a good-natured, simple minded, conservative person. He used to walk barefooted up to Jama Masjid to offer prayers. But his Uzbek soldiers or retainers who formed his bodyguard, they committed all sorts of lawless acts and they shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. The feeble *subedar* who depended entirely on their support looked on helplessly.⁶⁰

During his governorship, Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Kashghar, passed through Kashmir about 1667-68 A.D. on his way for a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is said that, Abdullah Khan had to hand over his kingdom involuntarily to his son Nawazish Khan. Abdullah Khan was received and entertained in a royal manner by Mubariz Khan.⁶¹ He remained in his post for three years and the *subedari* of Kashmir was then assigned to Saif Khan.⁶²

Saif Khan was again appointed as a *subedar* of Kashmir in the 12th year (1669-1670) of Aurangzeb's reign and this time he held the post for two years (1669-1671) only.⁶³ He appointed Qazi Abdul Rahim his deputy. In his second viceroyalty in 1669, there occurred a devastating earthquake. It came and went several times from morning till evening when houses rocked like cradles.⁶⁴ He promoted agriculture and took deep personal interest to implement his grow-more-food scheme on an extensive scale. He founded the new township of Mahmudabad and there assigned land to the tillers.⁶⁵ In 1671, he spanned the Safa *kadal* bridge over the Jhelum in Srinagar⁶⁶ and his adviser, Chaudhuri Mahesh, laid out a vast garden with humorous terraces, fountains and cascades

⁵⁹ *Ibid; Ibid; Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 63.

⁶⁰ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 153b-154a, 157a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 564-65.

⁶¹ *Ibid; Ibid.*

⁶² Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff.104b-105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 63, 83. Also see *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 1064. But in *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, it is mentioned that Mubariz Khan remained in his post only for one year and one month: pp. 564-65.

⁶³ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 83, 112; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff.104b-105a; *Ma 'asiru-l-Umara*, II, Part-I, p. 483.

⁶⁴ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 157ab; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 565-66.

⁶⁵ *Ibid; Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, p. 312.

on the slopes of the hill at Ishabari.⁶⁷ He retired from Kashmir in 1671 (14th R.Y.).⁶⁸ He died in 1684.⁶⁹

Iftikhar Khan was the eldest son of Asalat Khan Mir Bakhsh. After the death of his father, Aurangzeb patronized him and gave him the rank of 2,000/1,000 with the title of Iftikhar Khan.⁷⁰ In the 14th year (1671-1672), Aurangzeb appointed him the *subedar* of Kashmir in succession to Saif Khan.⁷¹

He was a benefactor of his subjects and a good administrator. But the people were not destined to enjoy peace and tranquility, for the great fire of 1673-74 destroyed 12,000 homes in Srinagar and the Jama Masjid too was burnt. Aurangzeb, however, got the mosque rebuilt stronger and more majestic than ever before, while the homeless people were left to their own fate.⁷² He was removed after five years and Qiwan-ud-Din Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir in 1676.⁷³

Qiwan-ud-Din Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir only for one and half year (1676-1678).⁷⁴ He was a noble natured Iranian. He earned popularity as a just and generous *subedar*. He showed no mercy to law-breakers whatever their social status. He was famous for his invention of the *Takhtah Kula* or *Kulah-i-Takhtah* 'the wooden Cap', presumably on the analogy of Fool's Cap, for criminals. It was during his *subedari*, there occurred an incident of "Kawahdar fire," which destroyed number of houses.⁷⁵ He tried to help the people and rebuilt their houses and an effort was made to re-construct the Jami

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, I, p. 304; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 566.

⁶⁸ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁹ *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, II, Part-I, p. 484.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, I, Part-I, pp. 252-55.

⁷¹ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 111- 112; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a.

⁷² *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 155a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 567; Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, pp. 339, 477.

⁷³ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 151. But in *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, (f. 155a) and *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, (p. 567), it is mentioned that Iftikhar Khan remained in his post for four years.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*; *Ibid*, pp.151, 163. But in *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, (f. 155a) and *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, (p. 567), it is mentioned that Qiwan-ud-Din Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir for three years.

⁷⁵ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 155a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 567-

Masjid, which had also perished in the fire.⁷⁶ He came to the court from Kashmir and got a robe in 1678⁷⁷ and *subedari* of Kashmir was assigned to Ibrahim Khan.⁷⁸

Ibrahim Khan was again appointed as a *subedar* of Kashmir in the 21st year (1678-1679) of Aurangzeb's reign and this time he held the post for eight years (1678-1686).⁷⁹ In the beginning of his *subedari*, Ibrahim Khan succeeded in giving peaceful and clean administration to the *suba*. But some natural calamities, however, caused great hardships to the people. For example, in 1683, continuous rains over-flooded the river Jhelum and destroyed the standing crops, many houses and lots of cattle. In the following year, severe earthquake raised to the ground many dwellings and killed many people.⁸⁰

A dual Mughal-Tibetan suzerainty came to exist, in practice, after the war of 1681-83, during his governorship.⁸¹ When the Qalmaq (Mongol) king invaded Tibet *Kalan* (major). Delak Namgyal, Gyalpo (King) of (Ladakh) Tibet *Kalan*, himself being unable to defend the country, sought help from the Emperor of Delhi. An imperial force set from Kabul under Fidai Khan (son of Kashmir *subedar* Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaqs out, reinstated the Lama, and returned in triumph with much booty.⁸²

But the most distressing event of Ibrahim Khan's second regime was the shia-sunni conflict of 1684-85.⁸³ The Hasanabad quarter of Srinagar was a shia stronghold. A resident of it named Abdus Shakur, his son and son-in-law had done some injury to a

⁷⁶ *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 567-68.

⁷⁷ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 165.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 163; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a

⁷⁹ *Ibid; Ibid*; Also see *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 295-301.

⁸⁰ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 162b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 568; Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, pp. 469, 474.

⁸¹ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 236; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 162b; *Mukhtasar*

Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, II, pp. 309-12. For detailed description of war see My Paper, "Relations of Kashmir with 'Indian Tibet' in Mughal Times", Paper Published in Proceeding of Indian History Congress, 71st Session, Malda, 2010-11 (pp. 266-273).

⁸² *Ibid; Ibid; Ibid; Ibid*. Francke, A.H., *Ladakh: The Mysterious Land (History of Western Himalayas)*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 105-109: The ruler accepted Islam under the name of Aqabat Mahmud Khan with a rank of 3000-2000. Ladakh was assigned to him in lieu of his submission. The event brought Ladakh under the suzerainty of Mughal and the Gyalpo agreed to send 18 musk pouches and 18 yak tails to Delhi every third year by way of tribute. In return the *subedar* of Kashmir granted the Gyalpo a *jagir* in Naushehra which yielded him 500 bags of rice annually. This arrangement lasted as long as Kashmir remained a *suba* of the Mughal Empire.

⁸³ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 162b-163b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 569-71; Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, pp. 483-84.

sunni named Sadiq. Their enmity grew into a long standing quarrel. In the course of it these shias publicly did some acts and made some remarks designed to insult the memory of the first three *Khalifas*. Sadiq filed a suit in the court of *Qazi*, against these men and demanded their immediate execution. Ibrahim Khan wanted to pacify the parties through the good offices of Mulla Tahir *Mufti*. But the situation was aggravated, by Murid Khan, Alaf Khan, Mirza Muqim, Khwaja Sharif Dehhedi, and Muhammad Sabir. A group of miscreants set Hasanabad to fire. Ibrahim Khan sent his son, Fidai Khan, to protect the residents of Hasanabad above cited Afghans nobles took arms against Fidai Khan. Gunfire was exchanged and innocent people became victims. The *subedar* was compelled to surrender the original culprits, namely Abdus Shakur, his son and son-in-law, to the sunnis who put to death. Mufti Tahir wanted to settle the dispute amicably; but the *Qazi* was not cooperative. *Mufti's* house was set to fire along the *subedar's* residence. Ibrahim Khan directed his troops to put down the riots and directed his son to arrest *Qazi* Aslam. When the people came to know this, they gave a stiff resistance. Fidai Khan opened fire and many people were killed, and ultimately Baqi Baba, *Qazi*, *Waqia-Nigar*, and the other leading men of the capital like Haji Bandi, Khwaja Qasim, and Lala Ghani were arrested. This strong action cowed the people into submission. Aurangzeb, on hearing of these occurrences, removed Ibrahim Khan from the *subedari* of Kashmir and ordered the sunni captives to be released and appointed Hafizullah Khan, the *subedar* of Kashmir.⁸⁴

Hafizullah Khan was appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir for five years (1686-1691).⁸⁵ Immediately after assuming the reins of government, he occupied himself with restoring law and order and chastising the miscreants with unprecedented severity. Then he gave the additional charge of the *naib-i-suba* to *Diwan* Abul Fateh in 1687-88 and he himself moved towards Jammu, because the *Raja* of Jammu broke out into open revolt but Hafizullah Khan defeated the rebel *Raja* of Jammu.⁸⁶ He rebuked him and convinced

⁸⁴ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 162b-163b; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a.

⁸⁵ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f.163b;

⁸⁶ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/48, f. 163b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 571.

him to pay the *peshkash* as usual.⁸⁷ In 1691, he was removed from Kashmir and *subedari* of Kashmir was assigned to Muzaffar Khan.⁸⁸

Muzaffar Khan was the son of Shaista Khan. He was one of the most hard-hearted and gasping *Subedars* of Kashmir. He introduced several burdensome taxes such as *chauth* (one-fourth of government collection), *damdari* (tax on bird-catchers) and *namaksari* (tax on salt).⁸⁹ He enriched himself by levying such illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. As such he let loose a reign of terror over the people. When Aurangzeb came to know of his maladministration, the emperor recalled him from *subedari* of Kashmir in 1693⁹⁰ and he remained on his post from 1691 to 1693 (only for one and half years).⁹¹

Abu Nasr Khan was also the son of Shaista Khan. He was appointed *subedar* of Kashmir in 1693 and succeeded his brother Muzaffar Khan.⁹² Abu Nasr Khan, out-heroded Muzaffar Khan as a greedy and tyrannical ruler. He tried to squeeze the last penny out of the population. During his governorship, *rasum-i-chauth* reached at the highest level.⁹³

During the regime of Abu Nasr Khan, there occurred two incident, first- a person named Rustum Mantu (*Imamia shia*), who was accused of using indecent words about the Prophet, which hearted the sunnis. So the sunnis lodged a complaint against Rustum Mantu in the court of *Qazi* Abdul Karim. After an enquiry, he was executed under the orders of *Qazi*.⁹⁴ Second incident-illustrating the gross credulity of the people of Kashmir, which took place in the month of Ramzan, when a stranger of some position

⁸⁷ *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, MS. No. 148, pp. 311-12; *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 51; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, f. 188a.

⁸⁸ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 163b, 174b.

⁸⁹ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 174b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 571-

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, f. 174b.

⁹¹ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a.

⁹² *Ibid*; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 174b.

⁹³ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 174b-175a: A story is told that when a copy of the *Quran* was included among the assets of certain disputed property, he, after decreeing the shares of the estate to the different heirs, tore up the sacred Volume and took one-fourth of its leaves as the magistrate's lawful fee.

⁹⁴ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, f. 174b; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 572.

(*sardar*) named Mir Husain had come to Kashmir and taken up his residence near the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* hill, where he set up his hermitage. Gradually the local people began to visit him freely. In the month of Ramzan he prepared a grand illumination in honour of the season. Most of the people of Srinagar turned it into an occasion for excursion and sight-seeing..... In the third quarter of the day such a violent storm of wind, rain, thunder and lightning burst upon the place that the whole city was darkened as in the darkest night. It continued so for some time, and then the people, believing that the Sun had set, broke their day's fast. But after 2 or 3 hours the tempest ceased, the Sun reappeared,.....and the people ascribed this abnormal phenomenon to the magic art of that heretic hermit. When Aurangzeb came to know all about this, the emperor ordered the magician (Mir Husain) to be expelled, which was immediately done by his *subedar*.⁹⁵ He remained in his post for four years and in 1697-98 he was transferred from Kashmir and Fazil Khan, appointed the *subedar* of Kashmir.⁹⁶

Fazil Khan Burhanud-Din earned royal favour in the reign of Aurangzeb. He held the office of *Khansaman*. In the 41st year (1697-1698), Aurangzeb made him the *subedar* of Kashmir in place of Abu Nasr Khan.⁹⁷ He took keen personal interest in dealing out even-handed justice and establishing law and order in the *suba*. He abolished all tyrannical taxes which had been levied by his predecessors, Muzaffar Khan and Abu Nasr Khan, like *damdari* (tax on bird-catchers), *namaksari* (tax on salt), *chauth* (one-fourth of government collection) and *hasil-i-golak* (tax on earthen jar) etc. His most important contribution was introduction of the *Mansabdari* system in Kashmir and appointment of a few most talented and deserving Kashmiris on Mughal *mansabs* for the first time.⁹⁸ Fazil Khan, in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, *madrasah*, pavilions, *serais*, embankments and gardens etc.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, ff. 174b-175a; *Ibid*, pp. 572-73.

⁹⁶ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 386; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, transl. I, p. 554. But in *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, (ff. 174b-175a) and *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (p. 573), it is mentioned that Abu Nasr Khan remained in his post for six years.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 386; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, transl. I, p. 554.

⁹⁸ *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 175b-176a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 573-74.

He built the *bund* at *Haft Chinar*, near *Hazuri Bagh* (Srinagar), to save the city from recurrent floods of the *Doodhganga* river. He lined the *bund* with *chinar* trees in order to strengthen it. He laid out religious establishments (*Khanqah*) at Hasanabad and at Jogilangar, in Rainwari (Srinagar).⁹⁹

The most important event, both historically and culturally, of his regime was the arrival of the *Mui Mubarak* (Sacred Hair) of the Prophet Muhammad in Srinagar, in 1699-1700, which Khwaja Nuruddin Ishbari had secured in Bijapur, and which was sent after his death to Kashmir along with his corpse. All nobles, dignitaries, *maulavis* and *ulema*, in fact, the entire population poured out into the streets and open spaces, to behold the blessed relic.¹⁰⁰ He was an upright, honoured, and faithful man. He remained on his post only for three and half years (1697-1701) and he applied for permission to come to court and his application was granted. On the way, he died at Burhanpur in 1701.¹⁰¹

In 44th year (1700-1701), Ibrahim Khan was appointed *subedar* of Kashmir for the third term.¹⁰² This time he seems to have returned a better informed, better cultured and a more civilized man. He left nothing to chance to afford all possible opportunities of peace and tranquility to the population for which he rightly earned their affectionate appreciation and the benefactor and friend of all. He treated both sunnis and shias equally.¹⁰³ In 1702, Arsalan Khan, Abdullah Khan's nephew, came to Kashmir for help against his own son, the matter was referred to Alamgir by him (Ibrahim Khan, the *subedar*). On receipt of orders, Ibrahim Khan communicated the emperor's wishes to the fugitive prince, asking him to seek help from the *subedar* of Kabul. As a matter of fact, Alamgir had the intention of conquering Kashghar, but he was dissuaded from entering upon the campaign. After that, soon Abdul Fatah Gujar caused trouble in Poonch, but soon Ibrahim Khan arrested him.¹⁰⁴ He remained in his post for five years (1701-1706)

⁹⁹ *Ibid; Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid; Ibid*, p. 574.

¹⁰¹ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 432; Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, transl. I, p.

554. In 1700-1701 (44th year), Fazil Khan, *subedar* of Kashmir, was ordered to administer the Punjab as the deputy of the Crown Prince: *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 424.

¹⁰² Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Ma 'asiru-l Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 295-301; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, p. 575.

¹⁰³ *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 575-76.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

and he had been transferred from Kashmir to the *subedari* of Gujarat in (1705-06) and Nawazish Khan became the *subedar* of Kashmir.¹⁰⁵

Nawazish Khan Mukhtar Beg,¹⁰⁶ son of Islam Khan Roomi was given a *mansab* 1000 in 19th R.Y. by Aurangzeb, and in 24th R.Y. he was given the title of Nawazish Khan and raised to the *Foujdari* of Mandu in 24th year. In 49th R.Y. his *mansab* was increased to 1000. He was bestowed the charge of the *suba* in 1705-1706.¹⁰⁷ When his appointment was gazetted he named, as a diplomatic necessity, Mullah Ashraf, who was *diwan* of Kashmir and the right hand man of Ibrahim Khan, his deputy. Soon, however, he revised the decision and appointed Abdullah Khan Dehbedi instead. He had not reached Srinagar when news of the death of Aurangzeb flashed with lightning speed. After one and half year (1706-1708), the emperor Shah Alam Bahadur recalled him from the *subedari* of Kashmir and appointed Jafar Khan in his place.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* pp. 496-97.

¹⁰⁶ Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, MS No. 32/57, Farsiya, Habib Ganj collection, Manuscript section, M.A.L., A.M.U., Aligarh, f. 163; *Ma 'asir-i-Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 246-47.

¹⁰⁷ *Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri* pp. 496-97; *Ma 'asir-i-Umara*, I, Part-I, pp. 246-47.

¹⁰⁸ Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f.105a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Abdus Salam collection, 527/ 48, ff. 178b-179a; *Mukammal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, II, pp. 576, 578.