

The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir :
Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnâg. An inscription
on the Dâl Lake.

(Read on 17th July 1917).

I

I had the pleasure of visiting the interesting and beautiful country of Kashmir for the first time in May 1895. This visit suggested several subjects for study. Of these, one was "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians," and a Paper was read on the subject before this Society, at its meeting of 9th December 1895.¹

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIX, pp. 237-48. A public lecture on "Kashmir" was also delivered in Gujarati on 21st January 1896, under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Society. (Vide my Gujarati "Dnyan Prasarak Essays" Part I, pp. 185-203). Thomas Moore in his *Lala Rookh* has sung the praises of the beauty of Kashmir. He sang :

"Who has not heard of the vale of Cashmere
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
Its temple and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang o'er their waves."

The study of this poem, after the above visit, suggested the subjects of three Readings in Gujarati; one on Thomas Moore's poem of "The Fire-Worshippers" on 1st November 1895, the second on that of his "Loves of the Angels" on 30th October 1896, and the third on Voltaire's "Les Guebres" on 31st October 1903 (Vide my Gujarati "Episodes from the Shah-nameh"). The first subject forms an episode in Moore's *Lala Rookh*, Thomas Moore was an Irishman and the Irish question is a very old question. In his poem of "The Fire-Worshippers," while picturing the noble fight of one of the flying bands of Zoroastrians after the Arab conquest, he preaches Toleration and Freedom, and it is said, that in preaching and praying for these for the Zoroastrians, he had at the bottom of his heart the question of Toleration and Freedom for his countrymen, the Irish. Thomas Moore's "Fire-Worshippers" in the *Lala Rookh* which speaks of Kashmir, reminds one of "Les Guebres" of Voltaire who, while describing the persecution of some Persians, is said to have aimed at the persecution of the Christian Jansenists and desired toleration for them.

In 1895, there were no good roads there. A tonga road had just been made upto Bârâmulâ, whence the river Jhelum becomes navigable upwards to Srinagar and further up. Since then, pretty good roads have been made up to Srinagar and in other parts of the country, whereon even motors run now. A railway line is now contemplated. I remember my guide, Rahim, telling me, during my first visit, that no sooner the whistle of a Railway engine will be heard in Kashmir the Behesht (paradise) will fly away from it to the higher mountains. That is quite true. As Mr. Walter del Mar says " . . . Now is the time to visit Kashmir before the amenities of the Kashmir Valley are endangered by the new railway."¹

I had the pleasure of re-visiting Kashmir in June-July 1915. This second visit suggested several subjects of study. One was that of the very interesting people of the country, the Pandits. It formed the subject of my Paper on "The Pandits of Kashmir" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay² on 28th July 1915.³

The present Paper has been suggested to me by some of the Persian inscriptions which I saw in Kashmir during this second visit. It is especially the two inscriptions at the beautiful spring of Vîrnâg that have suggested the subject. I took a copy of them, very little suspecting at the time that they have not been published. I inquired at the time from Mr. Daya Ram Sohani, the head of the Archæological Department of Kashmir, whether the inscriptions were published, and I was told that they were not. To make the matter certain, whether I was anticipated by some one, I wrote again this year on 3rd May 1917 to Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archæological Department of the Government of India to make inquiries if the Vîrnâg inscriptions were published. He kindly forwarded the matter for further inquiry to the officiating Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Lahore Circle. By a coincidence, Mr. Daya Ram Sohani happened to be the Superintendent, and he wrote to me in his letter dated 22nd June 1917: "As far as I know, the inscription in question has not been published properly at any place. Other Persian Inscriptions from Kashmir are published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXXIII (1864) pp. 278 et

1 "The Romantic East, Burma, Assam and Kashmir," by Walter del Mar, (1906) Preface p. VI.

2 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 461-85. Vide my Anthropological Papers Part II.

3 The visit has also been the subject of 19 descriptive letters on Kashmir in the Jam-i Jamshed of Bombay, beginning with two on my visit of the interesting Excavations by Sir John Marshal, the Director of Archaeology, Govt. of India, at the site of the old city of Taxala near Rawalpindi, the last Railway Station whence we start for shmir.

seq. and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1880) p. 54." Such being the case, I think, that I publish in our Journal for the first time, the Inscriptions at Virnâg.

I will divide my subject under the following heads :

I. A short account of the rule and visits of Kashmir by the Mogul Emperors.

II. The Text and the Translation of Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnâg, and a few observations on them.

III. As a supplement to the Paper I will refer to an inscription on a tomb on the Dâl Lake.

II.

I.—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE RULE AND VISITS OF KASHMIR BY THE MOGUL EMPERORS.

I will, at first, give a short account of the rule and of the visits of Kashmir by the mogul Emperors. In this account, I will dwell, at some greater length, on the visits of Jehangir, because we have to identify the events and dates given in his above inscriptions, and to identify the person Haidar named in the second inscription.

It is the hand of God that has made Kashmir naturally beautiful, but the hand of man has tried to add to its beauty. In this matter, the Mogul Emperors of India, and among them Jehangir especially, had a great hand. Among the Mogul Emperors, it was Akbar who first conquered Kashmir and it was Jehangir who first embellished it.

Geographically, Kashmir stands, as it were, in the middle of three stages : (a) In the first stage, down below Kashmir are the vast hot plains of Punjab, Sind and other parts of India. (b) The second stage is Kashmir's own, in which it, in a higher region, forms the most beautiful of the beautiful valleys of the world, watered by a river and a number of streams. As said by a French writer, "there are few valleys more beautiful than this part of Kashmir."¹ (c) Then the third stage is that of the higher Himalayan mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides. On account of its position near these mountains (dâmân-i Kuh) it is, as it were, the Indian Piedmont.²

In the matter of History also, she can be said to have three periods or stages. (a) The first is that, which can be called the pre-historical period, of which its written history, the Râjataran-

1 Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, Vol. VIII, p. 112.

2 Ibid.

gini gives us a little glimpse. According to Parsee books and some Mahomedan books of history, the early ancient Irânians had some relations with Kashmir as with northern India. Early writers speak of it as a part of India. The Pahlavi Bundelesh speaks of Kashmir as a part of India. I have spoken before, on this subject, in my paper before the Society, entitled "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians."¹ (b) Its second historical stage or period, and that the most important period, is the one mostly described by the Râjatarangini. During this period, we have both, what Sir Francis Younghusband terms "outward effort" and the "inward effort," i.e., attempts on the part of foreigners to invade and occupy Kashmir and the attempts on the part of the Kashmiri kings to conquer adjoining countries like Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshân. In spite of a number of inglorious pages here and there, it may comparatively be called the golden or the glorious period of its history. (c) The last period is that which is subsequent to this second and which extends up to now. The Mogul period can be said to belong to the last part of the second or the middle period which was a long extensive period. We will give a short bird's eye view of the second period, most of which is principally referred to by the Râjatarangini.

III

Sir Francis Younghusband, in his interesting and beautifully illustrated book on Kashmir, while speaking of its history, says:—"A country of Moguls. such striking natural beauty must, surely, at some period of its history, have produced a refined and noble people. Amid these glorious mountains, breathing their free and bracing air, and brightened by the constant sunshine, there must have sprung a strong virile and yet æsthetic race. The beautiful Greece, with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky, produced the graceful Greeks. But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece. It has the same blue sky and brilliant 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, great variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley. And to me, who have seen both countries, Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress a race by its natural beauty. Has it ever made any such impression?"² Sir Francis Younghusband replies that the noted shawls of Kashmir

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. XIX, pp. 237-48. Vide my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, pp. 99-110.

² Kashmir by F. Younghusband (1909), p. 194.

and the remains of its old temples, "remarkable for their almost Egyptian solidity, simplicity and durability, as well as for what Cunningham describes as the graceful elegance of their outlines, the massive boldness of their parts," indicate, that "its inhabitants have a sense of form and colour and some delicacy and refinement."¹ "The people that built the ancient temples of Kashmir must have been religious, for the remains are all of temples or of sacred emblems, and not of palaces, commercial offices or hotels; they must have held at least, one large idea to have built on so enduring a scale, and they must have been men of strong and simple tastes averse to the paltry and the florid. What was their history? Were they a purely indigenous race? Were they foreigners and conquerors settled in the land, or were they a native race, much influenced from outside, and with sufficient pliability to assimilate that influence and turn it to profitable use for their own ends?" Younghusband answers this long question, by saying that the race was indigenous, but still it was subject to foreign influence. Though its surrounding lofty mountains acted as a barrier against foreign influence, its natural beauty made up for that barrier, because it attracted foreigners in spite of the difficulty of access.

The *Rājatarangini*, written by Kalhana in A. D. 1148 and brought down to later times by additions by Jotraj in 1412, and to still later times by further additions by Shrivara Pandit in 1477, begins the history with a reference to the times of Asoka (about 250 B. C.), the relics of whose Buddhist temples are still seen in this country. Alexander the Great had invaded India in about 327 B. C. and his invasion is said to have made some Greek influence on Indian Architecture. Hence it is, that we see on old Kashmir temples the influence of Greco-Buddhist art. Darius, the great Persian, had preceded Alexander and had also left some traces of Iran's Persepolitan influence on Indian Art. Hence it is, that we see some traces, though few, on Kashmir buildings, e.g., on the great Mārtand temple, of the Persepolitan influence. The modern village of Prandhrathan, three miles above Srinagar, was the site of the old city founded by Asoka.² The name signifies "old capital" (*purānadhithān*.)

After Asoka and his heirs, there came the Indo-Scythians under Kanishka (about A.D. 40) and his successors, who ruled in the north and even on the north-western frontiers of India. This line of kings also was Buddhist, but their Buddhism was

¹ Ibid.

² I had the pleasure of visiting the ruin and the present excavations on the site in the agreeable company of Mr. Daya Ram Sohani, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir, on 18th June, 1915.

partly infused with some Zoroastrian ideas, as can be seen from their Indo-Scythic coins, which, as showed by Sir Aurel Stein, had the names of Zoroastrian deities on them. Kanishka is said to have held in Kashmir the Third Great Council of the Buddhist Church, which council is said to be the author of "the Northern Canon" or "the Greater Vehicle of the Law" (*Māhāyāna*, lit. the High or the broad liberal way). Harwan,¹ one of the several beautiful places of Kashmir, at present a site of the Water Works for Srinagar, is spoken of as the seat of a known *Buddhisatva*, Nagarjuna.

The Buddhism of Asoka and Kanishka was overthrown by Brahmanism. This fact appears from the writings of the Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsiang, who, visiting Kashmir in A. D. 631, deplored, that Buddhism was neglected there.

A century later, there was an excursion of the White Huns headed by Mihrcula, who, driven away from India, went to Kashmir, and paying ungratefully the hospitality of the ruler, captured his throne. The name Mihrcula is a Persian name. He is said to have founded the temple and the city of Mihreshwara and Mihrapur. All these names, which are connected with Mihr, the later form of Avestaic Mithra, point to his being one who can be called an Irānian Hun. *Rājatarangini* condemns him for having introduced in Kashmir, Gandharwa Brahmins to supercede the original Hindu Kashmir Brahmins. I have referred to Mihrcula at some length in my paper, read last year before the Society on the subject of the Huns.²

Then, we come to a reigning family, which belongs to Kashmir itself. Its famous king was *Lilāditya* (A. D. 699 to 736). Not only did he rule Kashmir well, but he conquered adjoining countries such as Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshān. He was the builder of the celebrated temple of *Mārtand* whose ruins still appear to be grand and majestic. King *Avantivarman* (A.D. 855 to 883) the founder of *Avantipura*, whose ruins we still see, was one of his dynasty. A number of weak rulers followed him and there was a good deal of disorder for a number of years.

Then, there came the first invasion of Mahomedans under *Mahmud Gaznavi* (A. D. 1015) which was unsuccessful. There were dissensions in the family of the ruling dynasty, which had several weak kings till the time of *Harsa* (1089-1101). By 1339, the Mahomedan power had made great strides in Punjab and in the adjoining country. A Mahomedan ruler, named *Shah Mir*, deposing the widow of the last ruling Hindu ruler, founded for the first time a Mahomedan dynasty. The kings of this

¹ I had the pleasure of visiting this beautiful spot on 14th June 1915.

² *Journal B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 588. Vide my *Asiatic Papers Part II.*

dynasty were not strong. Disorder and internal struggles continued and the country was no way better than during the last 200 years of disorder and misrule of the Hindu rulers.

Then, there came Zain-ul-abad-din (1420-70), of whom the people still speak as the Pâdshâh, *i.e.*, the King. He was to Kashmir, what, latter on, Akbar was to the whole of India including Kashmir. He was tolerant to the Hindus, so much so, that he contributed money for the repairs of old Hindu temples and for the revival of old Hindu learning. His reign was, as said by Younghusband, "a mere oasis in the dreary record" of a long line of Mahomedan kings, both those who preceded him and those who followed him till 1532, when Mirza Haidar, at the head of some Turks from the northern regions, conquered Kashmir and ruled for some years. In 1536, Akbar's generals conquered it, and it became a part, as it were, of India. The Mogul rule, thus established, continued for about 200 years.

IV.

Now, we come to the Moguls, whose taste for art led them to

The Moguls and Kashmir. give a helping hand to beautify Kashmir. It was Jehangir especially who had done a good deal in this matter. The Shâlimâr, Nishât, Virnâg and many other gardens point to this king's handsome work in this line. Bernier, a French physician and traveller, who lived in the 17th century (died A. D. 1688), was in the Court of Aurangzebe for about 12 years, 8 out of which he served as a court physician. He visited Kashmir in the company of a Mogul nobleman named Danishmand who accompanied Aurangzebe. He says, that the Moguls considered Kashmir to be the paradise of India. He thus speaks of the beauty of Kashmir, as he saw it in the time of Aurangzebe: "I am charmed with Kachemere. In truth, the kingdom surpassed in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent. . . . It is not indeed without reason that the Moguls called Kachemere the terrestrial paradise of the Indies. . . . Jehanguir became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it a place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemere."¹

Taimur, the ancestor of the Mogul Emperors of India, who had written his auto-biography known as

Taimur and Kashmir. "Malfuzât-i-Taimuri (ملفوظات تیموری) *i.e.*, the Words or Memoir of Taimur, refers to Kashmir. His memoir is also known as Tuzuk-i Taimur (تیموری)

¹ Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. I. Bernier's Travels, A.D. 1658-1668 (1891), pp. 400-401.

(نوزی) i.e., the Institutions or Regulations of Taimur. It was written in Turki and then translated into Persian in the reign of Shah Jehân. In these Memoirs, Taimur refers to Kashmir and to the Spring of Virnâg. He says: "I made inquiries about the country and city of Kashmir from men who were acquainted with it and from them I learned that. . . . Kashmir is an incomparable country . . . In the midst of the country there is a very large and populous city called Naghaz.¹ The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Baghdad and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmir in a large lake, some parasangs in length and breadth which is called Virnâk. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone or boats; seven of the largest are within the city and the rest in the environs. When this river passes out of the confines of Kashmir, it is named after each city by which it passes; as the river of Damdana, the river of Jand. The river passes on and joins the Chinab above Multan."²

We find a short account of Kashmir in the Zafar-Nama of Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdi, "which is a very partial biography of Timur written in A. D. 1424. . . and is based upon the Malfuzât-i-Timuri."³ We read there: "There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers of the country. Like Bagdad, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself and is called Vir."⁴

V

It was in the 31st year of his reign (Hijri 993, A. D. 1585) that Akbar invaded Kashmir. He advanced as far as Atak and sent Bhagwan Das, Akbar and Kash-
mir. Shah Kuli Mahran and other well-known Amirs, with about 5,000 horses, to effect the conquest of Kashmir.⁵ They were opposed by Yusuf Khan, the ruler of the country, who came and blockaded the pass. The above generals resolved to make peace. They settled that Yusuf

¹ I think it is a corruption of Nagar, the final Persian, (r) being by mistake written with a nukta as (z). This name Nagar then is a contraction of Sri-nagar (Cf. Nagar for Ahmednagar.)

³ Ibid, II, p. 478.

⁵ Ibid, V, p. 450.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 476.

⁴ Ibid, p. 522.

may pay some tribute to Akbar in saffron, shawls and some money. Akbar disapproved of the terms of peace and at first was angry with his generals, but he afterwards admitted them into his audience.¹ Akbar then sent Kasim Khân Mirbahr to conquer Kashmir. Owing to the dissensions among the Kashmiris, the task of conquest was easy.

Akbar took Kashmir in A. D. 1586 and visited it three times. During one of these visits, he directed the fort of Hari Parbat to be built. His son Jehangir completed it. We read as follows in the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*: "The rulers of Kashmir had always been well-wishers and servants of the Imperial house. His Majesty now intended, after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmere, to pay a visit to the tomb of Saikh Farid Shakarganj and to visit the Panjab. So he sent Mullâ Ishki, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazi Sadru-d-din, to Kashmir. Alikhan, the ruler of Kashmir, entertained them nobly and respectfully, and exhibited his fidelity and devotion."²

Akbar then paid a running visit to Kashmir in 1589 (Hijri 997) when on his way to Kabul. Leaving the ladies of the Court on this side of the mountains of Kashmir, he "went on express."³ In 1592, he paid another visit. On his way thither, he heard that Yâdgâr, a nephew of Yusuf Khân Rizani, his governor of Kashmir, had raised the standard of revolt and declared himself as the Sultan. This rebellion was put down and Yâdgâr was killed before Akbar reached the capital. We read in the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, that he "stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water-fowl. . ." On his return journey, embarking in a boat, he proceeded towards Bâramulâ on the confines of Kashmir, on the way to Pakhali. On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain-lanka. This reservoir is enclosed on the west, north and south by mountains and it is thirty *kos* in circumference.⁴ The river Bahut (Jilam) passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and deep. Sultan Zain-u-l-'Âbidin carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake and upon it erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India.⁵ After visiting this edifice he went to Bara Mula."⁶ In all, Akbar paid three visits to Kashmir.⁷

1 Ibid, p. 453.

2 Ibid, Vol. V., p. 411.

3 Ibid, Vol. V., p. 457.

4 This reservoir is now known as Wular Lake, which is said to be the largest lake in India.

5 Udaipur in Mewar (Rajputana) is spoken of by some as the "Kashmir of Rajputana." There, we see beautiful artificial lakes. In the midst of one of these, we find some handsome royal buildings. These may be an imitation of the above building in the Wular Lake.

6 Elliot V., p. 465.

7 Ain-i-Akbari, Jarret's Translation II, p. 348.

Akbar had divided his Empire into divisions called Subâhs.

Kashmir as described in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Each Subâh was known from the name of the tract of the country or its capital city.

Latterly, when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar were conquered there were in all 15 Subâhs. Each Subâh was sub-divided into Sarkârs. There were in all 105 Sarkârs. Each Sarkâr was divided into parganâhs or Mahals. All the Sarkârs were subdivided into 2,737 townships.¹ The Subâhs were spoken of as being in such and such a climate. The term climate meant a slope or inclination and "was used in the mathematical geography of the Greeks with reference to the inclination of various parts of the earth's surface to the plane of the equator. Before the globular figure of the earth was known, it was supposed that there was a general slope of its surface, from South to North, and this was called '*klima*.' But as the science of mathematical geography advanced, the word was applied to belts of the earth's surface divided by lines parallel to the equator, these lines being determined by the different lengths at different places, of the shadow cast by a gnomon of the same altitude, at noon of the same day. . . . The Arabs adopted this system, but restricted the number to seven."² The Arabs seem to have followed the ancient Iranians who had *haft keshwars*, i. e., seven regions or climates. In our inscriptions, Jehangir is spoken of as the king of these seven regions. Kashmir belonged to the Subâh of Kâbul which comprised Kashmir, Pakli, Binbar, Swât, Bajaur, Kandahâr and Zabulistân. The capital of this Subâh was Kabul. Kashmir lies in the 3rd and 4th climates. Of the several routes leading to this country encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges, the Pir Pangal route was the one adopted by Akbar in his three visits to "the rose garden of Kashmir."³

Abul Fazl, the great historian of Akbar, thus speaks of Kash-

Abul Fazl on mir: "The country is enchanting and might the beauty of be fittingly called a garden of perpetual Kashmir. spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating . . . The lands are artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting, and fill the heart with delight. Violets, the red rose and wild narcissus

1. *Ain-i-Akbari* Bk. III., Imperial Administration. Jarret's Translation 1891, Vol. II., p. 115.

2. *Ibid*, p. 115, n. 4.

3. *Ibid*, II., p. 348.

cover the plains. To enumerate its flora would be impossible. Its spring and autumn are extremely beautiful . . . Tulips are grown on the roofs which present a lovely sight in the spring time."¹

Abdul Fazl thus describes the Vernâg spring : " In the Ver tract of the country is the source of the Behat. The Vernâg spring, described in the Ain-i-Akbari. It is a pool measuring a *jarib* which tosses in foam with an astonishing roar and its depth is unfathomable. It goes by the name of Vernâg and is surrounded by a stone embankment and to its east are temples of stone."²

VI

JEHANGIR'S VISITS OF KASHMIR.

Now we come to the reign of Jehangir. We will speak of his connection with Kashmir at some length, because he had a great hand in beautifying Kashmir, and because we have to explain and identify the events and dates referred to in his inscriptions. In his work of beautifying Kashmir by laying gardens at various beautiful places, Jehangir was ably assisted by his Nur Mahâl. We know that this queen had great influence upon Jehangir in various matters, even in state matters.³

Kalhana, the author of the Râjatarangini, while speaking of Kashmir's beauty, says : " It is a country where the sun shines mildly, being the place created by Kashyapa as if for his glory. High school-houses, the saffron, iced water and grapes which are rare even in Heaven are common here. Kailâsa is the best place in the three worlds, Himalaya the best part of Kailâsa, and Kashmir the best part in Himalaya."⁴ The Kashmiris speak of their country as " an emerald set in pearls, a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains, where the air is cool and the water sweet, where men are strong and women vie with the soil in fruitfulness."⁵

Bernier says of the Dal Lake of Kashmir, as he saw it later on beautified at the hand of Jehangir, that it " is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. . . Perhaps in the whole world,

1 Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 348-49.

2 The Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 361.

3 She had a powerful hand in helping the cause of Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador at the Court of Jehangir. Roe, was so much helped and supported by Nur Mahal, that he wrote from Jehangir's Court to his people at Surat : " Noor Mahal is my solicitor and her brother my broker " (Early English Adventurers in the East by Arnold Wright, 1917, p. 163.)

4 As quoted by Sir W. Lawrence.

5 Ibid.

there is no corner so pleasant as the Dal Lake." Of the very beautiful lake of Manasbal, Sir R. Younghusband¹ says that it is "a jewel among the mountains." I was pleased with no lake of Kashmir so much as with this beautiful gem. Moving about in your boat in the calm and clear water of this lake, you feel, as if you see beautiful pictures moving in a cinematograph before you.

Kashmir, as described by these writers, old and modern, was beautiful and Jehangir vied with Nature to make it more beautiful. In his memoirs, he often spoke of Kashmir as "*Behesht-nazir Kashmir*" (بهشت نظير کشمير) i.e., the paradise-like Kashmir. At times, he spoke of it as *delpazir* (دلپذير)³ Kashmir, i.e., heart-ravishing Kashmir.

In connection with Jehangir's detailed admiring description of the beauties of Kashmir and of its estimate of the various flowers, one may notice what taste of Jehangir. Mr. Beveridge says of the scientific tastes of the Emperor. "If Bâbur, who was the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, was the Cæsar of the East, and if the many-sided Akbar was the epitome of all the great Emperors, including Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Julian, and Justinian, Jahangir was certainly of the type of the Emperor Claudius, and so bore a close resemblance to our James I. All three were weak men, and under the influence of their favourites, and all three were literary, and at least two of them were fond of dabbling in theology. All three were wrong in their places as rulers. Had James I. (and VI. of Scotland) been, as he half wished, the Keeper of the Bodleian, and Jahangir been head of a Natural History Museum, they would have been better and happier men. Jahangir's best points were his love of nature and powers of observation, and his desire to do justice."⁴

Jehangir had paid, in all, six visits to Kashmir, two of which Jehangir's six were in the company of his father Akbar visits of Kashmir. and four during his own reign. We will briefly refer to these visits as described by him in his Memoirs. This description will give us an idea, not only of his tastes and of his love of Nature, but also of his admiration for Vernâg, where we find his two inscriptions which have suggested to me the subject of this paper. At first, we will speak of his impressions about Vernâg, as formed during his visits in the life time of his father Akbar.

1 Kashmir by Younghusband, p. 37.

2 Vide the *اقبال نامہ جہانگیری* the 1865 edition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 213, 240, &c. 3 Ibid, p. 213.

4 The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II., Preface, pp. V-VI.

Jehangir came to the throne on 24th October 1605 (1014 Hijri) at the age of 38. In the second year of his reign, he went to Kâbul. While describing his journey to that city in his Memoirs he refers to the river Bihat, *i.e.*, the Jhelam on the banks of which he had pitched his tents. The mention of Jhelam makes him speak of Vernâg, the source of the river Jhelam. He thus describes Vernâg :

“The source of the Bihat is a spring in Kashmir called the Vir-nâg ; in the language of India a snake is Vir-nâg. Clearly there had been a large snake at that place. I went twice to the spring in my father’s lifetime ; it is 20 *kos* from the city of Kashmir. It is an octagonal reservoir about 20 yards by 20. Near it are the remains of a place of worship for recluses ; cells cut out of the rock and numerous caves. The water is exceedingly pure. Although I could not guess its depth, a grain of poppy-seed is visible until it touches the bottom. There were many fish to be seen in it. As I had heard that it was unfathomable, I ordered them to throw in a cord with a stone attached, and when this cord was measured in *gaz* it became evident that the depth was not more than once and a half the height of a man. After my accession, I ordered them to build the sides of the spring round with stone, and they made a garden round it with a canal ; and built halls and houses about it and made a place such that travellers over the world can point out few like it.”¹

We learn from this passage, that Vernâg was a favourite place of Jehangir and that he had been twice there during his father’s time. We learn further, that after his accession to the throne, he had ordered the sides of the tank to be built up with stone and a garden to be made near the place. The first inscription, when it speaks of the order of His Majesty (*حکم* آن حضرت), seems to refer to the order mentioned in the above passage. During my first visit of Kashmir in 1895, I had passed one night in one of the houses over the spring referred to by Jehangir in the above passage. Since then, the building has been destroyed by fire, and, during my second visit on 30th June 1915, we had to pass the day in the adjoining garden under the shady *chinârs*, and the night in the pavilion over the main canal, the *jui* or *âb-shâr*, referred to in the inscription.

¹ The Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, or Memoirs of Jeahangir, translated by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge (1909), Vol. 1, p. 92.

Jehangir visited Kashmir in the 15th year of his reign. He gives a rather extensive account of it in his Memoirs. The thought of visiting Kashmir occurred to him in the 14th year of his reign (1619-20). He thus speaks of this first thought :

“As the purpose of visiting the eternal spring of the rose-garden of Kashmir was settled in my mind, I sent off Nuru-d-din Quli to hasten on before, to repair as far as was possible the ups and downs of the Punch route to it, and to prepare it, so that the passage of laden beasts over difficult hill-tops might be accomplished with ease, and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship. A large number of artificers, such as stone-cutters, carpenters, spadesmen, etc., were dispatched with him, to whom an elephant was also given.”¹ I will give here a short account of this visit, as given in his Memoirs, because we learn therefrom, Jehangir’s impressions of the beauty of Kashmir and of its interesting places and features.

Jehangir started for Kashmir at the end of the 14th year of his reign. He celebrated the Naoroz of the 15th year (10th March 1620, the 1st of Farvardin) on the banks of the river Kishan Gangâ. In some of the mountainous tracts of this country, it is often difficult to find a flat place for a camp. So Jehangir notes with special satisfaction the fact of a proper place being found by chance. He says :² “On the top of this (a ridge overlooking the water, green and pleasant) was a flat place of 50 cubits, which one might say the rulers of fate had specially prepared for such a day. The aforesaid officer (Mu ‘tamid Khan) had made ready everything necessary for the New Year’s feast on the top of that ridge which was much approved. Mu ‘tamid Khan was much applauded for this. The 15th year of the reign of this suppliant at the throne of Allah commenced happily and auspiciously.”

On coming to Bârâmulâ, he was told that “in the Hindi language they call a boar *Bârâh* (Varaha) and *mûla* a place—that is, the boar’s place. Among the incarnations that belong to the religion of the Hindus, one is the boar incarnation and Bârâh mulâ by constant use has become Bâra mûla.”³ On the road up, the king and the court ladies were overtaken by a snow-storm. An officer of his court was drowned while bathing in the river. The king describes a *Zampa* or a rope-bridge,

1 The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II., (1914), pp. 97-98.

2 The Tuzuk, Ibid, Vol. II., p. 128-30.

3 Ibid, pp. 130-31.

which a traveller even now sees occasionally on the river. During my first visit, I tried to walk over one, but soon got nervous and could not go over it for more than a few feet. It is made up of three ropes. On one, which is the lower one, they walk, holding in their hands the other two which are higher up. These ropes are tied with two big strong trees on the banks. Only one man can walk at a time, and nervous travellers are carried blindfolded by an experienced footman on his shoulder.¹

Of the beauty of the country higher up, Jehangir says: "It was broad, and plain after plain, and mead after mead of flowers. Sweet-smelling plants of narcissus, violet and strange flowers that grow in this country, came to view. . . . The flowers of Kashmir are beyond counting and calculation. Which shall I write of? And how many can I describe?"² Later on, he again says of the flowers, that "the flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir are beyond all calculation."³ Travelling onward by boat, Jehangir came to the capital, and landed on that bank of the Dâl, where, on the Hari Parbat hill, his father Akbar had directed the construction of a fort. The fort begun by Akbar was completed by Jehangir. The king took 168 days to travel from Agra to Kashmir, a distance of 376 *kos*. There were 102 marches and 63 halts.⁴

Jehangir then refers to the Râja-tarang (Râjatarangini) which his father had got translated from the Sanskrit into Persian. He then takes a note in his account of his arrival at the capital of Kashmir, that it was in Hijri 712 (A. D. 1312-13) that Kashmir was first "illuminated by the religion of Islam. Thirty-two Mahomedan princes reigned over it for 282 years until in 994 (1586) my father conquered it."⁵ He then got a survey made of the country in order to ascertain the length and the breadth of the valley. The length was found to be about 67 *kos*⁶ and the breadth from 10 to 25 *kos*.

While describing the capital, the city of Srinagar, Jehangir thus refers to Virnâg, the inscription of which forms a part of the subject of this Paper:—"The name of the city is Srinagar, and the Bihat river flows through the midst of it. They call its fountain-head Vir-nâg. It is 14 *kos* to the south. By my

1 Vide Ibid p. 137, for the description by Jehangir.

2 Ibid, p. 134.

3 Ibid, p. 145.

4 Ibid, p. 139.

5 Ibid, II, p. 140

6 or 56 *kos*, if "the boundary of a country is the place up to which people speak the language of that country." A *kos* equalled 5,000 yards. Each yard was equal to two shari yards, each of which again was 24 digits or *angusht*, 40 *angusht* made one *lahi gaz*.

order they have made a building and a garden at that source,"¹ Jehangir makes a longer mention of Virnâg in another part of his Memoirs.

We have referred above to Jehangir's admiration of Kashmir's beauty and of its flowers. He thus speaks of it further on: "Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows (*julgahâ*) and the fragrant trefoil? . . . The finest inflorescence is that of the almond and the peach. Outside the hill-country the commencement of blossoming is the first Isfandârmuz (February 10). In the territory of Kashmir it is the first Farwardin (March 10), and in the city gardens it is the 9th and 10th of that month, and the end of their blooming joins on to the commencement of that of the blue jessamine. In attendance on my revered father, I frequently went round the saffron fields and beheld the spectacle of the autumn. Thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring."²

Jehangir then describes at some length the buildings of Kashmir and its various products—fruits, silk, wine, vegetables, grains, oils, animals, shawls, cloths, dress, ways of travelling, and music. What travellers observe now about the cleanliness of the people was observed by Jehangir about 400 years ago. He says: "Although most of the houses are on the river-bank not a drop of water touches their bodies. In short, they are as dirty outside as inside, without any cleanliness."³

Proceeding further, one sees in Jehangir's Memoirs a somewhat detailed description of the fort of Hari Parbat and the garden attached to it which he named *Nûr-afzâ*, i.e., light-increasing.⁴

¹ Ibid, II., pp. 141-142.

² The Tuzuk by Rogers Beveridge. II., pp. 143-44.

³ Ibid, p. 148.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 150-51.

Kashmir was known to the ancient Persians as a country of good astrologers. Firdousi refers to this fact.¹ Jehangir, in his present account of Kashmir, describes an accident, that happened to his child Shuja, which shows his faith in astrology.² The child, while playing in one of the palace buildings on the Dâl lake, fell out of a window from a height of 7 yards, but was fortunately saved by having fallen on a carpet below and on a carpet-spreader who was sitting there. In connection with this event Jehangir says: "A strange thing was that three or four months before this event Jotik Rây, the astrologer, who is one of the most skilled of the class in astrology, had represented to me without any intermediary, that it was predicted from the Prince's horoscope that these three or four months were unpropitious to him, and it was possible he might fall down from some high place, but that the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life. As his prognostications had repeatedly proved correct, this dread dwelt in my mind, and on these dangerous roads and difficult mountain passes I was never for a moment forgetful of that nursling of the *parterre* of Fortune. I continually kept him in sight, and took the greatest precautions with regard to him. When I arrived in Kashmir this unavoidable catastrophe occurred. . . . God be praised that it ended well."³ Further on, we find the following instance of Jehangir's faith in astrology: "Pâdshâh Bânû Begam died. . . . A strange thing is, that Jotik Rây, the astrologer two months before this, had informed some of my servants that one of the chief sitters in the harem of chastity would hasten to the hidden abode of non-existence. He had discovered this from the horoscope of my destiny and it fell out accordingly."⁴

What Jehangir says of the enormous bulk of a plane tree Jehangir's ac- (*chinâr*)⁵ in Kashmir is worth-noting. The count of the *chi-* huge shady *Chinâr* trees are the beauty of *nârs* of Kashmir. Kashmir. I saw, both during my first visit and the second one (3rd June 1915), a *chinâr* at Sumbal, which, I

1 M. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, Vol. IV., p. 704; Small edition, Vol. IV p. 567.

سقاره شناسان و کند اوران . . . ز کشمیر و کابل کزیده سران
ز آتش پرست و زیزدان پرست . . . بو فتنه بازیچ روسی بدست

(Meccan's Calcutta edition, Vol. III, p. 1230.)

2 *Tuzuk* by Rogers and Beveridge, II., p. 151.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

5 The Mogul Emperors are said to have further spread the planting of *chinârs* in Kashmir. The *chinârs* were held in reverence in Persia. Vide my paper on "The Veneration paid to the plane tree in Persia," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VI, No. 8. Vide my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I., pp. 200-207.

think, could easily give, to a family of 7 or more persons, sleeping accommodation on the ground within its hollow trunk which was eaten away and hollowed by age. I saw another big chinâr tree (26 June 1915) at Bijbiâra on the way to Islâmâbâd. It bears a tablet, saying "54 feet circumference at G (ground) Level." But the plane (chinâr) tree which Jehangir describes, was larger than this. He says: "In the village of Râwalpûr, 2½ kos from the city towards Hindustan, there is a plane-tree, burnt in the inside. Twenty-five years before this, when I myself was riding on a horse, with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it. Whenever I had chanced to mention this, people were surprised. This time I again ordered some of the men to go inside, and what I had in my mind came to pass in the same manner. It has been noted in the Akbar-nâma that my father took thirty-four people inside and made them stand close to each other."¹ Jehangir, later on, refers to a place known as Panj Brâra and to the large chinâr trees there. He says: "In the neighbourhood of Panj Brâra there is a meadow (julga) exceedingly clean and pleasant, with seven lofty plane-trees in the middle of it, and a stream of the river flowing round it. The Kashmiris call it Sathâ Bhûli. It is one of the great resorts of Kashmir."² This Panj Brâra is the modern Bijbihâra, and I think, the big plane trees referred to by Jehangir are of the spot referred to by me above. It is still one of the picturesque spots of Kashmir.

Jehangir had further beautified the place of Shâlamâr which was beautiful in itself. We read as follows in his Tuzuk in his account of the fort of Hari Parbat built by his father: "I frequently embarked in a boat, and was delighted to go round and look at the flowers of Phâk and Shâlamâr. Phâk is the name of a pargana situated on the other side of the lake (Dâl). Shâlamâr is near the lake. It has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills, and flows into the Dâl Lake. I bade my son Khurram dam it up and make a waterfall, which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir."³ Shâlamâr is still a sight of Kashmir. It was not in so good an order when I first visited it about 20 years ago. But now, the present Maharaja Sâheb has improved the surroundings by a beautiful garden. Once a week, all the fountains—and they are numerous—are made to play, and people from the city of Srinagar visit it during the afternoon. They generally go by boats, but there is also a fine road passing through pleasant beautiful surroundings.

¹ Ibid, II, pp. 154-5.

² Ibid, I, p. 171-72.

³ Ibid, p. 151.

We see in the following passage, Jehangir's desire that one should have his own fruit-garden. While speaking of the *shâh-âlû*, i.e., cherries of Kashmir, he says: "Every day I plucked with my own hand sufficient to give a flavour to my cups. Although they sent them by runners from Kabul as well, yet to pick them oneself from one's home garden gave additional sweetness. The *shâh-âlû* of Kashmir is not inferior to that of Kabul; it is even better grown. The largest of them weighed one *tânk* five *surkhs*."¹ We learn, from what Jehangir says further on, that it was he who ordered the further cultivation of this fruit in Kashmir. He says: "I strictly ordered the officials of Kashmir to plant *shâh-âlû* (cherry) trees in all the gardens."²

Jehangir says: "The picture-gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humâyûn and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbâs. . . ."³

Kashmir has several beautiful places known as *margs* or meadows, such as Sonâ-marg, Gul-marg, Jehangir's account of the flower-margs of Kashmir. Kailân-marg. I had the pleasure of seeing the last two (7th to 13th July 1915). These soft grassy meadows are covered, especially in the spring, with various little flowers. They are situated on higher mountains at some distance from the capital city and people go there during the summer. Jehangir thus speaks of one of them: "I rode to see the summer quarters of Tûsî-marg.⁴ Arriving in two marches at the foot of the *Kotal*. . . I reached the top of the pass. For a distance of 2 *kos* very elevated ground was crossed with difficulty. From the top of the *Kotal* to the *Îlâq* (summer quarters) was another *kos* of high and low land. Although here and there flowers of various colours had bloomed, yet I did not see so many as they had represented to me, and as I had expected. I heard that in this neighbourhood there was a very beautiful valley, and . . . I went to see it. Undoubtedly, whatever praise they might use in speaking of that flowery land would be permissible. As far as the eye reached flowers of all colours were blooming. There were picked fifty kinds of flowers in my presence. Probably there were others that I did not see."⁵ Of the *Îlâq* of Kûrî-marg⁶

1 Ibid, p. 159.

2 Ibid, p. 162.

3 Ibid, pp. 161-162.

4 "The place is the Tosh Maidan of Lawrence, 16." Ibid, p. 163, n. 1.

5 Ibid, pp. 162-163.

6 "Gurais Valley of Lawrence, 16." Ibid, p. 164, n. 2.

he writes : " How shall I write its praise ? As far as the eye could reach flowers of various hue were blooming, and in the midst of the flowers and verdure beautiful streams of water were flowing : one might say that it was a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation. The buds of hearts break into flowers from beholding it. Undoubtedly there is no comparison between this and other Ilâqs and it may be said to be the place most worth seeing in Kashmir."¹

In his tour towards the celebrated stream of Virnâg, Machhi Bhavan Jehangir stayed at Machhi Bhavan, so called, and Achval (Achibal.) perhaps, because it contains, even now, a number of fish. I remember the noon of 27th June 1915, when I paid a second visit to the temple and entertained its fish with the delicious Bhavan bread, sold there for the purpose. A play with the fish is enjoyable. I remember having a hasty standing breakfast there on a picturesque shady spot opposite the temple on the side of the stream running from behind the temple. Perhaps it is the very spot which Jehangir refers to in his Memoirs. He says : " There is a fountain that they called Machhi Bhawan, above which Rây Bihâri Chand, one of the servants of my father, built an idol temple. The beauty of this spring is more than one can describe, and large trees of ancient years, planes, white and black poplars, have grown up round it. I passed the night at this place."²

I may say here a word of warning to modern tourists, lest what they see at the above spot at the time of their visit may disappoint them and lead them to think that the Mogul Emperor's description of the beauty was an exaggeration. The trees are grand, shady and beautiful. The springs are beautiful. The air is bracing. But at times, the ground is not kept well-cleaned. When royal personages and grandees go there the place also is kept scrupulously clean. So, no doubt, perhaps a modern tourist, who sees at present some dirt and filth in the midst of beauty, may, at times, consider Jehangir's description a little exaggerating.

From Machhi Bhawan, Jehangir went to the spring of Achibal, of which he speaks as Achval. Jehangir says : " The water of this spring is more plentiful than that of the other (Machhi Bhawan), and it has a fine waterfall. Around it lofty plane-trees and graceful white poplars, bringing their heads together, have made enchanting places to sit in. As far as one could see, in a beautiful garden *Jâ'fari* flowers had bloomed, so that one might say it was a piece of Paradise."³

1 Ibid, p. 164.

2 Ibid, p. 172.

3 Ibid, p. 173.

From Achibal, Jehangir went to Virnâg. He says:¹ "I pitched The Spring of camp near the fountain of Virnâg. . . . Virnâg. The feast of cups was prepared at the spring. I gave my private attendants permission to sit down. Filling brimming cups, I gave them Kabul peaches as a relish and in the evening they returned drunk to their abodes. This spring is the source of the river Bihat and is situated at the foot of a hill, the soil of which, from the abundance of trees and the extent of green and grass, is not seen. When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It was now² completed. There was a reservoir of an octagonal shape, forty-two yards in area and fourteen *gaz* in depth. Its water, from the reflection of the grass and plants on the hill, had assumed a hue of verdure. Many fish swam in it; round it, halls with domes had been erected, and there was a garden in front of them. From the edge of the pond to the gate of the garden there was a canal 4 *gaz* in width and 180 *gaz* in length and 2 *gaz* in depth. Round the reservoir was a stone walk (*Khiyâbdân-i-sang*). The water of the reservoir was so clear that, notwithstanding its 4 *gaz* of depth, if a pea had fallen into it, it could have been seen."

"Of the trimness of the canal and the verdure of the grass that grew below the fountain, what can one write? Various sorts of plants and sweet-smelling herbs grew there in profusion, and among them was seen a stem, which had exactly the appearance of the variegated tail of a peacock. It waved about in the ripple and bore flowers here and there. In short, in the whole of Kashmir there is no sight of such beauty and enchanting character. It appears to me that what is up stream in Kashmir (*i.e.*, in the upper part of Kashmir) bears no comparison with (*i.e.*, is far superior to) what is down stream. One should stay some days in these regions and go round them so as to enjoy oneself thoroughly. . . . I gave an order that plane-trees should be planted on both sides, on the banks of the canal above-mentioned."

I have quoted at some length this rather long description of Virnâg from Jehangir's Memoirs, because, it is this visit of the 15th year of his reign, that the Inscription, which forms a part of the subject of my Paper, commemorates. Again, it is in the above passage, that Jehangir refers to his orders for the erection of the buildings, &c., where the inscriptions stand; "When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

² In the 15th year of his reign, Hijri 1029, *i.e.*, A.D. 1620.

was now completed.”¹ We read all this in his account of the 15th year of his reign and the Inscription very properly bears that date. It says as we will see later on: “King Jehangir. . . . did the honor of coming to this fountain-head of abundant mirror-like water in the 15th year of his accession to the throne.” Again, as he says, that the building was then finished, it appears that he must have ordered the Inscription-tablet to be placed there during the very time he was there.

As to the origin of the name of Virnâg, we saw above what The origin of the Jehangir’s information was. Some derive name Virnâg. it from *vir*, willow; so Virnâg means willow-fountain. On the subject of its origin and the legend about the origin, I will quote here from a written Hindu account shown to us here by the Pandit who acted as our guide:

“The spring is called Virnâg, because, according to a legend, the goddess Vitashta (Jhelum) wanted to take her rise from this place, but it happened that, when she came, Shiva was staying here. Thereupon she had to go back. Then, she took her rise from Vithavatru (Vithashta), a spring, about a mile to the North-west of this place. ‘Verah’ means ‘to go back’ and ‘nâg’ means ‘spring.’ And as Vitashta had to go back from the place, it came to be called “Verah-nâg or Virnâg.” They say that at Virnâg they worship the Panchayet of the Gods, *i.e.*, the five (panch) gods—*viz.*, Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshwar, Bhagwan and Ganesh.”

There are two groups of springs here at the distance of about one mile from Virnâg. One is that of the Shapta-rishi from the seven (sapta) Rishis or saints, *viz.*, Vasishta, Augashta, Gaotama, Atri, Bardwan, Augrâ and Marich. This group is made of three springs. The other group is that of Vitashta and Ganga-Jamnâ. Two tanks are pointed out to us bearing these names. The water from the Vitashta tank (*kund*) flows to that of the Ganga-Jamnâ, and thence the joint water of both the tanks, flowing out, joins that of the Sapta-rishi group. All the waters, so joined, form the Vitashtâ river. The springs of Achibal, and Virnâg and the above joint spring are said to form the springs of the Jhelum, but the joint group at Virnâg is believed to be the true main spring. As a proof, it is alleged, that the water of this group remains pure even in the rains, while those of the other two—Achibal and Virnâg—get a little spoiled and assume colour, because they are believed to be some underground streams coming from a distance.

It is said, that about eight miles from here, there is a spring called Pavan Sandhyâ. The water of this spring has a flow and ebb twenty times during an hour. There is another,

¹ Tuzuk-i Jahangiri by Rogers-Beveridge, II., p. 142, n. 1.

about five miles distant, known as Pandar Sandhya, where, in the months of Vaishâkh and Jaith, water alternately rushes forth once every hour and then stops altogether for the next hour.

From Virnâg, Jehangir went to Lake Bhawan, a spring on a pleasant spot, and thence to Andha Pâmpûr. Nâg which contained blind (andha) fish, and thence by the road of the springs of Machhi Bhawan and Inch back to Srinagar. After a stay at the city, he went on an autumn tour in the direction of Safâpûr and the valley of Lâr. On the 27th of the Divine (Ilahi) month of Meher, the royal standards were raised to return to Hindustân. In this return journey as the saffron had blossomed, Jehangir visited the saffron fields at Pâmpûr. "In the whole country of Kashmir there is saffron only in this place...The feast of cups was held in a saffron field. Groves on groves, and plains on plains were in bloom. The breeze in that place scented one's brain."¹ The cultivators of the saffron took their wages in half the weight of the saffron in salt, which was not produced in Kashmir but was brought from India.²

In his account of Pâmpur, Jehangir speaks of the *kalgi*, i.e., the plumes or feathers, as one of the excellencies of Kashmir. He also refers to an order to build houses, or what are now called Travellers' Bungalows, at each stage in Kashmir to accommodate his royal party. He then refers to a waterfall in the neighbourhood of Hirâpur. He says: "What can be written in its praise? The water pours down in three or four gradations. I had never seen such a beautiful waterfall. Without hesitation, it is a sight to be seen, very strange and wonderful. I passed the time there in enjoyment till the third watch of the day and filled my eye and heart with the sight."³

Jehangir paid a second visit to Kashmir during the 22nd year of his reign. It seems that he had formed the intention of going there in the 18th year of his reign, but he was prevented by the death of his father, the Emperor in 1624. He commenced with 10th March 1623. He says in his Tuzuk in the account of this year: "As I was at ease

¹ Ibid, p. 177.

² Vide *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 279, *et seq.* Therein, Rev. Loewenthan gives an article, entitled: "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar Kashmir." In that article, an inscription on the Jami Masjid contains a *firman*, of Shah Jahan, which contains the following order: "At the time of collecting the saffron, men used to be impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt, and hence the people are suffering much distress. We ordered that no man should by any means be molested as to gathering the saffron; and as to saffron grown on crown-lands, the labourers must be satisfied and receive proper wages; and whatever grows on lands, granted in *jagir*, let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the *Jagirdar* that he may gather it as he pleases."

³ Ibid, p. 179.

with regard to the affair of Bîdaulat¹ and the heat of Hindustan did not agree with my constitution, on the second of the month, corresponding with the 1st of Safar (1 Safar 1033 H. i.e., 14th November 1623), my camp started from Ajmer for a tour and to hunt in the pleasant regions of Kashmir."²

We have no account of this visit of Kashmir in Jehangir's Tuzuk or Memoirs which are translated and edited by Rogers and Beveridge. They extend only up to a part of the 19th year of his reign. Elliot's quotations from other sources also are not sufficient. So we have to resort to the original Persian of the Iqbal-nâme for reference to this and the subsequent visits.

He arrived at Kashmir on the 19th of Khordâd of the 19th year of his reign, when Istakâd Khân presented to His Majesty some delicacies of Kashmir.³ On the 1st of the month Shahrivâr, Jehangir was at Virnâg. In this account of the visit he speaks of this stream as 'the source of the river Bihât (Jhelum)' and as "soul-ravishing place of delight and a house of pleasure of Kashmir." (سیرگاہی جانفزای نزهت سراي کشمیر)⁴

The author says that he does not give a description of this place as it has been already given before. From Virnâg he started on the 5th of Shahrivâr for Lahore.

In the beginning of the 20th year of his reign which fell on Jehangir's third 10th March 1624, he paid another visit to visit of Kashmir Kashmir, of which he speaks as the garden of roses and the (seat of) perpetual spring (گلزار ہمیشہ بہار کشمیر).⁵ He says, that, as the Pass (کھتل) of Pir Panjâl was covered with snow, having hunted at Bhimbar, he entered Kashmir by way of the lower hills of Punch (کریوٹ پونچ) or Punj. He describes at some length the beautiful flowers he saw there, and, in this description, gives a proof of his knowledge, taste and fondness of flowers. In the account of the different flowers, he says of one species, that it grows so large, that it cannot be contained in both the hands joined together. (گلش ہمہ بمر تبہ کلان میشود کہ در دو دست نگنجد). Of the oranges of this mountainous place (Punch), he says, that they remain on the trees for two or three years and a tree gives

1 From the time Shah-Jahan rebelled against his father Jehangir, the latter spoke of him as the Bî-daulat, i.e., the unfortunate.

2 Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri by Roger-Beveridge, II., p. 282. Vide the Iqbal-nâmeh, Bengal Asiatic Society's Text of 1865, p. 21.

3 Iqbal-nâmeh, p. 224, ll. 20 et seq. Bengal Asiatic Society's edition of 1865.

4 Ibid, p. 229, l. 8.

5 Iqbal-nâmeh, p. 240, l. 19.

1,000 oranges. From Baramula, the royal party got into boats and went to the paradise-like (بهشت آئین) Kashmir. We find the following couplet in praise of the beautiful place:—

باز این چہ جوانی و جمالست جہانرا

زین حال کہ نو گشت زمین را و زمانرا

i.e., "what is this new youth and beauty for this world, resulting from this new condition accrued to the land and time?"

The beautiful lines cannot be well rendered into English. What is meant is this: The sight of the beautiful place gives, as it were, youth and beauty to the beholders. Both, Space and Time, get, as it were, refreshed.

Kashmir is known for its saffron, and they said, that the eating of it produced laughter. So, to verify this

Experiments on saffron and birds.

belief, Jehangir sent for, from the prison, a criminal who was condemned to death for theft (دزد کشندی) and gave him to eat one-fourth of a *sir* equal to 40 *miskáls*. It produced no laughter. Next day, double the quantity was given, but that also had no effect. The king thus proved that the common belief was wrong.

During this visit, Jehangir tried to verify what he had heard of a bird known on the mountain of Pir Panjal as Homa (ہماي or ہمای). The people of Kashmir said, that it lived only on bones, and is always seen in the air and very little on the ground. The king offered a prize of Rs. 500 to any hunter who would shoot a bird of that kind and bring it to the royal court. One Jamal Khân brought it alive, having shot it merely on one of its legs. The king ordered its crop, i.e., the food-receptacle to be brought out, so that it may be discovered what food it ate. The crop was opened and bone particles were found in it. The mountaineers explained to the king, that it always flew in the air, looking to the ground. Wherever it saw a bone, it came down and lifting it up in its beak, went high up into the air again. From there, it threw, the bone on strong ground. The bone, falling on a stone, broke into small pieces which it then picked up and ate. It is generally believed that this bird Homa is the well-known bird Homâi (pelican or royal eagle), which is believed to be very auspicious. It is lucky for a man, if the Homâi flies over his head. The following couplet is quoted on the subject:

ہمای بر ہمہ مرغان ازان تشرف دارد

کہ استخوان خورد و جانور نیاز دارد

i.e., "Homai holds dignity over all birds, because it eats bones and hurts no animals." In strength and form, this bird is like an eagle (عقاب). The above referred to bird weighed 1037½ *miskáls*.

Jehangir paid another visit to Kashmir in the 22nd year of his reign. He started for it at the end of the 21st and last visit to year on the 21st of the Asfandârmaz. His Kashmir in 1626. Iqbâl-nâmeh says that this visit was compulsory, not voluntary (اضطزاریست نه اختیاری). Want of good health necessitated a change to Kashmir, the paradise-like land of roses, the land of perpetual spring (گلزار بهشت), the envy of paradise (ریشک بهشت) ¹. Abd-ul-Rahim Khâja was given a sum of Rs. 30,000 for preparation. A female elephant with a litter was prepared for the king. His health continued to be bad during this visit. He continued to lose strength and grow weaker. He could not ride and went out for airing in a palkhi (پالکی). He lost all appetite and even gave up taking opium (افیون), which he was in the habit of taking for the last 40 years. He liked nothing but a few glasses of grape wine (چند پیاله شراب انگوری). He then resolved to return to Lahore. On the way at the fort of Bairam (بیرم), a hunt was arranged. Deer were driven to a place where he sat and he shot from his seat. During the course of this hunt, one of the footmen slipped, fell down a hill and died. This event and the grief of the mother of the deceased affected him, and he did not recover from the shock. From the fort Bairam, they went to Tahna and from Tahna to Rajour (راجور). He died on the way further. He asked for a drink which was brought but which he could not swallow. He died on the next day. His body was taken to Lahore and buried there.

From the Iqbâl-nâmeh-i Jehangiri or Wâkiât-i Jehangiri of Mu'tamad Khân, we learn that Jehangir had Some further particulars from Mu'tamad Khan's Iqbâl nâmeh-i Jehangiri. in all six visits of Kashmir. They were in the 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and the 21st years of his reign.² We find from this book, that, in one beautiful place, he ordered an inscription to be put up to commemorate his visit of the place. We read the following:—

حکم شد کہ تاریخ عبور لشکر منصور بر لوح سنگی ثبت نمایند تا
این نقش دولت در صفہ روزگار یادگار بماند

i.e., Order was issued that the date of the stay of the victorious army may be inscribed on a stone tablet, so that the note of the auspicious event may remain commemorated on the page of time.

¹ Ibid, p. 290.

² The Iqbâl nâmeh-i Jehangiri of Mu'tamad Khan, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865), edited by Mawlawis Abd Al Hali and Ahmad Ali under the superintendence of Major W. N. Lees, pp. 127, 186 213, 229, 290.

In the account of the fourth visit the following matetrs are noted as novelties or peculiarities :—

1. A flower, not seen up to now, having three beautiful colours. It was unmatched in colours and beauty (درخوش رنگی) (ونظر فریبی بی نظیر). The flower grew so large that it could not be contained in two hands. The people of Kashmir call it *makarbush* (مکربوش).

2. There were some orange trees, giving 1,000 oranges (نارنج) each.

3. During the return journey, a lion was presented to his Majesty which lived with a goat in the same cage. The animal was so much domesticated in the company of the goat, that when the latter was removed, it roared and cried. The king ordered another goat of the same size and colour to be put in the cage. The lion then at first smelt the goat, and, not finding it to be its own companion, killed it. When the same goat was restored to him in the cage, the lion embraced and kissed him.

I have given Jehangir's account of his visit to Kashmir on the authority of his Memoirs, known (a) as the *Jehangir translated by Major Tuzuk-i Jehangiri* and (b) as *Iqbal-nâmeh*. But, there is another Persian text, styled *Târikh-i Salim-Shâhi* by Major David Price, who translated it in 1829. There was some controversy on this work, as to whether it was genuine or spurious, a controversy in which the well-known orientalist Sylvester de Sacy of Paris, also took some part.¹ Without entering much into the controversy, I, having been to the country twice, and having seen the force of the torrent of its river Jhelum, beg to doubt its genuineness, at least the genuineness, of some of its statements. No doubt, there is a good deal of exaggeration. For example, the Memoir, which Major Price translated, speaks in very great exaggeration of the loss of life caused by the force of the torrent of the river and of the rigour of the climate. Suhrâb Khan, the son of Mirza Rustam Khan, was drowned while bathing in the river, when Jehangir was on his way to Srinagar during his first visit after his accession to the throne. The Emperor's account in his *Tuzuk* is simple, and says nothing of any enormous loss of lives of persons sent to recover the dead body. But look to the following exaggerated account as given by the writer of Price's work: "Without enlarging further on a subject to me so painful, I sent nearly a thousand of the best swimmers into the river in the hope of recovering the lifeless body of the young Mirza, in order to give it the last mournful proofs of my affection :

¹ Elliot II., pp. 252-257.

but all search proved in vain. What became of his poor remains was never discovered. But this is not all that I have to record of this fatal river. Impatient of restraint, the unreflecting multitude plunged in heedless throngs into the stream, and perished to the number of fifty thousand persons, not having the common sense to wait until the waters should have subsided. The cold on the banks of the river was, moreover, so severe, that it was reported to me the next morning that nearly ten thousand elephants, camels and horses, had perished during the night, belonging to the imperial stables alone, independently of what belonged to the army in general. Blessed be God, for the greatest heat of the dry season, for never in the very hottest temperature, was there an instance of such extensive destruction at one time.

"The oldest and most experienced man present united in declaring, that in all that they had seen at different times and in every variety of season, it did not occur to them ever to have witnessed such severity of cold as that which this year had proved so destructive on hill and plain, to so many animals of every description.

"At the foot of the mountains of Kashmir the snow fell without intermission for seven days and seven nights, and fuel of any description was not to be procured. The army was accompanied by fakirs or religious mendicants, in extraordinary numbers, and, as they must have perished if not preserved by some immediate intervention, I ordered a lakh of camels belonging to the imperial equipment to be employed forthwith in conveying such fuel as could be procured at a distance, to camp, and these fakirs to be supplied from the very first convoy, otherwise their destruction would have been inevitable."¹ The writer seems to have had no sense of proportion in the matter of his figures. Elliot gives several instances² of exaggeration and the above is one more instance. Again, from Bernier's account of his visit of Kashmir with Aurangzebe, we find, that, looking to the difficulties of the route and to the small capacity of the valley to supply provisions for a large number, the Mogul Emperors took special care to take as small a number of army and followers as possible.³

We learn from Jehangir's Memoirs, that he was fond of commemorating his visits to certain enchanting beautiful places in Kashmir by inscriptions. We notice two instances of this kind. The first occurred during the return journey *via* Pir Panjâl (1029 H., A.D. 1620, the 15th year of

1 Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir, by Major David Price (1829), pp. 139-40.

2 Elliot, VI., pp. 257-260.

3 Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire. Archibald Constable's Translation, second edition, revised by Vincent Smith (1914), p. 391.

his reign). Jehangir went to see a beautiful waterfall and a spring at Bahramgalla, which he calls "a sight to be seen" and there "ordered that they should engrave on a stone tablet the date of the crossing, and place it on the top of the terrace."¹ We find the second instance, as referred to above, in his Iqbâl-nâmeh,² in its account of his third visit to Kashmir in 1625. After having entered into the limits of Kashmir by the Punch (Punj) route, he came to a place, where there was a very large waterfall, 50 cubits in height and 4 in breadth. He sat for an hour before it, drank wine, and, in the end, ordered that the date of his arrival there may be inscribed on a tablet. Thus, in these instances, we see the fondness of Jehangir to commemorate his visits to picturesque and beautiful places in Kashmir like that at Virnâg.

VII.

Shâh Jehân is said to have visited Kashmir several times. We find a detailed account of his first visit during the 7th year of his reign (1043 Hijri A. D. 1633), in the Bâdshâh Nâmeh by Abdul Hamid Lahori.³ Elliot, in his extracts from the Bâdshâh Nâmeh⁴ or Shâh Jehân Nâmeh of this author, only refers to this visit, but does not give any account of it. We read in the original, an account of the four roads leading to Kashmir. Shâh Jehân went by the Pir Panjâl Route (راه پیرو پنجال), in the Khurdâd month. The country is spoken of as nazhat-gâh (نزهت گاه)-i-Kashmir, i.e., the place of pleasure of Kashmir. It is also spoken of as Kashmir-i-delpazir (دلپذیر) i.e., heart-ravishing Kashmir. We read the following about the beauty of Kashmir:—

این خطه فردوس نظیر بتسب نزهت و صفا—و لطافت آب و هوا—و وفور ریاحین و آشجار—و کثرت فواکه و اثمار—و باغهای خوش—و جزیرهای دلکش—چشمسارهای تسنیم زلال—و تالابهای کوثر مثال—و آبشارهای فرح فزا—بیلقات دلکشا—بهترین معموره دنیا است (5)

Translation.—This paradise-like country is, on account of its pleasantness and cleanliness, and sweetness of its water and air, and the excess of its herbs and trees, and abundance of fruit and

1 Tuzuk-i Jehangiri by Rogers-Beveridge, Vol. II. p. 179.

2 Iqbal-nameh, Calcutta edition of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 242, 1, 16.

3 Bibliotheca Indica series. Badshah Namah by Abd Al-Hamid Lahawri, edited by the Mawlawis Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abd Al-Rahim, Vol. I (1867) 2nd part, p. 15.

4 Elliot VII. p. 3.

5 Bâdshah Namah, Vol. I., Text. p. 21, 1, 13.

fruits' produce, and pleasant gardens, and beautiful islands, fountains of wholesome water like that of the fountain of Paradise and lakes like the river of Paradise, and joy-increasing water-courses and enchanting mountain resorts, the best of the beautiful places of the world.

We find from the Bâdshâh Nâme, that Kashmir was then, as now, the place whence there was a route to Tibet. Shâh Jehân sent from there, Zafar Khan, the Subahdâr of Kashmir, for the conquest of Tibet.¹

Shâh Jehân visited Kashmir for the second time in the 25th year of his reign (A. D. 1650-51). He stayed at the fort of Hari Parbat, built at the direction of his grandfather Akbar. He visited the Mosque built by Mullâ Shâh Badakhshânî at a cost of Rs. 40,000. "Towards the close of the spring, on account of the heavy rain and tremendous floods, all the verdant islands in the middle of the Dal, as well as the gardens along its borders, and those in the suburbs of the city, were shorn of their grace and loveliness. The waters of the Dal rose to such a height, that they even poured into the garden below the balcony of public audience, which became one sheet of water from the rush of the foaming tide, and most of its trees were swamped. Just about this time, too, a violent hurricane of wind arose, which tore up many trees, principally poplars and planes, by the roots, in all the gardens, and hurled down from on high all the blooming foliage of Kashmir. A longer sojourn in that region was consequently distasteful to the gracious mind; so notwithstanding that the sky was lowering, he quitted Kashmir."²

Though the inscriptions at Virnâg have nothing to do with Shâh Shâh Jehân's Jehan, some ruins at Virnâg are associated visit of Virnâg. by the people there with the name of this monarch. Near the garden opposite to the spring tank, on the left of the adjoining tonga road leading to the spring, there are several ruins, which were shown to me, as those of the hot water and cold water baths of Shâh Jehân. A ruin is shown as that of the place where hot water was boiled. We still see ruins of two pipes there. It seems, that a part of the water of the canal was carried from under the road to the baths. I am not in a position to say, how far what the people said there was true, that the ruined baths were built by Shâh Jehân. But, it is certain that Shâh Jehân also had paid visits to Kashmir.

1 Ibid, p. 281. Vide also Elliot VII, p. 98.

2 Inayat Khan's Shah Jahan-Nama. Elliot VII, pp. 97-8.

On proceeding from this site to the village, we pass over the ruins of some old water works. A very large stone, about 10 ft. in length, forms, as it were, a bridge over a streamlet. This is pointed out to us as that of the time of the Pândavas. Anything unusual in size is often pointed out to us in many places in India as connected with, or belonging to, the time of the Pandavas. Here is an instance of this kind.

Shâh Jehân's rule in Kashmir is commemorated by an Inscription, bearing his name and giving his *Farmân* on the Jami Masjid of Kashmir.¹ The *Farmân* was given by Emperor Shâh Jehân on 7th of Isfandârmuz (February) and inscribed in Adar. The year is not given but it seems that it was during his second visit of 1061 Hijri, A.D. 1650-51 that the King's *Farman* was inscribed on the Juma Masjid. We read: "On the 4th Rajab, His Majesty paid a visit to the Mosque which had been erected in the most exquisite style of art, for the asylum of learning, Mullâ Shâh Badakhshânî."² The year 1061 Hijri began on 25th December 1650. So, the Rajab, the 7th month of that year, fell in June of 1651. It seems, therefore, that he may have issued the order before coming to Kashmir in the preceding February (Asfandârmuz), and the order was inscribed in March. On his arrival in Kashmir, perhaps, he went to see how his *Farman* was inscribed.

The *Farmân* did justice to the following grievances of the Kashmiris: (1) There should be no forced labour for the purpose of collecting saffron. (2) A tax for wood used by the people was charged by the Subadârs, which charge was increased by the government of Itiqâd Khân. That charge of tax was abolished. (3) An impost on the growth of rice in villages "whose rental was more than 400 *Kharvar* of rice," was abolished. (4) The poll-tax of 75 *dâms* on each boatman was reduced to the previous tax of 60 *dâms*. (5) The Subadârs kept their own men in private fruit gardens to watch over the best fruits, to have them. The result was, that the owners, to avoid this, did not grow good fruits. So, this restriction from the Subadars was removed.³

Another inscription on the same Jami Masjid refers to the belief, that if a man did some good work, not only he, but his father and forefathers got the advantage or benefit of the

¹ Rev. Loewenthal's article, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar Kashmir." *Journal*, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, pp. 287-88.

² Shah Jahan Nama, Elliot, VII., p. 97.

³ *Journal*, Bengal Asiatic Society, XXXIII, No. 3, pp. 289-90.

righteous act in the other world. We read at the end of this inscription, which is dated 1056 Hijri. "Oh God, pardon its builder and his father,—Oh Pardoner."¹

VIII.

François Bernier (1620-1688), a French medical man, who, after travelling in several parts of the East, joined the court of King Aurangzeb in 1659, describes at some length, in an interesting way, Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir in 1665. He had accompanied the Emperor in this visit. The great Mogul was carried by people in his *Takht-i-ravân*, i.e., a moving throne, guarded by *gourz-bardârs*, i.e., mace-bearers. The King marched with a retinue. He had a number of the choicest elephants for his baggage and also a few mules. Besides these, there were 6,000 porters or coolies to carry the baggage. In all, for the whole royal party there were 30,000 porters. They were collected by the Rajahs of the adjoining countries. The royal party was accompanied by a large number of traders who opened their shops wherever the camps were pitched. Bernier was enamoured of the beauty of the country. The praise of Kashmir has been sung by many a traveller and many a poet. As said by Bernier, during Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir, there was "an emulous contest between the Kashmiri and the Mogul poets" for "poems in praise of the favoured land."² I have referred above to Bernier's own view about the beauty of Kashmir.

I will here say a few words on the Banihal Pass, by which The Banihal the Mogul Emperors, in some of their visits Pass near Virnâg. crossed the Pir Panjâl range of the mountains surrounding Kashmir. If one wants to enter into Kashmir from Jamoo he has to cross this high Pass. It is referred to by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*. It is in the vicinity of Virnâg. It was on 30th June 1915, that I had the pleasure of going to the top of this Banihal Pass which serves as the route over the Pir Panjâl mountains. I had attempted this ascent during my first visit of Kashmir in May 1895 on foot, but had failed. We had to return all exhausted after climbing one-third the height.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 286.

² Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. I, Berniers's Travels (1656-1668) (1891), p. 401. Second edition revised by Vincent A. Smith, 1914.

This time we went on horseback. We started at about 6-45 a.m., and reached the top at about 10-20. The path is at places so narrow, that to give way to some of the Maharaja's troops coming from Jamoo, we had to wait at one place for about half an hour. The Pass is named Banihal, from a stream of that name running at some distance from here. Jamoo is said to be 8 stages from here. This Pass is always windy. Tradition says, that the mountain is named Pir Panjâl from the fact of a Pir, *i.e.*, a saint, living here in former times. This Pir was much harassed by a person living here; and so, to punish him, he cursed him and prayed for cold wind. The man was overtaken by the wind and was killed. The wind has continued to blow here since that time. On my visit, I was showed a very large slab of stone here. It was about 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 3 to 4 feet thick. The Pir said his prayers on this stone. Four small hollows on the surface are pointed out to us as the place where he rested his knees and placed his hands during the prayer-ritual. The Pir had miraculously changed the direction of this big stone to enable him to turn to the Kebleh towards the *maghreb* (west). Before his advent here, and before the abovementioned event of his curse to punish his tormentor, the Pass was free from stormy winds.¹

Let us note what Bernier, who travelled in Kashmir in the company of Aurangzeb, says of the Pir and his miraculous powers of producing the winds: "The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this mountain ever since the time of Jehan-Guyre. Of his religion everybody was ignorant; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders, and raised storms of wind, hail, snow and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy. . . . The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. . . . He informed me that noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. . . . Jehan-Guyre having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having

¹ There is in Kashmir another big stone which is traditionally connected with another Pir. It is near the Tulwan marg on Gulmarg. It is connected with the story of one Baba Rishi who had driven away a demon from Kashmir. The demon, in revenge threw against Baba Rishi a big stone from the side of a distant mountain. He missed his aim, and Baba Rishi, in thanksgiving got up over the stone and said his afternoon *nimaz* or prayer over it. His foot made a mark over the stone. But, lest people may make the stone a Ziarat-gah or a place of pilgrimage, he overturned the stone so that people may not see his foot-mark. The Tulwan marg and the stone were visited by me on the 10th and 11th of July 1915. I found the stone to be about 18 to 20 ft. long, 8 to 10 ft. broad, and 7 to 8 ft. high. We see the Ziarat-gah of this Baba Rishi on our way to Baramulla down the Gulmarg.

ordered the cymbals to be beaten and the trumpets to be sounded, narrowly escaped destruction.”¹

It seems, that the Pir’s apprehensions about any noise whatever being made there may be wrong, but, it is quite possible, that loud noises like those of drums, &c., may very likely produce a change in the equilibrium of the weather-conditions there. The following note on the subject in Bernier’s translation shows, that large noises are likely to produce such changes in mountain recesses. It says: “At the present day the bands of pilgrims who visit the Holy Shrines, situated in the lofty mountains of Kashmir refrain from chanting their hymns of praise when in the vicinity of the banks of snow, as on several occasions the effect of such reverberations of sound has been to dislodge avalanches, which swept away to destruction many men and women.”²

Abul Fazl, in his *Âin-i-Akbari*,³ says as follows on the subject of the wind on the Pir Panjâl hills: “If on these hills an ox or a horse be killed, storm clouds and wind arise with a fall of snow and rain.” Col. Jarret makes the following note on the subject, in his translation: “The superstition regarding the tempest of wind and snow and rain, appears to be connected with that of the *Yedeh* (سد) or rain-stone frequently alluded to by Baber, the history of which is given by D’Herbelot. It is of Tartar origin and the virtues of the stone are celebrated in Yarkand and attested by authorities who have never witnessed them. It is said to be found in the head of a horse or a cow, and if steeped in the blood of an animal with certain ceremonies, a wind arises followed by snow and rain.”

While traversing the mountain Pass of Pir Panjâl, three things recalled Bernier’s “old philosophical speculations.” One was the above one of the aged hermit and the tempests. The second was the experience of the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour: “In ascending we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow.” One often experiences some changes of temperature when he goes on the top of a hill, but here, on this lofty Pass, the change is very great. Though I had not the severe experience of Bernier to be on the frozen snow, I experienced an unusual sudden change within two or three minutes. I

1 Bernier’s *Travels* (1656—1668) in Constable’s *Oriental Miscellany*, Vol. I. (1891) p. 410.

2 *Ibid* p. 410, n. 1.

3 Col. Jarrett’s *Translation*, Vol. II. p. 348.

cannot do better than quote, what I put down there and then in my note-book, on arriving at the top of the Pass. I wrote :

“પ્રુદાના શુકરાના, કે આન્ને આ બનીહાલ પાસની ટોચે મને તે સાહેબ બે બેશીઓ સાથે લાવ્યા. ૨૦ વર્ષ પર નિષ્ફલ નિવડેલા તે આન્ને તે સાહેબ લાવ્યા. શુકર તે સાહેબના ૧૧ વાગાને શુમારે પણ થયો. પવન ટુકે છે. ઉપર ચહડતાં દગલો કાઢાડી નાખેલા તે પાછો પેહડવો પડ્યો. ધણે થયો. પવન તડકું મુદલ નહિ લાગે. હેડે બાગબાન અને અહીં પણ ઝમ્ક મુસલમાન કહે છે કે શિઆળામાં પવનના જોરથી કોઈ વખત માણસો ઉડી પડે છે અને ખીનમાં ઘસડાઈ મરી જાય છે.”

“Thanks to God that He has brought me to-day with my two relatives to the top of this Banihal Pass. Where I had failed 20 years ago, He has brought me to-day. . . . Though it is eleven o'clock, there blows cold wind. I had to remove my coat while climbing up. I have to put it on again. Very cold wind. The (heat of the) sunshine not perceptible. The gardener down below and a Mahomedan here say, that in winter, owing to the force of the wind, at times men are thrown down and carried away into the valley and killed.”

Bernier gives an interesting account of the preparations and Transport for transport for Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir. Aurangzeb's visit He says :¹ “That a scarcity of provisions to Kashmir. may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kachemire, the King will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rauchenara-Begum, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The Omrahs and military will also be as few as possible ; and those Lords who have permission to attend the Monarch will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five troopers out of every hundred ; not, however, to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an Omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of Mansebdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kachemire, as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the bazars, whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

“The King has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the Seraglio. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very surefooted, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of

¹ Bernier's Travels by A. Constable, 2nd edition, revised by Vincent A. Smith (1914) p. 391.

the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The king has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed if what they tell me be true, that the king alone has no fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahor: every person did the same, not excepting the Omrahs and the king himself; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember; some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Rajas, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and Omrahs have been sending forward baggage, and the trades people articles of every sort, for the last month."

IX.

Aurangzeb, who died in 1118 H. A. D. 1707, was succeeded by

The Mogul Em- the following kings, one after another :—
perors after Au- 1. Shâh Alum Bâdshâh, known as Bâhâdur-
rangzeb. shâh, who died in 1123 Hijri, A. D. 1711.
2. Jâhandâr Shâh, who ruled for 11 months only, and was then
killed by Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, the Jhahid (martyr). 3.
Sultan Muhammad Farrukh Siyar who came to throne in 1123
Hijri A.D. 1711. He ruled for eight years and 4 months and
was then dethroned and put in prison, where he soon died. 4.
Abû-l Barakât Rafi-'ud Darajât, who was declared Emperor in
1131 Hijri (18th February 1719) and who ruled for a few days. 5.
Rafi-'ud Daula entitled Shah Jehan II, who came to throne on 20
Rajab 1131, May 27, A.D. 1719, and reigned only for 3 months and
2 days. 6. Muhammad Shâh Bâdshâh, known as Roshan Akhtar,
who came to throne on 11 Zi-l kada 1131 H., September 1719.

We know nothing interesting, in connection with Kashmir in the short reigns of these Mogul Kings after Aurangzeb, until we come to the reign of the last ruler in the above list. In his reign, one Mahbub Khan, otherwise known as Abdu-n Nalur Kashmiri, satisfied his enmity towards the Hindus of Kashmir, by submitting them to many indignities. This was followed by a heavy fight between two factions of the Mahomedans. These disturbances caused a damage of lacs of rupees.

X.

The language of the Inscriptions generally, and the use of some words especially, suggest the question of the influence of Persia upon India. The Moguls have left a powerful mark on India in various lines, and in that mark, Old Persia, which had influenced early Mahomedanism, has some indirect hand. In an interesting article, entitled "India's debt to Persia,"¹ Mr. H. Beveridge refers to some sources for this influence. Speaking generally he says: "But if Persian Muhammedans were influential in India, the followers of the old Persian faith were also powerful agents in civilizing the country. The Persian settlers in Gujrât—the forefathers of the modern Parsis—did same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the blood of the Indian nations. When we think of what the Parsees have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think, that there is good in religious persecutions, and that, like Kingsley's 'Wild North-Easter' they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world."

Now it is the language of Jehangir's Inscription, and especially the use of some religious terms of "the Old Persian faith," referred to by Mr. Beveridge, that suggest to us some stray thoughts of this kind. Words like 'Haft-keshvar' and 'Sarush' used in the inscriptions point to the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Mahomedanism. The words have come down, as it were, in their original form from the Avesta. The first part 'hafta' in 'haftkeshwar' is Avesta 'hapta' (seven). The second part 'keshwar' is Avesta 'karshvarê' (country). The word Sarush (angel Gabriel) is Avesta Sraosha.

We find the word Sarush in another inscription of Kashmir. It is that on "a postern gate" of the tomb of Kashmir's celebrated king Zain-ul Âbadin, situated at a short distance from the Masjid of Shâh Hamdân. The inscription was put by Sultan Habib in 981 Hijri, some time after the death of Zain-ul Âbadin. The couplet which speaks of Sarush runs thus: ²

مآه تعمیر بنای نوشیدم از سرش
سال تار بخش مزار ثانی سلطان حبیب

i.e., At the time of laying the foundation, I heard from Sarush the year of its date, "the second tomb of Sultan Habib" 981.

¹ Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 21-22.

² As given by Rev. Loewenthal in his article, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir" (*Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* (1865) Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, p. 282).

In the case of Kashmir, Saiyad Ali of Hamadân (the ancient Ecbatana), whose name is borne by a large Masjid of Srinagar, had preceded the Moguls and had been the medium of the spread of Persian influence. The saint's original name is Mir Sayid Ali Hamadâni. He died in 786 Hijri (A.D. 1384). This appears from the following inscription in the mosque in Srinagar, known as the Masjid of Shâh Hamdâna.¹

تاریخ وفات وی
چون شد از گاه احمد خاتم دین
ز هجرت بقصد وستہ ثمانین
بوفت از عالم فانی بباقی
امیر ہردو عالم آل یاسین

Translation.—“Date of his death.

“In the year 786 from the time of Ahmad, the seal of religion (that is) from the Hijri, there went from the transitory to the eternal world the prince of both worlds, the descendant of Yâsin (*i.e.*, the descendants of the Prophet).”

In old Parsee books, for example, the Pahlavi Bundelesh, Kashmir is spoken of as a part of India and the Sad-dar speaks of Kashmir as being one of the several places where, in olden times, Zoroastrianism prevailed. Even later Arab and Mahomedan writers speak of Kashmir as being a part of Hind or India. According to Maçoudi,² Kashmir together with Sind and Kanauj formed a part of India.

Up to a few years ago, Persian was the court language of the Durbar of Kashmir. Even during my second visit of Kashmir, I had occasion to talk in Persian with a large number of people there. Even the Hindu Pandits spoke Persian. At one time, there were, as it were, two parties in Kashmir; one was that of the Persian-knowing Pandits and the other of Sanskrit-knowing Pandits. The Mahomedan King Zain-ul Âbadin, a very popular and benevolent ruler, known, and still spoken of, as “The Pâd-shâh,” *i.e.*, the king, greatly helped the study of Persian. It is said, that at one time, the schism was so much, that the Persian-speaking Pandits and the Sanskrit-speaking Pandits did not inter-marry. Again, the Persian knowing Pandits could not practise as *gûrûs* or professional Hindu priests.³

1 I give the Inscription and translation as given by Rev. J. Loewenthal (*Ibid* pp. 279-289). Rev. Loewenthal gives two more Inscriptions found on this Masjid.

2 Maçoudi, Chap. VII., XVI. Elliot I., pp. 19-23.

3 *Vide* my paper on the Pandits of Kashmir, (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 461-85, My “Anthropological papers” Part II).

The Moguls brought their taste for gardening to Kashmir from Persia. Mr. Witt, in his "Retreat of The Ten Thousand," says: "This charming pursuit (of gardening) had been raised almost to the rank of religious duty by Zoroaster, the founder of the Persian religion, who had taught his disciples that when occupied in the planting and tending of trees useful to man, they were engaged in a good action well-pleasing to God."¹

The principal Mogul gardens of Kashmir are the Nishât Bagh and the Shâlimâr on the Dâl lake, and the gardens at Achibal and Virnâg. Sir F. Younghusband, while speaking of the Shâlimâr garden, says: "The Moguls certainly understood such matters. They were quite right in selecting trees of formal growth and planting them on geometrical lines, the essence of a good garden being that it should form a pleasing intermediate step between the free treatment which Nature lavishes on hills and plains, fields and forests, and that necessarily artificial object—a building made by the hand of man."²

XI.

II.—THE TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION OF JEHANGIR'S INSCRIPTIONS AT VIRNÂG.

There are two Inscriptions at Virnâg. Both are on the walls surrounding the octagonal tank. (a) One is on the wall opposite to the entrance. (b) The other is on a side wall. I will first give the text of the Inscriptions.

(a) Text of Jehangir's Inscription on the wall of the octagonal tank, opposite to the entrance.

پادشاه بخت کشور شهنشاه عدالت گستر ابوالمظفر نورالدین جهانگیر
پادشاه ابن اکبر پادشاه غازی بقاریخ سنه ۱۵ جلوس درین سر چشمه
بیش آیین نزول اجلال فرمودند این عمارت بتکم آنتضررت صورت
اتمام یافت از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه این بنا سر کشید بر افلاک
بانی عقل یافت قاریخش قصر آباد چشمه ورنای
۱۰۲۹ هجری

1 "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand" by Prof. C. Witt, translated from the German by Francis Younghusband (1891) p. 17.

2 "Kashmir" by F. Younghusband, p. 81.

3 Nuru-ud-din. This was also a title of Jehangir and formed part of his name.

(b) Text of the Inscription on the wall on the right-hand side of the octagonal tank.

حیدر بہتکم شاہجہان پادشاہ دہر
شکر خدا کہ ساخت چگون آبشار و جوی
زین جوی دادہ است ز جوی بہشت یاد
این آبشار یافتہ کشمیر آبروی
تاریخ جوی آب بگفتا سرورش غیب
از چشم بہشت برون آمدہ است جوی

۱۰۳۶

(a) Translation of the first Inscription :—

King Jehangir, the king of the seven regions, the justice-spreading Emperor, father of victory, splendour of religion, the son of the brave King Akbar, did the honour of coming to this fountain-head of abundant mirror (-like water) in the 15th year after his accession to the throne. This building was completed by His Majesty's order. This building raised its head toward heaven (by the hand of) Jehangir Shah, (son of) Akbar Shah. The source of Reason (*i.e.*, angel Gabriel) obtained (*i.e.*, decreed) its date as *qasr âbâd chashmeh-i-Vernâg*, *i.e.*, (May the palace of the fountain of Vernâg flourish). Hijri 1029.¹

(b) Translation of the second Inscription :—

Thanks to God! What a (beautiful) waterfall and running stream has Haidar prepared at the order of the King of the World,² the king of the time! This running stream has reminded us of the stream of Paradise. Kashmir has obtained fame from this stream. The invisible Sarush (angel Gabriel) mentioned the date of the canal to be: "*Az chashma (i) behesht birun âmadah ast jui*," *i.e.*, the stream has come out of the spring of Paradise, 1036.

In the case of the first Inscription, the numerical computation of the letters in the line *قصر آباد چشمہ ورنای* must give us the number 1029 as given in figures in the Inscription. To give us that number, we have to take two alifs for the first letter in the word *آباد*. The word *چشمہ* may be taken for *چشم* and *ورنای* must be read as *Virnâg* *ویرنای* which is the

1 *I.e.*, A.D. 1619-20, the 15th year of Jehangir's reign.

2 The word is Shah Jehan (*شاہ جہان*). One may, at the first sight, take the Inscription to refer to the son and successor of Jehangir, but the date 1036 clearly shows, that the word here is a common noun and not a proper noun, and that it refers to Jehangir (A.D. 1605-1626), and not to Shah Jehan (1626-1659). I will speak further on this subject later on.

form of the name we find in the Memoirs of Jehangir. With this modification, the sentence, in order to give the numerical value of 1029, must read as **قصر آباد چ ویرنگ** The values will be $100+90+200+1+1+2+1+4+3+300-40+6+10+200+50+1+20=1029$.

In the case of the second Inscription, the date of the event, as given in figures, is 1036 ; and so, it must tally with the chronogram contained in the last line. This chronogram has given me a good deal of trouble for numerical calculation. At first, it looks, so that, the whole of the last line gives the chronogram, but it is not because it does not give the required number 1036. Here, it is not a case of the addition of the numerical values of the letters, but a case both of addition and subtraction. The date, *viz.*, 1036, can be arrived at by adding the numerical values of the letters of the words **چشم بهشت** and subtracting from the result the value of the letters of the word **جری** The words **برون آمد** "coming out" *i.e.*, "taking out" suggest subtraction. Thus, we come to the following result :—

ن	—	..	..	..	..	..	3
ش	—	..	..	..	..	..	300
م	—	..	..	..	..	..	40
ه	—	..	..	..	..	..	5
ر	—	..	..	..	..	..	2
ا	—	..	..	..	..	..	5
ش	—	..	..	..	..	..	300
ن	—	..	..	..	..	..	400
Total							1055
ج	—	..	..	..	..	..	3
و	—	..	..	..	..	..	6
ی	—	..	..	..	..	..	10
Total							19

Thus $1055-19=1036$.

We find, that the first of the two inscriptions commemorates two events, *viz.*, (1) the visit of Jehangir to the Spring of Virnâg during the 15th year of his reign, which commenced on Friday the 15th of the month of Rabi-us Sâni, Hijri 1029, 10th March 1620¹ and (2) the fact that the building round the tank was constructed at the orders of Jehangir and the inscription put up during the same year.

¹ The Memoirs of Jahangir, by Rogers-Beveridge, II, p. 130.

The second tablet on the right-hand side while entering, takes a note of the fact, that the artificial canal, in which the stream ran after leaving the above tank, was built in 1036 Hijri A.D. 1627 by one Haidar at the orders of the then King of the World.

XII.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE INSCRIPTIONS.

I will now speak of several matters in connection with the inscriptions of Jehangir at Virnâg, which require to be looked into. They are the following :—

1. References to Jehangir's visits of Virnâg in the books of history relating to his reign.

2. Who is the Haidar referred to in the second Inscription ?

3. Who is the king referred to in the Inscription as Shâh Jahân ?

We find from the books of history, that Jehangir had paid

1. References to several visits to Virnâg. (a) As said above, Jehangir's visits we learn from his Memoirs (Tuzuk)¹ that to Virnâg. he had been there twice during the life-time of his father. These visits had impressed him with the beauty of the spring, and so, he had ordered some structures there. He says in his Tuzuk, "When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It was now (1029 H., A.D. 1620, the 15th year of the reign) completed."² He then describes the "reservoir of an octagonal shape," round which "halls with domes had been erected, and there was a garden in front of them." "Round the reservoir there was a stone walk."³ After his accession to the throne he paid a third visit to Virnâg and gave orders for some extensive works. He says, "I ordered them to build the sides of the spring round with stone, and they made a garden round it with a canal, and built walls and houses about it, and made a place such that travellers over the world can point out few like it."⁴ Then Jehangir had a fourth visit of Virnâg, during his fourth visit of Kashmir, in the 19th year of his reign. It was on the first of Shahrivar that he visited Virnâg. We find no reference to this visit in his Tuzuk. Elliot's quotations also do not refer to it. But we find a reference to it in his Iqbâl-nâmeh.⁵ We thus

1 Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, by Rogers-Beveridge, Vol. I., p. 92.

2 *Ibid* II, p. 173.

3 *Ibid* II, p. 173.

4 *Ibid* Vol. I, p. 92.

5 Bèngal Asiatic Society's edition of 1918, p. 229.

find, that Jehangir had, during his six visits of Kashmir, paid four visits to Vîrnâg. We find two references to his orders for the construction of the walls, &c., round the spring, and of the canal, referred to in our inscriptions.

The next question before us is, who is the Haidar referred to in 2. Who is the the second inscription as the person, who at Haidar referred to the orders of the King of the World (Shah-i in the second In- Jehan), built the canal, &c. It seems that scription ? his name was Haidar Malik, and that he was an officer who was entrusted to do some canal work. We read in Jehangir's Memoirs, that in the 17th year of his reign (Hijri 1031), beginning with March 10-12, 1622, Jehangir sent this officer to Kashmir "to bring a canal from the valley of Lâr to the Nûr-afzâ garden (at Hari Parbat), giving him Rs. 30,000 for the materials and labour."¹ Haidar Malik was a native of Kashmir itself. His village was Chârdara (or Chârvara or Chadura or Isâdur).² It appears that he was the author of a history of Kashmir. His work is referred to in another history of Kashmir.

We have in the Moola Feroze Library of Bombay a manuscript named Târikh-i Kashmir (تاریخ کشمیر) i. e., the History of Kashmir.³ The author is Muhammad Aatzim, son of Khayr Alzemân Khân⁴ (محمد اعظم ولد خیرالزمان خان). The third part of this manuscript history treats of the "Events of Kashmir from the beginning of the conquest by the sovereigns of the Chagatai dynasty of Taimur."

(واقعات کشمیر از ابتدای تسخیر سلاطین طبقہ چغتایہ تیموریہ⁵)

Therein, we find an account of Nurrudin Jehangir Badshah's rule over Kashmir. In that account, there is a reference to the history written by Haidar Malik حیدر مالک در تاریخ خود.⁶ (میںویسد) In the preface, the author of this Ms. history speaks of this Haidar Malik Chadurah (چادورہ). This Chadurah is the abovenamed village of Kashmir to which Haidar Malik belonged. It is a town situated near Srinagar. The author speaks of Haidar Malik as singing the praises of his own forefathers and ancestors and of himself (اکثر جاہا بذکر آبا⁷) و جداد خود کوسن خود ستاہی را نواختہ

1 Tuzuk-i Jehangiri by Rogers and Beveridge II, p. 238.

2 Ibid, p. 154 and n.

3 It bears No. 105. It is the 22nd Ms., described under the heading IV of History, Biography, &c., (Vide p. 82 of the Library's printed catalogue by Prof. E. Rehatsek.

4 Ibid, p. 8. l. 3. of the Ms.

5 Ibid, p. 294, l. 9.

6 Ibid, p. 265.

7 Ibid, p. 7, l. 7.

We read the following in his History of Kashmir by Muhammad Haidar Malik referred to in Muhammad Aat-zim's History of Kashmir. "Jehangir ordered the improvement and prosperity of the country and the reparation and the construction of forts and buildings and royal gardens within the fort and in the direction of the ponds, especially "Faiz-bakhsh."¹

The history names the following persons as the governors of Kashmir during the reign of Jehangir: Nawâb Kulich Khân, Nawâb Hashim Khân, Nawâb Safdar Khân, Nawâb Ahmad Beg Khân, Nawâb Delawar Khân (Hijri 1027).

In the account of the governorship, a reference is made to Kashmir's great calamities from storm and fire. In one of the great fires, from 10 to 12 thousand houses were burnt. The great Juma Masjid built by Sikandar But-shekan, was also burnt in this fire. Jehangir, during his visit of Kashmir, got this Masjid repaired. Our author says, that Haidar Malik in his history says, that the Sunnis accused his ancestors of bringing about the destruction of the Masjid by fire.² So, the burden of repairing the Masjid was thrown by the king upon Haidar's father, Malik Mahmud Naji. The event is commemorated in the lines,

ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عہد جہانگیری نہاد از نو بنایش باز
روز عید قربانی

Translation.—Malik Haidar, a chief of the country, in the time of Jehangir, laid anew its foundation on the day of Id-i qurbâni.

Jehangir came to Kashmir for the first time in the year 1029 Hijri by way of Punj. At that time, he had ordered Ali Malik, the brother of Haidar Malik, to clear the roads beforehand. In the time of the governorship of Nawab Itaqâd Khan (1032 Hijri), Haidar Malik had a hand in the construction of the great Juma Masjid in Punch. According to this book, Jehangir visited Kashmir seven times, (ہفت بار) and during every visit repaired and laid over gardens and buildings.

(ہر مرتبہ ترتیب باغات و تعمیر عمارات نمودہ)

During the last visit, the king, at the request of Nur Jehân, appointed Haidar Malik, a permanent officer to remain in the presence of the king and gave him the title of Rais-ul Mulk Chagatai (خطاب رئیس الملک چغتائی).³ In the beginning,

1 Translated from the Persian of the above Ms. History of Kashmir, p. 291: ll. 5 et seq.

2 *Ibid*, p. 94.

3 *Ibid*, p. 298, l. 6.

it was on the recommendation of Meher-ul-Nasa Begum, that Haidar Malik was appointed a Zamindâr of his own country (of Chadrur near Srinagar). On coming to Kashmir (Srinagar), he studied the art of repairing buildings (تلاش سرمت جوي) and applied it to several buildings. This history of Kashmir thus refers to Jehangir's work of improving Kashmir.

نورالدین جهانگیر پادشاه سلطان سلیم نام داشت بعد رفع مدعیان
سلطنت تاج و تخت را زینت بخشید جلال الدین محمد اکبرشاه بعد
از تسخیر کشمیر هفده سال زیست و سه بار بکشمیر آمد و این
جهانگیرشاه مکرر بسیر و شکار کشمیر نزول اجلال نموده است و رعیت
پروری و آبادانی ملک و تعمیر و تزیین قلعه و عمارات و باغات
پادشاهی درون قلعه و بطرف تالاب خصوصاً فیض بخش بنا فرموده
و چشمه سار را آباد کرد و فوائد و منافع بسیار بمردم رسانید در
تاریخ یک هزار و پانزده که سال دوم از جلوس پادشاه است حکومت
کشمیر بنواب قلیع خان رسید

Translation.—Nur-ud-din Jehângir Bâdshah Sultân bore the name of Selim. After overcoming the enemies of the country, he added splendour to the crown and throne. Jalal-ud-din Mahmad Akbarshah lived for seventeen years after the conquest of Kashmir and came to Kashmir three times. This Jehângir Shâh honoured Kashmir with visits for the sake of a pleasant ramble and hunt and for the work of protecting the subjects, of increasing the prosperity of the country, and of placing in good order and proper condition the royal forts, buildings and gardens. He ordered to be put in good order the inside of the forts and the surroundings of the lakes and especially that of the spring of Faiz-bakhsh. He beautified water courses. He (thus) benefited and profited the people very much. In the year one thousand and fifteen (1015) which was the second year after the accession to the throne, the governership of Kashmir passed to Nawâb Kulich Khân.

Haidar's father Hasan Malik bin Malik Muhammad Naji Charvarah was of a noble Kashmir family. Malik's history is said to have been abridged from Kalhana's Rajatarangini. He commenced his work in the 12th year of Jehangir's reign¹ (A.D. 1697). It seems, that, as he had done a similar work about five years ago, (Hijri 1031 A. D. 1622) in the royal palace at Hari Parbat near Srinagar, he was also entrusted with the work at Virnâg.

1 Bernier's Travels, in Constable's Oriental Miscellany, Vol. I. (1891), p. 393, n. 2.

Nur Jehân, the queen of Jehangir, was, at first, the wife of Ali Kuli Beg, who had received the title of Sher Afghan and who was sent to Bengal.¹ When Sher Afghan was killed in Bengal, his wife (Nur Jehân, who afterwards married Jehangir) was saved by this Malik Haidar from the hands of those who killed her husband.²

The second Inscription says that Haidar did the work at the order of Shâh Jehân Pâdshah-i-Dahr

3. Who is the king referred to in the second Inscription?

(شاه جهان پادشاه دهر). One may, at the first sight and thought, say that the king referred to was King Shâh Jehân. In fact, somebody at the spring led me to understand that the Inscription referred to Shâh Jehân, and, that the tablet was at one time on some part of the canal and was latterly brought and put up there on the spring. But an examination of the date shows, that the word Shâh Jehân on the tablet is used as a common noun, in the sense of "the King of the World," and not as a proper noun for King Shâh Jehân. The date of the Inscription is 1036 Hijri. Jehangir died on "the 28th Safar, 1037 A. H. in the 22nd year of his reign."³ So it was he, who is referred to as the Shâh-i-Jehân, *i.e.*, the King of the World, and as the Pâdshah-i-Dahr, *i.e.*, the King of the Time.

It seems, that the first Inscription, which bears the Hijri

The original date of 1029 (A.D. 1620), was put up place of the 2nd during Jehangir's 3rd visit of Kashmir, tablet.

which was the first after his accession to the throne. Jehangir says: "On Friday the 27th of (Shahrivar) I went out to see Virnâg, the source of the Bihat."⁴ He had ordered some work to be done there during the time of his princehood. On accession to the throne, he had repeated the orders perhaps with those for some further extension. All that was done before, or during, the year. So, the date of the inscription takes a note both of his first auspicious visit as king to his favourite place, and of the completion of all his orders.

The second Inscription takes a note of the subsequent work of the canal, which carried the water of the spring from the octagonal reservoir to the garden opposite, and from there further on. What I heard at the spring seems possible, *viz.*, that the tablet at first stood on some part of the canal further

¹ Vide Elliot, VI, pp. 402-4 for an account.

² Vide Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri by Rogers-Beveridge II., p. 154, n. 2.

³ Ikbal-Nama-i Jahangiri, Elliot, VI, p. 435 This Hijri date corresponds to 28th October A.D. 1627.

⁴ 1029 Hijri corresponding to about the 6th of September A.D. 1620, Tuzuk, Rogers-Beveridge II, p. 70. The month was Shahrivar (*Ibid*, p. 168). Vide also Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, Elliot VI, 373.

down, but that that part having fallen into ruins, the tablet was brought down to the tank and put up there on a part of the wall, adjoining to that on which the tablet directly referring to the tank was put up.

XIII.

III.—AN INSCRIPTION ON A TOMB ON A HILL ON THE BANK OF THE DAL LAKE.

As a supplement to this paper, I propose giving here, another inscription on a tomb on a hill on a bank of the Dâl lake. It is in no way connected with the Mogul Emperors, but it is associated with one of the stories related about the beauty of the Dâl lake, which was further beautified by the Mogul Emperor Jehangir by means of his beautiful gardens. The story is as follows :—There came to Kashmir, a young man named Dâud; a son of a very rich father, from India for the purpose of trade. Instead of carrying on trade properly, he wasted his father's money in the enjoyment of pleasure in the beauties of the Dâl lake. Abul Fazl says in his *Âin-i-Akbari*, that Kashmir is “deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse.”¹ This young man turned out to be a worldling, lost completely in the delights and pleasures of the Dâl lake. Under the pretext of wanting more money for trade, he sent for it from his father in India and squandered all. It is said, that he was so enamoured of the beauty and pleasures of the Dâl, that he had enjoined that, on his death, he may be buried somewhere on the lake itself. During my first visit, I had heard the story, but could not discover the tomb. I noted the story of this young man in my lecture on Kashmir before the Gujarati Dnyân Prasârak Mandalî as follows :

તપ્તે મુલેમાનના ડુંગર હેઠળ ધંધરીબલ નામની એક જગ્યા આપણને દેખાડવામાં આવે છે, જ્યાં એક વેપારી બચ્ચાની કબર છે, જે વેપાર અર્થે બહારગામથી આવી આ ખુબસુરત મુંલકની અને ખાસ કરી તેના ખુબસુરતમાં ખુબસુરત દાલ સરોવરની શારીરિક મઝામાં આપના લાખો રૂપીઆ ખરચી નાખી ખરાબ થયો હોતો અને છેવટે એકાંતવાસ પકડી અંહી રહ્યો હોતો. (૨)

¹ *Ain-i Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, II, p. 348.

² *Vide my* “ માનપ્રસારક વિષય ” લાગ ૧, પાના ૧૯૭—૮.

During that visit, I could not see the tomb itself. I succeeded to discover the tomb during the 2nd visit of 1915. It is situated on the top of a lonely unfrequented hill, a spur of the Takht-i Suliman, near a place known as Gangribal. Mr. Nowroji Pestonji Unwala of Messrs. Pestonji & Co., of Srinagar, kindly guided me to Gangribal. He did not know where the tomb was situated. At first, we could get no definite information about the whereabouts of the tomb, though some persons said, that they knew that there was a tomb somewhere on the adjoining hill. At length, a person was found who pointed out to us from below, the place on the top of the spur where I could find the tomb. Leaving my friend below, I went up the hill, taking this person as my guide and promising him a payment of 4 annas for his trouble. It was on the evening of 19th June 1915. The weather was cloudy and was becoming threatening. The guide took me to the height of about 100 feet, and pointed out a place, as the place where Dâud was buried. There seemed to be a little mound, like what we see on some unclaimed tombs in out-of-the-way places. But it struck me, that that cannot be the tomb of a man in a good state of life, whose story was traditionally known on the Dâl lake. His tomb must be at least one with some pretension of brickwork. So, I refused to pay my guide, saying that he did not show me the proper tomb. And that was so. Finding that the weather was getting a little rough and rainy, and with a view to be saved from being wet and from the trouble of ascending still further, he tried to dupe me. But my stubborn refusal compelled him to take me little further up, and to show me the right tomb. I purposely speak of, and take a note of, this fact, in order that those engaged in such pursuits may be cautious, that there are many chances of not only being misinformed, but of being shown wrong places. Suppose, I had believed this man, and then said before this Society or elsewhere, that I had seen the place of the tomb of Dâud, and that there was no regularly built tomb and no inscription thereon, and suppose some other student had followed me and had come across the proper tomb. I would have then been put to the humiliation of being accused of bragging and giving an incorrect report. To ascertain facts, such guides, at times, require to be examined and cross-examined. This Dâud is popularly spoken of here as Dalu Miân from the connection of his story with the Dâl lake.

I beg to submit, for inspection, my note-book, to show a rough outline of the tomb as drawn hastily by me. The tomb seems to be one of the ordinary kind of a Mahomedan tomb. It is on the edge of a spur very little frequented. As it had begun to drizzle, and as the weather was getting unpleasant and threatening, I could not wait longer to make a better inspection

of the tomb. I hastily copied in my note-book a few words that were easily legible. These words were *târikh* (تاریخ) and Mirzâ Dâud (میرزا داود). The decipherment of these words at least gave me the satisfaction that there was some truth in the tradition heard by me on the Dâl lake about one Dâud Miân or Dalu Miân. It gave me further satisfaction, that I had the good fortune to discover, at last, the tomb of that man, whose story I had heard during my first visit, about 20 years ago and had taken a note of, in one of my published lectures. As a matter of fact, it turned out to be really a discovery, because the State Archaeological Department, founded a few years ago, knew nothing of this tomb. I wrote to Mr. Daya Ram Sohani, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, to inquire if a copy of the Inscription was taken by his Department. I was surprised to learn, that not only was the Inscription not copied, but that his Department knew nothing of the tomb itself. I requested him to kindly get an impression taken and sent to me. I reminded him of it again on my return to Bombay, and was glad to have it from him, with his letter dated Srinagar, 16th August 1915. He writes :

"I am sending you herewith a copy of the Persian Inscription noticed by you. In the first line, we have the date ۱۱۶۲ سنہ ۲۱ شہر ذی حجتہ بتاریخ and the name of Mirzâ Dâud. In the second line we read مرحمت کرد which have to be construed with Mirzâ Dâud. In the second half of the same line, we read of the construction (ساخت) apparently of the tomb in which the epigraph is incised and which enshrines the remains of the Mirzâ named in the 1st line."

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Sohani for the impression he has kindly sent me. I produce it here, so that it may be given in our *Journal*, and others may have an opportunity to correctly decipher it. Until Mr. Sohani sent me a copy of the impression I did not know, that I had seen only half of the Inscription. I went to the tomb from the front and saw the Inscription on that front, and owing to haste, due to the weather, with which I inspected the tomb and the Inscription, I had no idea, that half of it continued on the other side. From the copy of the impression, which has been sent to me, and which I produce here for reproduction in our *Journal*, I give below what little I can make out.

THE FIRST PART OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE EASTERN
FRONT OF THE TOMB.

بتاریخ ۲۹ شہر ذوال حجتہ سنہ ۱۱۶۲ میرزا داود... مغل کہ حشاش

Translation.—On the 29th of the month of Zu-l-Hijjah year 1162 Mirzâ Dâud. . . . Mogul, whose last breathings (*hushâsh*).

THE SECOND PART OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK
OF THE TOMB.

ازین دهرال قضا رحلت کرد.....

Translation—passed away from this world of destiny.

The Hijri year 1162 began on 22nd December 1748.¹ The Hijri month is the last month of the Mahomedan year and the 29th day is the last day of that month.² So, the day is the last day of the Hijri year 1162. The Hijri year 1163 commenced on 11th December 1749.³ So, the day of the Inscription, which is the last day of the preceding year, corresponds with 10th December 1749. Thus the tomb is about 177 years old.

¹ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary, p. 1489. ² *Ibid*, p. 1491. ³ *Ibid*, p. 1489.

APPENDIX.

After the above paper was written and put into type, and before it is printed off, I have had the pleasure of visiting Kashmir for the third time. The tomb has been cleaned, and so the inscription is much more legible than before. I inspected it twice, once alone on 14th June, and then on 26th June in the company of Moulvi Mahamad Shâh kindly recommended to me by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, M.A., the present Superintendent of the Archaeological Department. The inscription so far as we have been now able to decipher on the spot runs thus :

- (1) بتاریخ ۲۱ شهر ذی حجه سنه ۱۱۶۲ میرزا داود بیک مغل
(2) بدارال بقا رحلت کرد میرزا بیک
قبر بنایش ساخت بقائتسر یاد کنند

Translation.—On the 21st of the month of Zai Hijri year 1162 Mirzâ Dâud Beg Mogul died (lit. went to the house of Eternity.) Mirza Beg erected (this) tomb. They (i.e., the visitors) may remember him with (the recital of) a *fatiha*.

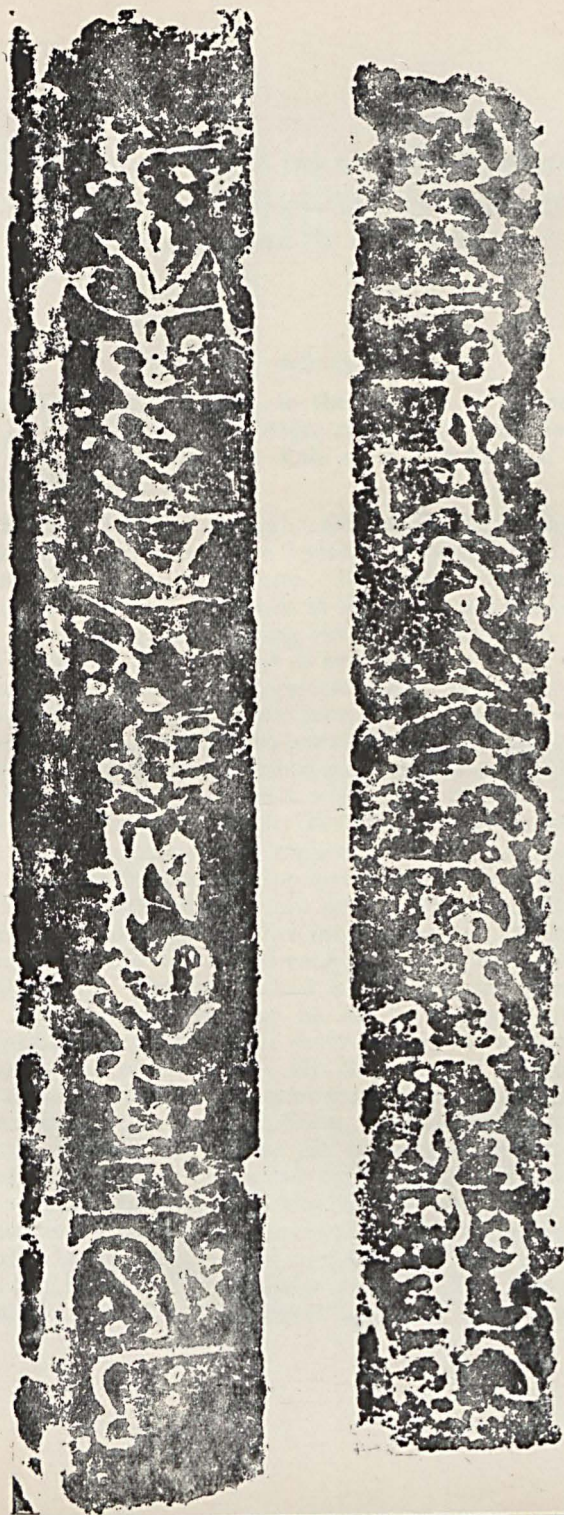
The last word in the first line after the word Mogul and the first two letters of the second line seem to make up a word which seems to be a proper name signifying perhaps the country to which the deceased belonged.

The indistinct portion after the word Mirza is some proper noun, giving the name of the person who built the tomb, perhaps according to the last testamentary will of the deceased. Moulvi Mahmad Shâh thinks the words to be Akbar Kabar. So, the whole name may be Mirza Akbar Kabar Beg. The tomb is just on the very edge of a spur and may perhaps go down the hill in a few years with a heavy downfall of rain. It can be protected in time at small expense.

House Boat, Pearl, No. 306,

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,

29th June, 1918.



THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB.