

A FEW PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF KASHMIR.*

I HAD THE PLEASURE of paying three visits to Kashmir. During the last two of these visits, I copied some of the unpublished inscriptions of the beautiful valley.

Introduction. In my paper, entitled "The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir," read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society¹, I have published the texts and the translations of three of the inscriptions—two at Virnag and one on the Dal Lake. In my paper, entitled "An unpublished Inscription at the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi," read before this Society², I have given a fourth inscription which belongs not strictly to Kashmir but to the frontiers of Kashmir. I submit in this paper, some more inscriptions which, as far as I know, are not published as yet. However, if they have been published, I beg to submit, that my copy and translation may be kindly accepted as serving the purpose of comparison. I request, that they may be taken, not as copies made by an expert, specially working on them as an archæologist, but as those of an amateur tourist, travelling with the eye and taste of a humble antiquarian.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MOSQUE OF SHAH HAMADAN.

The first set of inscriptions which I submit in this paper is from the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān in Srinagar, situated on the right bank of the Jhelum between the third bridge, Fateh Kadal, and the fourth bridge, Zaina Kadal. The Masjid is known after a Mohamedan saint known as Shāh Hamadān.

Shāh Hamadān. The original name of the saint was Mir Sayyid Ali, but, as he came from the city of Hamadān in Persia, he was known as Hamadānī (*i.e.*, "of

* This paper was sent, through the Bombay Branch, to the Royal Asiatic Society, to be read on the occasion of its Centenary.

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 25, pp. 26-75.

² Ibid, pp. 325-345.

Hamadān³). Shāh Hamadān is said to have come to Kashmir in the time of Quṭb-ud-dīn (1373-1398 A.C.) and to have had a great hand in Mohamedanizing the country.

They say that on the spot where the Masjid now stands, there ran a spring which was held sacred by the ancient Pandits of Kashmir, and that king Pravarsena II (79-139 A.D.) first built there a temple dedicated to Kālī. On the conquest of Kashmir by the Mohamedans, there came to the country many Mohamedans of the Sayyid and other religious classes, with a view to preach Mohammedanism, and, among these, Shāh Hamadān was the principal one. Among the many sacred Hindu places desecrated by the Mohammedan rulers, one was that of this Hindu temple. Quṭb-ud-dīn is said to have first built a Masjid over this place, using the materials of the temple for its construction. He built it in the memory of Shāh Hamadān who is said to have died at Pakhali near Abbotābād. Sikandar But-shikun is said to have extended this Masjid. It was destroyed by fire in 1479 A.D. and was rebuilt by Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh, with a single storey. Upto this time the Mohammedans of Kashmir were all Sunnī. Most of them are still Sunnī. But in the time of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, there came here a Shīāh, named Mīr Shams Irāqī. He, with a view to destroy this important place of worship of the Sunnis, said to the ruling king that he wanted to build a better two-storied Masjid. He pulled it down and then did not rebuild it. Thereupon, the queen of the Mohammedan king rebuilt it as a centre of the Sunni worship. In 1731, it was again burnt and was rebuilt by

³ Hamadān is the Ecbatana of the classical writers. Herodotus (Bk. I., 98) attributes its foundation to the first Median king Dioces. The Pahlavi Shatroihā-Airān (*vide* my translation of the Yādgar-i-Zarīrān, Shatroieā Airān, etc.) attributes it to Yazdajard I. Masūdi attributes it to Alexander the Great (Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. 9, p. 21). According to some Mohamedan authors, one Hamadān, son of Felewj, son of Sem, son of Noah, founded it. (*Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse*, par B. de Meynard). According to Mustawfī, Jamshed founded it, and Dara of Dara rebuilt it (Ibid). The saint is generally spoken of as Shāh Hamadān (*i.e.* King Hamadān), because some of the Mohammedan saints are spoken of as Shāh. Cf. The practice of the Parsees addressing their priests as Pādshāh (king).

Ab'ul Barakat Khān. Thus reconstructed, it stands up to now. Like the Juma Masjid it is entirely built of wood. As large wooden structures, all built of wood, these two Masjids, especially the Juma Masjid, are worth seeing. The old structures of the Masjid having been twice burnt and once pulled down, the Persian inscriptions must be taken to be as old as only 1731 A.D.

There are two groups of Persian inscriptions on this Masjid of Shāh Hamadān. One is on the outside of the Masjid, over and near the door-way, and the other inside the qibla-gāh or arch of worship. Rev. Loewenthal⁴ has published the inscriptions of the first group, *i.e.*, those which are outside on the entrance. So, I do not give them here. Here and there, I may translate them a little differently, but that is not a very important matter. However, this group of inscriptions require a few observations, which I will make here, before giving the second group of inside inscriptions, which, so far as I know, have not been published. Rev. Loewenthal has given the outside inscriptions in three sets or parts. I beg to draw attention to the following points in connection with these sets, with a view to help those who want to examine personally at some time the inscriptions, and with a view to give some proper amendations :

(a) The lines which Rev. Loewenthal has given second in his paper (p. 281), which begin with the words چون شد and which give the date of Shāh Hamadān's death, stand first in the inscription.

(b) The lines in his second (really speaking the first) set are one below another as given by him in his first set and not one by the side of another. On the other hand, the lines of the couplets in his first (really speaking the second) set are one by the side of another and not one below another, as given by him.

(c) In the case of the third set of lines as given by Rev. Loewenthal, the two lines in the first row occur on our right hand side facing the gate, the lines of the row being one under another. The

⁴ "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir". J.B.A.S. Vol. 33 (1865), pp. 278-90.

lines of the second row beginning with the words *هر فیض* are inscribed on the left hand side.

(d) Rev. Loewenthal has headed his second set (which in fact stands first) on the entrance door of the Masjid with the words *تاریخ وفات وی* (*i.e.*, "the date of his death"). I did not find them. During my third visit to Kashmir I visited the Masjid three times. The third visit was specially made to ascertain again, if the words occurred in the inscription, and I did not find them. So, I think, they were put in by Rev. Loewenthal by mistake. Possibly, somebody, connected with the Masjid, who accompanied him and helped him in copying the inscriptions, as they occasionally do when we visit the Masjids and try to read the inscriptions thereon, merely said to him in Persian, *by way of information*, that the inscription in question referred to his (Shāh Hamadān's) death (*tārīkh-i-wafāt-i-waē*), and he mistook the words for the inscription itself and took them down.

(e) The inscription begins with the following well known Arabic pray erformula above the arched door: *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*
(In the name of God, the kind, the beneficent).⁵ Rev. Loewenthal has not given it. It is below the above Arabic formula, that the lines of the first two sets of inscriptions, as given by him, run.

Now, I come to the second group of inscriptions: those in the inside of the Masjid. I give them below. They are not given by Rev. Loewenthal, perhaps, because he was not allowed to go in, or perhaps because, having been written on the painted wood of the Mihrāb of the Qiblah, where it is generally a little dark he did not see them. During my two visits to the Masjid, though the days were clear and the visits were in the morning at about 9-30 a.m., I had to send for candles and a ladder to read the inscription.

⁵ This well-known Arabic prayer formula is in the line of a well-known Parsi Pahlavi formula, *pavan sham-i Yahān*, as also in that of the well-known Pazand and Persian formula which precedes many Parsee prayers

بنام ایزد بخشایند بخشایند بخشایند.

The inscription is on the wooden wall opposite to the entrance round about the Mihrāb or the arch.

(a) The wooden wall containing the Mihrāb may be divided into three parts from top to bottom. The second or the middle part round the Mihrāb has on its wooden panel the various names of God such as :

Names of God inserted on the Mihrāb.

يا قادر	i.e., O Powerful !
يا ظاهر	„ O Known !
يا باطن	„ O Concealed !
يا والى	„ O Guardian !
يا صمد	„ O Eternal !
يا مالک الملک	„ O Possessor of Countries !
يا ذوالجلال والاکرام	„ O Glorious and Venerable !
يا رب الہقا ⁶	„ O True God !
يا تواب	„ O Relenting !
يا رب	„ O Lord !
يا منعم	„ O Beneficent !
يا مقتدر	„ O Powerful !
يا غفور	„ O Pardoner !
يا روف	„ O Merciful !

The Persian inscriptions proper over the Mihrāb.

(b) The following lines are inscribed on the three sides of the Mihrāb beginning from below on the right hand side as we stand facing it :

شاہباز ہوا لامکان است علی
 شہ جہان بی نشانست علی
 شاہمدان علی و آل طہر
 نقد علی و علی ثانی است علی
 7
 بیرون⁸ ز فیضہای عالم جسمانی است

⁶ Probably یا حق

⁷ This line could not be read as it was hidden under a lamp socket.

⁸ According to Professor Sarfraz in a note submitted to the Editor, miswritten for فضای

آنرا بود طریق شاه ہمدان
شاه ہمدانی کہ علی ثانی است

Translation. " 'Ali ⁹ is like the falcon (*shāh-bāz*) of the air (which is) without any settled place. Ali, is the king of the world (which is) without any sign (*bī-niṣhan*). *shāh* Hamdān is like 'Ali and of the progeny (*āl*) of Muhammad. ¹⁰ 'Ali is the very spirit (*naqd*) of 'Ali and 'Ali of Hamadān is (as it were) the second 'Ali He is above the favours of the corporeal world. That road (*i.e.*, of being above worldly favours) is the path (*ṭarīq*) of *shāh-é-Hamadān*. It is the road of *shāh-é-Hamadān* who is second 'Ali."

(c) The following four lines are inscribed in small letters over the *Mihrāb* :

ہر فیض کہ در سابقہ ہر دو جہانست
در پیروی حضرت شاه ہمدانست
شاه ہمدان آنکہ شاہنشاه جہانست
ای خاک بر آن دیدہ کہ در زیب و گمانست

Translation.—"Every favour which is excellent¹¹ in both the worlds results from following (*pae-ravi*) of His Holiness *Shāh* Hamadān. *Shāh* Hamadān, who is the Emperor of the World. May dust fall on that eye (*dideh*) which is in doubts (*raib*) and scepticism (about him, *i.e.*, which doubts his piety and power)".

These four lines are a repetition of four outside lines on the entrance which form the first set in Rev. Loewenthal's paper, but with one difference, *viz.*, that while the third line in the inside runs as :

شاه ہمدان آنکہ شاہنشاه جہانست

⁹ Mir Sayyid 'Ali was the original name of *Shāh* Hamadān whose name the mosque bears.

¹⁰ *طہر* for *طہارت* = pure. Here by "the Holy" is meant Muḥammad the Holy Prophet. Professor Sarfraz suggests the translation of the above lines as follows: "The Royal Falcon of the air of Spaceless Region is Ali. The King of the traceless World is Ali. The chief of Mankind and the family of T. H. . . . and the second Ali is Ali of Hamadān. . . . That way is the way of (adopted by) *Shāh* Hamadān. That *Shāh-é-Hamadān* who is the second Ali".

¹¹ 'Sābiqa' = pre-excellence, precedence, superiority.

that on the outside runs as :

شاه ہمدان بلکہ شاہنشاہ جہانست

Instead of the word *ān ke*, we have *balke*, but that does not make much difference in sense.

It seems that they were latterly written in the inside of the Masjid. The fact that they are inscribed in letters smaller than those of the other lines seems to show this. Again, below these lines we read the words :

عاقبت خیر باد ۱۲۰۸

(“May it be good in the end. 1208”.)

So, it seems that the outside four lines on the entrance were inscribed in the inside, later on, in 1208 Hijri (1793 A.C.)

(d) The following lines are written over the arch in a straight line over the above set of lines :

حضرت شاہ ہمدانی کریم
آیتہ رحمت ز کلام قدیم
بگفت دم آخر و تاریخ شد
بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

Translation. “His Holiness the generous Shāh-é-Hamadān said an āyat (*i.e.*, verse) of kindness from ancient sayings, at the last breath (*i.e.*, at the time of death), *viz.*, ‘bismillā alrahman al rahīm’ (*i.e.*, in the name of God, the kind, the beneficent) and (these words) became (his) date.”

The Arabic formula of Bismilla gives us 786 Hijri (1384 A.D.) as the date of his death. This date (786 Hijri) corresponds with the date of his death, given in one of the above mentioned outside inscriptions which runs thus :

چو شد از گاہ احمد خاتم دین
ز ہجرت ہفت صد و ستہ و ثمانین
برفت از عالم فانی بباقی
امیر ہر دو عالم آل یاسین

Translation.—"When seven hundred and eighty-six years Hijri passed from the time of Ahmad, the seal of religion, then there passed away from (this) transient world to the eternal world, the Amir of both the worlds of the family of Yāsīn".¹³

(e) The following inscriptions on wooden tablets some of which, having got out of their proper position, are nailed, and one of which is missing, are found on the top of the above mentioned inscriptions :

شاهباز کریم بر من درویش نگر
 بر حال من خستند دلریش نگر
 بر چند نیم لایق لطف و کرم
 بر من منگر بر کرم خویش نگر

Translation.—"O Generous royal falcon!¹⁴ Look towards me (who am) a *darwish*. Look to the condition of myself (who am) depressed and heart-broken. However unfit for your kindness and generosity I may be, do not look towards me, but look towards your own generosity [*i.e.*, if you find me faulty, kindly do not look to (*i.e.*, overlook) my faults and out of your own generosity of mind be kind to me]".

(f) Then follow the two Arabic lines with the word Allāh, on both sides and with the names of Allāh, Muhammed, Abūbakra, *Hasan*, 'Usmān and Āli on both sides.

The order of the above-said inscriptions over the inner *Mihrāb* is in the following order from up to down below :

- (1) An Arabic inscription.
- (2) Another Arabic inscription.
- (3) Then the Persian inscription on wooden tablets, some of which, getting loose, have been nailed.
- (4) Then the Persian inscription with large types which run up from below from the right hand side and then over the top and then run down on the left.

¹³ Ahmed was one of the names of Muhammad, and Yāsīn is one of his surnames.

¹⁴ *Shāh* Hamadān is compared to the royal falcon (*Shāh-bāz*) and is addressed as such.

- (5) Then the inscription in smaller letters, which is also inscribed outside the Masjid on the entrance.

There is an inscription on the outside of a building which is attached to the Masjid and which stands on the bank of the river above the place held sacred in honour of Kālī. It runs as follows :

An inscription
on an attached
building.

تعلی اللہ چہ عالی باز گاہی
تجلی گاہ انوار است چو طور
فلک تاریخ تعمیرش ہمچست
ملک گفتا بنا شد خانہ نور
راقمہ عزیز سنہ ۱۲۶۹

Translation.—"O Exalted God! What an exalted place of honour (bārgāh) it is! It is a place of splendour of lights like a mountain (Tūr)¹⁵. Heaven inquired about the date of its erection. The angel said 'bina shud khāna-i-nūr' (i.e., it was erected as the house of splendour). Writer Aziz year 1269."

The words نور بنا شد خانہ نور give the date as (2+50+1+300+4+600+1+50+5+50+6+200=) 1269. This year 1269 Hijri corresponds to A.C. 1852-53. It shows that it is a comparatively recent structure.

There are some later inscriptions on the entrance of the Masjid which are not the permanent inscriptions of the Masjid itself, but are rather votive inscriptions written on detached cardboard-like papers and pinned on the walls. One of such inscriptions is a copy of an inscription at Hazrat Bal, of which I will speak later on. Under this quotation of the Hazrat Bal inscription there runs the following Arabic line :

ومن دخل ہی کان آمنا

i. e. He who enters this place gets peace.

A FEW INSCRIPTIONS IN THE JUMMA MASJID OF SRINAGAR.

During my visit of the Jumma Masjid on 11th July 1915, I saw the following three inscriptions :

¹⁵ Tūr—a mountain, Mount Sinai is especially known by that name.

1. An inscription on the Gate, of the time of Jehangir giving the date of the construction of the Masjid after the destruction, by fire, of the original building.
2. An inscription of a Farmān or Order of Shah Jehan, ordering relief to the people of Kashmir in several directions.
3. An inscription on a stone tablet, divided into two parts and lying in a wing of the Masjid on the right hand side, while entering it.

Rev. Loewenthal gives, in his above mentioned paper, "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir" (*J.B.A.S.*, 1864, Vol.

33, No. 3, p. 278 *et seq.*), the last two of the above

1. *The inscription on the entrance to the Masjid.*

inscriptions, which he heads as "Inscription on and near the Great Mosque." He has not given the first inscription, which, as far as I know, is

unpublished. It is on the very top of the gate. Rev. Loewenthal did not give it, perhaps, because it is mutilated, as the result of the fire that destroyed the original building. It is written at the top of the entrance in three rows, each row containing three miṣras (hemistichs). The right hand portion of the inscription is destroyed by wear and tear and by the fire above referred to. It seems that the present inscription is what remained after the fire in the reign of Aurangzeb. This king, though he rebuilt the Masjid burnt by fire, added no inscription to record his work of reconstruction. He or his officers, simply got the old inscription of the time of Jehangir replaced, however mutilated, on the top of the gate. We do not find on the gate the whole of the inscription as I give it. The burnt or destroyed portion was given to me orally by a Maulvi in charge of the Masjid, who said, that his authority was some written manuscript, in which, perhaps, the inscription was recorded before the fire which occurred in the time of Aurangzeb. He said that even in the manuscript referred to by him, some lines were missing. Not having seen the manuscript itself, I am not in a position to say, whether, as he said, the missing lines are not found in the manuscript. I do not find fault with his memory, as he recited the lines pretty fluently. I enclose in parenthesis the portion which I did not find in the inscription on the entrance, but which was kindly given to

me orally by him. The last line of the inscription runs vertically on the left hand side of the inscription.

16 [نخستین مسجد جامع ز شه اسکندر ثانی
 عمارت یافت وانگه سوخت از تقدیر ربانی
 پس از چندین حسن شاه] آنکه بود از نسل پاک او
 [بشد بانی این مسجد هم] از توفیق ربانی
 ولیکن از دو جانب نه ستون آراست نه سقفش
 ز ابراهیم احمد ماگری شد راست تادانی
 [ز هجرت نهد و نه بود تا دور محمد شاه
 که این جنت سرا شد زینت دین مسلمانی
 بتاریخ هزار و بست و نه از] هجرت سید
 بروز عید روزه سوخته در نوبت ثانی
 ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عهد جهانگیری
 نهاد از نو بنایش باز روز عید قربانی
 رساند از اهتمام او باتمام
 ملک حیدر رئیس الملک کشمیر
 بروئی جهه ناربخش خرد گفت

Translation.—“At first, the Jāme‘Masjid was built by king Sikandar the second, and then it was burnt through the destiny of God. After some time, Hasan shāh who was from his holy descent, became the constructor¹⁷ of this Masjid through divine guidance. But he erected neither the columns on both sides nor the roof¹⁸. Know that they were erected by Ibrāhim Aḥmad Māgrī. From Hijri nine hundred and nine till the time of Muḥammad shāh, this paradise-like building became the ornament of the Musulman religion. In the year one thousand and twenty-nine

¹⁶ The beginnings and ends of the lines given here are as they are found in the inscription itself.

¹⁷ Ar. Bāni, Maker; builder.

¹⁸ Saqf = roof.

of the Hijrat of Muḥammad¹⁹, on the day of the 'Īd of Rauza (Ramazan), it was burnt down for the second time. Malik Ḥaidar Ra'is-ul-mulk (*i.e.*, the chief of the country) in the time of Jehangir laid its new foundation again on the day of the 'Īd of Qurban.

Malik Ḥaidar, the chief of the country of Kashmir, brought it to completion with care. By way of endeavour, *kherad* (*i.e.*, wisdom) is said to be its date.²⁰

We learn from this inscription the following facts :

1. The Masjid was first built (Hijri 804=1401-2 A.C.) by Sikandar,²¹ a king of Kashmir, who began reigning at the end of the 14th Century A.C.
2. After being burnt by fire it was rebuilt by one of his descendants Ḥasan shāh.
3. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Māgrī²² added a portion to the Masjid. This was in 909 Hijri (1503 A.C.) in the time of Muḥammad shāh.
4. On the day of the Ramazan 'Īd on 1029 (1619 A.C.) it was again burnt down.
5. Malik Ḥaidar, in the reign of Jehangir, rebuilt it and laid the foundation of the new building, perhaps on the very next 'Īd-i-Qurban.
6. The Hijri year 804 (1401-2 A.C.) was the date of its first construction.

Pandit Anand Koul²³ thus gives a short history of the Masjid. It was—

“Built originally by Sikandar in 1404 with the materials of a large stone temple constructed by King Tárápida (693-97 A.D.). The roof of the four surrounding cloisters of the building is supported by two rows of pillars, 372 in all, the smaller ones measuring above 21 feet in height, while the loftier ones under the domes and spires being more than double that height—

¹⁹ Saiyid was a title of the prophet.

²⁰ The word كهراد (*kherad*) gives the date as 804, ($\text{ح} = 600 + \text{ج} = 200 + \text{د} = 4$), *i.e.*, 1401-2 A.C.

²¹ He was known as Sikandar But-shakan, *i.e.*, the Iconoclast. He came to throne in 1394 A.C.

²² Māgrī is said to be a Suni sect of the Mahomedans of Kashmir.

²³ Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State, by Pandit Anand Koul (1913), pp. 56-57.

producing a most imposing effect. The court-yard measures 254 × 234 feet. There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.

“The history of Jāma Masjid is of interest and it has passed through many vicissitudes. Thrice it was destroyed by fire and rebuilt: once in 1479, again in the days of Jehangir in 1619 and once more during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1674; the present structure dating from the days of Aurangzeb. In the time of Sikhs, it was closed for 23 years and was re-opened in 1841 by Ghulām Moḥi-ud-dīn, one of the governors of Sikhs. The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now, men from Ladākḥ visit the Jāma Masjid and call it by its old name Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.”

With the help of our inscription, we are able to correct the date of the original construction of the Masjid, 1404 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul. Our inscription gives the date in the word خرد (*kherad*, which, according to the *memoria technica* of *abjad* gives to us, as seen above, the date 804 Hijri). No exact day of the month and the month are given in our inscription, but as the Hijri year (804) began on 11th August 1401²⁴, it is certain, that the corresponding Christian year must be 1401 or 1402 and not 1404.

The date of the burning of the Masjid in the time of Jehangir 1619 A.C., as given by Pandit Anand Koul is supported by our inscription, which says that after its second destruction by fire, it was rebuilt by Malik Ḥaidar in 1029 Hijri. The Hijri year 1029 began on 8th December 1619. So the date as given by the inscription corresponds to that given by the Pandit. The date of its first re-construction as given by him is 1479 A.C. Our inscription does not give the date, but simply says that it was rebuilt by Ḥasan shāh, a descendant of Sikandar, the first builder. This Ḥasan shāh²⁵ was a prince of the Royal family, but he never ruled.

As Aurangzeb, on its third re-construction at his hand after its third destruction by fire, had not placed any new inscription on the Masjid with his date, we are not in a position to check from the inscription the date 1674 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul.

²⁴ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary (*vide* the Chronological Table at the end).

²⁵ Sikandar came to throne in 1394 A.C., and Zain-ul 'Ābidin succeeded him in 1417. He was succeeded by his son Ḥājī Khān in 1469 under the name of Ḥaidar Shāh. So Ḥasan Shāh may be one of his brothers, (Lawrence, *Kashmir*. pp. 190-93).

Sir Walter Lawrence, in his account of the Masjid in his very valuable book on Kashmir, refers to this inscription and says: "Verses on the door of the mosque state that the mosque was originally built by the great King Zain-ul-Abadin."²⁶ He is not correct in this statement. The verses do not speak of Zain-ul-'ābidīn as the first constructor but speak of Sikandar as such. Zain-ul-'ābidīn came to the throne of Kashmir in 1417²⁷ A.C. (820 Hijri). Sikandar (But-Shekan) came to the throne in 1394 A.C. (797 Hijri).²⁸ Now the date of the first construction given in the inscription, as seen above, is 804 Hijri (*i.e.* 1401-02 A.C.). So, evidently this is the time of the reign of Sikandar and not of Zain-ul-'ābidīn.

Again, he speaks of its being "finally finished by Ibrahim and Ahmad Magre."²⁹ The inscription does not give any *wāw* (و) between the two names signifying "and". So, it seems that Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Māgrī is one name and not two as suggested by him.

This inscription confirms what I have said in my preceding paper on "The Moguls at Kashmir" about Ḥaidar Malik or Malik Ḥaidar: He had a great hand in building some of the public buildings of the time of Jehangir. As it was often the case in the time of the Moghul Emperors, the literary men of the royal courts besides doing their literary work, held some great offices in the state. Abu'l Faẓl was a historian as well as a great official; so was Faizī. Malik Ḥaidar was a man of that stamp. He was a literary man writing a history of his country, and was also, as it were, an officer in charge of the Public Works Department of Shah Jehangir's time. In fact, the Maulvi of the Masjid who accompanied me in my inspection of the Masjid and its inscriptions, on being asked by me as to who Malik Ḥaidar was, used the English word "Engineer" about him. In this inscription, he is also spoken of as the Raīs-ul-mulk (*i.e.* the Chief or the Governor of Kashmir).

After I had completed the inscription on the top and got down from the ladder, I was told that the inscription bore in a corner the

²⁶ *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 191.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 190.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 290.

words عمل بریرام *i.e.* (in the time of the) management³⁰ of Harirām. As I had felt exhausted and as it had gone late, I did not go up the ladder again-to verify whether the words were there. But taking it that the words were there, it seems that this Hindu Officer may be a superintendent acting under the instructions of his head officer Malik Ḥaidar.

There is on the gate of the Masjid an inscription which has nothing to do with the Masjid itself. It is a farmān of Shah Jehān

2. *The Inscription on the Masjid publishing a farmān of Shāh Jehān.* ordering redress for some grievances of the people of Kashmir. It seems, that it was put up on the gate of the Masjid, so that all people attending it for worship may read it and be informed of the orders of the king for the removal of their grievances. Rev. Loewenthal has given the inscription of the farmān with his translation.³¹ On my comparing Rev. Loewenthal's copy with the original on the Masjid, I found that his copy required about 18 corrections, but most of these were on trivial and insignificant points. On the whole, his work was very well done. In some cases, he seems to have intentionally amended the reading, as they seem to be the inscriber's error. His text therefore being almost all correct, I did not copy the inscription of the farmān but carefully noted down the small errors.

A list of amendments in Loewenthal's reading. I give below a list of the changes and amendments required to be made in Loewenthal's reading:—

The inscription begins with the usual formal words of invocation of God الله اکبر which Loewenthal has omitted, though he has given them in his translation.

Line 7—The word فرمان farmān as given by Loewenthal does not occur in the inscription.

Line 10—Read باشد for باشند

Line 10—Read یکی بانست for یکی آنست. Loewenthal seems to have amended the text, and that very properly

³⁰ The word means rule or dominion. It also means action. So Prof. Sarfraz suggests that the name may be that of the inscriber himself.

³¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. 33 (1865), pp. 287-290.

as ب is unnecessary. We do not find it in the later portion of the farmān, where a similar construction occurs.

Line 15—Read زعفران زعفرانرا for

Line 17—Add و before عمل در

Line 24—Add و before رعایا

Line 24—Read آن for این

Line 25—Read معاف before وجه

Line 29—Read بمقتضای for بمقتضای

Line 33—Read میرسد for میرسیده

Line 34—Read از آن مردم بعضی before

Line 35—Read قرق for قرق (Loewenthal's amended reading seems to be correct.)

Line 37—Add و before تغییر, and after ندهند

Line 37—Drop هر کسکه after کم

Line 38—Read فی التاریخ for فی تاریخ (Loewenthal's amendment seems to be correct.)

Line 39—For ۲۶ (in figures), read بست و ششم (in words.)

Line 39—Read آذر for آذر

As it is an important historical inscription I give here my translation for easy reference.

Translation.

“God is great ³²

“Shāh Jahān, the brave king.

“A copy of the auspicious³³ Farmān (order) of His Majesty (who is) Solomon-like in dignity, the second Ṣāhib qirān,³⁴ which was published³⁵ on the seventh of Ilāhī month Asfandārmaz,

³² Rev. Loewenthal has omitted the words الله اکبر in the text of the Farmān, though he has translated them.

³³ Sa'adat-neshān= of happy signs.

³⁴ Lord of a happy conjunction (of stars). This was a title first applied to Taimur and then secondly to his successor.

³⁵ Sharf-i-varud yafte, lit. had the honour of appearance.

in compliance with the request of the humblest of the dependants, Aḥsan Allah bearing the title of Zafarkhān, in the matter of the removal of the wrongs (*bid'athā*) which were prevalent in the country of beautiful Kashmir, in the time of the previous subahdārs and which were the cause of the adversity of the subjects and inhabitants of this country.

“As³⁶ all our thought of exalted desire³⁷ is directed and turned towards the contentment of (our) people, we have ordered, that several acts, which, within the boundaries (*khitta*) of beautiful Kashmir, were the cause of annoyance to the inhabitants of that country, may be cancelled.³⁸ Out of all (such) affairs (or cases), one is this, that at the time of gathering saffron, they carried away (poor) people with violence (‘unf), so that they may gather saffron (from the plants) and they gave to these people a little salt by way of wages. These people are much harmed on this account. We have ordered that by no means (aslan) should anybody be molested for gathering saffron; and for that (saffron) which is in the district of favoured (*sharīfa*) Government lands (*khalṣah*), the labourers shall be made contented and paid their actual (*wāgi'i*) wages; and for that which is in the district in the possession of Jāgirdārs, the whole of the saffron³⁹ may be given in the stock (*jins*) in charge of the Jāgirdār, so that they may gather it in any way they like. The second (affair) is this: that in the times of some subah-holders of Kashmir, on every *kharwār*⁴⁰ of rice,⁴¹ they took two *dāms*⁴² on account of fuel⁴³ and⁴⁴ during the rule of I'tiqād *khān*,

³⁶ Between the above few lines of heading and this portion, which is the Farmān proper, Loewenthal gives in his text, the word فرمان but we do not find it in the inscription itself.

³⁷ Himmat-i walā nahmat.

³⁸ برطرف باشد Loewenthal, has given باشد instead of باشد

³⁹ Loewenthal omits را after the word زعفران

⁴⁰ Lit. an ass load. It was “the measure of a hundred Tabriz maunds” (Steingass). Loewenthal takes it to be 180 pounds.

⁴¹ Shali=rice in the husk.

⁴² Dām=the fourteenth part of a rupee.

⁴³ Haizam, Avesta *aesma* (skt. *idhma*).

⁴⁴ Loewenthal has omitted this و.

four dāms for that purpose were taken on each *kharwār*. As, in this respect also, much harm resulted to (our) subjects, we have ordered, that our subjects shall be excused altogether from the demand of this obligation (*wajh*) and nothing shall be taken for fuel.

“Another (affair) is this, that from every village, the Government revenue of which was more than 400 *kharwārs* of rice, the Governors of that village took two sheep every year, and I’tiqād *khān*, during the time of his subah-ship, instead of sheep, took 66 dāms per every sheep. As in this respect also much harm resulted to the subjects, we have wholly ordered that (the impost) shall be cancelled, and that neither sheep shall be taken nor cash in the matter of this charge (‘*illat*) and ⁴⁵ the subjects shall be excused from the payment of the money (or obligation).⁴⁶

“Again, I’tiqād *Khān* during the time of his subah-ship, was, showing an average, taking from each boatman (*malāhi*, sea-faring man), whether young or old or of tender age, 75 dāms, but the old practice was that for youth, per head, 60 dāms, for an old man 12 dāms and for one of tender age 36 dāms were taken. We have ordered that putting the former practice into force, the wrong (*bid‘at*) which I’tiqād *khān* had committed, shall be known as redressed and they shall not act as thereby required (*muqtaza*).⁴⁷

“Another (affair) is this, that *sūbahdārs*, during the time of fruit (season), appointed somebody of their own (to stay) in every (large) garden or small garden, where they expected good fruit, so that they may look after the fruit for them (*i.e.*, *sūbahdārs*) and did not allow the owners of the large or small gardens to come in

⁴⁵ Loewenthal omits the و.

⁴⁶ The inscription has گرفتن این وجه but Loewenthal gives گرفتن آن

⁴⁷ Loewenthal gives the words as مقتضای but, as given in the inscription, the word seems to be مقتضامی *i.e.* in the inscription there is a م before the final ی. As there is no Persian word like *muqtazāmi* Loewenthal seems to have very properly corrected the reading.

possession of the fruit. From this cause, much loss results⁴⁸ to these people (gardeners), so much so that some (ba'zī)⁴⁹ of these people have removed (*i.e.* destroyed their) fruit trees. (So) we have ordered that the Šūbahdār shall make no seizure (qarq) of the fruits of anyone's large or small garden.

“It is necessary that (all) generous governors and efficient⁵⁰ civil officers (diwāniān) and executive officers of the present times or future of the Šūbah of Kashmir, should know these orders, which are required to be obeyed by all (jahān-muṭā) to be lasting and perpetual and⁵¹ give no way to any change or alteration in these (above) regulations; and⁵² anybody⁵³ who will give way to any change or alteration, shall be involved in the curse of God and the anger of the king.

Written on date⁵⁴ twenty-six month Āzar Ilāhī.”

It is very strange that, though we find in the Farmān, the day and the month of its issue (26th of Āzar) and the date of its being recorded in the books (7th of Asfandārmaḡ), we do not find the year. One cannot understand the reason. But let us try to arrive at some approximate year. We find from what is said in the wording of the heading of the Farmān, that it was issued at the request of Aḡsan Alla⁵⁵ Zafar Khān. So let us know something of the life of this personage.

The Date of the Farmān.

⁴⁸ Loewenthal gives the word as *mirasad* but the word in the inscription is *mi-rasidah*.

⁴⁹ Loewenthal has omitted this word.

⁵⁰ Kifayat farjām, lit. of sufficient or capable ends or issues.

⁵¹ Loewenthal has omitted this و.

⁵² Loewenthal has omitted this و.

⁵³ Loewenthal repeats کم after کسکم. The inscription-properly gives کسکم.

⁵⁴ Loewenthal gives فی التاریخ but in the inscription itself we do not find fi.

⁵⁵ Loewenthal takes Aḡsan-Allah to be common words and not a proper name. He translates them as “May God be gracious to him.” But he is wrong, the words form a part of the names, as we will see later on.

We learn the following facts of his life from the *Ma'athiru-l-umarā*.⁵⁶ His name is given there as Zafar Khān Khwājah Aḥsan Allāh (ظفر خان خواجه احسن الله). At first, in the 19th year⁵⁷ of the reign of Jehangir,⁵⁸ he was at Kabul with his father Abū-al-Hasan, who was the Šūbahdār there. He had then the *Mansab* of 1500, the command of 600 troops and the title of Zafar Khān. In the last year of the reign of Jehangir, he was on a *Mansab* of 2500 and in the command of 1200 troops. In the third year of Shah Jehān's reign (*i.e.*, 1630 A.C.), he took part in the conquest of Nasik and Tarbang (Trimbak). In the fifth year of Jehangir's reign (*i.e.* 1632), the šūbahship of Kashmir was taken away from the hands of I'tiqād Khān⁵⁹ and given to his (Zafar Khān's) father. He was his father's deputy there. The next year (*i.e.* 1633 A.C.) on his father's death, he was given the Šūbahship of Kashmir. He was then given a *manṣab* of 3000 and the command of 2000 troops. He was also given the grant ('atā) of a banner and drums. In the 7th year (1635 A.C.), when the King (Shah Jehan) went to Kashmir, he went as far as Bhatbhar (بہتہار) to receive him. In the 10th year (1638 A.C.), he was sent to Tibet⁶⁰ (تبت). In the 11th year (1639 A.C.), he returned from there. In the 12th year (1640 A.C.), his Šūbahship of Kashmir ended, and he went to punish the people of Hazarat. He was there with Prince Muḥammad Murād. He was relieved from the work of this

⁵⁶ The *Ma'athiru-l-umarā*, by Nawab Šamsāmūd Daulā Shāh Nawāz Khān, edited by Maulawī Abd-ūr Raḥīm and Maulawī Mirzā Ashraf Ali (1890), Vol. 2, p.706.

⁵⁷ *i.e.*, 1624-25 A.C. Jehangir ascended the throne on "Thursday-Jumādā Thani 20th A.H. 1014 (October 24th 1605)". Jehangir's Memoirs translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol I, p. 1.

⁵⁸ In the *Ma'athiru-l-Umara*, in the account of the life of Zafar Khān, the Mogul kings are not named, but mentioned by their religious appellations. Jehangir is spoken of as Jannat-makāni (Vol. 11, page 756 l.14). Shāh-Jahān is spoken of as Firdous Ashiāni (*Ibid* p. 757 l.1) and Aurangzeb as Khuld-makāni, *i.e.* exalted to heaven. (*Ibid* p. 760 l.10).

⁵⁹ In the *Ma'athiru-l-umarā* he is spoken of as Itiqād Khān Shāhpūr شہ پور (Vol. 11, p. 757 l.15.)

⁶⁰ Here our author gives some account of the growth of corn and fruits in Tibet.

expedition in the next year. Being under censure, he occupied no post for two years. In the 15th year (1642 A.C.), he was appointed Šubah of Kashmir for the second time. The King, when he, in the spring of the 18th year of his reign, visited Kashmir, honoured with his presence the garden of Z̤afar-ābād which was made by Z̤afar Khān. In recognition of his upright conduct (ḥusn sulūki), whereby he had pleased the subjects and inhabitants (of Kashmir), he was given a promotion (izāfa) of a command of 1000 troops. Then he was promoted in maṅṣabship. He was appointed governor of Tatta (in Sind). Then he had again to go into retirement ('uzlat). He had again risen to the maṅṣab of Rs. 40,000. He died in the 6th year of the reign of Aurangzeb in 1073 Hijri.

We find from this account of the life of Z̤afar Khān, that Shah Jahān visited Kashmir twice,—for the first time, in the 7th year of his reign, *i.e.* 1021 Hijri⁶¹ (1605-1606), and for the second time, in the 18th year, *i.e.* 1032 Hijri (1622-23). The second visit is mentioned in the Ma'athiru-l-umara, as having taken place in the spring. It seems that Z̤afar Khān must have drawn the attention of Shāh Jahān to the exactions of the former Governors of Kashmir during the second visit of the king, because according to this book it was during the second visit that Z̤afar Khān made a very favourable impression on the king on account of his upright conduct and was given a promotion. Our author mentions in his account of the second visit, that the subjects of Kashmir were pleased by the rule of Z̤afar Khān. Again, the Farmān speaks of the people of the country as sakana (سکانه) and ra'āyā (رعایا) *i.e.* as inhabitants and subjects, and the king wants to please them by redressing certain of their grievances. We find, that the Ma'athiru-l-umarā, while speaking of how Z̤afar Khan pleased the people, speaks of them as ra'āyā and sakanā (p. 759 l.15).

We thus see, that the farmān may have been issued by Shah Jahān during the second visit, during the 18th year of his reign, *i.e.* in Hijri 1032 (A.C. 1622-23). As the visit was in spring, the time must be some time after March 1923.

⁶¹ The Hijri year 1021 commenced on the 4th March 1612 and the Hijri year 1032 on 5th November 1622.

The Parsi names of the months in the inscription of the farmān draw our attention. We know that the names of the months are according to the Ilāhī calendar introduced by Akbar. Jehangir and Shah Jahan had both continued this calendar. Aurangzeb did away with its use. So, the names are not properly understood now. The Maulavi who was at the Masjid, when I visited it, did not know the origin of the use of these names. On being asked, he said that the name Asfandārmaz was Turkī and that as the Mogul Emperors had some relations with the Turks, they used the Turkī name.

I give below a third inscription in the Jame' Masjid at Kashmir. It is given by Loewenthal as having existed on a well. At present, there exists no well there. On inquiry during my visit in 1918 A.C., I learnt that the well was filled up about five years ago, *i.e.* in about 1913 and a road has been made over it. However fortunately, the inscription stone had been removed from the well and during my visit I saw it in the Masjid itself. I give the inscription, which can be taken as a revised copy of the inscription, correcting some errors in Loewenthal's Text.

3. *The Inscription on a Well at Jame' Masjid.*

اللَّهُ 62

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

محمد

برآمد چشم فیض الهی
 بحسن سعی مشتى خاکساران
 بتوفیق خدا این کار محمود
 گرفت انجام و مشکل گشت آسان
 خلوص نیت و صدق ارادت
 شده صرف بنمایش از دل و جان
 پی دنیا و دین این آبرو بس
 که شوید روی خود زو هر مسلمان
 ازین چشم بانى چشم دارد
 که باید شست و شو طومار عصیان 63

62 Loewenthal has omitted this line of invocation.

63 According to Prof. Sarfraz the word seems to be miswritten for یادک

گناه خلق گردد شسته زین آب
 که باشد ⁶⁴ منبعش دریای عرفان
 بود وجه کرایه از دکا کین
 پی ترمیم حوضی فیض جریان
 خدایا بانیش را از تفضل
 بدست خود بده تشریف ایمان
 که دارد ورد خود این بیت اوستاد
 ز روی التجا با چشم گریان
 چه ناسم در ازل محمود کردی
 الهی عاقبت محمود گردان
 بدریای تفکر رفته آگه
 پی تاریخ این فرخنده بنیان
 خضر گفتا که جاری فیض ما باد
 همین تاریخ بنویس ای سخن دان
 اہم اغفر لبانیہ ولوالد یاغفار سنہ ۱۱۵۲

Translation.

“ God

Muhammad.

“ In the name of God, the Merciful, the Kind. (This) well ⁶⁵ of Divine favour was built by the handsome effort of the most humble of humble persons. Maḥmūd finished this work by the guidance of God and difficulty has been relieved. Sincerity of intention and truth of purpose from heart and soul have been spent on its construction. That every Musulman will wash his face from it (its water) is a sufficient honour (for me both) worldly and religious. The builder hopes that by (the construction of) this well, the account of sins shall be washed off and cleaned, that the

⁶⁴ Loewenthal has *منبعش* which seems to be a printer's mistake.

⁶⁵ Chasmah, “source, fountain.”

sins of all people may be washed away by this water, because its origin is from the sea of knowledge. The income of the rent of the shops shall go towards the reparation of the reservoir flowing⁶⁶ (or running) over with divine favour. O God! give to the builder, by your own hand, by way of honour⁶⁷ exalting good faith, because, by way of entreaty⁶⁸ (and) with imploring (lit. weeping) eyes, he keeps in daily practice⁶⁹ this couplet of his teacher. When, in the very beginning, you have made my name Maḥmūd, O God! let it, in the end (also) be Maḥmūd (lit. praised). In the sea of thought, for the date of this happy structure⁷⁰ this has gone current (lit. informed). Khazr said: "*Jārī faiz-i mā bād* (i.e., May my favour remain continuous). O wise man! write this as its structure's) date.

O God!⁷¹ O Pardoner!⁷² forgive the builder⁷³ and his father.⁷⁴ Year 1152."

Loewenthal gives the date as ۱۰۵۲ (1052) in the text of the inscription, and 1056 in his translation. Both the dates are wrong. The date 1056 in translation is evidently wrong, as he seems to have read the Persian numeral ۲ two for ۶ six. As to 1052, that also is wrong, because the chronogram of the date باد ما فیض ما ری جا gives 1152 as the date and not 1052. I think that Loewenthal seems to have omitted to read the first number 'one' and seems to have taken a nuṭṭah under a Persian letter in the line above to be a figure for a zero and so read ۱۰۵۲ (1052) for ۱۱۵۲ (1152). The above chronogram thus gives the date as 1152. (ج=3, ل=1, ر=200, ی=10, ف=80, ی=10, ض=800, م=40, ل=1, ب=2, ل=1, د=4).

The builder of the well, Maḥmūd, referred to in the above inscription, was, as I was told at the Masjid, one (خواجر محمود) Khwaja Maḥmūd Dīdeh-marī. I was told, that he is referred to in a book called *Tarīkh-i-Ḥasan*. He was a merchant and had also built a tank in Qariah-i Chera in the

⁶⁶ *Jarayan*, "flowing or running."

⁶⁷ *Tafazzul*. ⁶⁸ *Iltijā*.

⁶⁹ *Ward*, "practice of speaking

often."

⁷⁰ *Bunyan*. ⁷¹ *Allahum* God.

⁷² *Ghifar* "Pardoner, God." ⁷³ *Al bani*. ⁷⁴ *Al Walid*.

province (paragneh) of Cheharat (چهارت). He was known as Maḥmūd Dīdah-mari from the name of his place. I was told that the name of the place was connected with the visit of, and stay at, the place by Nūr Jehān. She was spoken of as the Dideh (eye) for her beauty.

AN INSCRIPTION AT HAZRAT-BAL.

The Shrine of Hazrat Bāl. This shrine is situated on the Dal lake. As said by Sir W. Lawrence : ⁷⁵

“The sanctity of Hazrat Bāl is due to the presence of one of the Prophet’s hairs, which was brought to Kashmir from Medina by Saiyid ‘Abdullāh in 1111 A.H. Saiyid ‘Abdullāh sold the hair to a merchant, Nūr Din, for one lakh of rupees, and Nūr Din exhibited the relic in Srinagar. . . . Four other shrines in Srinagar boast that they possess a hair of the Prophet. . . . The hairs are exhibited six times in the year at the various shrines, but the villagers all go to the Hazrat Bāl shrine.”

I had the pleasure of seeing it in the month of May or June during my second visit to Kashmir. The following inscription in the Shrine refers to the hair :

محتاجان را بوقت حاجت طلبی
موی مدد دست رسول عربی
تاریخ نزول با یکی هاتف گفت
کشمیر مدینه بشد از موی نبی
۱۱۱۱ هجری

Translation.

“To the needy, at the time of their solicitation, the hair of the Prophet of Arabia is a help. A guardian angel (hātif) said to one, as the date of its arrival, ‘Kashmir became Madineh by the hair of the Prophet.’ Hijri 1111.”

The last line forming the chronogram thus gives us the date of the arrival of the hair from Madineh as 1111 Hijri (1699 A.C.) :

کشمیر مدینه بشد از موی نبی
= 570 + 109 + 306 + 8 + 56 + 62
= 1111.

It is said of the above Nūr Dīn (خواجہ نورالدین) that he lived in a village named Ishkhari. He had gone to Bijapur for trade, and while there, had purchased the hair from a Saiyid, who

⁷⁵ The Valley of Kashmir, p. 299.

said, he had brought it from Madineh. The hair was kept at first in the garden of Ṣādiq-khān (صادق خان), who was a great minister of the reign of Jehangir. He was a pious Mohammadan and had built the monastery of Ṣhāikh Wajihu-d-dīn at Ahmedabad.⁷⁶ The hair was placed in a building in the garden of Ṣādiq Khān on the Dal lake and the place took the name of “Hazrat Bāl, *i.e.*, “the place (bāl) of the Hazrat (Prophet).” The word *bāl* may be taken to be arabic *bāl* meaning ‘heart soul’ or perhaps it is P. *bāl* meaning “the hair on the pubes” (Steingass. In Sanskrit also *bāl* बाल is hair.

We read the following inscription on a prominent place of Hazrat Bāl :

محمد عربي کابروي ٻردو سراسٽ⁷⁷
کسيکه نيست خاک درش خاک بر سر او

Translation.

“May Dust be on the head of that person who is not (considering himself as) the dust of the door of him, *i.e.*, Muḥammed-è-‘Arabi (*i.e.*, of Arabia) who is (the source of) honour to both the worlds.”

AN INSCRIPTION ON A BRIDGE AT RENAWARI.

We find the following inscription on a bridge at Renāwar on our way to the Dal lake by boat :

بر سنگ نوشته بود نقاش
دنیا نکند وفا تو خوش باش
گر جمع کنی تمام عالم
با خود نبری دو دانه خشخاش

Translation.

“The sculptor had written on a stone : ‘The world is not faithful. You be cheerful. Even if you gather (in life) the whole world you will not carry (on death) two grains of poppy.’”

⁷⁶ See *Memoirs of Jehangir*, by Rogers and Beveridge, I., p. 425.

⁷⁷ We find this inscription quoted in a votive tablet at the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān.

AN INSCRIPTION ON THE ZIYĀRAT GĀH OF
SHĀH MAKHDŪM.

The year 1915, the year of my third visit to Kashmir, was a year of scarcity. The rain had kept off. I would have ordinarily visited this Masjid, but I was specially drawn towards it by a rain-imploing ceremony, which lasted for several days and which I saw first on 8th June 1918 on the banks of the Jhelum near the mosque of Shāh Hamadān. I saw a number of Mohammadans filling up *gharrahs* (water-pots) with water from the river Jhelum. They got these pots blessed at the Masjid and carried them to a tank near Hari Parbat, a hill fort of Akbar. The tank was near the tomb of Pīr Makhdūm. I was told, that all the Mohammadans of Kashmir, male or female, old or young, adults or children, would thus, at their leisure, carry water from the Jhelum and pour it in the above tank. At least, one member of each family must be one of such carriers. They did so for a number of days, till the tank was full. When I visited the tank on the 10th of June, it was a sight to see a number of people, devotionally carrying the water from different directions and trying to fill up the tank. It then still wanted a few feet to be filled up.

The water could be brought from any part of the river or lake, but they thought it meritorious to take it from the river near the mosque of Shāh Hamadān. Monday and Friday were the days when they most did the work of carrying the water. It was Monday when I visited the tomb of Shāh Makhdūm and the tank near it. So, I saw hundreds of people coming to the tank with their water-pots and emptying them there. Some came in processions with banners and drums. Having poured the water into the tank, they applied the water of the tank to their eyes. The tank is about 30 square feet. The ceremony of filling it up had begun about 5 or 6 days before my visit and they expected that it would take still about 5 days to fill it up.

The ceremony was supposed to be a rite of humiliation before God asking for forgiveness of sins, if that was the cause of His displeasure and of His keeping off the rain. It is in keeping with a recent inscription put up there as a votive inscription (1326 Hijri).

یک نظر بر حال زار عاصی بیچاره کن
زان نظرهای که خاک تیره را چون زر شد ست

Translation.

“Have a look on the miserable condition of a helpless sinner—a look whereby the darkest of dust becomes (brilliant) like gold.”

The reason, why Shāh Makhdūm was specially invoked and why the tank near his tomb was the scene of a rain-ceremony, seems to be, that he had once uttered a curse in the matter of water.

“He had no honour in his own village (Tajar), and his companions laughed at his preaching and his prophecies, and insisted on his taking his share in the *corvée* of the village. Makhdūm Shāhib or Hazrat Sulṭān as he is often called, left Tajar and cursed his people—they should want water not only for their crops, but even for their drink. The curse came true for Tajar and Zainagir are dry to this day.”⁷⁸

It was during this visit that I copied the following inscription on the gate of the tomb of shāh Makhdūm:

باب و آب و تاب از مهر عالم تاب
بحال ما که کجیل دیده از خاک درت داریم
بدل گفتم که خواهم در تاریخی بکف آرم
ملک دست دعا بر داشت من آمین کمان گفتم
تعالی الله چنین باید در عالی جناب ما
الهی باد در هر باب زمین در فتح باب ما
سنه ۱۲۷۲

Translation.

“The door, the splendour and the (awe-striking) light (of this place come) from the world illuminating sun (Meher). I keep myself in this condition that the collyrium of my eyes is from the dust of your door (*i.e.* I humiliate myself). I said to myself: ‘I wish to bring the pearl of the date in my hands.’ The angel raised his hands for prayers. Uttering ‘Amen’, I said: ‘God is exalted. The door of my respected great ones should be like this, O God!

⁷⁸ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

May my door be opened (lit. conquered) in every matter by (the help of) this door (*i.e.* May my visit of the door of this Ziyarat-gāh always help me in every direction).”

The date is the date of the last reparation of the Masjid. The last line of the inscription serves as the chronogram of that date 1272.*

* The figures are as follows :—

ا = 1 ل = 30 س = 5 ي = 10 ب = 2 ا = 1 د = 4
 د = 4 ر = 200 س = 5 ر = 200 ب = 2 ا = 1
 ب = 2 ز = 7 ي = 10 ن = 50 د = 4 ر = 200
 ف = 80 ت = 400 ح = 8 ب = 2 ا = 1 ب = 2
 = 40 ا = 1

The whole gives 1272 as the date.