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*A Sketch of the Mahomedan History of Cashmere.—By Lieut.  
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The native authorities consulted in drawing up the following brief sketch of Cashmere History are as follows :

1. The Raja Tarangini (Persian translation of Kalhana pundit carried on to the present day by later hands).
2. The History of Mahomed Azim.
3. The Ayeen Akbarrie of Abul Fazl.
4. The History by Narrain Khol.
5. Ditto by Hyder Malik Chadwanee and several other less well known authorities.

It had been my intention to have commenced the following sketch with the fabulous desiccation of the valley by Kúshyapa, anterior to historical times, as related in the earliest existing chronicle—the Raja Taringini, but as that work has been translated and is accessible to those who take an interest in the subject, I have taken up the history from the point where that ancient record ceases, a continuation of which in the Persian language has, as above remarked, been brought down to the present day.

It must be remarked, however, that according to one Mahomedan author (I will not say authority) the records of the valley extend to a date long anterior to the fabulous Hindu tradition of its desiccation by the Muni Kashypa, an event which, from coincidence in the chronology, seems to point to the Mosaic deluge. The author

above alluded to\* (Noor-ood-deen) begins his history of Cashmere with the creation, and according to him the valley was visited by Adam after the fall! The descendants of Seth reigned over Cashmere 1110 years, after which it was conquered by Hurrischunder Raja, whose descendants reigned till the deluge, after which event the country was peopled by a tribe from Turkisthan. Moses is said to have died in Cashmere, where he taught the worship of the one God. The people, however, afterwards relapsed into idolatry, a sin which was visited by the local inundation of the country and the tyranny of the demon Juldeo. After the desiccation of the valley by Kushef, fifty-five princes of the Korans reigned 1919 years. According to Bedia-ood-deen (the comentator of Noor-ood-deen,) the country was settled by Solomon, who set up his cousin Isaun as king. The worship of the one God still continued the national religion, till one of the kings lost his life in endeavouring to resist the progress of idolatry, which again gained a footing in the land, and from this time the brahminical faith seems, with one or two intervals of Buddhism, to have prevailed until about the period at which the present sketch commences.

1805 A. D.—About the year of the Hejira 705 Raja Sudeo ascended the throne of Cashmere, a prince of a tyrannical and feeble character, who, in a short time alienated the affections of his subjects by sundry acts of incapacity and oppression. At this period, a certain Mahomedan prince named Shahmir, who claimed a descent from Ali, assuming the disguise of a merchant's son, appeared in the country, and was assigned a village near Baramoola for his residence and support. Ambition seems to have prompted him to this, inasmuch as his grandfather Wuffoor Shah of Sawadgere had prophesied that Shahmir would one day become a king of Cashmere, which, it will hereafter appear, eventually came to pass; one amongst numerous instances of such prophecies containing the conditions of their own fulfilment.

Another chief named Sunkur Chukk, being driven away from Dardao, fled to Cashmere, and there took up his abode with his adherents; and thirdly, prince Ranjpoe, a son of king Yuftun of

\* These facts I derive from Professor Wilson's *Treatise*, Vol. XV. Trans. As. Soc. never having met with the work of Shaik Noor-ood-deen.

Thibet, being forced to fly his country, appeared in Cashmere, and attempted to gain over to his cause Ramchund the hereditary commander-in-chief of the army of Cashmere, which chief assigned to him his fort of Koknigera for his residence. It will be seen that these three worthies either in their own persons or in those of their descendants played conspicuous parts in the history of the country.

Towards the close of Raja Sudeo's reign a Turk, Zoolkudr Khan, invaded Cashmere with an army of 70,000 horse from Kashmir by the Baramoola pass, upon which the cowardly Sudeo immediately fled to Kishtewar. The Turks then sacked the country, where they luxuriated in plenty for six months; after which, provisions failing, they attempted to return, but perished to a man in the snow above the Deosir Pergunnah: previous to this their numbers had been reduced by war and luxury to 50,000. On their departure, anarchy ensued in Cashmere for a time; parties of robbers and independent zemindars infested the country.

On the flight of the king to Kishtewar, Ramchund, the commander-in-chief, had retreated to his fort of Koknigera, where he held his own during the subjugation of the country by the Turks.

The Raja of Thibet, Ranjpoe, deeming this a favourable opportunity of gaining possession of the throne, introduced himself with a few followers in the disguise of merchants into Koknigera, and slew Ramchund, whose daughter Kotereen he married. He then seized the vacant throne of Cashmere, and made Rawanchund, his wife's brother, commander-in-chief, and despatched him to Thibet as viceroy of that country. The fugitive king Sudeo, seeing this state of things, now attempted to return, but, meeting with no encouragement from his former subjects, again fled to Kishtewar and finally vacated his throne after a reign of nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days.

A. D. 1323.—Ranjpoee or Rinshan Shah being now established on the throne, made the prince Shahmir minister, and, although he had raised himself to the dignity of king by an act of violence, seems, when once his power was secure, to have ruled with wisdom and justice, and many acts in which these qualities were exhibited are recorded of him. He appears also to have been troubled with

doubts respecting religion, and the Mahomedan writers relate the following story of his conversion to the religion of Islam. Perceiving the folly of idolatry, he prayed earnestly to God to afford him some guide in his search of truth; it was at length vouchsafed to his troubled mind that the religion of the person who should first meet his sight on arising in the morning was the one it was right for him to adopt. It so happened that the Faqeer Boolbel Shah of Thibet, engaged at his morning prayers, was the first person upon whom his eyes fell. Struck with the sight he requested an explanation, became convinced and accepted the religion of Islam and assumed the name of Sudder-Udeen. Ramchund and many other nobles were converted at the same time.

It is proper to add that the Hindu writers entirely ignore the conversion of Rajpooe who died after a reign of two and half years, leaving his widow the queen Kotereen, A. D. 1326, regent. This princess now raised to the throne and married Udeen Deo the brother of Sudeo, the issue of which marriage was one son. No sooner had this king mounted the throne than his country was invaded by an army of Turks who, under the command of Urdil, marched across the Pir Pinjal to Hurpore, upon which the timid Udeen Deo fled towards Thibet, but Kotereen with the courage of her race, rallied her forces around her, called in her brother Rawunchund, the commander-in-chief, and the wuzzeer prince Shahmir to her aid, by whose assistance, after several battles, she brought the Turks to terms. It was arranged that the latter should leave the country immediately and be allowed to retire unmolested. Their retreat being effected, the queen recalled Udeen Deo her timid consort, but his subjects, indignant at his desertion of them in the hour of danger, would never pay him the respect due to a sovereign. He died after a reign of fifteen years, leaving queen Kotereen a second time sole regent of the country. A. D. 1341, She now removed her court to the fort of Indr Kote, where she resided in peace for five months, but during this period the eyes of men were gradually turned towards prince Shahmir who had commenced a course of intrigue, the result of which was the merging of the whole real power of the state into his own hands. Still restrained by some scruples of conscience, he at first sent the Queen

proposals of marriage, which being rejected with scorn, he prepared to extort her consent by force of arms and invested Indr Kote with a large army. The heroic Rajpootnee made every effort to defend herself and sustain a siege, but at length, her brother Rawunchund being dead and finding herself unsupported and declining in power, she, in the last extremity, consented to espouse the successful usurper. Upon this, hostilities ceased, and preparations for the marriage were commenced, A. D. 1341, but the devoted princess despairing and indignant, surrounded by her train of maidens, rode slowly forth from the beleaguered fort, advanced into the presence of the usurper, and upbraiding him for his ingratitude and treachery, stabbed herself before him. Thus perished by her own hand the last Hindoo sovereign of Cashmere and Prince Shahmir ascended the throne as Sultan Shums-ood-deen.

#### *Independent Kings.*

Prince Shahmir, usually considered the 1st Mahomedan King of Cashmere, ascended the throne in the year of the Hejira 742, A. D. 1341, and assumed the name of Sultan Shums-ood-deen, but died after a short reign of three and half years. He was succeeded by his eldest son Jumshéd, A. D. 1344, who however after enjoying the throne for little more than a year, was defeated and slain by his younger brother Ala-ood-deen, who forthwith ascended the throne. Of this prince little is recorded except that he reigned in peace for twelve and a half years, and was succeeded by his son Shahab-ood-deen, A. D. 1356, who having repaired the devastations caused by the former invasions of the Turks, which had impoverished the country for the last few reigns, turned his attention to foreign conquest and during the succeeding ten years subdued A. D. 1350, Thibet, Kashgar, Budukshan and Cabul. He then, according to the historian Hyder Malek, with an immense army (of 50,000 horse and 500,000 foot) invaded Hindustan by way of Kishtewar and Nugger Kote, and is said to have worsted Firoz-shah, King of Delhi, in a pitched battle on the banks of the Sutlej, the result of which was to cause that potentate to acknowledge his supremacy. Shahab-ood-deen then returned to Cashmere, where his religious zeal led him to destroy the idol

temples at Bijbiharee and elsewhere, and it was probably under compulsion that the chief of the powerful tribe of Reyna, (Ajil Reyna of the Chunds of the Nargaon Pergunah,) at this time became a convert to the religion of Islam. Sultan Shahab-ood-deen died after a reign of nineteen years and was succeeded by his brother Kootub-ood-deen, A. D. 1376, who appointed Abdie Reyna commander-in-chief. During this reign, the famous Syud Allie Hamadanie arrived in Cashmere, and his advent is recorded in the following couplet which also contains the date, Hejira 790 (A. D. 1388.)

سال تاریخ مقدم اورا جوئی از مقدم شرایف او سنه ۷۹۰

This celebrated Syud was a fugitive from his native city of Hamadan where he had incurred the wrath of Timoor. Seven hundred Syuds are said to have accompanied his flight to Cashmere, where he remained six years and which he named the "Garden of Solomon," (Bagh-i-Soliman.) He died at Puklie whilst on his return to Persia. His son Meer Mahomed Hamadane, also a fugitive, brought in his train 300 Syuds to Cashmere, where he remained twelve years.

These two immigrations of fugitive Syuds fixed the religion of the country and were doubtless the chief cause of the religious persecutions which ensued in the following reign.

They established shrines all over the country, many of which remain to this day. They originated the sect of "Rishees" or hermits, which are described by Abul Fazl as a very respectable and inoffensive order, in his time some 2,000 in number, living upon fruits and berries and abstaining from sexual intercourse. Their numbers, however, afterwards declined until they became quite extinguished by the courtiers and creatures of the Emperors of Delhi.

Mahomed Azim the historian enumerates many worthies of this sect, a few of the most celebrated of whom I have added in a note, leaving the historian to be consulted in original by such readers as feel interest in the pretended miracles and holy acts of Mahomedan saints. Some of the stories, however, are sufficiently amusing.

To resume—Cashmere having been, previous to this influx of zealots, in a transition state as to religion, the advent of a Mahomedan

saint such as Syud Allie seems to have been hailed with enthusiasm, and proselytism to have commenced in real earnest. Meantime Kootub-ood-deen died after a reign of near sixteen and half years, A. D. 1393, and was succeeded by his son Sultan Sikunder, during whose reign a constant succession of learned doctors appeared in Cashmere, attracted doubtless by the fame of a new Mahomedan acquisition, A. D. 1397. At this time also (H. 800,) Timoor Lung invaded India, and presents passed between him and Sikunder. Preliminaries were arranged between their respective vakeels for a meeting near Attock, and Sikunder had actually set out, but Timoor had already passed on to Samarkand, taking with him a son of Sikunder as a hostage. Partly by the influence of Timoor and partly no doubt urged by the fanatic Moslems who had lately appeared in his country, Sikunder was about this period instigated to religious persecution; he began to throw down the Hindoo temples and images "by fire," and to force his subjects to abjure idolatry: he thereby acquired the surname of "Bhutshikan" or "Iconoclastes." It seems probable that he employed the agency of gunpowder, A. D. 1393, in his destruction of the temples, a present of which, it has been suggested by an author upon Cashmere Antiquities (Cunningham), he might have acquired from Timoor, as it appears established that the use of that explosive was known to the nations of central Asia in the 14th century. Sikunder died after a reign of twenty-five years, nine months, leaving the throne to his son Sultan Allie Shah, (1417) who inheriting to the full his father's fanaticism, but being without his energy and talents, after reigning six years and nine months, left the government in the hands of his brother Zein-ul-ab-ood-deen and set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his arrival however at Jummo, he was dissuaded by his father-in-law, the Rajah of that place, from proceeding further and accordingly commenced his return to Cashmere by way of Pukli, A. D. 1423, but his brother refused to surrender the government, and a severe battle ensued in which the king was taken prisoner, confined, and soon after died, perhaps from poison.

A. D. 1423.—Zein-ul-ab-ood-deen or "Boodshah" now mounted the throne, and soon after invaded Kashgar and Thibet with an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

This prince improved the country more than any of his predecessors. He built bridges, towns, and forts, (Zein Kuddul, Zein-pore, Zein Kote, &c.) and erected at Naoshera a noble palace (twelve stories high, each story of fifty rooms) : he constructed the Lank island, upon which he built a mosque and a summer-house (to be seen there to the present day) on the site of an ancient temple, whose summit was at that time visible above the waters of the Wuler Lake (1443) : he also enlarged and beautified the city of Srinugur his capital. This great prince encouraged literature and the fine arts ; he introduced into the country weavers from Turkisthan and wool from Thibet ; and many manufactures, such as paper-making, glass-making, book-binding, &c. owe their introduction in Cashmere to his fostering care. He was well versed in the literature of his age, acquired several languages and translated books. He collected a library and invited to his court learned men of all kinds—amongst others Jumal, a Hindustani, became “Kazi” of Cashmere, and a sort of inquisitor general into the religion of Islam. Zein-ul-ab-ood-deen was also a poet and added to his other qualities a love of field sports. The rising power of the Chukk tribe did not escape the penetrating eye of the king who prophesied, they would some day be rulers of Cashmere, a prediction which eventually proved correct.

Altogether Cashmere seems to have made a great step towards an improved civilization during the reign of this great prince, which extended over a period of fifty-two years. He died in 1474, and was succeeded by his son Hyder Shah, A. D. 1474, who after reigning little more than a year was killed by a fall from his palace, A. D. 1475, and was succeeded by his son Sultan Hussan, a prince of a very voluptuous and sensual character. Hitherto a tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees and a thousand horses had been exacted from the surrounding states, which, now encouraged by the king's indolence, asserted their own independence, and thus only Cashmere proper remained to him. However Tazie Khan, his commander-in-chief, invaded the Punjab with a view of chastising the chief of that country, Tattar Khan, who had afforded aid to the rebels. This king Sultan Hussan reigned twelve years in excess and drunkenness, when he died leaving the throne to his



son Mahomed Shah a child of seven years of age, destined in after life to experience more of the vicissitudes of fortune than usually falls even to the lot of kings. Encouraged by the circumstances of the king's youth, A. D. 1487, (A. H. 893,) his uncle Futteh Shah, the brother of the late king, was tempted to aspire to the throne, and on the pretext of invading Hindustan, he managed to get the king's army under the commander-in chief Mullick Saifdar out of the country, and during the temporary absence of the youthful king, who accompanied the army on the expedition, was appointed viceroy, and was on the point of throwing off his disguise when the sudden return of the king Mahomed Shah disconcerted his projects for the time.

After a short interval however he entered into a secret alliance with Sirung Reigna and Mullick Shums Chukk, chieftains of Cashmere, whose combined forces defeated the king's army under Mullick Saifdar, and forced Mahomed Shah to vacate the throne, after reigning two years and seven months. Futteh Shah thus obtained temporary possession of the throne and made Shums Chukk, commander-in-chief and minister, A. D. 1489. Thus things remained some two and half years, after which a party headed by Meer Syud, Ibrahim Magrey, Mullick Hadjie Padr, and Abdie Reigna, gradually brought together their adherents and defeated Shums-ood-deen Chukk, and his nephew Kajee Chukk, who fled to the Kamraj, where they took refuge in their strongholds, A. D. 1492.

Upon this Mahomed Shah regained his throne and Meer Syud Mahomed and Mullick Moosa Reigna became ministers. Mahomed Shah then followed the Chukks into the Kamraj as far as Sopur, and his army took and destroyed their stronghold of Taragaom. Determined on revenge, however, Shums Chukk still kept the field with a party of horse, and meditated a night attack upon the king who was encamped at Sopur; this project however coming to the king's knowledge, he ordered the bridge over the river Jhelum at that place to be destroyed, and preparations were made to receive the enemy. At the dead of night the Chukks, led by their brave chieftain, swam the river, and fell upon the king's camp. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which, notwithstanding all his efforts,

ended in the defeat of Shums Chukk, who was again forced to seek safety in his mountain fastnesses. Upon learning this disaster Futteh Shah fled to Hindustan, but soon afterwards returned on the invitation of his victorious nephew. Although thus generously forgiven, this old intriguer soon recommenced his former practices, formed a party and prevailed so far that Mahomed Shah, A. D. 1499, was a second time forced to abandon his capital, and take refuge with Mullick Moosa Reigna, who still held his own estates and maintained a desultory warfare.

Futteh Shah thus, a second time, gained possession of the throne, making his faithful adherent Shums-ood-deen Chukk minister; A. D. 1499, but his enjoyment of it was but brief: Moosa Reigna, rallying his forces, took the field and signally defeated the usurper's army in a pitched battle, taking his opponent Shums Chukk prisoner. So dangerous a rival could not be allowed to live, and accordingly the Chukk was put to death in his prison, after having, it is said, killed no less than sixty of his executioners before he fell, as is related in the following couplet well known in Cashmere legends.

بنگ و بچوب و بخش و بيمت ملک شمس چک شمت کمس را بکشت

A. D. 1501.—Mahomed Shah being absent in the Punjab, Futteh Shah was suffered by the successful Reigna, after some negotiation to retain the name of king, whilst he himself exercised its real powers for nearly nine years, until about the year 916 H., (A. D. 1510.) Futteh Shah, finding himself a mere puppet, attempted to set up Mullick Ibrahim Magrey in opposition, who however was soon forced to provide for his safety by flight. The tribe of the Dangrees now got the upper hand for the space of forty days, and set up Mullick Asman, but the Chukks, under Kajee Chukk, now aroused themselves and got the better of the Dangrees. A state of anarchy and scramble for power succeeded, in the midst of which Futteh Shah fled as far as Hulpore, on his way to Hindustan, but being there met by Ibrahim Magrey, who professed himself ready to stand by him, he was encouraged to return to the capital, and he reigned one year longer. At length the fugitive monarch Mahomed Shah determined on an effort to regain his throne, collected an army in the Punjab, and marched, A. D. 1512, towards Cashmere by

the Pymouth, (now Paonch) road. A strong party in Cashmere also, at the head of which were Sunkur and Nusrut Reigna, declared for the legitimate king. Nevertheless Futteh Shah, being supported by Ibrahim Magrey and others, advanced into the Kamraj to meet the enemy; a great battle ensued at Poshkur, in which Futteh Shah was totally defeated, and fled to Hindustan; the two sons of his chief adherent Ibrahim Magrey were taken prisoners and his party broken.

A. D. 1512.—Mahomed Shah then mounted his throne for the third time, but was not permitted to reign in peace beyond nine months, inasmuch as Futteh Shah, who had been sufficiently dispirited by his defeat to remain quiet thus long, at length, regaining confidence, despatched his son Hubbeeb Khan (whose mother was of the Chukk tribe), to Cashmere, where he succeeded in forming a close alliance with the Chukks and other discontented parties, and as a preliminary, it was arranged that in the event of success, one-third of the country should be set apart for Kajee Chukk, one-third for Jehangire Padr, and the remainder for Sirung Reigna; Futteh Shah himself receiving a general tax from the whole. Upon this the pretender in person came to Cashmere and a battle ensued in the Bongil Pergunnah, in which Ibrahim Magrey (now a staunch supporter of the king Mahomed Shah) was killed, with his two sons; and the king's army totally defeated. Upon this Mahomed Shah, A. D. 1515, abandoned the country, fled to Hindustan, and solicited aid from Sikunder Khan Lodi, who granted him an auxiliary force of 30,000 horses, A. D. 1515, with which he marched towards Cashmere. Meantime Futteh Shah had assumed the government, but no sooner did the nobles of his party (Kajee Chukk, Jehangire Padr, Nusrut Reigna), &c. hear of the approach of Mahomed Shah, with such an overpowering force, than each sought to make his own terms and tendered his submission to the king, whereupon Futteh Shah fled for the fourth and last time, and Mahomed Shah preceding the bulk of his army, arrived in Cashmere with 2,000 light horse and mounted his throne for the fourth time, making Kajee Chukk his minister and throwing Sirung Reigna into prison. The latter, however, he soon after liberated, for we find in the year A. D. 1519, that chief together

with his former master Futteh Shah, died in exile amidst the mountains of Hind.

A. D. 1519.—It might have been now expected that, his rival being dead, Mahomed Shah would at length have been left in the peaceable enjoyment of his throne, but although indeed he continued to bear the title of king, he was a mere puppet in the hands of his ministers; and his country from his last accession to the throne till his death in the year A. D. 1537, was the scene of incessant intestine struggles for power amongst those powerful nobles in whom rested the real power of the state. From this period until the subjugation of the country by the Emperors of Delhi, the history of Cashmere is little else than a record of the wars of the tribes of Chukk, Reigna, and Magrey, in which, the former two were chiefly at variance, the Chukks generally having the upper hand, and eventually a decided preponderance of power. To follow the details of these petty wars seems needless, and indeed the various historians of the period differ considerably from each other in their narration of events: The frequent mention also of various chiefs bearing similar names, renders it still more difficult to trace any consecutive history; the following facts, however, may be shortly enumerated as occurring from about the time of Mahomed Shah's last accession to the throne in the year A. D. 1519.

Nusrut Reigna and Sohur Magrey were both killed in battle.

Kajee Chukk, the king's minister, quarrelled with his old ally Jehangire Padr, and forced him to fly the country: (in the year A. D. 1520.)

Mullick Abdie Reigna, and Sohur Magrey, brought prince Sikundar Khan, a son of Futteh Shah, with a large army from Hindustan; Jehangire Padr and others joined them, and amongst them they set up Sikunder Khan for the throne, Kajee Chukk despatched his son Musood Chukk against them, (A. D. 1520,) who met them in the Lar Pergunnah, but was defeated and slain; Prince Sikundar however finding the Chukks, as yet, too strong for him, retreated into the mountains. After this Kajee Chukk became so powerful that the king Mahomed Shah, becoming jealous of him, formed a party of Magreys in opposition, who, taking

him at unawares, forced him to fly to Naoshera, with his adherents: he was there met by another enemy, namely, an army of Turks who were advancing under the command of Shaik Allie with a view of invading Cashmere; these however he worsted and succeeded in effecting his escape from the country. He remained in exile some eight months, after which he contrived to make up matters with the king, who had begun to find his new supporters more troublesome than the Chukks. He accordingly returned, and, countenanced by the king, dispersed the Reignas and Magreys; the chief of the former he seized and the latter fled. (A. D. 1528.) Kajee Chukk now openly dethroned the king, who was driven into exile, and set up his own son Sultan Ibrahim. Encouraged by the want of unanimity amongst the nobles of Cashmere, the surrounding nations seem, at this period, to have been continually on the watch for opportunities of effecting its conquest, and several armies of these nations at different times, actually entered the country and took part in its intestine struggles.

The Magreys allied themselves to Allie Beg, who brought 20,000 horse, and their combined forces met Kajee Chukk in the Bongil Pergunnah; that chief behaved with his accustomed bravery, (A. D. 1528,) but many of his family having fallen or been taken prisoners, he at length reluctantly left the field. The Magreys then got the upper hand and Allie Beg returned to the Punjaub. Encouraged by the internal weakness of the country, the surrounding tributary states now also began openly to revolt, and in the year (H. 937,) 1530 A. D. Mirza Kamran Chogatai instigated by his brother, (A. D. 1530,) the Emperor Humaion, who that year ascended the throne of Delhi, and who until his attention was distracted by his own troubles, seems to have had his eyes on Cashmere (the ancient national chronicle of which country the "Raj Taringini" was first translated by his orders) advanced with an army of 30,000 horse as far as Naosherah. The danger being imminent, the nobles in power turned their eyes on their former enemy, the brave and wise Kajee Chukk, (A. D. 1530—7,) whom they solicited to return and fight for the common cause. He accordingly joined them, and the allied forces of Cashmere, signally defeated the army of Mirza Kamran in a pitched battle near the

city of Srinugger. Soon after this, Syud Khan with an army of Kashgurries, and Mirza Hyder with 14,000 horse invaded Cashmere by the Lar Pergunnah; the Cashmeries being unable to give battle, took to the hills, but during the winter made some head against the invaders; and although in one affair alone they lost 1,600 men, they succeeded in bringing them to terms. It was stipulated that Sikunder Khan Kashgurrie should marry a daughter of the exiled king Mahomed Shah who was himself married to a sister of Kajee Chukk, who was thus uncle to that Princess: upon this the Kashgurries left the country.

The king Mahomed Shah died in exile in the year H. 944, and was nominally succeeded, successively, by his eldest son Shums-ood-deen Shah, who reigned for one year, (A. D. 1537,) and by his second son Ismaul Shah who married a daughter of Kajee Chukk, the actual ruler of the country. At length Kajee Chukk, feeling jealous of the Magreys, made war on them, but being worsted, was forced to take to the mountains: the return of Reygie Chukk however from Jummoo soon enabled him again to take the field: a general rally of the Chukks ensued, which led to the defeat and dispersion of the Magreys, whose power being thus effectually broken, Kajee Chukk ruled in peace for three years, and, as far as the distracted state of the country admitted, turned his attention to its improvement and to the administration of justice. It was not, however, fated that he should longer retain the throne he had so hardly won.

A. D. 1540.—In the year of Hejira 947, his kinsman Reygie Chukk and Abdal Magrey, entering into an alliance, called in the aid of Mirza Hyder, a foster brother and faithful adherent of the Emperor Humaioon (A. D. 1540). That chief, under the stipulation he should enjoy the real powers of sovereign, consented to set up Tarkh Shah, a boy, son of the usurper Futteh Shah, (see page 416 et seq) as king of Cashmere; and advanced with a considerable army. Kajee Chukk being alarmed, entered into an alliance with Shere Khan\* Afghan, then in rebellion against Humaioon, and gave him his niece (a daughter of Mahomed Shah) in marriage.

(\* Afterwards Shere Shah.)

A battle ensued, in which, however, Kajee Chukk was defeated, and fled across the Pir Pinjal as far as Thannah, where he died. He is related to have been of a kind and merciful disposition, and, except in battle, never to have shed the blood of his enemies. I may here remark that mercy towards the vanquished appears to have been (with a few exceptions) a characteristic of the gallant tribes which so long withstood the invasions of surrounding enemies, and at length, only succumbed to the weakness arising from intestine dissensions, and the fatal error of calling in foreign aid.

A. D. 1540.—Mirza Hyder, being now established, made Abdah Reigna his commander-in-chief, but coined in the name of Tarkh Shah. He was in power ten years; he set to work to clear the country of the powerful nobles, many of whom he put to death or banished. Reygie Chukk paid the penalty of his rashness in calling in a foreign ally, being forced to fly the country. Soon after the accession to power of Mirza Hyder, his patron, the Emperor Humaioon being forced to fly to Persia, (A. D. 1542,) the usurper Shere Shah ascended the throne of Delhi; the same year also, during the misfortunes of his father, was born in exile the future Emperor Akbar, destined at no very distant period to exercise dominion over the fair province of Cashmere, (A. D. 1540—51,) the brightest jewel of his crown. Left to his own resources, Mirza Hyder turned his attention to alliances with the surrounding states, always hostile to the influence of Cashmere, and ready to side with any invader against that country; he introduced armies of those nations, especially Kashgurries, with a view of securing a counterbalance to the power of the native nobles, who, for a time, being helpless, acquiesced in this state of things.

A. D. 1551.—At length a party of the Cashmere nobles, (Hussan Magrey, Quaja Heigie, Abdie Reigna, and others) entered into a conspiracy, having for its object the defeat and dispersion of the foreign armies in detail. With this view in the character of confidential advisers, they persuaded Mirza Hyder to detach his forces to the frontiers, and selected Dowlut Chukk to accompany the principal army consisting of Kashgurries. No sooner was this effected than Dowlut Chukk, instructed in the part he was to play, seized the person of the commander of the Kash-

gurrie army (a nephew of Mirza Hyder) and communicated this success to the other conspirators, who immediately threw off their disguise and fell upon the army of that chief, (now without a leader), and the other detached forces, all of which they defeated; and then, combining their own army, boldly advanced to give battle to Mirza Hyder himself.

A. D. 1551.—He, however, having placed his family and treasure in the Fort of Indrakoul, resolved upon making a night attack upon the rebellious nobles; with this view he, one day, went out alone to reconnoitre the enemy's position and, ascending a tree for that purpose, was there discovered and slain by one of the hostile spearmen (a butcher) who on challenging him, detected his foreign accent.

Thus perished (H. 959) the intrusive governor, who however had done much for the country during his term of power, having introduced many artisans and manufacturers. The conquerors spared all his family, who retired to Hindustan.

Abdie Reigna now came into power for a short time, but the Chukks under the leadership of the three sons of Kajee Chukk, (Gazie Khan, Hussein Khan, and Allie Khan,) rallied their forces, and drove away Abdie Reigna, (A. D. 1552,) who fled towards Hindustan, but his foot being caught by the branch of a vine on the road, he was dragged off his horse and killed by the fall, having enjoyed the supreme authority one year. The Chukks, having now the upper hand, made Hubbeeb Khan (son of the famous Shums-ood-deen Chukk) ruler of Cashmere, with Dowlut Chukk for his commander-in-chief. At this time a great earthquake occurred, which lasted seven days and destroyed many of the principal buildings, and considerably altered the channel of the river Jhelum; in fact it was during this earthquake, that the course of the river Jhelum, being turned, produced that change in the relative positions of the two cities of Hussainpoora and Hussainpoora, which the superstition of the Mahomedans has magnified into a miracle well known in Cashmere legends.

Dowlut Chukk, the commander-in-chief, at this time married the widow of his uncle Kajee Chukk: enraged at this proceeding her eldest son Gazie Khan, having caught him off his guard, seized



him and put his eyes out. Many stories are related of the prowess and gigantic strength of this brave chief, amongst others of his shooting an arrow two koss; to this day it is said the pillars raised to commemorate the deed are to be seen; he is also said, whilst at the court of Delhi, to have arrested the progress of an elephant by seizing the animal's tail! There is doubtless exaggeration here, but the Chukk tribe generally seem to have been endowed with a physique beyond the ordinary run of men, and, as before stated, (page 420). Cashmere superstition attributed their extraordinary strength and stature to a supposed descent from a "serpent god."

As before related, Hubbeeb Khan (A. D. 1552,) was at this time king of Cashmere, but appears to have been a man of little capacity.

Gazie Khan gradually acquired popularity, till at length the king, having one day disgusted all present by some act of folly in open Court, his crown was snatched from his head by Allie Khan, brother of Gazie Khan, to whom Allie presented it; and, that chief being hailed as king with acclamation, Hubbeeb Khan was forced to resign power. During this reign, notwithstanding the king's feeble character, many of the tributary provinces which had been wrested from the crown of Cashmere, were recovered by his armies. Meantime the blinded Dowlut Chukk, together with the chiefs of the tribe of Reigna, had proceeded to Delhi, A. D. 1555, to crave the assistance of the Emperor Humaion who had lately regained his throne and was then at that city. He, however, happened to be killed the very day of their arrival by a fall from his palace wall. Thus disappointed, the Reigna entered into an alliance with a certain Ameer of Kasbgur, who was at this time at the court of Delhi, and with his aid raised an army for the invasion of Cashmere; with that purpose, advancing as far as Kuspa, there encountered the enemy. A great battle ensued, which lasted two days; the first day's fighting, although indecisive, was so far favourable to the Chukks, that the Reigna considered it proper to send his ally off the field, but he himself renewed the battle the following day; he was however taken prisoner, and put to death by the victorious Gazie Khan: 4,000 men were killed on both sides in this battle.

Two years after this battle the king put down (A. D. 1557,)

another revolt, having for its object the restoration to the throne of Hubbeeb Khan, in which the latter was killed by an elephant.

After this, his possession of the throne was again disturbed by a nephew of Mirza Hyder, who invaded Cashmere with an army of 12,000 Moguls from Kashgur. The Cashmere army headed by the king in person advanced to Lohar Kote to meet them: upon the eve of battle Gazie Khan promised an ashrafee (about 16 Rs.) for every head of an enemy: A battle ensued in which the king was completely victorious, and 7,000 heads of the enemy were presented to him after the engagement: he is said to have exceeded his promise and to have disbursed two ashrafees per head.

A. D. 1557.—This prince seems to have been a just, but a very stern ruler, and it is related of him that he put to death his own son for having, in a fit of passion, killed his uncle, who had carried him an order from the king his father to appear at Court, which the fiery youth resented; he is said however to have exhibited remorse so far that he ever afterwards turned away his head when he happened to pass near the spot of execution. This able and energetic prince was also a poet and portioned out his time like our own Alfred. After reigning 9 years and 9 months, feeling the approach of old age, he abdicated the throne in favour of his second brother Hussain Khan, (H. 970,) A. D. 1562, who reigned in peace for five years; after which period however his (bastard) brother Sushkur Khan rebelled, and a battle took place at Kuspa (thus a second time the scene of a fierce engagement) in which the rebel chief was wounded and his army dispersed. Shortly after this event the king's little son Ibrahim Khan died of the small-pox, and the king himself was so struck with grief that he pined away and, five months afterwards, died. Hussain Shah (A. D. 1570) was succeeded by the third brother Allie Shah. At this time the descendants of Zein-ul-ab-ood-deen made some head and advanced as far as Neosherah, upon which Allie Shah despatched his nephew Lohur Khan with 5,000 horse against them, who defeated them by a stratagem. The king also put down a rebellion in Kishtewar. During this king's reign, there was a great famine which lasted for three years, arising from excessive falls of snow; during the two first years of this calamity the king expended

his entire revenue and private property on the relief of the people, which resources at length failing, he ordered his nobles to contribute their share to the public necessity. On enquiring of a noted fuqeer into the reason of the continued snow, he was told in reply that it would only cease on his death, which in fact took place from a fall from his horse within the year. He reigned ten years and was succeeded by his son Yoosuf Khan. (H. 988,) A. D. 1580.

Soon after the accession of this king a rebellion was headed by his uncle, who however was slain in battle and the revolt suppressed. The king's proud and overbearing character soon alienated the hearts of his nobles, who formed a conspiracy against him : some fighting occurred near the city on the plain near the Eedgurh, in which 300 in all, fell on both sides ; the same night, however, the king sent his crown to his minister and commander-in-chief Syud Mobarruck and retired to the hills of Hind.

Syud Mobarruk after ruling two months, finding himself opposed by the nobles, in his turn resigned the crown in favour of Lohur Khan, (A. D. 1580,) who proved a very just and good ruler.

In his time, adds our chronicle, there was such a plenteous season that rice sold for two maunds a "pice!" Yoosuf Shah now applied to the Emperor Akbar for assistance to enable him to recover his kingdom, but, the Emperor hesitating to forward his views, he went to Lahore and there raised a small force, at the head of which he marched towards Cashmere, in hopes of being joined by others who still adhered to his interests in that kingdom ; nor was he mistaken. On his arrival at Neosherah many nobles joined him with their followers, and thus re-inforced he gave battle at that place, which action, although indecisive, gained him some advantage ; he then advanced to Rajawer, the Rajah of which place joined him with his forces, and several more Cashmere chiefs came over to him with their adherents : meantime Lohur Khan, with the bulk of his army was at Hurpore, (A. D. 1581,) awaiting the enemy's approach, and now endeavoured to out-manceuvre him by a rapid march to Baramoola (? Barungulla). Yoosuf Shah, however, marched to his flank, crossed the Pir Pinjal by an intermediate pass

(of Firozepore) and got to Lohur betwixt him and the Capital, where he received additional reinforcements from the Kamraj. Lohur Khan however immediately made a forced march with 12,000 horse and 25,000 foot and endeavoured to turn his position.

After some manœuvring Yoosuf Khan left the armies in position against each other, and proceeded to the capital by water, defeating a party of the enemy who endeavoured to oppose his entry. He immediately took possession of the throne, distributing presents and shewing himself publicly to the people, (A. D. 1582.) On hearing of this proceeding Lohur Khan followed his rival to the city, where finding himself unsupported by popular feeling he concealed himself in the house of Kasi Moosa, but was soon discovered and brought before Yoosuf Shah who put his eyes out.

Yoosuf Shah, being thus again established on the throne, abandoned himself to voluptuous enjoyments. Displeased with his course of life, and seeking doubtless, for a pretext for invading the beautiful province of Cashmere, the Emperor Akbar summoned him to appear at the imperial court. He was at first inclined to resist this assumption of authority, but complied so far with the Emperor's orders, as to send his younger son Mirza Hyder in his stead, but upon Akbar's threatening "to tread Cashmere under foot of horses," (literally), he despatched his eldest son Yakoob Khan (A. D. 1582,) with magnificent presents to deprecate his wrath. About two years after this, it happened that the Emperor Akbar was engaged in a war with Rajah Neelkunt, against whom he was about to despatch an army, when Yakoob Khan, who, up to this time had remained at court, requested to be allowed to undertake alone the adventure of capturing this person, which he in fact achieved by seizing the Rajah whilst bathing in the midst of his camp, and dashing away with him, with a few followers mounted on fleet horses. He was however but ill rewarded for this service, being confined by the Emperor on the plea of his being insane, and, indeed, he seems to have been of a wild unsettled character and likely to cause trouble. He however soon after effected his escape and returned to Cashmere with the Emperor's consent. Akbar now summoned the king Yoosuf Shah (A. D. 1584) to present himself in person at his court, then at Lahore. The nobles, however,

refused to allow him to leave the country, although he himself, alarmed at the near proximity of the Emperor, expressed his readiness to comply, and even went so far as to imprison his son Yakoob Khan. Seeing this state of things, the Emperor despatched an army of 50,000 men under Bugwan Dass to enforce compliance. That leader experienced a check near Attok, but Yoosuf Shah, fearing the ultimate consequences, secretly withdrew from his own army and delivered himself up to Akbar's general, who sent him under an escort to Lahore, where Akbar delivered him over to the custody of his police minister Todar Mull, who kept him under surveillance at that city for upwards of two years, (A. D. 1585,) after which he was sent in command of 500 horse in company with Rajah Maun Sing to Bengal, where he died of grief and despair (1587). On the flight of Yoosuf Shah his army called upon his son Yakoob Khan to lead them. A second battle ensued, in which the Emperor's army was defeated with the loss of 3,000 men, and was afterwards reduced to such stress amongst the mountains of Hoozara, from cold and want of food, that they are said only to have sustained life by slaughtering their elephants and sleeping within their still warm bodies. The imperial army being thus repulsed, Yakoob Shah (A. D. 1585,) ascended the throne of Cashmere over which he reigned one and half years. Although of a bravery approaching to recklessness (a quality which usually commands the respect of men) this prince was possessed but of little judgment and unfit to rule. He was also of the Shiah sect of Mahomedans, the Soonee sect being the predominant one in Cashmere, which circumstances combined to render him obnoxious to his nobles, a party of whom headed by Shums-ood-deen Chukk, Alungire, Magrey, Allie Dar, and Hussan Mullick broke into open revolt and a struggle, which lasted seven (7) days, ensued in the capital city of Srinugger, but neither party being victorious, a conference took place and the Kamraj was guaranteed to the nobles. The truce was however soon broken through, owing to the insolence of the Shiah priests, and hostilities recommenced, which ended in the rebel nobles being forced to retreat to the mountains of the Kohilama. The Shiah priests, who seem to have possessed great influence over the king's mind, now instigated Yakoob Shah to still

greater outrages (A. D. 1585,) against the rival sect of Soonees, whom he compelled to call aloud the Shiah confession of faith ( *على ولي الله* ) to their great scandal. The Kazi of the city refusing to do this, they put him to death by tying him to the tail of an elephant, and in that manner dragging him through the city. The Soonee historians relate, that on this occasion, such a noise thundered from the surrounding mountains, that several ladies of the king's zenana, who were near their time, became mothers on a sudden.

This act of cruelty and oppression determined the Emperor Akbar to subjugate the country, and accordingly he despatched an army of 30,000 horse under his admiral Kasim Khan and the fugitive Hyder Chukk, who entered Cashmere by the Hulpore pass. Nothing daunted, Yakoob Shah, though with an inferior army, marched to engage the enemy, and drew out his forces in order of battle, but being at this crisis deserted by his nobles, (A. D. 1586,) he was forced to fly across the mountains to Kishtewar with an escort of 60 horse. Kasim Khan now obtained possession of the capital, (A. D. 1586,) but soon after jealous of the respect paid to his colleague Hyder Chukk by the native Cashmeries, imprisoned him. Yakoob Shah however was by no means of a disposition to surrender his country without a struggle; he rallied round his standard a few gallant spirits, advanced from Kishtewar, and after several desperate actions with detachments of the Emperor's army, in which he was generally successful, he made a rapid march and suddenly appeared on the hill of the Takt-i-Soliman overlooking the city of Srinugger, where he pitched his camp.

Kasim Khan now attacked him with his whole army, and a desperate conflict took place in which Yakoob Shah (A. D. 1586,) although worsted with the loss of his commander-in-chief Shumsood-deen Chukk and many other of his principal adherents, still retained his position.

The Chukks now determined to make one desperate effort for the independence of their country, and rallied round the brave Yakoob Shah who still sternly held his ground on the Takt-i-Soliman. This gallant tribe, now a mere handful of men, fell with inconceivable fury upon the Emperor's army, and fairly drove it into the city,

where the soldiers took refuge in the palace, fort and other strongholds, where they remained in a state of siege.

The Emperor, finding his army insufficient to reduce the country, reinforced it with 20,000 horse under Mirza Yoosuf Khan. Upon the approach of this force, Yakoob Shah (A. D. 1587,) despatched Lohur Chukk to defend the passes, who however, being far outnumbered, was unable to offer any serious opposition to the enemy's advance.

In consequence, Yakoob Shah was a second time forced to retreat to Kishtewar, and Yoosuf Khan superseding the admiral, became governor of Cashmere and rewarded his allies with grants of money and land. (A. D. 1587).

The Emperor Akbar now announced his intention of visiting his newly acquired province, and accordingly the following spring proceeded by the Pir Pinjal. The governor Yoosuf Khan went forward as far as Barungulla to make his salutations, and conducted his sovereign with due state to Cashmere, which may be considered from this date to have passed from the hands of its ancient rulers under the sway of the Guznivide throne.

The native historians indeed date the ascendancy of the power of Delhi from the (A. D. 1588) arrival of Kasim Khan (Hej. 995) 1586 A. D. who always appears first in their lists of Soobahdars. The country cannot, however, be said to have been totally reduced to the condition of a province until the year 1592, inasmuch as large bands of the Chukks hovered in the mountains taking advantage of every opportunity of disturbing the intrusive governors, who from this time were periodically appointed from Delhi, nor indeed was it till the time of Etekaad Khan (1622) who hunted down the Chukks and put them to death as robbers and outlaws, that this fierce tribe was totally subdued.

After viewing the country, Akbar returned towards Cabul by Puklee, where Yakoob Shah, upon his safety being guaranteed, presented himself before the Emperor.

A. D. 1588.—No sooner however, had Akbar departed, than the governor, being opposed by the native nobles, was reduced to such stress that he applied to Delhi for re-inforcements, but their arrival being delayed by the snows of winter, which at that season render the

passes impracticable, Mirza Yardgar, a noble, proclaimed himself king and besieged the governor in the city of Srinugger. The Emperor however, on the opening of the season, sent a picked army against him under the command of Shaick-Furreed-Bukshee. On its approach towards the relief of the city of Srinugger, whilst hesitating to engage so superior a force, Mirza Yardgar was treacherously murdered by Sharock-Beg and Ibrahim-Kakur, who presented his head to the Emperor's general.

A. D. 1592.—The Emperor himself now followed in person and was received with every demonstration of joy by the Cashmeries. Being spring, he remained in the valley during the entire summer, but on the approach of winter returned to his capital, leaving Mahomed-Koolie-Khan as Soobadar, with Todar Mull to assist him in reducing the country to order.

As we now find Cashmere (although disturbed by the incursions of the Chukk tribe, who still wandered unsubdued in the hills) reduced to the condition of a province of the Guznavide throne, it seems a proper point to close this portion of its history.

#### PART 3RD.—*Cashmere under the Emperors of Delhi.*

A. D. 1586.—The native historians of this period, with the exception of Abul Fazl, agree in their arrangement of considering Cashmere to have passed out of the hands of its ancient rulers, and to have become an integral portion of the empire of Delhi from the year A. D. 1586, (H. 995,) in which date, we have seen Kasim Khan obtained possession of the city of Srinugger. Abul Fazl however closes the first portion of his history with the flight of Kajee Chukk to Hindustan (H. 947,) in the 1540, and the establishment of Mirza Hyder on the throne of Cashmere, which thus, according to him, passed under the sway of Humaioun Emperor of Delhi, but as that chief was soon dispossessed of his throne and slain, and as after him several native princes reigned for short periods, it does not seem advisable to follow his arrangement on this point, which was no doubt adopted with a view of flattering his Emperor and patron Akbar.

The second portion of his history moreover commences with the visit of Akbar to Cashmere. (1587.)



We have seen also that in the year 1587 A. D., the admiral Kasim Khan was relieved by Yoosuf Khan the 2nd Soobadar, who, after being in power five years, was in his turn succeeded by Mahomed Koolie Khan on the departure of Akbar in the year 1592 A. D., with which event also we closed our last chapter. (A. D. 1592.)

There is some discrepancy of dates amongst the several authorities about this period, some historians giving six years, and others eleven years, as the term of Koolie Khan's government. Abul Fazal also records a third visit of the Emperor Akbar to the valley, and he is probably correct; but in general the accounts of the various Emperors' visits to Cashmere are singularly curt and void of interest; indeed it seems to have been reserved for an European (Bernier) who long afterwards visited the valley in the train of the Emperor Aurungzebe, to give any thing approaching a graphic account of the pageantry we may suppose to have accompanied their progresses. Of the several governors also little more is recorded than their names, dates of appointment, and terms of government. The following few facts, however, derived from various sources, appear to have taken place and may be briefly recorded.

A. D. 1592.—As before mentioned (page 432.) Todar Mull, the celebrated police minister of Akbar, was entrusted under the Soobadar Mahomed Koolie Khan, with the task of bringing the country into a proper state of subjection.

It was therefore, probably at his recommendation that the fort of the Harrieparbut or (to use the Mahomedan name) the Koh-i-Maran was constructed, with a view of overawing the capital. It was finished about the year 1597, A. D. at a cost of £1,100,000. Means were at the same time adopted of rendering the native Cashmerians less warlike, and of breaking their old independent spirit. Amongst other measures to effect this, I have been informed (but have nowhere seen it recorded) as a fact very generally believed in Cashmere, that the Emperor Akbar caused a change to be introduced in the dress of the people.

In place of the ancient well-girdled tunic adapted to activity and exercise, the Emperor substituted the effeminate long gown of the present day, a change which led to the introduction of the enervating *kangni* corresponding with the French *Chauffe-chemise* or

pot of charcoal fire; without which a modern Cashmeree is seldom seen, A. D. 1597. And it is possible, that this measure, one out of a long series of acts of systematic tyranny and spirit-breaking oppression, may have had its effect in changing the character of this once brave and warlike race; for at the present day although remarkable for physical strength, the natives of Cashmere are totally wanting in all those qualities for which they were formerly distinguished. Whilst, however, thus carrying out the severe policy suggested by his minister as regards the inhabitants, it must not be supposed that the beneficent Akbar neglected the improvement of his fairest province; on the contrary, in addition to his acts for the amelioration of the condition of the ryots, he appears to have done much towards the embellishment of the country, which he adorned with palaces and gardens, and beautified by the introduction and cultivation of various trees and shrubs.

A. D. 1600.—He erected at an expense of £340,000 (thirty-four lakhs of rupees) the noble palace of Nagur Nagur below the Harrieparbut, of which however, scarcely a trace exists; and the celebrated Poplar Walk (which remains to this day a memorial of his taste) attests his magnificence.

He introduced an improved breed of large horses, as before his time the country only contained ghoonts and yaboos.

Our chronicle records cherries as owing their introduction into the valley to Akbar; this fruit, being in small quantities, has always been considered royal property in Cashmere, and was afterwards named ( *شاہ آلو* ) “king apples” by Jehangire.

He commenced many other works of public utility, which his successors completed.

The East India Company was founded in 1600.—It was perhaps about the beginning of the 17th century that the Emperor visited his province of Cashmere for the third and last time, about which period also, a power was organized in a far distant land, destined, before two centuries had set, to exercise dominion over the magnificent Empire which then called him master; of all his provinces the fair valley of Cashmere being now nearly alone in its independence of that beneficent rule. Under Akbar Kabool and the intervening countries (Puklie, Bhimber, Sewad, Bijore, Kanda-

har, Zabulistan) were incorporated with the Soobah of Cashmere, and its annual revenue may be estimated a little short of one million sterling. (See Appendix). The standing army of the whole was 94,800 horse, and there were 37 garrisoned forts in various parts of the country, containing 2,400 foot or artillery. In the year 1604, A. D. Nawab Koolinj Khan was despatched from Delhi as Soobahdar of the country, but owing to the death of the Emperor Akbar, which took place in the succeeding year, (1014 H.) he only remained one year, during which a severe famine occurred. Akbar, dying at the age of 64 after a reign of fifty-two years, was succeeded by his son Selim, (A. D. 1605,) who assumed the name of Jehangire and the following year appointed Mirza Allie Akbar viceroy; (A. D. 1606,) but it seems doubtful whether this Soobahdar ever exercised power in his proper person; in fact according to the historian Hyder Mullick (who, however, it must be confessed is not generally to be trusted where the history touches his own times) the vicerealty of Cashmere was at this time exercised by Hyder Mullick (himself) and Allie Mullick (his brother) nobles of Cashmere, and he omits the two last named Soobahdars from his list altogether; the former indeed is omitted in several lists I have met with. The same author relates that in the year H. 1015, (1606 A. D.) Kootub-ood-deen Khan and other Mogul Koti chiefs made an attempt to dispossess Yoosuf Khan, (?) but were defeated; perhaps the system of Naibs had already commenced. Mirza Allie Akbar, after a power of four years (whether exercised personally or not) was succeeded successively by Hashim Khan (A. D. 1610,) for three years by Nawab Safdar Khan (A. D. 1613,) for two years, and by Ahmed Beg Khan (A. D. 1615,) for three years, during whose tenures of office no event of importance occurred. At length Dilawer Khan (A. D. 1617,) became governor of Cashmere, and shortly afterwards reduced Kishtewar to its allegiance; the Mullicks of Shahabad being his allies and advisers (Hyder Mullick). During the time of this Soobahdar, the country was visited by a pestilence, and shortly afterwards the great mosque or Jumma Musjid, built by Sikunder Butshikan, together with 12,000 houses in the city were consumed by fire. The father of the historian Hyder Mullick (who was of the Shiah sect) was accused of having

been concerned in the conflagration, and, at the instigation of Noor Jehan Begum, he was compelled to rebuild it at his own expense. It had been twice partially destroyed by fire before, and rebuilt, once by Hussan Shah, and again by Ibrahim Magrey.

A. D. 1619.—The Emperor Jehangire, urged thereto by Hyder Mullick (if we may believe the historian's own assertion), now determined upon visiting Cashmere, and was conducted by the Pynwutch (now Poonch) road under guidance of Mullick Hyder Rais-ul-moolk-chogatai (to give him his full titles). This noble afterwards became a protégé and confidant of Noor Jehan Begum, and conducted many works of improvement and utility. Cashmere having been surveyed and reduced to order in the time of the Emperor Akbar, having also been beautified with palaces and gardens, little else remained for his son and successor, the magnificent Jehangire, than to enjoy the delights of this eastern paradise, in company with his empress, the peerless Noor Mahal whose romantic spirit appears to have led her lord and emperor to roam into the most secluded and picturesque recesses of the valley, many of which pleasant retreats, are to this day pointed out as the spots where the royal pair were wont to disport themselves in those days of regal abandon.

A. D. 1621.—Again in the summer of 1621 the emperor honored the valley with a visit for the second time. A successor had the previous year been appointed to Dilawer Khan, in the person of Iradut Khan, who is said to have built a beautiful palace for the emperor at Naopoor, and afterwards chopped off the Master Mason's hand to prevent his again executing a similar work of art: he however conferred on him great wealth as a compensation for his loss. After being in power two years, he was succeeded in 1622 by Nawab Etekaad Khan, a cruel governor, who commenced a systematic destruction of the Chukks, whom he hunted down and put to death. Bands of this fierce tribe still infested the surrounding hills, especially the range to the north of Cashmere, from which strongholds they issued on their predatory excursions. This crusade had the effect of almost exterminating that ill-fated tribe, the descendants of which at the present day, are the professional horse-keepers of the valley, and in their character, still in some degree display remnants of that ancient independent spirit, which led to their destruction.

A. D. 1624.—The highways being somewhat cleared of these turbulent spirits, Jehangire again paid a visit to Cashmere in the summer of 1624 A. D. and built many palaces and summer-houses, more especially he completed the construction of the celebrated Shalimar gardens immortalized by poets and travellers. The Naseem (or salubrious) and Nishat Baghs was the fancy of Noor Jehan Begum, to whose taste also many other beautiful retreats owed their origin. The ruins of palaces at Manasbul, Echibul, Virnag, &c. attest her taste in selecting picturesque sites.

Three years after this the emperor visited Cashmere for the 4th and last time, (A. D. 1627,) (or according to Mohammad Azim for the 7th) but on his return towards Hindustan, died at Rajawer, whence his body was conveyed to Lahore and there buried. His widow Noor Jehan Begum, took up her residence at Lahore after Jehangire's death, where she employed her leisure for the remaining twenty years of her life in constructing a magnificent tomb for her late lord and emperor. زینت شرح ۱۰۳۷

Shah Jehan succeeded to the empire of Delhi in the year A. D. 1627, but Etekaad Khan still remained viceroy of Cashmere, notwithstanding that the people of that country, groaning under his tyranny and exactions, despatched an embassy to complain of his oppression to the new emperor.

At length in 1633 A. D. Zufr Khan was appointed to succeed him, and the following year the emperor paid a visit to the valley in person, where he amused himself with sporting and planting gardens; amongst others he built the beautiful summer-house in the Shalimar gardens. The emperor again visited the country whilst Zufr Khan was governor, who also improved the country much, and introduced fruit trees and flowers, from Kabool. He did not confine his supervision moreover to embellishment, but invaded Thibet, and took the fort (Ladak) thereof which he annexed to the Soobahdarie of Cashmere. In his time religious disturbances betwixt the rival sects of Shialhs and Soonees took place.

In the year A. D. 1640, Prince Morad Buksh of Delhi visited Cashmere, and married a daughter of the Mullicks of Shahabad: he ruled the country for one year, and upon his departure (A. D. 1642,) Allie Murdan Khan was sent as Soobahdar, but was

relieved the following year by the emperor's favourite Zufr Khan (second time) who remained in power four years, during which period Shah Jehan (A. D. 1645,) visited Cashmere: he was succeeded by Tarbiat Khan in whose time a famine occurred, (A. D. 1647;) after two years Hussein Beg Khan (Usbuk) (A. D. 1649,) succeeded, whose tenure of power was also two years. Allie Murdan Khan now became Governor of Cashmere for the second time. A. D. 1651.

This nobleman was governor of Lahore as well as Cashmere, and was in the habit of spending the winter season at the former city, and proceeding to Cashmere on the approach of spring each year. For his convenience in these journeys (A. D. 1651,) he built many Serais along the roads leading into Cashmere, some of which remain to this day; his travelling expenses are said to have amounted to a lakh of Rupees (£10,000) each trip. In this governor's time there were "bread-riots" in which many lost their lives.

The emperor visited Cashmere in the summer of 1061 H., and was accompanied by many poets and savants: amongst the former, a certain Hadjie Mahomed Jan, a Persian, composed a poem on the country, but appears to have been more impressed with the difficulties of the road than the beauty of the landscape. He compares the sharpness of the passes to the "swords of the Feringees," and their tortuous ascents to the "curls of a blackamoor's hair!"

رہی بیچید تراز موئی رنگی به تندی چون دم تیغ فرنگی

Of all the emperors of Delhi, Shah Jehan appears most to have affected the strains of poets and musicians, and, as they and the courtiers increased in the land, the Rishees and devotees, for which Cashmere had been so celebrated, receded like game before the hunter, into the most dreary solitudes, and were in danger of becoming extinct amidst the discouragements of this festive court, until they again recovered under the subsequent reign of the orthodox Aurungzebe. A. D. 1657, (H. 1048,) Luskur Khan succeeded Allie Murdan, and during his short tenure of power, so severe a winter occurred, that the river and all the lakes were frozen over, hard enough to admit of passage on their surface. This year also the emperor Shah Jehan was deposed by his son

Alumgire or (vulgo) Aurungzib and confined for life in the fort of Agra, where he died (H. 1076). رضى الله عنه ١٠٧٦

A. D. 1658.—Aurungzib being confirmed on the throne appointed Etimaad Khan Soobahdar in the year 1660 A. D. of whom I can find no other record. In the year 1662 A. D. (or according to others 1664 A. D.) Ibrahim Khan son of Allie Murdan Khan was sent to Cashmere as Soobahdar.

This year also the emperor commenced his progress to Cashmere, and here we fortunately possess the graphic pages of Bernier, who accompanied Aurungzebe as state physician; these give us a lively picture of the state and magnificence of an imperial progress; according to him the emperor's cortège set out from Delhi on the 6th December, (A. D. 1663,) at 3 P. M. that hour having been pronounced an auspicious one by the court astrologers.

It consisted of 35,000 horse and 10,000 foot, 70 pieces of heavy cannon, and 50 or 60 light field-pieces, or (as it was called) "stirrup artillery." Roshenara Begum accompanied the emperor, and our physician enlarges upon the spectacle of her stately train of elephants on the line of march.

A. D. 1664.—The army arrived at Lahore, 25th February, and crossed the Pir Pinjal about the beginning of April; during the passage an accident occurred, several of the elephants being pushed over the precipices, and many of the ladies of the royal zenana were killed on the spot. The Emperor remained three months in Cashmere; on his departure Ilsam Khan was appointed Soobahdar: it is recorded of this ruler that he rooted up all the mulberry trees which formerly grew in front of the great Eedgurh, as their fruit dropping, soiled the clothes of the faithful collected for prayers: however he planted the present magnificent chenar (plane) trees in their stead. Thus do Cashmere chronicles abound in the most insignificant facts affecting their native country. The following year (A. D. 1665,) Saif Khan was appointed to succeed, in whose time Hussein Mullick (son of Hyder Mullick the historian) was put to death by order of the emperor for speaking disrespectfully of the Prophet. Saif Khan was a stern tyrannical governor, but was soon succeeded by Mobazir Khan, (A. D. 1667,) during whose term of power the king of Kashgur passed through

Cashmere on his way to Mecca, and was, by order of the emperor, presented with half a lakh of Rupees (£5,000) and equipments for his pilgrimage. Mobazir Khan was himself a good well-intentioned man, but his Usbeg guards oppressed the people and even murdered many, on which account he was recalled by the emperor, (A. D. 1668,) and Saif Khan re-appointed governor. An earthquake occurred the following year, but did no great damage. Saif was succeeded by Iftikar Khan, (A. D. 1671,) but did not leave Cashmere, which he adopted as his residence, and where he seems to have held a sort of court. About this time a great fire again partially destroyed the Jumma Musjid and a great part of the city of Srinugger.

A. D. 1675.—Hawam-ood-deen Khan ruled three years. Ibrahim Khan was appointed a second time, (A. D. 1678.) He commenced his rule under unfavourable auspices; during the first year great floods, and the following year severe earthquakes did much damage to the country. Religious disturbances also broke out between the Shiah and Soonees; however, notwithstanding these domestic calamities, this governor invaded and conquered Thibet. He was succeeded by Hefzoola Khan, (A. D. 1685,) who, however, after a short sojourn, appointed Abul Futteh Khan as his Naib and proceeded to court. A famine occurred.

A. D. 1689.—Mozuffer Khan appointed governor. He proved to be a very tyrannical ruler, so much so, that the people showed signs of rebellion, and he was compelled to fly the country after ruling one and a half year; however, his brother Aboo-nusser Khan (A. D. 1691,) succeeded him, and he also was a tyrant. Fazil Khan (and Kasi Khan) succeeded (A. D. 1697) a good governor, who improved the city in many ways; during his time also a hair of the prophet Mahomed arrived from Mecca, and was deposited in the mosque at Hazrat-bul on the banks of the Bhut Dul. After being in power three and half years Fazil Khan was at his own request relieved by Ibrahim Khan A. D. 1701 (for the 3rd time). This governor was ordered by the emperor to invade Kashgur, but excused himself on the plea of insufficient means in men and money; upon this his successor was appointed, Nawasish Khan, who was on his way to assume his government when news of the emperor's death reached him, upon which he seems to have returned to Court, and never to



have reached Cashmere. The emperor Aurungzib died at the age of ninety-one (A. D. 1706,) in the year 1181 Hej. (دخل الحنت ۱۱۸۱).

It is amusing to observe the extravagant praises which our orthodox historian Mahomed Azim, whom I have chiefly followed about this period, confers upon Aurungzebe, whom he infinitely prefers to the noble and enlightened Akbar, of whom he complains that he "treated all his subjects alike!" not favouring the Mahomedans above the Hindus.—Was ever a nobler tribute paid to a ruler? Shah Alum succeeded to the throne of Delhi, (A. D. 1706,) and despatched Jaffer Khan to relieve Nawazish Khan who does not seem to have assumed the functions of government; he proved to be a bad governor and a mob set fire to his residence.

He died at Cashmere of drink and excess, and, according to the record of his death, must be faring badly at present. جان جفرخان ۱۱۲۱ سنه ۱۱۲۱ contains the date Hejira 1121, (A. D. 1709).

The nobles now assembled and elected Aruf Khan Naib of the country, as a temporary measure, until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. Shah Alum (A. D. 1709,) accordingly appointed Ibrahim Khan, (fourth time) who was at this time governor of Kabool and Peshawar and who died shortly after his arrival in Cashmere; Aruf Khan thus remained Naib. Nawazish Khan now at length became governor. A great fire and floods occurred in his time. He was succeeded by Anatoola Khan (A. D. 1711,) who left Aruf Khan as his Naib, upon whose death however within the year, he appointed Muhluruf Khan, his own son-in-law, Naib, and himself departed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was however superseded on the accession of the Emperor Firokshere (1712) the following year. Anatoola Khan was of Cashmere descent. (A. D. 1712). This year Shah Alum died at the age of seventy-one, and was succeeded by his son Firokshere, whose mother was a Cashmerie.

His elder brother Jehandar Shah had gained possession of the throne for a few days and made the son of Anatoola Khan his Wuzzeer: Firokshere therefore on gaining the mastery put his brother to death and imprisoned the latter forty (40) days. He bestowed upon Syud Khan Bahadoor the Soobahdaree of Cashmere, who despatched Allie Mohamed Khan as his Naib. A rebellion broke out in the hills about Puklie which however was put down by

the Naib, who exercised such severities on the occasion that he was recalled, (A. D. 1714,) and Azim Khan appointed in his place: however, after an interval of one year Allie Mohamed was reinstated as Naib of Syud Khan Bahadoor, (A. D. 1716). Ehteram Khan succeeded as Naib for one year. Anatoola Khan now returned from Mecca, was received with distinction by the Emperor Firokshere, who conferred upon him the Soobahdaree of Cashmere; he accordingly sent (A. D. 1717,) Meer Ahmud Khan as his Naib. The practice of appointing Naibs seems now to have fairly come into fashion amongst the great nobles of the Mogul court, who looked upon their appointment solely as a vehicle of extorting money from their respective governments. We may conceive that the condition of a province thus governed was not generally happy. The present Soobahdar, however, seems to have been a conscientious man, and selected his Naibs with a view to the faithful government of the country; but the first of them Meer Ahmed Khan had scarcely arrived when his government was disturbed by a fanatic named Motavie Khan, who excited serious religious disturbances, which the Naib was unable to suppress. The second Naib .Abdoola Khan, (A. D. 1719,) who relieved him, met with no better success; at length the third Naib his successor Momind Khan succeeded in defeating and killing the fanatic Motavie Khan, but was still unequal to govern the country. Anatoola Khan meeting with no better success in the choice of his deputies, now requested to be relieved, and accordingly Saif-ood-dowlah (A. D. 1721,) was appointed to succeed him.

Meantime the throne of Delhi had been occupied by several puppet kings set up by Syud Hussan Allie Khan, Soobahdar of the Dekkan, who got the upper hand of the Emperor Firokshere, whom he imprisoned, blinded, and afterwards put to death.

A. D. 1718. The throne was then successively occupied by Ruffushan for five months and Ruffut-dowlah for six months, till in the year 1720, ظل رب سنه ۱۱۳۲, Mahomed Shah ascended the throne of Delhi, and soon after appointed Saif-ood-dowlah viceroy of Cashmere, who, however, only retained it six months; he then sent a Naib named Nujeeb Khan, who remained one year.

A. D. 1723.—This year Azim Khan was appointed Soobahdar; during his one year of power a famine occurred.

A. D. 1724.—Anatoola Khan now again (third time) undertook the government of the country, and appointed as his Naib Faqeer-ood-deen, who remained for a few months over the year, when his patron Anatoola Khan died and was succeeded in the Soobahdaree by Acheedat Khan. The latter despatched Abul Burkat as his Naib who remained three years until a successor to his patron was appointed, Soobahdar Agher Khan (A. D. 1728,) who assumed his government in person at Cashmere: he countenanced tyranny and exactions on the part of his subordinates, of which malpractices the Cashmeries laid a formal complaint before the Emperor, but meeting with no redress, they took the law into their own hands, and stoned the obnoxious viceroy out of the city of Srinugger. Soobahdar Ameer Khan succeeded and reappointed Abul Burkat, (A. D. 1729,) the former Naib of the country, but after two years he superseded him by Ehteram Khan, in whose time there were bread riots and several grain-holders lost their lives.

Encouraged by the new Naib's unpopularity, Abul Burkat now rebelled and forced Ehteram Khan to fly the country. The Soobahdar Ameer Khan was now dispossessed of Cashmere by the Emperor, and Dileer Khan of Paniput appointed to succeed him, (A. D. 1735;) the latter however died at Lahore on his way to assume his government. Ameer Khan therefore remained Soobahdar one year longer, but being worsted in a battle with a rebel Rajah Jafr Khan, he fled to Hindustan. This year also the country was deluged by great floods, and an earthquake which lasted for three months caused considerable damage.

A. D. 1736.—Juleel-ood-deen Khan was now appointed Soobahdar, but met with no better success than his predecessor, in governing the country. Cashmere in fact, perhaps through the influence of Nadir Shah who was at this time engaged in subduing Kabool and Peshawar, seems to have been in a very disturbed condition; however Fakr-ood-dowlah, a noble apparently in the interest of Nadir Shah, drove away the rebel Jafr Khan and his allies into their hills, assumed a sort of regal state in Cashmere and administered the government on his own responsibility. Meantime Utteehoola Khan (as son of Anatoola Khan) had been appointed Soobahdar by Mahomed Shah, and sent a son of Mushuruf Khan named Aswaim-

ood-deen Khan as his Naib. He, however, on arriving in Cashmere, was imprisoned by Fakr-ood-dowlah, who soon afterwards appointed his own Naib Kazie Khan and left the country.

During his absence the imprisoned Aswaim-ood-deen Khan (A. D. 1736,) managed to escape and to get the upper hand of Kazie Khan, who fled. Cashmere has now, since the beginning of the century, exhibited the spectacle of a province governed by the creatures of an absent ruler, himself the courtier of the supreme Emperor, who, in his turn, by this time of the declension of the Mogul power, was generally a mere puppet in other hands, and but little his own master. Observing this, it can scarcely excite surprise that the various Naibs should have taken advantage of the state of things, and endeavoured to render themselves more or less independent.

In fact from about this time we shall find most of the governors of Cashmere in common with those of the other provinces of the tottering Mogul throne, little short of independent rulers. In the year Hejira 1151, (A. D. 1738,) Nadir Shah having overrun Kabool and Peshawar, set out on his invasion of Hindustan, and on his arrival at Lahore was met by Fakr-ood-dowlah, whom he appointed viceroy of Cashmere, and then resumed his march towards Delhi. As his progress during the invasion belongs to the general history of India, we need not to follow it further than as it effects the province whose history is our subject. The battle of Paniput ensued, in which many Cashmerie nobles, officers of Mahomed Shah, were slain, and Delhi was subsequently sacked by the soldiers of Nadir Shah. After due submission to the conqueror, Mahomed Shah was reinstated on the throne, and thus Cashmere still remained a province of the Mogul empire.

Meantime Fakr-ood-dowlah had returned to Cashmere, of which he remained master for forty days, and coined in the name of Nadir Shah. The Cashmeries however, (A. D. 1738,) objecting to an Emperor of the Shiah sect, turned out his Soobahdar in an *éméute*, and, shortly afterwards the news arrived that Nadir Shah had spared the province to the Emperor Mahomed Shah, who in fact the following year bestowed the Soobahdaree on Anatoola Khan (A. D. 1739,) who appointed Abul Burkat his Naib, and followed in person three months afterwards. A quarrel soon ensued between

them and some fighting took place, which terminated in the death of the Soobahdar by the hand of an assassin. Abul Burkat, however, does not seem to have been privy to this act; indeed Mahomed Azim the historian of the period, expressly affirms his innocence.

A. D. 1740.—Abul Burkat having thus thrown off his allegiance, sought alliances amongst the surrounding tribes. The Rajah of Kishtewar especially sent troops to his assistance, and with their aid he succeeded in putting down all present opposition to his power. The usual effects of foreign alliances however soon developed themselves, and the Kishtewaries plundered the city and country. The following year a comet was visible in Cashmere, to oriental superstition ever associated with portents of war, or other extraordinary events.

A. D. 1741.—In fact the same year Asud Khan was commissioned by the Emperor to proceed to Cashmere and reduce the refractory Naib. At his instigation the Rajah of Paonch attacked Abul Burkat and his allies, 500 of whom fell in battle: notwithstanding this reverse however Abul Burkat still held out, (A. D. 1745,) nor was it till the arrival of Shere Jung Bahadur, the Naib of the Nazim Sufter Jung, that he, four years afterwards, was induced to surrender his government and present himself at the court of Delhi, where he died the same year. (Hej. 1158).

Shere Jung had scarcely remained six months when Afrasiab Khan succeeded as viceroy of Cashmere, (A. D. 1745,) over which he exercised a vigorous rule for nearly nine years. At this time the accumulated phenomena of ages would appear to have burst forth on the devoted inhabitants of the happy valley; during the two first years of Afrasiab Khan's government, a dreadful famine occurred, during which it is said that slaves sold for four pice (about a penny) each. The famine produced its natural result, a pestilence, which swept away many thousands of the people; an eclipse also added to their terror, and storms of rain followed by floods, carried away all the bridges.

In the year Hejira 1160, (A. D. 1747,) Nadir Shah was murdered, and his successor Ahmed Shah, having expressed some intention of visiting Cashmere, the nobles secretly despatched a

letter inviting him to take possession of the country ; the letter was however intercepted by Afrasiab, and the nobles finding their plans discovered, openly rebelled against the Soobahdar, and set up (A. D. 1747,) Asmutoola Khan as governor of Cashmere, for the Emperor Ahmed Shah Abd-allie ; he succeeded in gaining possession of the city for a day or two, (A. D. 1747,) when he was shot by a soldier of Afrasiab Khan who resumed the government, but died shortly afterwards by poison. His son Ahmed Allie Khan a boy, was maintained as his successor for one-half month ; after which Mullick Hussan Khan a Cashmerie was in power some three months, when the nobles wrote to Mahomed Shah to name some governor of the country. He accordingly appointed for the present, until his successor should arrive, Meer Ahmed Mokeem, who, however, after ruling five months, was attacked and driven away by Abul Kasim, a son of Abul Burkat.

A. D. 1752-3.—This year Ahmed Shah Abd-allie being at Lahore, the fugitive Meer Ahmed Mokeem presented himself before him and craved assistance. The Emperor accordingly despatched a force under Abdoola Khan Ashuk Akarsu to his aid. The Mogul governor fled at his approach, and the victorious Abdoola Khan, setting aside his powerless ally, seized the country, and, during the six months he remained as governor, plundered and extorted a crore of rupees from the unhappy valley already exhausted (A. D. 1752,) by pestilence and famine, with which he presented himself before his master Ahmed Shah ; having left Rajah Sookh Jewan as his mooktear. Cashmere thus passed from the sway of the Mogul throne, under that of the Dooranees, and we shall accordingly here close that portion of its history.

#### PART 4.—*Cashmere under the Dooranee Governors.*

A. D. 1753.—Abdoola Khan, the first Dooranee governor, having left Rajah Sookh Jewan as his mooktear departed from Cashmere, which was again desolated by a famine. No sooner, however, was his back (H. 1167,) turned, than a general impatience at Dooranee rule manifested itself. Rajah Sookh Jewan, placing himself at the head of the movement, began to form a confederacy amongst the surrounding hill tribes, and to entertain soldiery which gradually swelled

into an army of 40,000 men. Thus backed he considered himself powerful enough to resist Ahmed Shah to whom he refused to pay any tribute, and being a popular man and a good and just governor, seems to have aimed at rendering his country independent and himself a king; but a terrible punishment was in store for the ambitious Rajah. The wrath of Ahmed Shah (A. D. 1754,) had long been kindled against the refractory Cashmeries, but his attention had been distracted by more important matters, until on his return to Lahore in the year 1754 A. D. he was at leisure to turn his eyes towards the rebellious province and deemed it a favourable opportunity of chastising the leader of the insurrection.

He accordingly entered into an alliance with Runjeet Dehn of Jummo, guided by whose advice and aid he despatched an army under Noor-ood-deen Khan to invade Cashmere. Sookh Jewan collected his allies and advanced to meet him at the head of 50,000 men; he was however deserted by his nobles, seized and blinded by the successful Noor-ood-deen, who sent him in chains before the Emperor Ahmed Shah under whose horse and those of his courtiers the unfortunate man was trampled to death.

In his misfortunes he cried :

چشم از وضع جهان پوسیده به سر بسر احوال آن نا دیده به  
گردهی میسوس دید زهرت عوضی زین سیه مار جهان ترسیده به

A. D. 1754.—Noor-ood-deen Khan then became governor of Cashmere, over which he ruled with moderation for more than eight years; he was then recalled by Ahmed Shah, who replaced him by Bullund Khan Soodozie (A. D. 1762.) He proved a good governor, but endeavoured to restore the exhausted country and remitted all taxes, for which reason falling, like his predecessor, under Ahmed Shah's displeasure, he was recalled after two years, (A. D. 1764,) and the good Noor-ood-deen Khan installed a second time as governor. He, however, after a short time, hearing he was to be shortly superseded, anticipated his orders, and leaving his nephew Jan Mahomed Khan as Naib, proceeded to Kabool to plead his own cause before the Emperor. Nevertheless Ahmed Shah (A. D. 1765,) appointed Kurrum Khan governor, who retained for three months an uncertain tenure of power, his authority being resisted by a certain Lall Khan. Observing this, Faqueer Khunt attacked

Kurram Khan, and drove him out of the country, after which he sacked the city of Srinugger. Noor-ood-deen Khan (A. D. 1766,) was now for the third time sent by the Emperor as the only person capable of managing the country. He advanced with a considerable army. Faqueer Khunt attempted to oppose him, but finding his force insufficient to face the enemy, fled to Bombah, where he died. Noor-ood-deen Khan now ruled with great severity one year; after three years he was again relieved by Kurram Khan, (A. D. 1769,) who however, being a weak, timid man, was unable to control the turbulent spirits of Cashmere, and fled to Jummo; whereupon his commander-in-chief Ameer Khan Sher Jewan seized the valley on his own account, and refused to send tribute to the Emperor: to strengthen his position he built the Sher Ghunie (thus named after himself and not Sheregurrie or Shiahgurrie). The island called Sona Lank also owes its origin to this chief. He also sought to ingratiate himself with the Hanjies or boatmen of Cashmere, who are in fact sturdy fellows whose cordial support might be useful to a well concerted defence of the valley. Ameer Khan seems, in fact, to have altogether thrown off his allegiance to Ahmed Shah, and to have maintained an independent court of his own; which he maintained until the death of Ahmed Shah Abd-allie; that Emperor's son, however, (A. D. 1773,) Timoor Shah, having succeeded to his father's throne of Kabool, despatched Hadjie Kurreemdad Khan as Nazim, backed by a large army to enforce submission. Ameer Khan met him at Baramoola and a battle ensued, which ended in the defeat of the latter, who fled to Kishtewar, but was seized and sent to Timoor Shah, who, however, pardoned him after a short time. Hadjie Kurreemdad Khan was governor of Cashmere six years, and died there. (A. D. 1776,) Shocks of an earthquake which lasted three months occurred during his rule. His son Asad Khan succeeded to the government, (A. D. 1783,) and soon discontinued the tribute to the Emperor. He was however a very cruel ruler, on which account a conspiracy to put him to death was formed against him by some of his household officers; he was wounded in the scuffle, but contrived to escape to the river, collected some troops and drove the conspirators into the fort, where he besieged them for seven days; after which, endeavouring to escape, they were



seized and burnt to death by the cruel Asad Khan, who now became more tyrannical than ever, and, according to the expression of the historian, "killed men like birds." Stories are told of his extreme cruelty; amongst others a story is current in Cashmere of his throwing into the fire his own infant child who it appears had offended his cleanliness. At length (H. 1200,) the Emperor Timoor Shah (A. D. 1785,) despatched an army against him under Muddud Khan Sakzie, who succeeded, after a long campaign, in defeating Asad Khan, who fled to Poonch, but receiving no asylum there, he shot himself. Muddud Khan then assumed the temporary government for four months, (A. D. 1787,) when Meerdad Khan Kasijie succeeded him, but died after seven months: Moola Jaffer Khan (A. D. 1788,) succeeded for three months; till the arrival of Jooma Khan Kasijie, who was governor for four years, during which period he went several times to pay his respects to the Emperor. He died in Cashmere, and Ramootoola Khan succeeded for three months and twelve days, (A. D. 1792). Meer Hazar Khan Kasijie was then appointed Soobahdar: but soon afterwards Timoor Shah died and was succeeded by his son Zeman Shah, (A. D. 1793.)

A. D. 1793.—Taking advantage of Timoor's death Meer Hazar refused tribute and set up for himself; upon which the new Emperor Zeman Shah despatched Mirza Khan, (al-Kozyie) the rebellious governor's father, to endeavour to bring him to his allegiance. Meer Hazar Khan however imprisoned his father on his arrival, and openly threw off all allegiance to the Emperor; who shortly afterwards sent an army under Ahmed Khan Shihungchee Bashee to bring him to his senses. Hazar Khan however closed the Baramoola road, and suspecting some of his Hindu retainers of treachery, bound them in large cooking vessels, (or boilers) and thus threw them into the river Jhelum. He was nevertheless defeated and fled to the city, where he took sanctuary in the Shah Hamedan Mosque, but he was enticed out, thrown into prison and sent before the Emperor. He had enjoyed power little more than a year.

Ahmed Khan after remaining three months in Cashmere was relieved by Kaffyat Khan, and proceeded to Kabool with Hazar Khan and some other prisoners. Kaffyat Khan after nine months

left the government in the hands of Buddur-ood-deen his Naib, but returned the following year. He was a very splendid ruler, by which perhaps he incurred the Emperor's displeasure, as the following year, he was superseded by Mahomed Khan Jewan Shere who, on arriving at the Sheregurrie, imprisoned Kaffyat Allie. The latter's party, however, headed by his kinsman Meer Khan, rebelled and released him shortly afterwards. (A. D. 1795). Things being in this state at Cashmere, Shah Zeman himself visited the country, accompanied by his Wuzzeer Sher Mahomed Khan Mooktar-ood-dowlah, and made prisoners of all the contending parties. After remaining eight days the Emperor departed, leaving the government in the hands of Abdoola Khan Kasijie, who ruled with judgment for the space of one year; when he went to pay his respects to Shah Zeman. It was about this time that the Wuzzeer Wuffadar Khan, who had in fact been instrumental in placing Shah Zeman on the throne of Kabool, defeated a conspiracy and put to death Sirfraz Khan (father of Dost Mahomed) and twenty-two others of the principal chiefs of the Barukzies; Futteh Khan, eldest brother of Dost Mahomed, and a younger brother named Azim Khan alone escaping the massacre to Herat. Abdoola Khan having paid his respects at court returned to Cashmere, and cultivated the friendship and alliance of the nobles of that country.

A. D. 1796.—He also gradually entertained an army of 30,000 men, by which measures he incurred the jealousy of Wuffadar Khan Wuzzeer, and was suddenly recalled to Kabool, and imprisoned in the Bala Hissar: (A. D. 1800). On his road to Kabool he had married a daughter of the Rajah of Mozafferabad, to which chief, as well as his younger brother Attar Mahomed Khan, (whom he had left as Naib during his absence) he now wrote, ordering them to hold out the country against the new Naib Moola Ahmed Khan.

A. D. 1801.—Shah Zeman shortly afterwards invaded Hindustan, and had penetrated as far as Lahore, when the intelligence reached him that his own brother Mahomed Shah of Herat, together with the fugitive Futteh Khan, had invaded Kabool in his absence: he accordingly returned precipitately, abandoning men and guns on the road, which last were forthwith seized by Runjeet Sing, (A. D.

1801,) then rising into power. On his return to Kabool the unfortunate Zeman Shah was deserted by his nobles, seized, blinded, and imprisoned. His Wuzzeer Wuffadar Khan, by whose power he had been sustained so long, was put to death, and the triumph of the Barukzyies was complete. The unfortunate Zeman Shah in his misery composed some couplets, which have since passed into household words amongst his countrymen. I may here remark on the singular habit of orientals, on the approach of death or other misfortunes, like the fable of the dying swan, singing their own elegies in doleful strains; which are frequently gravely recorded by the native historians as matters of history. To return, however, to the more immediate history of Cashmere.

A. D. 1800.—Abdoola Khan had been confined in the Bala Hissar, and, as before stated, Moola Ahmed had been despatched as Naib to assume the government of Cashmere; but on his arrival, the latter was imprisoned by Attar Mahomed Khan, son of Abdoola Khan; who together with Futteh Khan Rajah of Mozafferabad, were now encouraged to resistance by the news of Shah Zeman's defeat and death.

A. D. 1801.—Nissar Khan also, the commandant of the Bala Hissar, released Abdoola Khan, and, following his fortunes, accompanied him to Cashmere, where he received a present of a lakh of rupees (£10,000) for this service. Abdoola Khan being thus reinstated in his government, seized many of the surrounding countries, enlisted soldiers, and sent no taxes to the new Emperor Mahomed Shah.

A. D. 1806.—At length that prince, being established on his throne, despatched an army under Wuzzeer Shere Mahomed Khan to bring Cashmere into subjection. This force was met by the army of Abdoola Khan, which occupied the strongholds guarding the Baramoola pass. Shere Mahomed at first entered into negotiation, and by means of cajolery and bribes, succeeded in passing Mozafferabad, and penetrating as far into the valley as Baramoola, (situated at the gorge of the pass leading into the valley,) without much opposition. The eyes of Abdoola Khan were, however, now opened to the approaching danger, and he gave battle at Baramoola in person. The engagement ended in his defeat, and he was forced

to take refuge in the mountains; and Shere Mahomed entered the city and assumed the government. Abdoola Khan was, however, tacitly allowed to return and take up his quarters in the city, where he shortly after died. Shere Mahomed then sent for the late Soobahdar's son Attar Mahomed Khan, who was cooped up in the fort of Beyrwa, appointed him Naib, and returned to Kabool, which was still distracted by the rival claims of the descendants of Timoor Shah. During the one year this governor remained at Cashmere, a crore of rupees came to the treasury from the country, owing to the unusual activity of trade and the influx of foreign merchants, &c.

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The ensuing year his successor, Akram Khan, was appointed who, on arrival, was defeated by Attar Mahomed, and his whole army made prisoners; the latter, however, made a mild use of his victory: he soon after presented each soldier with clothing and sent them back to Afghanistan. After this, Mahomed Shah did not think it advisable to disturb Attar Mahomed in his government, and the latter occupied his leisure in organizing his means of resistance.

A. D. 1807.—He repaired and strengthened the fort of the Koh-i-marán on the Harriparvat and built a strong fort at Mozafferabad, and several ghurries along the same road. His brother Jehandad Khan had also strengthened himself at Peshawar; he held the fort of Attock, and the family contemplated an organized resistance to the Barukzyies. During this period Kabool was convulsed by the rival claims of the Barukzyie and Suddoozyie factions. At length in the year H. 1227, (A. D. 1812,) Mahomed Shah sent his captive brother Soojah-ul-Moolk to Cashmere, where he was imprisoned in the fort of the Koh-i-marán.

On the retreat of Shah Zeman from Lahore in the year A. D. 1801, Runjeet Sing had risen rapidly into importance, and had consolidated a nation whose elements he found existing in the Punjab in a disjointed form. He was now in fact (A. D. 1813,) amongst the number of the princes of India, and was even deemed an ally worthy of the British Government. Thinking him a fit co-adjutor, Futteh Shah therefore, feeling himself unequal to the conquest of

Cashmere thus fortified by the Suddoozyie brothers, proceeded to Lahore towards the end of 1812 A. D. and entered into a treaty for a subsidiary force for the invasion of the recusant valley for which it was stipulated, Runjeet Sing was to receive eight lakhs of rupees yearly.

A. D. 1813.—Mokim Chund was accordingly sent in command of a force of 12,000 men ; which contingent, acting in concert with that of Futteh Khan, commenced an invasion of the country. Attar Mahomed drew out his forces for battle, but, being deserted by some of his officers, and suspecting treachery in others, he shut himself up in the Shereghurrie whilst his brother held out the Hari Parvat. However the enemy agreed to listen to terms, and, after an interview, Attar Mahomed, with his family and treasure, was allowed to depart peaceably for Peshawar ; and thus Futteh Khan gained possession of the country. (A. D. 1813.) After remaining there but little beyond three months, he set out to beseige Attock, in which fort Jehandar Khan, brother of the late governor, still held out against him. At the same time he dismissed his ally Mokim Chund, Runjeet's general, with the first instalment of the stipulated 8 lakhs, and appointed his own brother Azim Khan, Naib of the country.

No sooner however did he approach Attock than Jehandar Khan, who had previously sold the fort to Runjeet Singh, fled and joined the Sikhs, and the Sikh government refused to surrender that important stronghold. Enraged at this breach of good faith on the part of his ally, Futteh Khan now refused to fulfil the other stipulated terms of agreement and declared war. Mokim Chund also on his departure from Cashmere had released Shah Shooja, who accompanied him to Lahore where, he was detained as a prisoner till his escape to the British territory. (A. D. 1814.)

Runjeet Singh on the pretext that the eight lakhs of rupees was an annual tribute, now, at the head of a considerable army, invaded Cashmere in person.

The Sikh army arrived at Rajoorie on the 11th June, 1814, and equipped itself for hill warfare, before attempting to force the passes of the Pir Pinjal. The Rajah of Poonch (Rahoola Khan) had openly joined Azim Khan, the governor of Cashmere ; and Ugger Khan

Rajah of Rajoorie, (A. D. 1814,) had every disposition to do likewise, had not his country been already occupied by the enemy. As it was, he beguiled them by false intelligence and treacherous guides, and was thus perhaps more truly serviceable to the Cashmere party, than if he had openly joined them. It was determined that Runjeet Singh in person should lead the principal army by the Poonch road towards Toshee-maidan, whilst a diversion should be made by Barumgulla. This last, under Ram Dyal, gained the post at Barumgulla, but it was not till the middle of July that a general advance was made.

On the 13th of that month, however, Runjeet marched from Poonch, and reached Toshee-maidan on the 18th, where he found Mahomed Azim Khan and the Cashmere army, ready to receive him; and his hesitation in attacking on this occasion led to the disasters which followed. Meantime, Ram Dyal, having forced the Pir Pinjal, and defeated the Cashmere force which attacked him at Heerpore, advanced to Shupeyon; the first town in the valley, but was there surrounded, and only allowed to retire through the friendship of Azim Khan for Mokim Chund, the grandfather of that chief.

Runjeet Singh's army at the same time, being discouraged by the delay in attacking the enemy, had lost ground, and eventually been forced into a precipitate retreat to Poonch, with the loss of its baggage; Runjeet Singh quitted the camp and hurried to Lahore. The victorious Azim Khan now resumed the quiet discharge of his duties as Naib of the province, and, having suspicions that the Dewan Hurdoss had invited Runjeet Singh to invade the country, he put him to death. Runjeet Singh, however, seems to have been merely instigated by the wish of extorting the annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees; which, after the first payment made to Mokim Chund, had been withheld by Azim Khan. The year following this unsuccessful invasion a severe famine occurred in Cashmere, and many perished. There was also a very severe winter: the lakes and rivers being all frozen over.

A. D. 1814.—The governor Azim Khan began now to oppress the Hindus, whom he suspected of a disposition favourable to the Sikhs. At length, after being in power six years, during which pe-

riod he had amassed two crores of rupees (£2,000,000) extorted from the unhappy country ; he left his brother (A. D. 1818,) Jubbar Khan as Naib and proceeded to Kabool, to the assistance of his eldest brother Futteh Khan, at that time a prisoner in the hands of the Sudozyies. He was, however, too late to prevent that high-spirited chieftain from being foully assassinated in the presence of (and by order of) the Shah. It does not fall to our province to trace the future career of Azim Khan : He subsequently became ruler of Kabool, when, misunderstandings occurring betwixt himself and Dost Mahomed Khan his younger brother, whose force of character he appears never to have fully recognized, he allowed, by his own indecision of character, the golden moments of opportunity to pass, and died of a broken heart 1823 A. D.

Jubbar Khan being left as Naib of Cashmere, (A. D. 1818,) evinced every disposition to govern well, and carried on his government with mercy and equity for the space of six months. After his unsuccessful invasion of Cashmere in the year 1814 A. D., Runjeet Singh had occupied himself in repairing the losses sustained by his arms, in punishing the hill Rajahs, and other allies of Azim Khan this side the Pir Pinjal, to whom he mainly attributed his repulse. At length in the spring of 1819 A. D., encouraged by his recent success against Mooltan, and instigated by Dewan Misr Chund and other advisers, he collected an army as numerous "as ants and locusts," (lit.) and invaded Cashmere a second time. Taught by former reverses, Runjeet Singh now adopted every precaution to ensure success ; he divided his army into three divisions ; the "advance" under Misr Dewan Chund ; the "support" under Prince Khurruk Singh ; and the "reserve" under Runjeet himself. By the month of June 1819, the Dewan had occupied Rajoorie, Poonch, and all the hills this side of the Pir Pinjal ; and on the 23rd by a simultaneous attack carried the positions of the Rajahs of those two states, who covered the passes : (A. D. 1819). At the same time Khurruk Singh's support occupied Poonch and Rajoorie. Meantime, the Cashmere governor Jubbar Khan, made some show of resistance ; he advanced in person as far as Heerpore, and sent forward troops to close the pass ; but his arrangements for defence were ill-concerted, as he allowed Dewan Misr Chund to turn his

position by a flank march, and to take up a favourable position in his rear at Deopore. There, however, he engaged the enemy with 5,000 men on the 5th July, but was wounded and defeated after a feeble action, and fled, with his Pathans, by the Baramoola pass towards the Indus. By this time, Runjeet Singh, with the reserve, had reached Rajoorie; but did not proceed to view his conquest, of which, indeed, he appears to have entertained a superstitious dread, and never visited in person. Dewan Misr Chund therefore advanced and occupied the city and country, which thus, after the lapse of nearly five centuries, again fell under the sway of a Hindu sovereign.

A. D. 1819.—The date is contained in the following Sikh War cry, the letters of which correspond to the Hindu year 1876 of the era of Vikramaditya.

بولوچي واه گروجي كا خالصا بولوچي واه گروجي كي فتح

PART 5.—*Cashmere under the Sikhs.*

The Sikh army under Dewan Misr Chund, having thus occupied Cashmere, Motee Ram (son of the late Dewan Mokim Chund) was appointed governor of the valley by Runjeet Singh. The surrounding countries, however, still remained in a disturbed state; several chiefs rebelled along the frontier; amongst others, Shere Zeman Khan of Gundguruh, (A. D. 1820,) against whom a force was sent, under Ram Dyal the governor's son, who was killed in action.

Ugger Khan also, the rebellious Rajah of Rajoorie, was in May, seized by Golaub Singh, who for this service obtained the Jageer of Jummo. In June the troops were relieved, and Hurrie Singh Nalooa succeeded Motee Ram as governor of Cashmere. At this time a certain Golaum Allie Kukka raised a force, and created some disturbance in the hills about Bombah; but was seized and imprisoned by Hurrie Singh, who, after governing the country two years, was relieved by Motee Ram (A. D. 1822,) for the second time. The latter however only remained one year when Goormuck Singh was appointed governor, his *peshkára* being Chuni Lall. (A. D. 1823). After two years, he also was relieved by Dewan Keerpa Ram (son of Motee Ram); in whose time the great earthquake occurred, which laid every house in the city low;



during the three months of its continuance, the shocks at first were not less than 100 per diem, after which they gradually diminished: the inhabitants lived entirely in tents. At this time the Rajah of Mosafferabad revolted, but was defeated and made prisoner by Keerpa Ram. This governor was very fond of display, but was nevertheless a good ruler. At length he excited the jealousy of Rajah Dhian Singh, the minister of Runjeet, who brought about his recall, (A. D. 1830;) the order summoning the governor to appear at the Lahore durbar and give an account of his stewardship, took him entirely by surprize; it arrived during a nocturnal fête, which he was enjoying with his suite at the Lank island, in the city lake, (locally, the dhull,) which he had illuminated for the occasion. This sudden disgrace, arriving thus in the hour of revel, greatly disconcerted the unfortunate Keerpa Ram, who nevertheless obeyed, and proceeded to Lahore, where he was imprisoned for a short time on the plea of embezzling the public money: subsequently his own and his father Motee Ram's estates being confiscated to make good the pretended deficit, he was released, and, soon after, resorted to that refuge of all disgraced Punjab functionaries, a pilgrimage to Hurdwar, where his subsequent poverty was the best argument for his innocence of the peculation attributed to him. He was succeeded (A. D. 1830,) as governor by Bumma Singh, in whose single year of power, disturbances occurred between the Shiahhs and Soonees.

A. D. 1831.—Prince Shere Singh (afterwards Maharajah) now assumed the government of Cashmere, and appointed Bisakur Singh his Dewan, who attended to the affairs of the country, whilst the Prince took his pleasure in field sports, to which he was much addicted. The Prince himself was an easy ruler, but neglected his charge, and allowed his Dewan to extort money on his own account. A great famine also at this time added to the miseries of the people, thousands of whom died, and many fled the country to Hindustan and the Punjab, where their wretched condition attracted the notice of Bunjeet, who forthwith despatched Jemadar Kooshial Singh, with Bhae Goormukh Singh, and Sheikh Golaum Mohy-ood-deen, as a sort of committee to collect the revenue, and watch Shere Singh and his Dewan Bisakur Singh. Kooshial Singh (A. D. 1832,) on arrival, assumed the control of the finances from the Dewan, but the Prince

Shere Singh continued in the country as before following his favourite pursuits. Kooshial Singh, fully aware that a cash remittance was the most effectual method of convincing his master, old Runjeet, of his fitness for the commission entrusted to him, presently extorted twenty lakhs of rupees, besides pushmeenah and horses, from the already impoverished country: he was also a cruel man, and put many innocent people to death; happily for the country he departed after six months, and Colonel Meean Singh was selected by the Maharajah, on account of his humane character, as a fit governor for the unhappy valley. That officer, accordingly (A. D. 1833), proceeded towards Cashmere, but, finding that Prince Shere Singh had not yet seen fit to surrender his government, halted at Bara-moola a month. At length, that royal personage leisurely set out on his return to Lahore, after having misruled the country upwards of three years. Meean Singh then assumed the government, (A. D. 1833,) and set himself to work to repair the country, desolated by famine and oppression. He seems in fact to have been a kind and just man, who prevented his soldiers from oppressing the people. He was raised to the rank of general in 1836 A. D. as a mark of acknowledgment of his services.

In the year 1838 A. D. great floods occurred, which forced the people to take to their boats. In the following year A. D. 1839, Runjeet Singh died and was succeeded by Kurruck Singh, who followed his father ten months after. Noo Nihal Singh, Runjeet's grandson, was also killed by the fall of a gateway at Lahore: upon which a state of anarchy ensued amongst the rival Sikh Sirdars, a graphic picture of which has been portrayed by other hands, during all which struggles for power, however, Meean Singh remained quiet in his government of Cashmere; till at length he fell, in a mutiny of his troops, by the hand of one Jemadar Tellock Singh. (A. D. 1841). This mutiny was occasioned by that usual grievance amongst Asiatic armies, arrears of pay. Tellock Singh, having demanded payment of these arrears for his regiment, and being refused by the governor, immediately, as preconcerted, drew his tulwar, and calling upon Meean Singh to "go aloft" (that being the slang for death amongst the Sikhs) killed him on the spot. Thus perished the well meaning Meean Singh: intemperance and sen-

suality had however by this time gone far to obliterate the humane and just impulses with which he had commenced his career, and, in consequence of his gross appetites, his person had attained a most unwieldy and unseemly bulk. His son Suint Singh escaped for the present to the fort of the Harrie Parwat, and thus saved his life; but he was delivered up and imprisoned by Tellock Singh, who forthwith sacked the treasury and put himself at the head of the rebellion. Meantime, Golaum Mohy-ood-deen (a Mahomedan) had been despatched as governor to relieve Meean Singh, by the new Maharajah Shere Singh of Lahore, but on arriving at Shupeyon (A. D. 1841,) in progress to join, finding that the Shere Ghurrie was in possession of the rebels, he halted, and wrote for assistance. Rajah Golab Singh of Jummoo, and other Sirdars, were now despatched to put down the mutineers; which they succeeded in effecting after several desperate engagements, in which the rebels were nearly all slain.

A. D. 1842.—Golaum Mohy-ood-deen was now installed as governor of Cashmere, under the sounding title of Nizam-ul-moolk-Etamaad-ood-dowlah. A comet appeared in this last year of the 18th century of Vikramaditya. To the superstition of Asiatics, these "wandering light stars" ever appear ominous of war and evil to the mighty of the land; and the events of the next six years well nigh justified the predictions of the Punjab astrologers in the present instance.

During the summer of this year, (A. D. 1842,) Golab Singh remained a month, engaged in collecting and forwarding supplies to his troops, employed at this time under the famous Zorawar Singh, in reducing Thibet, to whose trade in Shawl-wool, &c. this merchant Prince had early set his eye. Soon after this, Golaum Mohy-ood-deen sent an expedition to Gilgit, which was, however, defeated with loss. Encouraged by this success, the Rajahs of Mosafferabad, Kurnah, and Kotyhar, had combined their forces, and pressed the governor so hard that he was fain to apply for assistance from Lahore. Upon this his son Sheikh Emám-ood-deen (who received the title of Ameer-ul-moolk Jung Bahadur) was despatched by Maharajah Heera Singh, who had succeeded to the guddie, with an army of 15,000 men to his assistance. On the

approach of this overwhelming reinforcement, the rebels dispersed ; and the Sheikh went to pay his respects to his father, (A. D. 1843,) who raised him to be his associate in the government. In the time of Mohy-ood-deen, the cholera created great havoc among the inhabitants, no less than 23,000 of whom are said to have died in the city alone.

At length Golaum Mohy-ood-deen, being in an infirm state of health, appointed his son (A. D. 1845,) Sheikh Emám-ood-deen governor of Cashmere, and proceeded towards Lahore to pay his respects at court. He was, however, taken ill on the road, returned to Cashmere, and there died (A. D. 1845,) after ruling the country five years.

Now comes the Sikh Campaign of the Sutlej, and the establishment of Dhullip Singh on the throne of Lahore, with Lall Singh as minister ; Cashmere being made over to Golab Singh "for a consideration." On the approach, however, (A. D. 1846,) of Golab Singh's general to take possession, the governor Sheikh Emám-ood-deen, acting under secret instructions from the Lahore durbar, refused to surrender his trust, and succeeded in beating back Golab Singh's troops ; and even advanced 3,000 men, with two guns, under Rajah Fuqueeroola Khan of Rajoorie, in pursuit. He was however induced to surrender, and Maharajah Golab Singh of Jummoo became independent ruler of Cashmere and the hills.

