Chapter - 3

Non-Agricultural Production
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NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION:

(A) INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURES

Shawl Industry

Mughal aristocracy consisted chiefly of urbanized people and as such they lived in towns and cities. Shawls were used by the royalty and aristocracy as a luxury.\(^1\) The nobles lived in urban centres and so the chief centres of production and marketing developed in the cities. The urban centres turned to be the natural shelters for various types of artisans. It is, therefore, no wonder that the famous industrial centres of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar.\(^2\) More than 24000 looms were busy in this city in the production of this costly stuff, \(^3\) which filled the coffers of the subah with money.\(^4\)

According to G.T. Vigne, “Islamabad is a qasbah or market town. It contains a few houses of shawl-weavers, and handsome saddle-cloths and rugs of various patterns are still manufactured there.”\(^5\) According to another source, though far a slightly later period, there were three hundred shops of shawl-weavers, and a coarse kind of chintz, and a considerable number of gabbas, or flowered patchwork cloths of the coloured woollens of the country, were fabricated\(^6\) in this town.

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1 Aīn, I, pp. 65-68; The product of the saffron-crop, of the shawl duty, and of the mint they attached to the royal treasury: Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh, vol. II, p. 352; Ippolito Desideri, op. cit., p. 73.
2 Muhammad Amin Razi, Haft Iqlim, (1168 A.H.), Qutubuddin collection, 100/20, manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, f. 140; George Forster, op. cit., vol. II, p. 18.
3 A.I. Chicherov, India Economic Development In The 16th-18th Centuries, Moscow, 1971, pp. 216-17; According to Chicherov, there were 24000 looms; Also see Haft Iqlim, f. 140: While in Haft Iqlim, there were 2000 karkhana (shawl); G. Forster, op. cit., II, p. 20.
The major craft products of Kashmir were shawls and other woollen stuffs. Shawls made out of shawl-wool were, perhaps, the most celebrated of the products of Kashmir. The shawl industry in Kashmir is of considerable antiquity.\(^7\) During the Sultans’ period it attained technical perfection and acquired a very good reputation. The Mughals gave it further impetus and encouragement.

The shawl industry received a great impetus during the 14\(^{th}\) and 15\(^{th}\) centuries. The famous ruler, Zain-ul-Abidin, gave patronage to it, introduced the twill tapestry technique, the bush, and a new type of loom in the manufacture of Kashmir shawls.\(^8\) It was during this period that variegated plants and flowers were woven on the new type of loom,\(^9\) but the needle work embroidery was the development of the Mughal Empire.\(^10\) Thus the view of Walter Lawrence that the shawl weaving technique was introduced by Babur in India and thence made its entry in Kashmir\(^11\) is not supported by facts.

During the Mughal times, the shawl industry became a royal industry and attained its maximum growth with 40,000 looms in operation.\(^12\) The factories were known as *karkhanas* or workshop. The state owned factory system developed phenomenally with the Mughals,\(^13\) who extended their patronage to shawl weaving which became a vital source of prosperity as well as wealth for Kashmir. It promoted the trade of the country.\(^14\) In the royal *karkhanas*, set up by Akbar, new designs, colours and patterns were

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\(^9\) *Ibid*.


\(^12\) George Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.

\(^13\) *Ain*, I, p. 66; Also see Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

\(^14\) Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 402; Also see *Ain*, I, pp. 65-68.
introduced. The Kashmiri shawl became a royal apparel and was gifted to nobles as a mark of favour. The people of Kashmir depended mainly on wool. Woollen textiles were fabricated almost all over the kingdom from the abundant resources of indigenous wool. The refined and delicate texture was consumed by the royalty and aristocracy in and outside Kashmir. The bulk of the woollen textiles were exported.\textsuperscript{15} The Mughal period led to greater commercialisation of the industry and to its reorganisation.\textsuperscript{16} The loom was improved; new tints were introduced and shawls of various measurements were manufactured.\textsuperscript{17}

The Mughal emperors, encouraged it in every possible way bringing its weaving to such a perfection that it soon was regarded as a symbol of imperial prestige and a determinant of commercial ties with the foreign countries thereby accelerating the process of urbanising Kashmir. The Mughals set the industrial, commercial and production patterns of its \textit{karkhanas} creating new social patterns among its craftsmen. The Mughal interest in the technological development of the shawl industry on a sound economic footing can be attributed to their strong fascination for the fabric which they considered a symbol of court prestige and auspiciousness.\textsuperscript{18}

Under the Mughals it had become a craze with every noble to have a fine Kashmiri shawl, which was considered a symbol of prestige.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid}, I, pp. 67-68.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid}, I, pp. 65-68 & its Eng. Transl. I, pp. 93-94, 96-98, & also see p. 96 nos.3: In allusion to the practice of \textit{Sufis}, who only wear garments made of wool (\textit{suf}). Abu’l Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a \textit{Sufi} of so high a degree as to be able to work miracles, and he states below that it was his intention to write a book on Akbar’s miracles. The charge of fulsome in praise has often been brought against Abu’l Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against Fayzi, who-like the poets of imperial Rome-represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar’s character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.
\textsuperscript{19} Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 402-3.
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was the chief customer of the stuff. The Mughal emperors purchased Kashmir shawls in large quantities in addition to the presents in shawls offered by the subedars.\textsuperscript{20} The shawls were bestowed upon nobles on festive occasions and were sent as presents to foreign rulers.\textsuperscript{21} Thus royal patronage made the shawl a status and a fashion symbol throughout the empire particularly on the occasion of imperial festivities.\textsuperscript{22}

With the expansion of the Empire, new vistas were opened for the shawl trade. Shahjahan sent a large number of Kashmir shawls to the rulers of Golconda and Bijapur.\textsuperscript{23} It was during this period that Kashmiri shawls were sent to the Ottoman Empire (Rum), Safavid Empire and Egypt.\textsuperscript{24} In late 18\textsuperscript{th} century jurah and qasabah etc. were liked by the people of France, \textsuperscript{25} and in 19\textsuperscript{th} century France was its chief European importer.\textsuperscript{26}

Lahore, \textsuperscript{27} Ahmedabad, \textsuperscript{28} Agra, \textsuperscript{29} Gujarat \textsuperscript{30} and subsequently Southern India \textsuperscript{31} emerged as main marketing centres of Kashmiri shawls within India.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 139, 142, 144, 146; Lahori, \textit{Badshahnama}, II, part-II, p. 433; \textit{Maasiru-ud Umara}, vol. I, part-I, pp. 180-81; Asad Beg Qazwini, \textit{Risala-i-Tarikh-i-Asad Beg}, Brit. M. Or. 1996 Rieu iii/979a, Rotograph No. 94, CAS, AMU, Aligarh, f. 22a; The Kashmir shawls were given as presents not only to the ladies of the imperial Harem, governors and newly appointed state officials, but also to foreign envoys on state visit to India: J.N. Sarkar, \textit{Mughal Administration}, Fourth Edition, Calcutta, 1952, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 65-68; Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 403.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Tarikh-i-Hasan}, MS. No. 04, I, ff. 133ab.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{27} Francisco Pelsaert, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{29} Francisco Pelsaert, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri}, Or. MSS. 1671, Rotograph No. 45, f. 206b.
Nepal, Lhasa and Kathmandu also imported Kashmiri shawls.\textsuperscript{32} Bernier rightly observed in 1662 that Kashmir derived much of its wealth from this industry.\textsuperscript{33}

The Mughal emperors maintained \textit{karkhanas} or factories of their own for manufacture of articles of different kinds. The interest of the Mughal emperors in the workshops can be assessed from the following observations of Abul Fazl: ‘His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs…skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture.’\textsuperscript{34} The attention which Akbar paid to his \textit{karkhanas} and to recruiting artisans from different countries and in training local men in every art, is recorded in the \textit{Ain} under each industry and is noticed by Father Monserrate also.\textsuperscript{35} For example, Abul Fazl says: ‘formerly shawls were often brought from Kashmir, industry developed and received a new life.\textsuperscript{36} Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb Alamgir were all extremely fond of shawls, and patronized and subsidized the shawl weaving industry. Later on, when the Afghans came to rule in Kashmir the shawl industry was further improved.

The production of the exquisite shawl was further impetus by the Mughal patronage of culture, fine arts and urbanisation which immensely encouraged the textile \textit{karkhanas}.\textsuperscript{37} Apart from maintaining large wardrobes and stores for the preservation of various stuffs, “which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents,” the Mughal rulers particularly Akbar who made it compulsory for their courtiers and people of certain ranks to wear certain articles such as \textit{takauchiya} (coat), \textit{peshwaz} (a coat

\textsuperscript{32} Desideri, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 73, 132-33, 317.
\textsuperscript{33} F. Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 402-403.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{35} Dr. Aniruddha Ray, \textit{Some Aspects of Mughal Administration}, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 91-92.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ain}, I, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{37} Abdul Ahad, \textit{Kashmir To Frankfurt, A Study of Arts And Crafts}, New Delhi, 1987, p. 12.
open in front) and *parmanarm* (the Kashmir shawl). According to Abul Fazl, this was done to regulate and intensify the demand of various stuffs to which Akbar paid much attention.\(^{38}\) Therefore, ever-increasing demands of the imperial court, strengthened the shawl industry and its workers. Considering the number of dignitaries, national and international, who received Kashmir products as presents, and that of the people of ranks, who bought these in markets, the demands appears to have been enormous. For example, the number of women who received presents was 5,000 in the time of Akbar.\(^ {39}\) Likewise, in 1690 the number of *mansabdars* was 14,500 all of whom received presents.\(^ {40}\) Officers were stationed in Kashmir to purchase \(^ {41}\) the best shawls. *Khan-i-Saman*, a very important officer of the emperor’s household department, took care of purchasing the stuff from the market as well as getting new ones manufactured well in advance. He had charge of “whole expenditure of the royal house-hold in reference to both great and small things.”\(^ {42}\)

Thus the huge demand for the shawl proportionately increased as well as enhanced the number of craftsmen. Even children took to the occupation of shawl-making.\(^ {43}\) According to Abul Fazl “the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers.”\(^ {44}\) Bernier who visited India during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb was no less impressed by the affluence and efflorescence of fine arts and the industrial advance of the country. He dwells at length on the achievements of Kashmiris in arts and crafts. He has given a detailed description of the

\(^{38}\) *Ain*, I, pp. 65-67.  
\(^{40}\) J.N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 9.  
\(^{41}\) *Ibid*, p. 10.  
\(^{42}\) Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 394.  
\(^{44}\) *Ain*, I, p. 66.
manufacture of shawls in Kashmir and of the *karkhanas* where arts and crafts were learnt and plied.\(^{45}\) During the governorship of Abdullah Khan the Kashmir shawl for the first time found its way to Europe through one Syed Yaheya of Baghdad who on his visit to Kashmir had received it as a gift from the governor.\(^{46}\)

The needle-wrought designs on shawl introduced during the Afghan reign brought further sophistication to the making of shawl. It became very popular in Europe. These designs different from those created by the loom were known as *Amlkar*.\(^{47}\) The shawl continued to enjoy uninterruptedly the *Sarkari* patronage even during the Sikh regime succeeding the Afghans.\(^{48}\)

Very scanty information is available on the industrial organisation in medieval Kashmir. The factories were known as *karkhanas* or workshops by the Persian writers. During the Mughal and Afghan period when the demand from the Mughal aristocracy as well as court increased, the industry developed. The state owned factory system developed phenomenally with the Mughals, who extended their patronage to the shawl weaving which became a vital source of prosperity not only for Kashmir but also for India.\(^{49}\) After the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughals, they made the shawl an imperial monopoly in order to cater to their own interests as well as to those of the Indian and the Kashmiri elite. For instance, according to Abul Fazl, besides shawl, mint, hunting and saffron were declared departments of imperial monopoly.\(^{50}\) An officer named Qalandar Beg, was appointed to look after the

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\(^{46}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

\(^{47}\) Ibid, p. 13.

\(^{48}\) Ibid.

\(^{49}\) Ibid, p. 45; Also see *Ain*, I, pp. 65-66.

\(^{50}\) *Akbarnama*, III, part-II, pp. 481 & its. Transl. III, p. 725 & n.2.
shawl *karkhanas.*\(^{51}\) Manucci writes, in each province, “the king and the princes keep officials ------, whose business it is to put in hand the best goods than can be fabricated in each place. With this object in view, they kept an eye continually upon what was being done in that respect.”\(^{52}\) It seems that a special officer was appointed to collect the best shawls, that could be fabricated in Kashmir and send them to the Mughal court.

Abul Fazl \(^{53}\) refers to “more than one hundred offices and workshops each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom-----they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing, their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.” The *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri* \(^{54}\) gives a list of 69 Mughal *karkhanas* or workshops. Bernier while describing these *karkhanas*, writes: within the fortress, “large halls are seen in many places called *karkhanas* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall the embroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see goldsmiths, in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer work, in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoe makers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles, with golden flowers, and (the fine) drawers worn by females---beautiifully embroidered with needle-work. The artisans repair every morning to their respective kar-kanays, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes----The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and the physician of the city educates his son for a physician.”\(^{55}\)

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\(^{51}\) Ibid.

\(^{52}\) Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 405.

\(^{53}\) *Ain*, I, p.7.

\(^{54}\) Aurangzeb, *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*, Or. 1641, British Museum, Rotograph No. 62, CAS, AMU, Aligarh, f. 132b; For further details see J.N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-75.

The royal *karkhanas* were found all over the country. Big centres were found in Kashmir, Lahore, Agra, Ahmedabad, Fatehpur and Gujarat. The workmanship of Kashmir was renowned. Its palekys (palanquins), bedsteads, trunks, inkstand, boxes and spoon were quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture were in used all over India. But its shawls were superb. ‘Great pains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra, and Lahore; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmiri shawls.’ These *karkhanas* administered by the government through its officers appointed for the purpose of taking their care. Among these officers Khan or Malik and accountants were more important and were in charge of each workshop supervising the work of artisans, collecting materials and disbursing wages. There was also a *mutsarrif* or general superintendent or *khan-i-saman* responsible for the efficient working of all *karkhanas* spread throughout the empire. According to Bernier, each *karkhana* had many branches with expert craftsmen busy in systematising the production experience, enabling the weavers, embroiderers, the dyers and the like; to bring up their children as weavers, embroiderers and dyers respectively. Thus social division of labour was basic to the *karkhana* organisation and it not only improved the quality of products but also led to their effective working.

Although the number of craftsmen employed in shawl *karkhanas* during the Mughal era was by and large proportionate to the demand for the product,
the demand principle ceased to be the determining factor during the Afghan, and the Sikh regimes. Instead the government determined the labour requirements of state *karkhanas*, whereas the financial capacity of private entrepreneurs decided the labour force of private *karkhanas*.\(^{61}\)

Forster in his travel to Kashmir in 1783 has made interesting observations on the shawl industry of Kashmir. He puts the number of shawl looms as 40,000 under the Mughals,\(^ {62}\) each giving employment to three men at a time,\(^ {63}\) which indicates that labour organisation had reached its zenith. But during the Afghans, 16,000 looms employed some 48,000 weavers on the basis of three weavers to one loom.\(^ {64}\) At the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century, Srinagar contained more than 24,000 looms on which the shawls were woven, giving employment to 72,000 weavers, on the basis of three men at a loom.\(^ {65}\)

During the Mughal era, however, maximum number of women and children were employed in the shawl industry to meet the growing requirements of the Mughal court as well as the regime. At one stage during this period almost the entire female population of the Srinagar city was engaged in the profession of shawl making.\(^ {66}\)

Under the Mughals, the condition of wage workers seems to have improved. We have the authority of the inscription on the *Kathi Darwaza* of Akbar’s fort round *Hari Parbat* help us to form an idea of the general mode of remunerations. According to this inscription workers received their payments

\(^{61}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
\(^{63}\) Mount Stuart Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, II, p. 240.
\(^{64}\) Ibid; G. Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.
\(^{65}\) A.I. Chicherov, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.
\(^{66}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
from the imperial treasury. Lawrence writes: “High wages were given to men and women, married women receiving 6 annas and single women 4 annas per diem.”

During the period of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the wage system evolved further so that ‘suitable’ payments were made to workmen.

During the Afghan period the government supplied grain to the shawl-bafs on exorbitant rates by way of remuneration. However, the Kashmiri potters, carrying loads of shawl, two of whom made the load of a strong mule, received wages in cash at the rate of 4 rupees a carrier.

Several varieties of different grades of woollens are mentioned in the sources which were being manufactured in Kashmir. From amongst these parm narm, tarmah, darmah, pashmina, pattu and saqarlat occur more frequently. Different types of woollen stuffs are also mentioned in the travellers’ accounts which were being manufactured in Kashmir. “The woollen kerchiefs for the head are highly valued, and the Pattea [Puttoo], long cloth-strips folded several times which serve as waistbands. But most precious and magnificent are the cloths called scial in both Hindustan and Persian.”

According to G.T. Vigne “the productions of the Kashmirians looms, ---are very numerous: Du-shalah, Jamaweh, Rumal, Hasheyi, Urmuk, and the Yek-Tar, etc.” As mentioned earlier in the chapter, chintz and flowered patchwork woollen cloths were also made extensively in Kashmir.

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67 Ibid, pp. 53-54.
68 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 194.
69 Abdul Ahad, op. cit., p. 54.
70 Ibid.
74 Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, p. 153.
75 Ain, II, p. 171.
76 Ibid; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, p. 154.
77 Desideri, op. cit., p. 73.
79 Moorcroft & Trebeck, op. cit., II, p. 248.
Shawl weaving was in all likelihood common in Kashmir even before Emperor Akbar had annexed it. It however, seems to have acquired greater prominence since, he encouraged the industry directly. He tried to stimulate the growth of a market for these in Hindustan. To make their use more popular there, he sponsored changes in the traditional colours and an increase in the standard width production so that the material might be used more economically. We are informed that the capital, Srinagar, was the chief centre of this (shawl) industry. According to G.T. Vigne, “Islamabad is a qasbah or market-town. It contains a few houses of shawl-weavers, and handsome saddle-cloths and rugs of various patterns are still manufactured there.”

During the Mughal period shawl industry received a great stimulus. Considerable light on the shawl manufacture of Kashmir in the sixteenth century is thrown by the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl who has given exhaustive list of all kinds of textiles. In the *Ain*, Abul Fazl points out the great interest which Akbar took in various stuffs and that was the reason why Iranian, European and Mongolian articles of wear were available in plenty in the country. Besides this, his interest in textiles had attracted a large number of foreign craftsmen and workers who taught the people improved style in textile manufacture. The imperial *karkhanas* at Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur and Ahmedabad were noted for their excellent products whose patterns, knots and varieties of fashions astonished the travellers. Akbar himself had acquired a practical knowledge of the whole trade, and the encouragement he gave to the indigenous workers brought all round improvement. All kinds of hair weaving

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80 *Ain*, I, p. 68.
82 *Ain*, II, p. 171.
84 *Ain*, I, pp. 67.
and silk spinning improved so that the imperial workshops could manufacture all the stuff in other countries. There was a constant demand for fine materials and at first time gave occasion for grand display of draperies.

All textile pieces bought, woven to order or received as tributes or presents, were carefully preserved and were inspected from time to time. Clothes were made for them or they were given away as presents. Articles were arranged according to their prices. Experienced people continually inquired about the prices of articles used formerly and in Akbar’s time, as the knowledge of the exact prices was conducive to the increase of stock. His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.85

In keeping with his interest in textiles Akbar showed great interest in the shawl manufacture of Kashmir. We are informed in the *Ain* 31 86 that to the generic term *shal* Akbar gave his own Hindi designation *parmnarm* (very soft), and he changed the name of *kapardhur* (camphor dust), a Tibetan stuff to *kapurnur* (camphor light).

The *Ain* 32 87 gives a fairly good account of Kashmir shawls. The garments stored in the imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months and years of their entries, and according to their colour, price and weight. Such an arrangement is now-a-days called *misl*, a set. And their variety is noted on cloth labels sewn to one of the corners of the shawls. In the Irani months of *Azar* and *Farwardin* they are brought to *karkhanas* and stored out in accordance with their prices, varieties, weights and colours. “The following is

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85 Ibid, I, p. 66.
87 Ibid, I, p. 68.
the order of colours: *tus*, *safidalcha*, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the *Ratanmanjani* flower, coloured like the *kasni* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio,----, *bhojpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *galghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Fakhta*.88

Abul Fazl further writes ‘In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmir. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Now-a-days they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well.’89

‘His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Lahore also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called *mayan*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chiras* (turbans), *fotas* (loin bands), etc.’90

In *Ain* 32,91 Abul Fazl writes: ‘His Majesty improved this department in *four ways.*’ From the above account of shawls many points are clear. *Firstly,* *tus* shawl was made from the hair of *tus* goat.92 *Secondly,* the corded and

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92 *Ibid.*, I, p. 67; ‘*Tus* shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name, its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness----.’ In the nineteenth century when Moorcroft visited Kashmir there were two kinds of goat wool *pashm shal* obtained from the wool of domestic goats and *Asali tus* obtained from the hair of wild goats and sheep:
patterned shawls (tarah shawls) were made of either white, black or mixed wool. The white kind was formerly dyed in three or four colours but in Akbar’s time the number of colours was increased. *Thirdly,* attention was paid to the manufacture of the varieties of shawls such as ‘Zardozi, Kalabatun, Kashida, Qalghai, Bandhnun, Chhint,*93* Alcha, Purzdar.’ *Fourthly,* an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; his Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.*94*

Jahangir in his memoirs states that “the shawls of Kashmir to which my father gave the name of *parm narm* are very famous. There is no need to praise them. Another kind is *taharma;* it is thicker than a shawl and soft. Another is called *darma------.* Though they bring wool for the shawls from Tibet----And in Kashmir they weave the *pattu* shawl from wool, and sewing two shawls together they smooth them into a kind of *sagarlat* (broad-cloth), which is not bad for a rain-coat.”95 From the above account of shawl it is clear that the shawl industry of Kashmir in Jahangir’s time was in a flourishing state.

In *Badshahnama,* we come across different varieties of shawls which were popular during Shahjahan’s times.96 The industry of Kashmir was much developed because Shahjahan needed a large number of shawls and carpets for the new places he was constructing. It thus reached its highest pitch in the reign of Shahjahan.97

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93 Ibid, I, pp. 67-68 & Also see its Eng. Transl. I, p. 97 & n.2: *Chhint* is our *chintz,* which is derived from *Chhint.* According to Moorcroft even in the early nineteenth century some shawls with green flowers tied in small hard knots to protect them from the action of the dye were made. When united each flower was surrounded by a small white field to which small eyes of spots of yellow, red were added by the embroiderers: Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.,* vol. II, part-III, ch. III, pp. 191-92.

94 Ibid, I, p. 68.

95 *Tuzuk,* pp. 300-301.


Bernier rightly observed that Kashmir derived much of its wealth from shawl industry and has left a good account of shawls manufactured there.\(^{98}\)

The *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* speaks of woollen stuffs specially the shawls of Kashmir exported all over the world. Soft and beautiful broad cloths of wool were also manufactured.\(^{99}\)

Later on, when the Afghans came to rule in Kashmir the shawl industry was further improved. The Afghans showed much liking for shawls. In their days, shawls were in demand in Iran, Turkistan and Europe.\(^{100}\)

George Forster in 1783 wrote: “In Kashmir are seen merchants and commercial agents of the most of the principal cities of Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey, who at the same time advance their fortunes, and enjoy the pleasures of a fine climate and a country; over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature.” He also notes the number of shawl looms as 16,000, though he says that under the Mughals it was 40,000.\(^{101}\) This decline in number of shawl looms may be ascribed to “the heavy oppressions of the government, and the rapacious temper of the bordering states, who exercise an unremitting rapacity on the foreign traders, and often plunder whole cargoes, have reduced the commerce of Kashmir to a declining and languid state.”\(^{102}\) And also to the cruel taxation policy of the Afghan rulers, who tried to suck the very lifeblood of both the trader and the weaver through the institution of *Dag* shawl. This ruinous system came into existence in this way.

\(^{99}\) *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh*, pp. 80-83.
\(^{100}\) P.N.K. Bamzai, *op. cit.*, p. 489.
\(^{101}\) G. Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.
\(^{102}\) *Ibid.*
Saffron and grain which the state got as its share of produce, were sold at higher than the market rates to the inhabitants, of course under pressure. It naturally told very severely on the poor shawl weavers who then numbered 12,000. In the time of Haji Karimdad Khan Period (1776-83A.D.) this practice was abolished, and in lieu of it the shawl weavers were made to pay a small tax called Qasur-i-shali. Subsequently the Haji, at the suggestion of his Wazir, Dila Ram Quli, abolished the Qasur-i-shali and instead levied a tax of …..pie per rupee ad valorem on every shawl manufactured.  

During the governorship of Abdullah Khan the Kashmir shawl for the first time found its way to Europe through one Syed Yaheya of Baghdad who on his visit to Kashmir had received it as a gift from the governor. According to Lawrence, ‘The first shawls which reached Europe were brought by Napoleon, at the time of the campaign in Egypt, as a present to the empress Josephine, and from that time shawls became fashionable.’ Consequently there was a great demand for the shawl and an increase in the number of looms which rose to 24,000 in 1813 when Azim Khan was the Afghan governor of Kashmir. Finding it a profitable source of income, he reintroduced the system of forcible sale of grain at enhanced prices to shawl weavers in addition to the payment of excise duty. The shawl produced on the loom was taken by the state and the price of grain together with the amount of duty leviable on it, was recovered from its sale proceeds. Nobody could sell a piece which did not bear the stamp of Dag shawl in token of payment of duty thereon. The evasion of payment made one liable to condign punishment.

103 P.N.K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 489; Also see R.K. Parmu, op. cit., p. 363.
104 Abdul Ahad, op. cit., p. 12.
105 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 376.
106 P.N.K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 489.
Moorcroft has left an interesting account of shawl manufacture in Kashmir. The ‘pashm’ wool employed for shawl manufacture was obtained from domestic and wild goats and was brought from Tibet.\textsuperscript{107}

Moorcroft on his visit to Kashmir has left the following account of shawls manufactured there. “The whole value of shawl-goods manufactured in Kashmir may be estimated at about thirty-five lacs of rupees per annum, or say, three hundred thousand pounds. It had, however, latterly, much declined, and it was expected that in the year 1822-23 the value would scarcely exceed half the above sum. Kashmir was formerly restored to for shawl-goods by merchants from Turkey, both in Asia and Europe, by Armenian, Persians, Afghans, Uzbecks, and by traders from Hindustan and from Chinese Turkistan. Political events had largely reduced the trade with Persia, Turkey, and the Panjab, and that with Hindustan had sustained much detriment from the prevalence of British rule, and the loss of wealth by the Native courts, in which costly shawls were formerly a principal article of attire. The trade with Turkistan was on the increase, in consequence of the extending demands of Russia.”\textsuperscript{108}

As already mentioned, the shawls were used by the royalty and aristocracy as a luxury.\textsuperscript{109} Srinagar was the provincial capital and became the natural centre of the shawl-weaving industry. Shawl weaving was a lucrative profession as compared to agriculture. The wool required for the manufacture of the shawls known as pashm was produced in the Chinese provinces of Turfan, Chahthanan, and Tibet.\textsuperscript{110} In Kashmir it was imported from Western and

\textsuperscript{107} Moorcroft & Trebeck, \textit{op. cit.}, II, part-III, Ch. III, pp. 164-65.
\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 194-95; For details description, see pp. 164-95.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 65-68; \textit{Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh}, II, p. 352.
\textsuperscript{110} In the valley, mulberry silkworms were obtained from eggs imported from Gilgit and Baltistan; the Gilgit eggs yielded a finer fabric. Shawls made out of shawl-wool were, perhaps, the most celebrated of the products of Kashmir. The best variety was that woven from Shahtoosh wool
Central Tibet and, even beyond, from Kashgar and Central Turkistan.\textsuperscript{111} The routes leading to these mountainous regions were traversed with much difficulty. Merchants accustomed to these hardly tractable regions traversed these routes and brought the staff to the valley.\textsuperscript{112} They employed labourers, who brought the wool loads on their back down to the valley.\textsuperscript{113} The Kashmiri wool merchants monopolized the wool trade throughout Western Tibet.\textsuperscript{114}

Realising its economic and commercial importance for the very existence of the shawl, the Mughal emperors also treated Ladakh as a feudatory part of their empire and they enjoyed the privilege of receiving shawl-wool as a tribute. But in 1634 the supply of \textit{pashm} was stopped when Shahjahan sent his force to Ladakh in order to help the chief of Iskardo.\textsuperscript{115} The supply was, however, soon restored on account of peace made with the Raja.\textsuperscript{116}

Again, in 1682-83, on account of the Tibetan attack on Ladakh, the supply of wool was threatened, but the Mughal intervention on behalf of Ladakh forced the Qalmaq rulers of Tibet to retreat.\textsuperscript{117} A treaty was concluded between Blabran a steward of the Dalai Lama and the king of Ladakh in 1683.\textsuperscript{118} The provisions relating to commerce in shawl-wool were as under:

\begin{itemize}
\item Desideri, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 73, 76-78, 130; Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 402-03, 419-20, 425-27.
\item Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 402-03, 419-20, 425-27.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 425-26; Lawrence, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 376.
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item A.H. Francke, \textit{op. cit.}, II, part-II, pp. 115-16; Thirty years after the Treaty we get a glimpse of the \textit{pashm} trade in the “Account” by Father Desideri. He states: “in May, June, July and August, thousands and thousands of men go from Kashmir to Leh, otherwise called Lhuta, the capital of Second Tibet, and carry back infinite number of loads of wool”: Desideri, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 73.
\end{itemize}
(i) The fine wool of goats of *Mnah-ris-Skor-gsum* (Western Tibet) would not be sold to any country other than Ladakh.

(ii) Four Kashmiri merchants should reside at *Dpe-Thub* (village), and carry on bargains of wool trade.

(iii) Except the people known as *Kha-Chul* (Kashmiri) no Kashmiri of Kashmir would be allowed to go to *Byan-than* (Central Tibet).

(iv) The Kashmiris from Ladakh who used to visit *Byan-than* should not be allowed themselves to go down to Kashmir with loads of wool.

(v) The price of fine wool and the mixed with coarse be fixed at 40 nag\textsuperscript{119} to one rupee.\textsuperscript{120}

A study of the provisions of the treaty loads us to the conclusions that the entire wool trade was in the hands of the Kashmiri merchants who had their agents throughout the wool raising areas. Secondly, the chief merchants advanced loans in cash and kind to the wool producers and collected the wool according to their choice.\textsuperscript{121} One of the manuscripts gives an additional provision which stipulates that the Kashmiri merchants be forbidden to raise such objections as that the wool was wet or that it contained dust particles and the like while collecting the wool.\textsuperscript{122}

The merchants known as *bakal* had their own store houses. Soon after the arrival of the merchandise, the local merchants called *pashm Farosh* (or wool retailers) and *bakal* (or *pashm* importers) were invited and transactions

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-20; Also see Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 166-67; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
were carried on through a broker (or *Mokim*).\textsuperscript{123} After a thorough discussion the prices were fixed, and some nominal amount advanced to the merchant. The broker was also given some amount in lieu of his services.\textsuperscript{124} The *pashm farosh* engaged a large number of women in order to spin the wool into yarn.\textsuperscript{125} The yarn was purchased by the *karkhandars* from *pashm farosh*. The *karkhandar* was the proprietor of the weaving shop. The number of looms varied from three hundred to many more.\textsuperscript{126} Srinagar contained more than 24,000 looms on which the shawls were woven.\textsuperscript{127} The weavers were mostly poor because of the exploitation of the *karkhandars*. They were meagrely paid.\textsuperscript{128} The *karkhandars* employed the artisans and paid them in cash. The artisans trained their children and the art went down from father to son.\textsuperscript{129}

The factors sold the texture to the shawl merchants. The latter had their warehouses all over Central Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Bengal.\textsuperscript{130} Payments from these places were mostly made by *hundis*.\textsuperscript{131} The merchants organized daily trade fairs to display their goods.\textsuperscript{132} The customers mostly demanded the shawls according to designs of their choice. The shawl patterns were also suggested by them.\textsuperscript{133} The Imperial court was the main customer of the shawls, and transactions worth lakhs of rupees were carried on at the Imperial camp.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{124} A.I. Chicherov, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19; Also see Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 166-67.
\textsuperscript{125} Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173.
\textsuperscript{126} *Ibid*, II, pp. 166-79; Also see A.I. Chicherov, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{128} *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. No. 04, I, ff. 134b, 135a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, ff. 285ab; Also see A.I. Chicherov, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{129} Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Also see A.I. Chicherov, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-19; Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 178-79.
\textsuperscript{130} Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 130, 317.
\textsuperscript{131} Ruqatt, Acc. No. 2776, Iqbal Library, Srinagar.
\textsuperscript{132} Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.
\textsuperscript{133} *Dasturul-Amal-i-Asar-i-Alamgiri*, p. 30621, Add. 6599, British Museum, Rieu, 404, Rotograph No. 53, CAS, AMU, Aligarh, ff. 70-71.
\textsuperscript{134} *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. No. 04, I, f. 106a.
In *Dasturul-Amal-i-Asar-i-Alamgiri*, we come across some orders sent by Indian merchants to Kashmiri manufacturers for producing various kinds of shawls.\(^{135}\) During the 1\(^{st}\) half of 18\(^{th}\) century new techniques were developed and embroidery was improved.\(^{136}\) Merchants from Persia, Russia and Turkistan and Afghanistan came to Kashmir to purchase the shawls.\(^{137}\)

**Prices:** The prices varied according to the variety and the quality of the shawls. We find rates mutually fixed for certain designs and measurements, such as *jamawar, kamarband*, plain shawl, *romal, hashia* and *pashmina* of tus, in *Massiru-l Umara*, and other Persian sources.\(^{138}\)

An ordinary shawl such as *goshpech* cost from one to two rupees.\(^{139}\) Bernier writes: ‘These shawls are about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width.’\(^{140}\) *Jamawar* was a brocaded cloth made of cotton thread, silk and wool. This kind of shawl was of an ordinary value, costing not more than ninety rupees.\(^{141}\) Costly shawls were also manufactured and disposed of at fabulous prices beyond the capacity even of the wealthy and so they were the exclusive privilege of the emperors. Such shawls fetched thousands of rupees per piece.\(^{142}\)

According to Forster, ‘The price, at the loom, of an ordinary shawl, is eight rupees, thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty;

\(^{135}\) *Dasturul-Amal-i-Asar-i-Alamgiri*, ff. 70-71.

\(^{136}\) *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. No. 04, I, ff. 132b, 148a.

\(^{137}\) *Ibid*, I, ff. 132b, 133a.


\(^{139}\) *Ain*, I, p. 72.

\(^{140}\) Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-03.

\(^{141}\) *Dasturul-Amal-i-Asar-i-Alamgiri*, ff. 70-71.

\(^{142}\) Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 73; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. No. 04, I, f. 132b.
and I have seen a very fine piece sold at forty rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and when you are informed that the sum of one hundred rupees is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments.\footnote{143} A portion of the revenue of Kashmir was remitted to Afghan capital in shawl goods. The shawls were in three sizes, the long and the square ones were in common use in India, the other long and very narrow ones with black preponderating in their colour scheme were worn as girdles by the Northern Asiatics.\footnote{144}

Moorcroft in his account gives a fairly good account of the manufactures of several articles, in Kashmir, with their usual prices.\footnote{145} He further writes, that ‘the whole value of shawl-goods manufactured in Kashmir may be estimated at about thirty-five lacs of rupees per annum, or say, three hundred thousand pounds. It had, however, latterly, much declined, and it was expected that in the year 1822-3 the value would scarcely exceed half the above sum.’\footnote{146}

G.T. Vigne writes about the prices that ‘when made with coloured stripes or flowers on it, the chograh of the Afghans, or al-khalek, the long under-coat of the Persians, are made from it. If the pattern be worked with the needle, the shawl is far inferior in every respect to those in which the pattern is woven in. An excellent pair of the former description may be purchased in Kashmir for 150 rupees, whereas an equally good pair of the usuleh (the real), or the latter kind, could not be procured for less than 700 or 800 rupees.’\footnote{147}
Other Industries: Silk, Carpet Making, Paper Making, Wood Carving and Boat Making

Kashmir was also known for its silk production. Kashmirians imported silk worm eggs from the neighbouring provinces of Little Tibet and Gilgit and nurtured them on local mulberry trees. This import had, on the one hand, improved the quality of Kashmiri silk, on the other, had stimulated the industry to such an extent that Mirza Haider Dughlat regarded its enormous volume as one of the wonders of Kashmir. Evidently it was on account of the superior quality and sizable quantity of this silk which had led Emperor Akbar to reserve it an imperial monopoly. This flourishing industry was spread all over the subah, and some of its stuffs were received by Lahore too. According to Moreland, “The production of silk in Kashmir was worked up locally, but does not appear to have been extensive”. He further states that compared to Bengal, silk production in Kashmir was relatively small.

We have very scanty information about the carpet industry of Kashmir during the Mughals period. It was, however, in the time of Ahmad Beg Khan, one of Emperor Jahangir’s governors of Kashmir that a Kashmiri Muslim, named Akhund Rahnuma went to perform the Haj pilgrimage via Central Asia. On his way back he visited Andijan in Persia where carpets were manufactured. There he picked up the art and re-started the industry in

150  *Ibid*.
Kashmir. The pile carpets made in Kashmir attained great perfection and were of floral design with mosques, gardens, wild animals, gliding fish, etc.\footnote{P.N.K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 490. He also writes that, ‘the carpet weaving industry owes its origin to Zainul Abidin who brought carpet weavers from Samarqand.’}

Evidence of the production of ‘woven’ (piled?) carpets in Kashmir from before or during the Mughal period is scarce. However, the group of seventeenth century Persianate carpets from the shrine of the Athar Mahal at Bijapur is said to have been received by Muhammad ‘Adil Shah from Kashmir in 1657. These carpets were probably among those that have been preserved in the museum of the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur. Technical examination could support the possibility that they were the products of a short-lived karkhana in the Kashmir valley.\footnote{Simon Digby, Export industries and handicraft production under the Sultans of Kashmir, The Indian Economic and Social History Review, 44, 4 (Oct.-Dec., 2007), New Delhi, p. 421.}

This industry flourished simultaneously with the shawl industry. Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those imported from Persia.\footnote{Lahori, Badshahnama, I, part-I, p. 448.} The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeded over a hundred rupees.\footnote{Ibid; Amal-i-Saleh, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, vol. I, p. 515-16, Saleh says Rs.90 a yard.} There were state-owned karkhanas apart from the private karkhanas.\footnote{Waris, Badshahnama, Transcript No. 87, II, f. 373.} This industry seems to have continued to flourish even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.\footnote{For details see Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 377-78.}

Kashmir was once famous for the manufacture of paper. They specialized in its production. According to Abul Fazl, ‘The people of Kashmir write chiefly on Tuz which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some rude art and which keeps for years. All their ancient documents are written on

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{P.N.K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 490. He also writes that, ‘the carpet weaving industry owes its origin to Zainul Abidin who brought carpet weavers from Samarqand.’}
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  \item \footnote{Lahori, Badshahnama, I, part-I, p. 448.}
  \item \footnote{Ibid; Amal-i-Saleh, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, vol. I, p. 515-16, Saleh says Rs.90 a yard.}
  \item \footnote{Waris, Badshahnama, Transcript No. 87, II, f. 373.}
  \item \footnote{For details see Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 377-78.}
\end{itemize}
this. Their ink is so prepared as to be indelible by washing. The Kashmir paper was of silky texture and glossy appearance and was in great demand in India for writing purposes, “was much in request in India for manuscripts, and was used by all who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence”. Forster writing in 1783, says that “the Kashmirians fabricated the best writing paper of the East, which was formerly an article of extensive traffic.” Good-quality paper was manufactured in considerable quantity, which was made from rags, hemp fibre and silk; obtained by pounding these materials under a lever mill worked by water-power. The Kashmiri paper possessed the quality that once the ink had been washed off, it could again be used for writing. Large quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmedabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.

Kashmir specialized in the production of papier-mâché. Numerous beautifully coloured papier-mâché articles such as ink-stands were produced from pulped paper displaying flowery patterns decorated with applications of gold-dust or tin. Lawrence writes, “The nakash or lacquer-workers chiefly apply their beautiful designs to smooth wood----. The skill shown by the nakash in sketching and designing is remarkable. The papier-mâché work is known as kar-i-kalamdani, as the best specimens of the old work were the pen-boxes (kalamdan), but a variety of articles such as tables, cabinets and trays are

160 Ain, II, p. 170.
161 Muntakhabu-i Tawarikh, III, p. 144; Forster, op. cit., II, p. 19; According to G.T. Vigne, “five kinds of paper, the best of which is superior to that made in the plains, is manufactured in Kashmir”: G.T. Vigne, op. cit., II, p. 121; Also see Lawrence, op. cit., p. 379.
162 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 379.
165 Muntakhabu-i Tawarikh, III, p. 144.
166 E.F.I. 1618-1621, pp. 76, 142.
now made, and the richer classes call in the nakash for the decoration of their ceilings and walls.”168 ‘The Kashmirian’s are expert as manufacturers of wooden’ works and ‘the painting on the pen-cases and work-boxes is alike curious and elegant in pattern. They have no oil colours, but flowers and other ornaments are sometimes raised on the surface, by means of a composition paste, then painted and oiled two or three times, until they have the appearance of being varnished.’169

The wood carving industry was also in a flourishing state during the period. Wood carvings and furniture of delicate nature (khatimband kursi)170 were also manufactured. The beautiful specimens of the carpenter’s art are still extant in the khatamband ceilings, pinjra or lattice-work, and carving in the mosques of Shah Hamadan and Naqashband Sahib in Srinagar.171 Kashmir produced excellent wood work, as noted by Bernier, that ‘they are also active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their palekys, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect.’172 G.T. Vigne writes: “The Kashmirian’s are very expert as manufacturers of wooden toys, turnery, ornamental carving in wood, inlaid work of different woods,
ivory, and mother-of-pearl; and the painting on the pen-cases and work-boxes is alike curious and elegant in pattern.”

The boat industry of Kashmir was one of great importance. Abul Fazl in Ain, writes: ‘In every part of His Majesty’s empire ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and Thathah (Sind) they are the pivot of all commerce. His Majesty had the sterns of the boats made in shape of wonderful animals, and thus combines terror with amusement. Turrets and pleasing kiosks, markets, and beautiful flower-beds, have likewise been constructed on the rivers……In Kashmir, a model of a ship was made which was much admired.’ Thus Kashmir, Bengal and some other places like Lahore, Ilahabad had developed as the principal centres of this karkhana. In Kashmir, Thattah and Bengal this was the chief mode of transport.

There were more than 5,700 boats playing in the river Jhelum and its tributaries during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. In Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, mentions that “the carriage of goods is effected by boat. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade.” The cargo boats were known as bahats and the light boats called Shikaras. Shikara was used for the general conveyance of the people. During his first visit, Akbar wanted to visit the upper division of the valley in a boat and so a large number of beautiful house-boats were afloat on the river Jhelum and the Dal Lake and he introduced some new type of

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174 Ain, I, pp. 144-45.
175 Ibid.
176 In Akbarnama, Abul Fazl, mentions that there were 30,000 boats in the valley: Akbarnama, III, part-II, p. 550; According to Mutamad Khan, there were 5,700 boats, and the number of the boatmen was fixed at 7,400: Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, ed. Abdal-Hay and Ahad Ali, p. 149; Tuzuk, p. 298.
177 Ain, II, p. 170.
178 Tarikh-i-Hasan, MS. No. 04, I, ff. 140ab-141a, The author states that there were ten types of boats used for various purposes. He also gives a good account of boat-making. Also see Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 380-82.
boats fashioned after the Gujarat and Bengal models.\textsuperscript{179} The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called \textit{Mir Bahri}.\textsuperscript{180} He supervised the building of boats as well as the maintenance of bridges.\textsuperscript{181} Jahangir in his memoirs says that ‘Shahjahan presented me (Jahangir) with a boat made after the Kashmir fashion, the sitting-place of which they had made of silver. At the end of that day I embarked in that boat and went round the tank.’\textsuperscript{182} Boat remained an important centre upon which not only commerce moved but was also used for the conveyance of the people up to the end of eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{183} Forster on his visit to Kashmir in 1783 has left the following account of Kashmiri boats: ‘The boats of Kashmir are long and narrow, and are rowed with paddles: from the stern, which is a little elevated, to the centre, a tilt of mats is extended for the shelter of passengers or merchandize.’\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{179} In \textit{Akbarnama}, Abul Fazl writes: ‘In the country (Kashmir) there were more than thirty thousand boats, but none fit for the world’s lord, so able artificers soon prepared the river palaces (\textit{Takht-i-Rawans}) and made flower gardens on the surface of the water, vol. III, part-II, p. 550; The \textit{Takht-i-Rawans} (the river palaces) were also used by Shahjahan when he went for sight-seeing on the \textit{Jhelum} river and the \textit{Dal Lake}, \textit{Muntakhabu-Lubab}, vol. I, part-II, pp. 705-06; \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 144-45.

\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 144-45; \textit{Waqiat-i-Kashmir}, Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, f. 146a.


\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{183} Forster, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Ibid}.
After the discussion of various industries and manufactures, it is thus appropriate to discuss the craft technology like, spinning, dyeing, warping, weaving, washing, calendaring as well as the type of patterns and methods of shawl weaving and other stuff.

The major craft products of Kashmir were shawls and other woollen stuffs such as felt. Shawls made out of shahtoosh wool were, perhaps, the most celebrated of the products of Kashmir. The best variety was that woven from shahtoosh wool brought from Great Tibet. Kashmir was also known for its silk production. According to Abul Fazl, ‘the mulberry is little eaten, its leaves being reserved for the silk-worm. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet.’

He also writes that ‘woollen fabrics are made in high perfection especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to every clime.’

Now we come to discuss the craft technology as well as manufacturing process. The wool was obtained from the hair of the goats, yaks, and dogs of Great Tibet, through various agencies. The wool in its raw state was a mixture

1. Ain, II, p. 170; Tuzuk, p. 300.
2. Ibid.
3. F. Bernier, op. cit., p. 403; Ippolito Desideri, op. cit., pp. 73, 377, ‘The merchants of Kashmir keep a large number of agents in Second Tibet who collect the wool during the year, paying a most miserable price… and carry back infinite number of loads of wool; this is spun in Kashmir to marvellously fine thread from which is woven the thin, very delicate Kashmir cloth, renowned all over India;’ Desideri, op. cit., p.73; G.T. Vigne, op. cit., vol. II, p. 124. Further he writes that, ‘The Kashmirian merchants purchase the poshm at Leh, at the rate of eighty puls (small handfuls) for a small rupi. It is then cleaned on the spot, and one part in four only is fit for the purposes of the weaver. This is then carried upon men’s backs to Kashmir. One man will carry ten trak. The time occupied is eighteen days, and he is paid at the rate of one small rupi a trak, for the whole distance; though I believe some further allowance is made when the quality is very good. When it arrives in Kashmir the governor takes possession of it, and sells it again to the merchants, at 20 per cent. profit upon their whole expenses, he keeping the difference for himself. The white poshm may then be purchased in the city, at about four small rupis a ser (2 lb. English), and khad-rung, or dun-coloured, at two-and-a-half rupis a ser.’ G.T. Vigne, op. cit., II, pp. 126-27; William Moorcroft & Trebeck, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 166-68: Firstly, wool loads were first received by the bakal, or merchant importers who subsequently contacted a mokim or
of external particles like dust, grass blades, thorns, coarse hair and the fleece. The women workers first disentangled the bails and then separated the fleece from the external particles. This fleece was turned into elastic pads. After spinning the wool the *pashm farosh* sold the wefts to the *karkhandar*. This process of cleaning and spinning provided jobs to thousands of women and children.

‘The wool exposed for retail by the purchaser was generally bought by women for the purpose of spinning it into yarn.’ Bernier reported that shawl weaving and embroidery provided employment for a large number of children. In the early 19th century, girls started spinning at the age of 10, while a hundred thousand females were employed in this occupation in Kashmir. But there were some male spinners also, who were renowned for spinning the finest yarn, while the number of male spinners is not known. Although the weavers were all males.

Before *pashm* could be spun into a thin and delicate yarn it was processed thoroughly by cleaning, sorting, combing etc. Since it normally contained coarse hair and other foreign substance, the first step taken was their removal. The second job, the most exerting one, was to separate strong hairs, weighing 1/3rd of the total weight, from the thin fibres. The fine *pashmina* was

broader to pass on the news of the receipt of merchandise to retailers who, after settling the terms, took the delivery to bring the wool for sale in the market.

4 Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 168-69: The various external particles comprising raw wool have been analysed by Moorcroft as follow:

- Coarse Hair = 1 ½ sers.
- Second, or Phiri = 0 3/8 sers.
- Dust and Foreign Substances = 2 1/8 sers
- Fine Wool = 2 sers
- Total = 6 sers

then kneeded with finger tips; this kneeding process, called *Vechenawun*, is presently done with the help of a *kangen* or comb instead of finger tips. For this purpose the *kangen*, made of wood, is firmly mounted on a frame.\(^{10}\) The kneeded *pashm* was then divided into small balls which were subsequently mixed with rice flour prepared by the ladies for this purpose from wet rice.\(^{11}\) ‘A quantity of husked rice is steeped in clean cold water, for a day and a night, or longer, until it becomes soft, when it is ground or bruised upon a stone slab to fine flour. Thin layers of this and of the picked wool are laid alternately, and squeezed with the hand until they are completely intermixed. A little water may be occasionally sprinkled over the heap---. After being thus treated for about an hour, the flour is shaken out, the wool opened and torn to pieces, chiefly by the nails\(^{12}\) and combs,\(^{13}\) ‘and made into somewhat square, thin, elastic pads, called *Tumbu*.’ In this process seconds-wool, or *phiri*, was disentangled.\(^{14}\)

This process was repeated till the ladies were satisfied that the wool was absolutely free from *phiri* or the seconds wool and twist or knot. If necessary, combing was repeated for a second time and even thrice.\(^{15}\) The soft and flexible pads of wool were ‘deposited in a deep pot of red earthenware, called a *Taskas*, to be out of the way of dust or accident, till required for the spinning-wheel.’\(^{16}\)

This spinning was done on traditional *charkhas*, called *inders*.\(^{17}\) There were three types of wheel, named the *Takhtidar* or *Pachimdar*, the *Katzker*, and the *Pakhchedar*, but varied in neatness of form and finish, according to its

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\(^{10}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
\(^{11}\) Ibid.
\(^{13}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
\(^{14}\) Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 169.
\(^{15}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
\(^{16}\) Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 169-70.
\(^{17}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
price. For example the Takhtidar or Pachimdar was a rough and rudest wheel. It did not cost more than half rupees. The Katzker would cost from 3 to 4 rupees, which was the most serviceable. While the Pakhchedar, was used by those who spin for amusement only. Being a costly wheel, price varying between 6 to 16 rupees. The traditional charkha was most effective for spinning and the length of the yarn spun with it was generally seven hundred gaz. It was cut into two hundred lengths each consisting of three and a half gaz. The yarn of the fine wool was sold to the Puimangu, sometimes by measures and sometimes by weight, who stored it and ‘also sends people to collect it from the houses of the spinners, who give notice of their approach by ringing a bell. The yarn thus gathered was sold by the Puimangu to the loom-master and the karkhandar.

After this above process, the yarn was divided into skeins accordingly, and each skein was delivered to the rang-rez or dyer. Some of it was retained undyed for weaving shawls of natural shade or colour. The rang-rez or dyers were well proficient in dyeing yarn with different colours and tints of permanent nature. Most of the tints used were natural vegetable dyes such as Kirmizy, gulally, zaitoni, badamy, faktahy and zumhary. Logwood was imported from Multan, and indigo from India, only saffron and orange colours being locally available. Red, blue and yellow colours possessed richness, permanency and beauty. On the other hand, the black and green were not

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19 Ibid., II, pp. 171-72, 174.
20 Ibid., pp. 174-75; According to Vigne, The undyed shawl stuff, was called ubra, from ubr (a cloud), or alwan-i-sadah (without colour), op. cit., vol. II, pp. 127-28.
21 Ibid., II, pp. 175-76; Ibid.
22 Abdul Ahad, op. cit., pp. 30-31 & n.24.
23 Moorcroft & Trebeck, op. cit., II, pp. 175-76.
24 Abdul Ahad, op. cit., p. 31.
beautiful because they were extracted from cheap coarse cloth imported from England.\textsuperscript{25}

After the thread was dyed, the yarn was dipped in rice-water, a process to make it stronger and flexible so that it could be easily handled in the shuttle at the time of weaving, and thus the stiffness was removed by washing.\textsuperscript{26}

Then, the yarn was subjected to warping and wefting as well as dressing and reeling. The Nakatu or the warp-maker twisted the dyed yarn for the warp and for the weft. He could cut it into two thousand to three thousand lengths each comprising three and a half gaz. Usually it took him one day to prepare the warp and weft for two shawls. ‘The weft is made of yarn which is single, but a little thicker than the double yarn or twist of the warp.’\textsuperscript{27}

The warp-dresser or the Pennakam guru with the help of sticks would stretch the lengths into a band and dip it into thick-boiled rice-water. After this the skein was slightly squeezed, and again stretched into a band, which was brushed and suffered to dry: by this process each length becomes stiffened, and set apart from the rest.\textsuperscript{28} Then, the yarn was given to the warp-threader who passed it through the heddles. Later on, weavers fixed it on to the loom.\textsuperscript{29}

There were three different specialists who fixed distinctive qualities of coloured yarn for making an artistic shawl. First, was the ‘Nakash, or pattern-drawer, who brings the drawing of the pattern in black and white. Second, Tarah-guru was a reckoner and a colour-caller whose task was to give a complete thought to the selection and arrangement of colours. He would count

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} G.T. Vigne, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{27} Moorcroft & Trebeck, \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 176-77.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, II, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, II, p. 178.
the number of threads required for each colour in the pattern. And the third one, was the *Talim-guru* who was the writer of designs. He was to write down intelligibly the instructions of *tarah-guru* regarding different colours and their proportion or quantities in terms of threads to be used.\(^{30}\)

After obtaining a copy of *talim*, three weavers worked jointly to weave two threads *kani-shawl* on a ‘foot’ type loom consisting of roller, backrest, healds, reed and spools or *tujis*.\(^{31}\) The *ustad* or the head weaver sitting in the middle would read aloud *talim* or symbol which was accordingly followed by *khahanwol*, the weaver second in command. The third weaver, *tsat* or *shagird*, adjusted *tujis* or spools each of which contained 4 grains of coloured yarn.\(^{32}\) These needles or *tujis*, were made of light, smooth wood, and they were eyeless needles with sharp edges and their number varied from four hundred to fifteen hundred, according to the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery.\(^{33}\) ‘Under the superintendence of the *tarah-guru*, the weavers knot the yarn of the *tuji* to the warp. The face, or right side of the cloth, is placed next to the ground, the work being carried on at the back or reverse, on which hang the needles in a row.’ Once the process was repeated a heavy comb was brought down vigorously to stiffen the woof or the first ling of the weaving.\(^{34}\) This process would continue till the cloth was woven.

The cloth of shawls, usually, was of two kinds, one plain, or of two threads, one twilled, or of four. ‘The former was, in past times, wrought to a great degree of fineness, but it has been, of late, less in demand.’ The various twilled cloths were generally from five to twelve *girehs*, or nails, wide and were


\(^{31}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

\(^{32}\) *Ibid*.


generally about twenty-four nails broad, engaged two weavers at the loom, one throwing shuttle at the one edge and another receiving it at the other and then repeating the process after inserting his fingers into the warp. This process would continue till the completion of the shawl which was often irregular and not so soft as the one of two threads.\textsuperscript{35} In order to avoid this irregularity the shawl was woven separately and the design was adjusted afterwards by the \textit{rafugar} or fine-drawer, with such nicely that it was not possible to detect the joints. Likewise, there were three experts like \textit{rafugar}, the \textit{tabgar} (twister) and the \textit{alakaband} (reeler), in silken borders of the shawl, which engaged them to prepare and attach them with outer edgings of the shawl.\textsuperscript{36} When finished, the shawls were submitted to the \textit{Purusgar}, or cleaner, whose business it was to free the shawl from discoloured hairs or yarn, and from ends or knots and he employed a pair of small tweezers for pulling-out hairs and cleaning the face and back of the cloth of knots and neps. Any defects arising from either operation were immediately repaired by the \textit{rafugar}.\textsuperscript{37}

Lastly, the shawl was sent to the \textit{dhobi} or washerman who washed it very cautiously with soap. Soap was used for white shawls only and never on embroidered shawls. Coloured shawls were dried in the shade; white ones were bleached in the open air, and their colour was improved by exposure to fumes of Sulphur.\textsuperscript{38} After being washed, the shawls were subjected to calendering

\textsuperscript{35} Moorcroft & Trebeck, \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 181-82.  
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid}, II, pp. 177-78; Abdul Ahad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 32.  
\textsuperscript{37} Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 184.  
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid}, II, pp. 184-85; According to G.T. Vigne, “It becomes necessary to wash the shawls, in order to deprive them of the stiffness of the rice-starch remaining in the thread, and for the purpose of softening them generally.” Further he writes, that “soap is sometimes used, but is not good generally, and is never used for the coloured shawls.” He also says that ‘New shawls, are washed by means of the freshly gathered root of a parasitical plant called kritz:’ \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 129-31.
done with the help of a wooden cylinder for two days. Then would follow processes like pressing and packaging.\textsuperscript{39}

There were two methods of shawl weaving, one was known as \textit{Kani}-shawl (twill-tapestry),\textsuperscript{40} and the other as \textit{Amalkari}-shawl.\textsuperscript{41} The famous designs or textures were known as \textit{pashmina kani, jora kani, qasaba kani, romal, shah pasand, jamwar, hashiya.} The \textit{Amalkari} shawls were made in the form of \textit{qasaba}, handkerchiefs, scarves, \textit{palka, du shal, chogha, angrakh, qaba, kamarband and langoota}.\textsuperscript{42} The twill tapestry method was complicated. It required the greatest concentration and skill.\textsuperscript{43} The \textit{Amli}-shawl, more commonly known as \textit{Amilkari} shawl, is a magnificent piece of art embroidered with needles.\textsuperscript{44} The \textit{Amilkari} method was comparatively easy. The cloth was woven on the traditional looms of different measurements.\textsuperscript{45}

The innovations of Akbar were not only in respect of the dye, but various new qualities were introduced as well. The Mughals took keen interest in the improvement of shawl designs and colours and provided the industry with a technological base.\textsuperscript{46} In the matter of industry India was more advanced

\textsuperscript{39} Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 185-86; C.E. Bates, \textit{A Gazetteer of Kashmir}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Kani}-shaws attained great perfection during the Mughal period: Abdul Ahad, \textit{op. cit.}, p.35; According to Prof. Wani, “These shawls are called “Kani” shawls because they are woven in village by name “Kanihama”. In Kashmiri language “Kani” means wooden sticks. “Hama” means village. As these shawls are woven using several number of wooden sticks on which the weft yarn is wound and interlaced with the warp to weave the shawl with unique designs, so this shawl got its name as “Kani” shawl. Further he writes ‘this “Kani” shawl weaving technique continued to stay with the family in Kashmir by name “Kani”. It is traced that since 1770 this family maintained this technique of weaving the “Kani” shawls.’ Mohammed Ashraf Wani, \textit{Kani Shawl}, pp. 1-2, 6.
\textsuperscript{41} Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 186-87; Also see Abdul Ahad, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 36-37.
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Tarikh-i-Hasan}, I, p. 409.
\textsuperscript{43} Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.176-84; Also see Abdul Ahad, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.32-35.
\textsuperscript{44} Abdul Ahad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{45} Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 402-03; “In the \textit{amli}-shawl the pattern, which is in every case delineated, but which at the loom is read off in certain technical terms from a book, is covered with transparent paper, upon which the outlines of the composition are slightly traced with a charcoal twig, and the traced lines are permanently defined by being pricked through with a small needle: Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 186-87.
relatively to Western Europe.’ In *Ain* 31 Abul Fazl, says that ‘His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs---. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture.’ Further he writes that ‘All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection.’ *Ain* 32 gives a fairly good account of the improvement which Akbar introduced in the industry. ‘His Majesty improved this department in four ways.’ Firstly, *tus* shawl was made from the hair of *tus* goat. ‘Its natural colour are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye.’ Secondly, the corded and patterned shawls (*Tarhdars* shawls) were made of either white, black or mixed. The white kind was formerly dyed in three colours, ‘his majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways.’ Thirdly, attention was paid to the manufacture of different varieties of shawls, stuffs such as *zardozi*, *kalabatun*, *kashida*, *qalghai*, *bandhnun*, *chhint*, *alcha*, *purzdar* and *parm narm*. ‘Fourthly, an improvement was made in the width of

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50 *Ibid*; For *tus* shawl, Also see Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 403; In the nineteenth century when Moorcroft visited Kashmir there were two kinds of goat wool, called *pashm shal* obtained from the wool of domestic goats and *Asali Tus* obtained from the hair of wild goats and sheep: Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
51 *Ibid*, I, pp. 67-68: Abul Fazl further writes that, ‘The following is the order of colours: *tus*, *safidalcha*, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the *Ratanmanjani* flower, coloured like the *Kasni* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio,. . . . *bhojpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *galghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Fakhtta*.
52 *Ibid*, & Its transl. I, pp. 96-97 & nos. 1, 2: ‘Zardozi, Kalabatun (Forbes, *kalabattun*), Kashida, *Qalghai*, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; *Bandhnun*, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; *Chhint* is our *chintz*, which is derived from *Chhint. Alcha*, any kind of corded (*mukhattat*) stuff. *Purzdar* are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.’ Also see
all stuffs; his majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.

Thus we find that during this period, shawls came to be woven in different designs, colours and sizes.

Jahangir in his Tuzuk, states that ‘the woollen cloths are well known. Men and women wear a woollen tunic (kurta), and call it pattu…….The shawls of Kashmir, to which my father gave the name of parm-narm, are very famous: there is no need to praise them. Another kind is taharma (naharma in the printed version); it is thicker than a shawl, and soft. Another is called darma. It is like a jul-i-khirsak (Jul is a coverlet, and khirsak means a little bear, but is applied to a rough woollen coverlet-a drugget. Darma is a name in Bengal for a reed mat.) and is put over carpets. With the exception of shawls they make other woollen materials better in Tibet. Though they bring the wool for the shawls from Tibet they do not make them there. The wool for shawls comes from a goat which is peculiar to Tibet. In Kashmir they weave the pattu shawl from wool, and sewing two shawls together they smooth them into a kind of saqarlat (broad-cloth), which is not bad for a rain-coat. From the above account of shawl it is clear that the shawl industry of Kashmir in Jahangir’s time was in a flourishing state. The Hindi name parm narm coined by Akbar for shawls continued and it seems to have formed a regular article for presentation to the nobles. The naharma is translated by the editor of Tuzuk-i-

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53 Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, op. cit., pp. 191-92: According to Moorcroft, some shawls with green flowers tied in small hard knots to protect them from the action of the dye were made. When united each flower was surrounded by a small white field to which small eyes of spots of yellow, red were added by the embroiderers or chikkandoz.
54 Ibid, I, p. 68.
55 Ibid; Bernier, op. cit., p. 403.
Jahangiri, in a footnote as ‘like a river’, for the shawl had waves (maujdar). Apparently this kind was decorated with a wavy pattern. In his memoirs we also find that Jahangir once presented to Mirza Raja Bhao Singh a special Kashmir phup shawl.\textsuperscript{57} Apparently it was a flowered shawl. It is also said that tus shawl was a special prerogative of the king. It could only be worn when ordered by the king.\textsuperscript{58} Dushala and Mayan were also noted for their patterns.\textsuperscript{59}

The \textit{Badshahnama} of Qazwini, gives names for different varieties of shawls and other woollen stuffs, which were familiar during the time of Shahjahan, such as tus-shawl, pashm-shawl, jamahwars, kamarbandh, qalins (carpets), janimaz.\textsuperscript{60}

It is said that embroidery was introduced in the sixteenth century but as a matter of fact, it was already existing in Persia during Saljuq period (A.D. 1037-1557) under strong Chinese influence.\textsuperscript{61} Persian influence affected the Kashmir style also. It seems that embroidery was introduced in the latter half of the sixteenth century and received impetus from Akbar.\textsuperscript{62} During the time of Zainul Abidin (1420-70), variegated plants and flowers were woven on the new type of loom,\textsuperscript{63} but the needle work embroidery was the development of the Mughal empire.\textsuperscript{64} The innovations of Mughals expressed themselves in technical improvement which subsequently resulted in the manufacture of du-shala.\textsuperscript{65}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid}, p. 146.
\item \textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid}, p. 190.
\item \textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ain}, I, p. 68.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Qazwini, \textit{Badshahnama}, Rotograph No. 191B, vol. II, f. 259.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Wulf E. Hans, \textit{The Traditional Crafts of Persia}, Printed in the United States of America, 1966, p. 217. The embroidery work was made with needles but during the reign of Zainul-Abidin various designs of flowers and bales were woven on the loom.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Srivara, \textit{Jaina Rajatarangini}, Eng. Transl. J.C. Dutt, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Lahori, \textit{Badshahnama}, vol. II, Part-I, p. 404.
\item \textsuperscript{65} \textit{Ain}, I, p. 68. Du-shala, or the shawl so finely woven to have similar designs on both sides that looks very well.
\end{itemize}
Bernier on his visit to Kashmir has left a fairly good account of articles of their manufacture. According to him, 'they are very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their palekys, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kachemire, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, at foot in width. The Mogols and Indians, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured: one kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of Spain; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called touz) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits Great Tibet. The touz shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the Omrahs, which cost one hundred and fifty roupies; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The fur of the beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats. Great pains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra, and Lahor; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the
Kachemire shawls, whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country.\(^6\) It seems that during the time of Aurangzeb, there was great demand for Kashmir shawls and its production increased. Besides Lahore, shawls were being manufactured at Agra and Patna as well.

The Mughal shawls were so fine that they could easily pass through a small finger-ring.\(^7\) The borders of the Mughal kani-shawls were usually ornamented with gold or silk threads or kalabatun.\(^8\) Their usual size was about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad.\(^9\) In the time of Aurangzeb decoration was limited so that the shawl appeared a little modest.\(^10\) Floral design was also introduced in the time of the Mughals, for instance, the Shah Pasand design. The fabric had curves filled with colourful lines and flowers.\(^11\) Further the floral design manifested itself in a new shape with a vase of flowers called butha, in the reign of emperor Muhammad Shah. It was called the ‘Muhammad Shah buta’.\(^12\)

About buta Moorcroft writes, ‘Butha, is the generic term for flower, ---- when there is a double row, one above the other, the Butha is called Dokad, Sehkad, up to five, after which it takes the name of Tukaddar. Each Butha consists of three parts; viz; the Pai, or foot or pediment of leaves generally; the Shikam, or belly, and the Sir, or head.’\(^13\)

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\(^7\) Niccolao Manucci, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 318.
\(^10\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
\(^11\) For details see, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, pp. 356-57. Emperor Muhammad Shah liked this shawl so immensely that he ordered 45,000 rupees worth of that fabric be made for him each year.
\(^12\) *Ibid*, I, p. 357.
\(^13\) Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 190.
Desideri on his visit to Kashmir in 1714 has left the following account of woollen article manufactured there. ‘The woollen kerchiefs for the head are highly valued, and the Pattea (Puttoo), long cloth-strips folded several times which serve as waistbands. But most precious and magnificent are the cloth called scial in both Hindustan and Persian. These scials are cloaks which envelop the head while the ends fall on either side of the body; thus the head, neck, shoulders, arms, breast, the back till below the hips and nearly to the knees are protected. These cloaks are so fine, delicate, and soft that though very wide and long they can be folded into so small a space as almost to be hidden in a closed hand. At the same time, although so fine and thin, they not only keep out the cold, but really warm the body; they are therefore much worn in winter. The very fine and large ones are very dear, indeed in remote regions the price may be called exorbitant.’

Forster in his travel to Kashmir in 1783 has made interesting observations on the shawl industry of Kashmir. The shawl wool was brought from Tibet. Originally of the dark grey colour, it was bleached with rice flour. The yarn was dyed as desired. The shawls were also washed after fabrication. Richly patterned borders were attached to the shawls so neatly as to allow no joints. According to Forster, ‘the articles of merchandize constituting the trade of Jumbo, and Kashmir, are transported by men, usually Kashmirians, whose burthens are heavy, two of them making the load of a strong mule, and the hire is fixed at the rate of four rupees for each carrier.’ The shawls exported from Kashmir were packed in oblong bales, whose outward coverings were

74 Desideri, op. cit., p. 73.
made of buffalo or ox hide, strongly sewn with leather thongs. They were opened only in the destined markets.\(^{76}\)

Moorcroft in his account gives a fairly good account of ornamental as well as floral designs or motifs of shawls, which were common in Kashmir during the period. The most prominent among them were Pala, Hashia, Zanjir, Dhour, Kunjbutha, Khirkhabutha, Rezabutha, Thaldar, net-work, Chahargul, Kaddhar, Mehramat, Marpech and Chan-dar etc.\(^{77}\) For the Persians and the Afghans buthadar and jamawar design, branching into many varieties of large compound flowers, was produced.\(^{78}\)

During the first half of 19\(^{th}\) century saw the kani-shawl losing its floral origin. It had got transformed into a “scroll-like unit as part of a complicated over all pattern.” This technique was more formal and could be easily distinguished from the earlier cypress and almond tree-design. Kani-art style reached its zenith in 1803, becoming important source of income to the valley.\(^{79}\) Then its popularity started declining owing to increased cost of its production as well as excessive prices and changes in fashion, all these circumstances inflicted a severe blow to the Kani-art, which led to the creation of Amalkari-shawl, in the first half of the 19\(^{th}\) century.\(^{80}\) Amkari shawl or Amli shawl is a magnificent piece of art embroidered with needles.\(^{81}\) The development of embroidery was considerably influenced by artistic skill of needle-workers, such as chain stitch work.\(^{82}\)

\(^{77}\) For details see Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91.
\(^{78}\) *Ibid*, II, p. 191; Walter Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 375; Also see Tarikh-i-Hasan, I, p. 357.
\(^{79}\) Abdul Ahad, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
\(^{80}\) *Ibid*, pp. 36-37; Also see Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-94.
\(^{81}\) Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-87.
In the time of Ranjit Singh, a pair of shawls were made, with patterns representing his victories, and paid down five thousand rupees, after deducting the duties.\textsuperscript{83}

An account of the production of Kashmirian looms as well as patterns in the nineteenth century has been given by G.T. Vigne. He writes ‘The production of the Kashmirian looms, are very numerous: Du-shalah, or two shawls, they being always made in pairs; Jamaweh, for bedding; Rumal, or handkerchiefs; Hasheyi, or the shawl of a coloured ground with a border; Urmuk, resembling very strong nankin; and the Yek-Tar (one-thread), a most light and beautiful fabric, being of one-half the thickness of the common shawl, and which was invented for the Sikh turbans.’\textsuperscript{84} He also writes that when made with coloured stripes or flowers on it, the chogra of the Afghans, or al-khalek, the long under-coat of the Persians, are made from it. If the pattern be worked with the needle, the shawl is far inferior in every respect to those in which the pattern is woven in. An excellent pair of the former description may be purchased in Kashmir for 150 rupees, whereas an equally good pair of the Usuleh (the real), or the latter kind, could not be procured for less than 700 or 800 rupees.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{83} G.T. Vigne, II, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Ibid}, II, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Ibid.}
(C) MINERALS

Though mineral exploitation in the subah of Kashmir was sadly neglected yet some effort was made to extract the earth’s hidden natural treasures. Gold was mined mainly in Tibet and the Himalayas and also collected from gold-sand from rivers-Ganges, Indus and Bihat and several other rivers. Gold was also collected from Baltistan and Gilgit. In Pahkli too gold was washed from sand. More than 2000 tolas of gold was collected in Tibet alone. Yet quality was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a tola.

Kashmir also had iron mines yielding good quality iron (i.e. mild steel), from the iron mine of Sof, but these were no longer worked in the nineteenth century. The iron was mainly obtained from Bring and Khriu and Shahabad mines. Iron ore was exported to Lahore also. Bernier in his account refers to crystal both as a product of Greater Tibet as well as Lesser Tibet, while jade as a product of Greater Tibet. But Moorcroft & Trebeck in his travel account (1819 to 1825) do not mention jade at all.

Touchstone, Borax and Sulphur were also quarried. Touchstone or Sang-i-dalam was obtained from Bring and from a place near Vernag mainly. Borax

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5 N.S. Gupta, op. cit., p. 107.
7 Ibid, pp. 422, 426; Ibid, p. 418: He places the Jade producing locality in Nubra near Biagdangdo.
9 Ain, II, p. 171; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 65.
was obtained from the near Lake Manasarowar. Desideri places the mines of Sulphur in Ciang Thang or Country of the North.

Copper, Zinc, Silver and Lead mines were worked out in a minor scale.

Salt was obtained from mines of Koh-i-Jud (Salt Range). It was also mined at Makhiala, Khura and Kheora. Sujan Rai Bhandari in his Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, mentions that these two mines (Khura and Kheora) yielded several hundred thousands of mans of salt every year.

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11 Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Also see Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 313: According to him, ‘there are a few mines of Sulphur in some parts (of Ladakh), but in Chan-than it is abundant.’
12 For details see Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 7, 12; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 79; *Ain*, I, p. 24; G.T. Vigne, *op. cit.*, I, p. 337. About copper, he writes, ‘that copper mines exist in the neighbourhood of Shahabad, which were worked in the time of the Patans (Afghans), but are now disused, on account of the ignorant rapacity of the Sikhs…..’ vol. I, p. 325.
14 Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 75.