Chapter - 4

Urban Centres
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URBAN CENTRES:

(A) TOWNS

*Persian* historians of the period present very simple classification of the towns (or cities). They mention only two categories based either on size and population or on administrative status (whether imperial or provincial capitals, *Sarkar* or *pargana* headquarters). There is first the simple division of towns into big and small. The word *balda* (or occasionally *Shahr*) is generally employed for a big town\(^1\) (or, as in English, one may say, city), and *Qasba* for a township or town\(^2\). However, there were some common features in all towns: First, a permanent market (*bāzār*)\(^3\), second, the inhabitants being non-agriculturalists\(^4\). The towns were centres of commerce and crafts\(^5\). Easy availability of water; from a river or artificial reservoir as well as tank was

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1. The *Persian* Chronicles are generally used the term *Shahr* or *balda* for big town or city. For example, sources like *Ain*, *Tuzuk*, *Tarikh-i-Hasan* and *Badshahnama*, used the term *Shahr-i-Srinagar* as well as *Shahr-i-Kashmir*. Sources like *Ain*, *Vol. II*, p. 176; *Tuzuk*, p. 298; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, p. 245; *Lahori, Badshahama*, vol. II, part -I, p. 205; And the term *Balda-i-Srinagar* used by some MSS. such as, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, MS. No. 18, f. 107a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj collection 32/150, *Khatima*, ff. 285ab; *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, MS. No. 148, pp. 13-15.


3. In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system: *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. transl. p. 425; The business though flourishing, was carried on inside the houses: *Ain*, II, p. 170; But in the late 18th century, the systematic marketing system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of *bāzār* Saraffan, *bazar* Baqalia, *bazar* Sabaga (chintz market) etc: *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, f. 9a; “There are several market places and bazars in the city (Srinagar); that called the Maharaj Gunj has lately been constructed….. and contains the shops of the jewellers, silversmiths, and other tradesmen with whom European visitors usually deal.” C.E. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 353; Wilson H.H., *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 772.

4. According to Lawrence, “The population of Srinagar may be fairly regarded as Urban, ……..The small towns of *Shupiyon, Bij Behara, Pampur*, and Bandipur, contain, however, a non-agricultural population”: *op. cit.*, p. 225.

5. Srinagar city and the other towns which were centre of trade & commerce as well as arts & crafts: For this simplification see, *Ain*, II, p. 171; F. Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-3; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. transl. p. 425; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, pp. 252-58.
another requirements\textsuperscript{6}. Fourth, fortification\textsuperscript{7} comprising a castle within and an outer enclosing wall, whether of mud or stone and fifth, administrative headquarters\textsuperscript{8} etc.

Viewed from a functional point of view, the towns of the Mughal Empire fell into various categories. The towns which were administrative headquarters as well as status such as imperial or provincial capitals and Sarkar or pargana headquarters may be said to have farmed one category.\textsuperscript{9} These

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\textsuperscript{6} According to Abul Fazl, “Srinagar is the Capital…The rivers Bihat, Mar, and Lachmakal flow through it……To the east is high hill known as Koh-i-Sulaiman, and adjoining the city are two large lakes always full of water…….” \textit{Ain}, II, 171; In \textit{Tuzuk}, Jahangir says that “The name of the city is Srinagar, and the Bihat river flow through the midst of it………further he mentioned that “there are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water”: \textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 298-99; Under Jahangir, some old canals like Lachama Kul, were repaired under the supervision of Malik Haider, and Harvan canal was laid out at the cost of 30, 000 rupees, for watering Nur Afza Bagh. A tank was also built in the Bagh-i-Iradat Khan, by Iradat Khan, in the reign of Jahangir: \textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 347, 317-18; Malik Haider Chadoora, \textit{Tarih-i-Kashmir}, Rotograph No. 171, vol. I, p. 230.

\textsuperscript{7} The hill of Hariparbat i.e. Kohimaran commands the city of Srinagar. Akbar ordered Muhammad Quli Khan Sabahdar to dismantle the mud-wall, in 1597 and construct a strong fort of stone there. The township within this lordly fort wall was named Nagar-Nagar. In 1597, the foundation of the fort of Nagar-Nagar was laid, and the construction was completed at the cost of 1, 10, 00, 000, rupees, some times after 1606: \textit{Akbarnama}, III, part -II, pp. 726-27, 733; \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 302; \textit{Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri} 3 vols. Nawal Kishore’s edition, Lucknow; 1870, vol. II, p. 454, vol. III, pp. 566-67; Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 398; \textit{Tarih-i-Hasan}, I, p. 82; Also see my paper, \textit{Mughal Building Activity}, pp. 1029-1037. Besides Mughals, during the Afghans period also we learn of few building and fort having been constructed by one of the governor Amir Khan Jawansher, in the time of Timur Shah, who built Sona Lank in the Dal Lake, Amira Kadal bridge and he also constructed the \textit{Sherghari} fort: R.K. Parmu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 362.

\textsuperscript{8} All big and small towns were administrative headquarters.

\textsuperscript{9} Srinagar, the largest city in the valley, continued to enjoy, as usual, the status of the capital of Kashmir. The Persian Chronicles call it Shahr-i-Srinagar as well as Shahr-i-Kashmir, i.e. city of Kashmir. But in Traveller’s Account, we find that Bernier, in Aurangzeb’s time and Forster, who travelled in this country in 1783, use the name of Kashmir, and not Srinagar: \textit{Ain}, II, pp. 171, 176; \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 298; Amal-i-Saleh, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, I, p. 415; Lahori, \textit{Badshahnama}, vol. II, part -I, p. 205; \textit{Tarih-i-Hasan} 1, p. 245; Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 379; George Forster, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. II, pp. 16-17, 9-10; Abul Fazl, in \textit{Ain}, treats Kashmir as a Sarkar of the Subah of Kabul: \textit{Ain}, II, p. 169; But very soon Kashmir assumed the status of fullledged province like other Mughal Indian provinces. It was made into separate Subah under Jahangir: Irfan Habib, \textit{An Atlas of the Mughal Empire}, p. 6; Pargana is an administrative unit for revenue purposes, when territorial, identical with Pargana, but when non-territorial, eg. Market dues, customs house, mint etc., identical with Mahals. For detailed description as well as numbers of Parganas.
towns were primarily meant for administration but subsequently they also became busy centres of trade & commerce and arts & crafts. The presence of Imperial court, large number of nobles, their retainers, the army and the administrative staff attracted craftsmen and merchants in large numbers. Once commerce and industry were established, such towns survived or prospered even when they ceased to be administrative centres. In support of above view we can say that the Mughal aristocracy were chiefly urbanized people and as such they lived in towns and cities; they laid out gardens around these centres and built lofty buildings and forts. All these factors led to the expansion of Srinagar in particular and other townships in general.

The second category comprised towns which developed as commercial and industrial centres first and later on became administrative headquarters. Srinagar was a mahal headquarters, but it also became a great industrial and commercial centre. Abul Fazl says that, “Srinagar is the capital and this has been flourishing city from Ancient times and the home of artificers of various kinds. Beautiful shawls are woven, and they manufacture woollen stuffs (Sagarlat) extremely soft. Durmah, Pattu and other woollen materials are prepared but the best are bought from Tibet”. According to Bernier, “the
Kashmiris are celebrated for wit, and considerably more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. They are also 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\textsuperscript{14}. The wood carving industries, as noted by Bernier, was also in a flourishing state during the period\textsuperscript{15}. Forster writing in 1783 says that “the Kashmirians fabricated the best writing paper of the East”, and that it was formerly “an article of extensive traffic”\textsuperscript{16}. Forster puts the number of shawl looms at 16,000, though he says that under the Mughals the numbers was 40,000\textsuperscript{17}. According to Lawrence, the chief of Kashmir industries is of course Srinagar\textsuperscript{18}. “The skill show by the *naqash* (designer)” says Lawrence, “in sketching and designing is remarkable”. All these factors led to the expansion of industry as well as promotes the trade of the country.

The third category comprised manufacturing centres. 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\textsuperscript{19}. Forster puts the number of shawl looms under the Mughals, was 40,000, which were busy in the production of this costly stuff\textsuperscript{20}, which filled the coffers of the *Suba* with money\textsuperscript{21}. In the town of *Chrar*, Kangris and carpenter’s instruments were made\textsuperscript{22}. According to G.T. Vigne,
“Islamabad is a Qasba or market-town. It contains a few houses of shawl-weavers, and handsome saddle-cloths and rugs of various patterns are still manufactured there”\textsuperscript{23}.

Then, there were towns which acquired reputation for the agricultural produce of the particular areas. For example, the town of Pampor is still famous for the production of Saffron. Best quality of saffron was obtained from there and because of the cultivation of saffron, it grew in commerce and trade and in population and markets\textsuperscript{24}. According to G.T. Vigne, “there are several places in Kashmir famed for the excellence of some individuals production. Thus we have the wheat of Shahabad, the turnips of Huripur, the rice of Nipur, the ghi of Pampur, the bang (hemp) of Kapur, the mutton of Nandipur, the dal or edible Vetch of Khampur, the tobacco of Jehamu, the silk of Kotihar, as the best that are to be found in the valley”\textsuperscript{25}. The town of Sopar was famous for Pattu and fruits were good\textsuperscript{26}.

The fifth category was of those towns which were situated either on the banks of the navigable rivers or on imperial highways. In the valley of Kashmir, river navigation was the main source of transport\textsuperscript{27}, but ponies\textsuperscript{28}, mules\textsuperscript{29}, camels\textsuperscript{30} and elephant\textsuperscript{31} and horses\textsuperscript{32} were also used in the hilly tracks of the subah, but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} G. T. Vigne, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. I, p. 358.
\item \textsuperscript{25} G.T. Vigne, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 324.
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{Tarikh-i-Hasan}, I, p. 255.
\item \textsuperscript{27} According to Abul Fazl, “the carriage of goods is effected by boat….,” \textit{Ain}, II, p. 170-71; \textit{Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri}, ed. Abdal Haiy ad Ahmad Ali, pp. 148-49; \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 298; F. Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 396-98.
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid}, vol. I, p. 94; \textit{Ibid}, p. 154; \textit{Ibid}, p. 301.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Pakhli was the only district where mules were bred in India: \textit{Ain}, I, p. 103-4; F. Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 392.
\item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid}; \textit{Ibid}.
\end{itemize}
porters\textsuperscript{33}. In the shaggy and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with one another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. According to Abul Fazl, there were twenty-six routes linking Kashmir with outside world\textsuperscript{34}. The imperial or Mughal road, Muzaffarabad-Pakhli route, Kashtwar-Wardwan route, Zojilla route and Punch route were of great significance\textsuperscript{35}. After the Mughal annexation of Kashmir a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. Although the inns or \textit{Serais} were basically constructed for the imperial use and also for the travellers\textsuperscript{36}. All these factors contributed to the rise and growth of towns. Their proximity to trade route was sufficient to induce the manufactures and producers to bring their goods in the markets; and it also helped in the constant inflow of merchant caravans in the valley\textsuperscript{37}.

Another category consisted of those towns which were pilgrim centres, having sacred spots. Throughout the valley, Kashmir had a number of Mughal gardens\textsuperscript{38} at various places. \textit{Nishat, Chashma-Shahi} and \textit{Shalmar} were within a short distance of Srinagar and others, however, which had to be sought out in remoter places, had their own Charms to repay the traveler for the effort of his pilgrimage. The eastern half of the valley contained three royal gardens, i.e. \textit{Bijbehara, Acchabal} and \textit{Verinag}, these were the most beautiful spots of the valley which also attracted the visitors. “The spring at \textit{Verinag}\textsuperscript{39} is one of the

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ain}, II, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 298-99, 302-3, 313; F. Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 399, 413-14; For the number of Mughal gardens and other lofty buildings as well as springs see footnote No. 11; James P. Ferguson, \textit{Kashmir, An Historical Introduction}, London, Centaur Press, 1961, pp. 119, 125-26, 128-29.
most historical spots in the vale of Kashmir and has been for centuries an object of pilgrimage and veneration”. The cave at Amar Nath with the ice lingam considered as well as believed by the Hindus as an image of Mahadeva, is described as well as considered as a shrine of great sanctity and the pilgrimage to the cave seems to have been an annual event. According to Jahangir, “Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings- a delightful flower bed, and a heart – expanding heritage for dervishes.”

“The springs of Kashmir, which occur throughout the valley, have always attracted the attention of travellers”. Bernier found Baramula a populous place, crowded by people who had come to worship at the Pir’ Shrine. Chrar was a Qasbah or market place and contained the Shrine of Shaikh Nuruddin. These pilgrim centres as well as picnic spots too often visited by and reserved for the various categories of the ruling class became the tourist resorts. The modern tourist industry, as a matter of fact, owes a lot to the Mughals.

I mean here to describe the name as well as the significance and importance of the towns or Qasbas of Kashmir, individually.

1. Qasba Vernag

It is situated in Shahabad pargana at the foot of Banihal Pass. It was full of buildings, markets and royal gardens as well as the residence of its imperial founder, was an enchanting, delightful place to pass the early summer days.

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41 Tuzuk, p. 299.
42 J.P. Ferguson, op. cit. p. 146.
2. *Qasba* Durah or Shahabad

It is situated at the bottom of *Vernag* in the centre of *Shahabad*. According to Vigne, this imperial town once “the abode of the king, which was the largest place at the Southern end of the valley----- *Shahabad* was originally the residence of the most powerful of Akbar’s *Maliks*, whose authority extended over the whole of the surrounding country”. The original name of this place was *Wer*. Nurjahan Begum, after the palace was built, called it *Shahabad*. *Durah* was a beautiful *Qasba* built by the rulers of the place who had planned markets and buildings and had promoted commerce. The goods of *Devahsar, Shahabad* and *Bring* were sold there. According to Moorcroft, “*Shahabad* had a *bazar* and a few shops, at which provisions, coarse cloth, and remarkably fine honey, were the chief articles for sale”\(^{46}\).

3. *Qasba* Anantnag or Islamabad

According to Hasan, “it is situated thirty –four miles from Srinagar in the region of *Maraj* at the bottom of *Karewah Matan*. It was named *Islamabad* by Alamgir but Maharajah Gulab Singh had changed the name of *Anantanag*; it is the capital of *Maraj*”. In the words of G.T. Vigne, “*Islamabad*, so called in *Persian*, or *Anatnag*, in Kashmiri, and is the largest town in the valley. It is a *Qasba* or market town. It contains a few houses of shawl weavers, and handsome saddle cloths and rugs of various patterns are still manufactured there”. 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 \(^{47}\).

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4. Qasba Bijbarah

It is an ancient town situated below Anantnag at a distance of four miles on the Western bank of the Behet. This place was famous for displaying a profusion of a beautiful trellis-work. Blankets of a superior description were also made there. It was a Qasba or market-town. The inhabitants of this place were weavers and some grocers and landlords.48

5. Qasba Pampor

It was a Qasba or market-town, containing few gardens, and about three hundred houses, and was nowise remarkable, excepting for the beauty of the wood-work in the Mosques. According to Hasan, “it is situated ten miles to the east of Srinagar on the eastern bank of the Behet. Because of the cultivation of saffron, it grew in commerce and trade and in population and markets. The Mughal kings increased its population by constructing buildings and gardens there”49.

6. Qasba Shupian

It is an ancient Qasba situated thirty miles to the South of Srinagar in Pargana Bathu and had buildings and markets and was once the residence of Malik. In fact, it was an entrepot of commerce with India. As compared to other Qasbas was more trade there. The inhabitants of this place were grocers, merchants and landlords. The people were clever, treacherous and cowards. During the time of the Afghans it was said to contain above two hundred houses, besides one hundred petty shops.50

7. Qasba Chrār

It is situated eleven miles from Srinagar towards the South, at the foot of a mountain in pargana Nāgām. It was a market place or town and contained the shrine of Shaikh Nuruddin. Because of the blessings of the Ziyarat of Shaikh Nuruddin Nūrānī the markets were cheerful and there was plenty of trade and commerce. The inhabitants were mostly guardians (of tombs) and landlords. Kangris and carpenter’s instruments made there were carried to the surrounding places\(^\text{51}\).

8. Qasba Patan

It is situated to the West of Srinagar at a distance of 17 miles. The ancient name of this place was Shankarapura or Shankar-Patan. It was a Qasba or market-town\(^\text{52}\).

9. Qasba Sōpōr

It is situated thirty miles from Srinagar in Kamrāj; the Behet passes through it. On its upper side there was a strong bridge and a stone wall, and around it there were attractive buildings and markets. It was a Qasba or market-town. Trade goods from Kamraj, Zainagir and Krohan, etc. were imported there. Its pattu was famous and fruits were good. From the ancient times it had been the capital of Kamrāj. It had the Khānqāh of Mir Muhammad Hamadānī; and the Alamgiri Friday mosque was now-a-days the place of cultivation of centaurs and fennel\(^\text{53}\).

\(^{51}\) Ibid, I, p. 255; Ibid; Also see C.E. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 169.


10. *Qasba Bārahmūlah*

It was a *Qasba* or market-town. According to Jahangir, “it is one of the noted towns of Kashmir, and 14 *koss* distant from the city, situated on the bank of the *Behet*. A number of the merchants of Kashmir live in it, and have built houses and mosques on the bank of the river, and spend their days in ease and contentment”. Bernier found *Baramula* a populous place, crowded by people who had come to worship at the Pir’s shrine. Hasan says that “it is situated about thirty miles from Srinagar towards the West, on the bank of the *Behet*. It is an ancient *Qasba*, populated by Raja Bhimsen with buildings and markets”. It was an entrepot of commerce of India, Punjab and Afghanistan. Above the foundation of the bridge of the *Behet*, there was a fort built by Ata Muhammad Khan. Most of the inhabitants were grocers and some darners and weavers of printed cloth, and landlords. The people were usually considerate and have a pleasant nature. The nobles were good belonging to the *Ghakkhar* clan. The commerce of *Kamrāj* and *Krōhan* and of *Dachhnah* and *Khāvrah* passes through it⁵⁴.

11. *Qasba Bandahpūrah*

It is situated on the north-east side of the *Wular* lake, was once a large and flourishing town. In olden days it was a collection of some villages. During the reign of Mahārājah Gulāb Singh, because of being situated on the way to the boundary of Gilgit and because of the *Shāli* cleaning factories, forty to fifty shops were found there⁵⁵.

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Besides the above Qasbas, there were other Qasbas such as Lār, Birwah, Kriri and Trāl which were famous for numerous buildings and markets\textsuperscript{56}.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
In the shaggy and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with one another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the subah and a regular link was maintained with the rest of Empire. As I have mentioned earlier that the Mughal paid great attention to the maintenance of the routes.⁠¹⁴ Rivers were spanned with bridges⁠¹⁵ and serais or inns were constructed all along to provide shelter to the travellers during the period. All these steps gave a fillip to the trade and commerce of the subah.

Abul Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari mentions that there were twenty-six road or routes linking Kashmir with the outside world of which Bhimber and Pakli were the best.⁠¹⁵ But only six routes were of great importance. These routes remained open for the most part of the year. Merchants traversed the routes, even during the winter months, though with great difficulties.

The trade routes such as the imperial or Mughal road, Muzzafarabad-Pakli route, Kashtwar-Wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route were of great significance.⁠¹⁴

The trade routes and such other aspects, which have already been described in detail.⁠⁵ So after the discussion of the trade routes, it is thus appropriate to discuss the trade and commerce of the subah.

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⁠¹ Abul Fazl, tells us that Akbar sent in advance, three-thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners and splinterers of rocks and two-thousand beldars (diggers) to level the ups and downs of the road: Akbarnama, III, part-II p.537.


**External Trade:** In spite of the natural barriers Kashmir kept excellent as well as a brisk export and import trade relations with Persia, Tibet, Central Asia, China, Russia, Bhutan, Nepal, Bengal, Patna, Golconda and Bijapur. Likewise, during the 18th century Kashmiri merchants had started trade of medicinal herbs and such other products with the East India Company.

There were two trade routes to Central Asia. The first that passed through Gilgit and Kashgar and the other was from Skardu to Yarkand, which crossed the Baltero Glacier, which now, owing to changes in the ice, is no longer passable. These two routes also led to China, with which country perceptible quantity of trade was in existence at that time. But since Shahjahan’s irruption into Great Tibet, the king has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from Kashmir to enter his dominions.” Trade relations between Kashmir and Central Asia and Tibet were so closely acquainted that they could not be cut off altogether. The merchants or caravans, instead, took a longer and circuitous route. From Kashmir they now went to Patna, thence to Nepal, and via the Kuti (Nialam) pass to Shigatze, and thence to Lhasa. From Lhasa there was a trade-route to Sining Fu on the Chinese frontier, north-east through Kokosai and the Charing Nor.

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5 For detail description see same Chapter section (c).
8 P. N. K. Bamzai, *op. cit.*, pp. 494-95; F. Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp.425-27 & n.: According to Bernier "caravans used to traverse the mountains of Great Tibet, enter Tartary, and reach Katay....The caravans returned with musk, China-wood (bois de Chine), rhubarb and mantron,......and in returning through Great Tibet they further loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as musk, crystal, jade, and especially with a quantity of very fine wool of two kinds...."
Although, the trade connections with Central Asian countries had a long antiquity, but owing to the ever-increasing demand of the shawls and other articles of luxury by the Mughal nobility and aristocracy the trade with these countries developed considerably. The caravan route leading to Central Asia from Lahore via Kashmir (Srinagar) was well frequented and always remained busy.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 494, 497; Ahmad Shah, Naqash-i-Bandi, Route from Kashmir via Ladakh to Yarkand, Transl. By Mr. J. Dowson, The Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain And Ireland, vol. XII, Part II, London, 1850, pp. 377-79; C. H. Payne, Jahangir And The Jesuits, ed. By Sir E. Denison Ross And Eileen Power, London, 1930, pp. 123-25.}

The most important article of Kashmir’s export trade was its shawls, according to Abul Fazl, which was “sent as valuable gifts to every clime,” and so the wool merchants had flourishing business. These merchants completely monopolized the wool trade in the wool-producing regions of Ladakh, Gilgit and Central Tibet.\footnote{Ain, II, p. 170; R. L. Hangloo, op. cit., pp. 116-18; A.H. Francke, op. cit., pp. 115-16.} They established links with direct producers and collect the shawl wool from the producers by advancing loans.\footnote{Desideri, op. cit., pp.73,78; R.L. Hangloo, op. cit., pp.116-18; A.H. Francke, op. cit., pp. 115-16.} They had established their warehouses in Chinese Turkistan, Central Tibet, Lahasa, Nepal, and Bhutan.\footnote{R. L. Hangloo, op. cit., pp.116-18; Desideri, op. cit., pp.132-33, 317.} The Mughal nobility provided a good market for pashmina products and the bulk of the shawl trade was carried on with Mughal India.\footnote{Francisco Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 19; R.L. Hangloo, op. cit., pp. 116-18.} The Mughal nobility and aristocracy was the main customer of this stuff.\footnote{Lahori, Badshahnama , vol. II ,part-II , p.433; Quzwin, Badshahnama , Rotograph No. 191B, 191C, vol. II, f. 259; III, f.326 b.} In addition to the shawls, the imperial Farashkhana always got large supplies of floor coverings like carpets, dhuries, and printed and embroidered sheets as well as various embroidered articles of silk and pashm wool.\footnote{Lahori, Badshahnama , vol. I, part-I , p. 448; Waris , Badshahnama , Transcript No. 87, vol. II , f. 373; R.L. Hangloo, op. cit., pp.116-18.} Silkworm seeds
were imported from Gilgit, Tibet and China and they were reared on mulberry leaves.\(^{17}\) The shawls and woollen stuff and the cloth was exported to India, Central Asia, Tibet and China.\(^{18}\)

The Kashmiri shawl was significant enough for it had occupied Roman market and was in great demand elsewhere too.\(^{19}\)

The other articles exported from Kashmir to India and other parts were saffron, fruits, vegetables, forest products, paper, some wood-work, rice, feathers, horses etc.

Saffron was exported to India,\(^{20}\) Ladakh and Yarkand.\(^{21}\) During the 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) centuries, we find that a small quantity was also purchased by the English and the Dutch merchants.\(^{22}\)

In the late 17\(^{th}\) century Kashmiri saffron merchants had to face the competition from Nepali merchants who were transacting business at Patna.\(^{23}\) This costly condiment was cultivated in Pampore, Inderkot and Kashtawar.\(^{24}\) It was prescribed by the physicians as a medicinal herb\(^{25}\) and was also used as a spice to flavour food with its fine fragrance.\(^{26}\) The prices of saffron varied from time to time. Abul Fazl states that the price of saffron varied from rupees 8 to

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17 Ain, II, p. 170; Tuzuk, p. 300; Sir George Watt, op. cit., p. 1016; N.S. Gupta, op. cit., p. 94.
23 Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System., p.80.
24 Ain, I, p. 64; II, p. 172; Tuzuk, p. 45 (grown in the valley); For Kishtawar, See Tuzuk, p. 296; F. Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 35-36.
26 Ain, I, pp. 41-42; W. Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 342-43.
12 a seer. 27 F. Pelsaert refers to the Kashmir saffron as costing rupees 20 to 24 and that of Kashtawar 28 to 32 rupees per seer at Agra. 28 The Mughals after realizing its importance monopolized saffron cultivation, but on the contrary their successors, the Afghans, controlled its trade to give advantage to their own trading communities and the Afghans had already furnished every type of Kashmir’s trade including that of Kashmiri horses, scents, herbs and plants with India, Persia and Qandahar. 29

Large quantities of vegetables and fruits were exported to India. 30 Certain vegetables like *upalhak* and *kenkachu* were exported for the imperial kitchen at Delhi. 31 Kashmir also exported large quantities of fruits and dry fruits to Lahore, Ahmedabad (Gujarat), Agra and Amritsar. 32 During the 17th century the fruit merchants reached as far as South India with the fruits. 33 Apples, grapes, walnuts, melons, water-melons, almonds, peaches, quince, and quince-seed were the main fruits exported to the Indian market. 34 Grapes were exported for market at Delhi and it used to sell at 108 *dams* a maund. 35

Superior quality of rice known as *jinjin* from Rajouri was exported for imperial kitchen. 36

Water-fowls from Kashmir were exported for the imperial kitchen. 37

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33 Aurangzeb, *Rugat-i-Alamgiri, Tarikh-i-Mughal*, Abdus Salam Collection 321/91, manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, p. 163.
35 According to Abul Fazl, “Eight *sers* of grapes sell in Kashmir for one *dam*, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per *man*”: *Ain*, I, pp. 43-44.
36 Ibid, I, pp. 34, 39.
The forest products, the herbs such as costus, calamus, amber beads and worm wood and such other products were also exported. A large number of merchants were engaged in the trade of medicinal herbs. These were exported to India and in the course of time English factors displayed interest in their purchase. The Saussursa Lappa (costus) root was obtained from the forests of the valley and exported to India. The root was famous for its medicinal properties. The factors at Ahmedabad and Surat were the main customers of this root. A large quantity of calamus herb was also sold to the factors at Surat. The product of Kashmir was superior to that of Kabul and it was sold at the rate of one mahmudi per seer. There were two species of amber beads herb. These were mainly sold to merchants from Ahmedabad and Surat and the merchants of Kashmir delivered the stuff to the factors at Surat at the rate of 40 mahmudis and the superior yellow quality at 50 mahmudis per seer.

Worm wood is an aromatic herb found in Kashmir at an altitude of 5000 to 7000 feet. After distillation process it yields a dark green oil of intoxicating properties. For the first time, it was purchased by English factors during 1618 and 21. It was found highly nutritive and especially conducive to the sailors. In the course of time huge quantities were purchased by them and each ship was provided with two hogsheads of this liquor.

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37 Ibid, I, p. 34.
41 *Letter Received*, vol. I, (1602-1613), p. 32.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
46 *EFI*, 1618-21, p. 338.
47 Court Minutes, East India Company, November 20, 1618, See, *EFI*, 1618-21, p. 338.
48 Mr. Mountney was appointed in A.D. 1618 as an agent to deliberate the transactions with the merchants of Kashmir, *EFI*, 1618-21, p. 338.
The valley of Kashmir had provided a specialty in the production of fine paper and was in great demand in India. Large quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmedabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.

Besides paper, various types of articles such as inkstands, trays, boxes, spoons, bedsteads, trunks, *khatim band kursi*, ornamented pen-cases and papier-mâché etc. were also in great demand in India. Various kinds of scents and flowers were also exported to India and sold at exorbitant prices. *Salix Caprea* (Bed Mushk), scents of roses and flowers and musk deer yielded handsome profit.

The other articles exported from Kashmir were feathers of okar and the coloured plumes of various birds. The main consumers of these articles were the nobility and they decorated their banners and headgears with these beautiful plumes, but the bulk was supplied to Royalty.

Horses of both the local and imported variety were exported from Kashmir to India.

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49 Muntakhabu-i Tawarikh, vol. III, p. 144; According to George Forster, "The Kashmirians fabricate the best writing paper of the east, which was formerly an article of extensive traffic...." *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 19.
51 *EFI, 1618-21*, pp. 76, 142.
53 *Ain*, I, p. 56; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.
54 Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
55 Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
Imports: The chief articles of import were salt, shawl-wool, cotton cloth, cloves, Mace, pepper, silkworm seed, turmeric, ginger and sugar.\textsuperscript{58}

Kashmirians imported silkworm eggs\textsuperscript{59} from Gilgit and Little Tibet. In Kashmir beautiful shawls were woven, and they manufactured woollen stuffs (\emph{Saqarlat}) extremely soft. \emph{Durmah}, \emph{pattu} and other woollen materials were also prepared, but the best quality were brought from Tibet.\textsuperscript{60} "The wool for shawls comes from a goat which is peculiar to Tibet" and so Kashmiris bring the wool for the shawls from Tibet.\textsuperscript{61}

According to Moorcroft,\textsuperscript{62} there were two kinds of wool – "the fleece of the domestic goat, called \emph{Pashm Shal} (or shawl-wool), and that of the wild goat, wild sheep, and other animals named \emph{Asali Tus}----. The quantity of shawl-wool annually imported varies between five hundred and one thousand horse-loads, each of which is equal to nearly 300 lbs: the whole quantity of the \emph{Asali Tus} does not exceed 1200 lbs. It is brought chiefly by Mogol merchants, who exchange it for manufactured shawl goods in Kashmir, which they dispose of advantageously in Russia. The wool was formerly supplied almost exclusively by the Western provinces of Lassa and by Ladakh; but of late considerable quantities have been procured from the neighbourhood of

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\textsuperscript{58} \emph{Ibid}, II, pp. 170-71; \emph{Ibid}, pp. 300-01, 315; F. Pelsaert, \emph{op. cit.}, pp. 35-36: According to Pelsaert “The goods sent from Agra to Kashmir are coarse unbleached cotton, cloth, yarn for local consumption, and also pepper and opium. Nutmeg, cloves and mace are too dear, and their use is unknown; but all of them are, as might be expected, brought there when the king is in residence.” Lawrence, \emph{op. cit.}, pp. 393-95; R.L. Hangloo, \emph{op. cit.}, pp. 116-18.

\textsuperscript{59} \emph{Ibid}, II, p. 170; \emph{Ibid}, p. 300.

\textsuperscript{60} \emph{Ibid}, II, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{61} Tuzuk, p. 301: According to Desideri, “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 in May, June, July, and August, thousands and thousands of men go from Kashmir to Leh, otherwise called Lhata, the capital of Second Tibet, and carry back infinite number of loads of wool....” Desideri, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{62} Moorcroft & Trebeck, \emph{op. cit.}, vol. II, part-III, ch. III, pp. 164-66; Also See, Page No. 167, where he mentioned the price of shawl wool at different periods. Also See, vol. I, part-II, ch. III, pp. 346-49.
\end{paracol}
Yarkand, from Khoten, and the families of the Great Kirghis horde.” Further he mentioned that “the expense of transport from Leh to Kashmir is, per horse-load, thirty-three rupees; the duties collected at various places, both in Ladakh and Kashmir, amount to ninety-five rupees.”

Like shawl-wool, salt trade was also a flourishing one and it was imported from India. It was in great demand in the valley, because of its high consumption. The labourers also received their wages in terms of salt. Most of the salt came from Punjab via the Pir Panjal route, but it was also brought from Chan-than via Ladakh. According to Lawrence, “salt is an important article of diet both for men and for cattle and sheep---There are two kinds. The better comes from the Punjab, but salt of an inferior quality is brought from Ladakh.”

Besides shawl-wool, the next article of export item from Ladakh to Kashmir was tea in large quantity. To quote Francois Bernier, “caravans went annually from Kashmir to Katay----.The caravans returned with musk, China-wood [bois de Chine], rhubarb and mamtron, a small root in great repute for the cure of bad eyes; and in returning through Great Tibet they further loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as musk, crystal, jade, and especially with a quantity of very fine wool of two kinds, the first from the sheep of that country, and the latter which is known by the name of touz……”

66  Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
We find that all kinds of merchandise were meant to one or the other kind of duty. Whereas, we have no details information about the item-wise duty, that was levied on all goods as well as on the transportation of goods. The trade relations of Kashmir with the outside world were mean to certain financial duties. For instance, the grapes were exported for market at Delhi, and grapes used to sell at 108 dams a maund, but the cost of their transportation to Delhi was two rupees per maund. Other example, all goods imported into and exported from Kashmir to Tibet and Yarkand were taxed to the tune of one lakh rupees, that payable at the treasury situated across the Sindh river at Ganderbal. According to G. Forster, “From Kashmir to Lucknow are not less than thirty station at which a duty of three and four percent is levied on every quality of merchandize.” Likewise, on each shawl which were exported from Kashmir, a duty of three rupees was levied and each trak of shawl-wool which was imported into Kashmir was subject to a duty charged at the rate of four rupees. “Gugangeer in the north-east was the last ferry in Kashmir territory where duty was levied on all goods that had not been charged any duty in Srinagar. According to Moorcroft, “……every shawl being stamped, and the stamp-duty being twenty-six percent. upon the estimated value……, every trade is taxed, butchers, bakers, boatmen, vendors of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all pay a sort of corporation tax, and even the Kotwal, or chief officer of justice, pays a large gratuity of thirty thousand rupees a year for his appointment…..” Further he also mentioned that, “The expense of

69  Ain, I, pp. 43-44.
70  Mushtaq A. Kaw, op. cit., p. 105.
72  Mushtaq A. Kaw, op. cit., p.105.
73  Ibid.
transport from Leh to Kashmir is, per horse-load (of shawl-wool), thirty-three rupees; the duties collected at various places, both in Ladakh and Kashmir, amount to ninety-five rupees.”

**Internal Trade** - This trade consisted of both imported commodities as well as goods produced in Kashmir. In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system. For example, in the words of Mirza Haider Dughlat, “the passages in the markets, and the streets of the city, are all paved with hewn stone. In the streets of the markets, only drapers and retail dealers are to be found.” But tradesmen like the grocers, druggists, beer-sellers and vendors did business in their own houses. The business though flourishing was carried on inside the houses. The shawls and such other commodities, which were manufactured in the valley, that promoted the trade of the country and filled it with wealth.

Trade in grains was, however, controlled by the government all through the medieval period. This resulted from the custom of realizing land revenue in grain rather than in cash. Whereas, paddy predominated over other crops in the internal trade in which payment in coin and kind were estimated in terms of Shali (unhusk rice). In G.T. Vigne’s account, we also find that----“the wealth of an estate, or a jaghir, is calculated not by its value in money, but by the number of kirwahs of rice which it can produce.” Even the cesses, however, were taken in cash, were actually estimated in kharwars of (Shali) rice. The

77 Ain, II, pp. 175-76.
78 F. Bernier, op. cit., p. 402.
79 Ain, II, pp. 175-76.
81 Ain, II, pp. 175-76.
state’s share of the grain was stored in granaries and was sold to the people at controlled rates.\textsuperscript{82} The share “is sent into the market at a high price, and no individual is allowed to offer the produce of his farm at a lower rate, or sometimes to dispose of it at all, until the public corn has been sold.”\textsuperscript{83} The grain dealers termed ghalladars were active both in the towns as well as in the city and they also operated in the villages.\textsuperscript{84} The delivery of the State share in grains was mostly made to the tahwildars through the village headman (muqaddams).\textsuperscript{85}

We also find that, in times of natural calamity in the Subah, the grain merchants made huge profits and of the inflated prices at which the food-grains were sold from the hoarded stocks of the grain-dealers. During the imperial visits large quantity of food and fodder was appropriated from the merchants for use in the imperial camp.\textsuperscript{86}

But in late 18\textsuperscript{th} century, the systematic marketing system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of bazar Saraffan, bazar Baqalia, bazar Sabaga (chintz market) etc. etc.\textsuperscript{87}

Srinagar as well as other towns such as Qasbah Vernag, Durah or Shahabad, Anantnag or Islamabad, Pampor, Shupian, Chrar, Sopor and Barahmulah were centres of trade in the valley.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{82} Mushtaq A. Kaw, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{83} Moorcroft & Trebeck, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. II, part-III, ch. II, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{84} Mushtaq A. Kaw, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 92-3; Also See, Lawrence, \textit{op. cit.}, p 397.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Waqiat-i-Kashmir}, Habib Ganj, collection 32 / 150, f. 9a.
\textsuperscript{88} For detailed description of these towns, See, (a), of this Chapter.
In the valley of Kashmir, the rural and urban areas were linked with each other mainly through production as well as consumption and also through transportation and communication. On account of smooth administration, there was a substantial growth of the urban centres, which remained dependent on the rural areas for the raw materials and food grains. As such the possibilities of markets increased and we find that 5,700 boats were playing between the production centres (the rural areas) and the main consuming centres, (urban centres) loaded with grains and fodder. The Persian sources indicates that the river navigation was the main source of transport in the valley, but ponies, mules, camels, horse and elephant were also used in the hilly tracks of the Subah. Pack-ponies were used for carrying paddy and other food-grains from distant and remote villages to the town market. In the words of Jahangir, “the two large lakes ----- are the means for coming and going of the people and for the conveyance of grain and firewood on boats”. According to Saleh, the

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1 Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, pp. 84-85; Also see, Irfan Habib, “Potentialities of Capitalistic Development In The Economy of Mughal India,” paper presented in the International Economic History congress, Bloomington, 1968, Article, No. 107, pp. 9-10.
2 Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, ed. Abdul-Haiy and Ahmad Ali, p. 149: According to Mutamad Khan, there were 5,700 boats, and the number of the boatmen was fixed at 7,400; Tuzuk p. 298; But Abul Fazl, states that there were 30,000 boats in the valley: Akbarnama, vol. III, part-II, p 550; In Ain, Abul Fazl, says that “the carriage of goods is effected by boat: Ain, vol. II, p. 170.
5 Pakhli was the only district where mules were bred in India: Ibid, I, pp. 103-4; F. Bernier, op. cit., p. 392.
7 Ain, II, pp. 169-70; Jahangir notes that the Kashmir-bred horses were fetching prices up to a thousand rupees: Tuzuk, p. 301; Lahori, Badshahnama, vol. I, part-II, p. 16; Alamgirnama, vol. II, p. 821.
9 P.N.K. Banazai, op. cit., p. 497.
10 Tuzuk, p. 298.
river Jehlum was the main source of water transport in the valley. The
population was settled along its banks which were linked with each other with
the help of 10 main bridges out of which 4 were situated in the midst of the
proper city of Srinagar.\(^{11}\)

To stimulate communication between people living on either side of the
river Jehlum in the city and outside its limits, there used to be, from time
immemorial, boat-bridges. \(^{12}\) Jahangir\(^{13}\) and Abdul Hamid Lahori\(^{14}\) mention
four bridges, but Bernier\(^{15}\) mentions only two. While in Hasan’s\(^{16}\) account we
find many bridges of the pre-Mughals and Mughals period and also we find the
description of numerous small bridges over the canals in various parts of the
valley of Kashmir. According to Moorcroft,\(^{17}\) boats were used for carrying
grains to the heart of the city. According to Baron Charles Hugel,\(^{18}\) in 1835
there were more bridges in Kashmir than in any other country in the world.
They spanned every river and brook. They were built and kept in repair by the
government, without the levy of any toll.

After the discussion of urban-rural linkage, it is thus appropriate to
discuss the Kashmir linkages with the outside world. According to Abul Fazl,\(^{19}\)
there were twenty-six roads linking Kashmir with the outside world of which
Bhimbar and Pakli were the best and were generally practicable on horseback.

\(^{12}\) Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, in his *Zafarnama*, mentioned the existence of boat-bridges also across
the Jhelum: *Zafarnama*, vol. II, p. 179.
\(^{13}\) “There have been built in the city four very very strong stone and wooden bridges, over which
people come and go. They call a bridge in the language of this country Kadal”: *Tuzuk*, p. 298.
\(^{16}\) For details description of the bridges see, *Tariikh-i-Hasan*, I, pp. 310-16.
\(^{17}\) William Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *op. cit.*, part-III, Ch. II, vol. II, p. 116; Also see for bridges,
pp. 121-23.
\(^{18}\) Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
\(^{19}\) *Ain*, II, p. 169.
In the shaggy and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with one another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the Subah and a regular link was maintained with the rest of Empire. The Mughal paid great attention to the maintenance of the routes. Rivers were spanned with bridges and Serais or inns were constructed all along to provide shelter to the travellers during the period.

The trade routes such as the imperial or Mughal road, Muzzafarabad-Pakli route, Kashtwar-Wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route were of great significance.

Abul Fazl states that there were twenty-six roads linking Kashmir with the outside world of which Bhimber and Pakli were the best. The first one, he says, was considered the nearest and had several routes of which three were good, viz. (1) Hastivanj which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) Pir Panjal; which was traversed by Akbar and his successors, and (3) Tangtala.

According to Lahori, there were four routes connected Lahore with Kashmir; one each via Pakhli, Chaumak, Poonch and Pir Panjal. Pakhli route had 35 halts and Chaumak route had 29 halts, while Poonch route had 23 halts and about Pir Panjal route, he informs that from Lahore to Bimber, there were 8 halts and from Bimber to Kashmir, there were 12 halts. Pir Panjal route though

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20 Abul Fazl, tells us that, Akbar sent in advance, three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners and splinterers of rocks and two thousand beldars (diggers) to level the ups and downs of the road: Akbarnama, vol. III, part-II, p. 537.


23 Ain, II, p. 169 & Its transl. II, pp. 351-52 & n.1: Hasti Bhanj route is the only one by which elephant can travel.

nearby, was difficult and narrow. The responsibility to maintain the road from one halt to another was assigned to one or the other official of the Mughal government in Kashmir.

The old imperial route to Kashmir passed through Bhimber and Rajuari, and crossing the Pir Panjal pass, entered the valley of Kashmir at the prosperous town of Shupian.\textsuperscript{25}

In \textit{Alamgirnama},\textsuperscript{26} Muhammad Kazim, states that, the capital Lahore was itself connected with Kashmir through 4 routes; \textit{viz}; one each via Pakhli, Chaumak, Poonch and Pir Panjal.

G.T. Vigne states that there were twenty passes into Kashmir.\textsuperscript{27}

The Mughal road or the imperial route connected Kashmir with Gujarat and was frequently used by the Mughal monarch.\textsuperscript{28} It runs over the Pir Panjal pass, via Hastivanj.\textsuperscript{29} Pir Panjal Pass links Kashmir directly with central Punjab. It was the most frequented route until the advent of the Sikhs. It became the imperial route to Kashmir under the Mughlas.\textsuperscript{30} Akbar,\textsuperscript{31} Jahangir,\textsuperscript{32} Shahjahan\textsuperscript{33} and Aurangzeb\textsuperscript{34} used this route when they visited Kashmir. Most part of the route was hilly. Muhammad Qasim khan was ordered to level and widen the route, in 1589. After that it was made passable
for pack loads, ponies and mules and elephants, but because of its high altitude it remained closed during the winter months. Ali Mardan Khan made further improvements upon it during his governorship of Kashmir. He also built a number of rest-houses on it.

Bhimber, the starting point for the valley attained great importance. A strong force was stationed here during the visits of the Mughal emperors to Kashmir, heavy armour was also mounted on Bhimber and the next halting place was Adhidak, at a distance of 6 miles from Bhimber. The important stages on this route were Saidabad, Naushahra, Chingas or Jahangir Hati, Rajouri, Thana, Bahramgalla, Poshiana, Aliabad, Hirapur, Shaj-Marg and Khampora. There places developed into busy trade centres as well as trade routes.

Muzaffarbad-Pakhli route linked Kashmir with Rawalpindi and thence with Peshawar. It was also frequently used during our period. Akbar left Kashmir by the same route, in 1589 and he appointed Hashim Beg Khan, son of Qasim Khan, to widen the route below Baramulla.\(^{53}\) It remained almost traversable even during the winter months\(^ {54} \) and ponies and pack horses, elephants, and even heavy armour were carried on this route.\(^ {55}\) During the time of Jahangir, in 1622, Noor-ud-Din Quli was appointed to rebuild the road and span the rivulets.\(^ {56}\) He was assisted by Malik Ali also.\(^ {57}\) Shahjahan, during his visit, in 1640 sent Raja Jagat Singh to repair this route,\(^ {58}\) and in 1655 A.D. Hussain Beg was deputed for the same purpose.\(^ {59}\)

The starting point of the route was the ferry of the Indus near Attock.\(^ {60}\) It passed through Hasanabdal up to river Kunhar.\(^ {61}\) The river was forded below Gadhi Habibullah at Shangraf Kani, on the border of Pakhli.\(^ {62}\) After crossing Kishan Ganga it moved along with the left bank of the Jhelum up to Baramulla. From Baramulla to Srinagar there were two routes. The route over the river Jhelum and Noupora-Pattan route.\(^ {63}\)

\(^{52}\) In the text of Akbarnama, it is Khanpora, III, part -II, p. 542; Lahori, Badshahnama, vol. I, part -II, pp. 16, 20; It is Khanpor; Amal-i-Saleh, , ed. Karim Ahmad Khan Mutamad, II, p. 17; In , H.H. Wilson, Gazetteer of Kashmir And Ladakh, it is Khanpura, p. 487.


\(^{56}\) Tuzuk, pp. 288, 290-91; Malik Haidar Chadoora, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Rotograph No. 171, vol. I, p. 222.


\(^{60}\) The distance between Attock to Srinagar is 96 Kos 77 Poles, Akbarnama, III, part –II, p. 565.


\(^{62}\) Ibid, vol. III, part-II, p. 559; Shangraf Kani is not traceable it should be Malgalli, see Tuzuk, p. 289; In Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, ed. Abdal-Haiy and Ahmad Ali, changes this into Pakhli, p. 153.

The route over the Jhelum valley ranges\(^\text{64}\) has always had great strategic importance for the valley. The first devastating Mongol invasion of the Kashmir valley was conducted by this route. The first Mughal invasion led by Raja Bhagwan Das by this route.\(^\text{65}\) Father Jerome Xavier,\(^\text{66}\) also travelled by this route. Jahangir has left a first-hand topographical account of it. As a direct route between Kashmir and Kabul, all traffic passed by this route during the Pathan rule of Kashmir (1753-1819).\(^\text{67}\)

In Punch route, the easiest road connecting Punch with the valley was through Haji Pir pass.\(^\text{68}\) It was virtually an offshoot of Pakhli route. The important stages below Baramula were Rampur, Gori or Uri, Hatina, Haidarabad, Aliabad, Khota and Punch.\(^\text{69}\) Another route shoots from Gori to Mari,\(^\text{70}\) while Punch was linked with Jammu via Rajouri, Suran, Thana, Rajouri, Dharamsala, Akhnoor were important stages on this route.\(^\text{71}\) It remained open throughout year and snowfall was quite insignificant.

Poonch was linked with the valley by another route also. It was across Tosamanidan pass (14,000 feet). It was of great strategical importance, but on account of high elevation it remained under snow for more than six month in the year.\(^\text{72}\)

The emperor Jahangir used the Punch route several times in his visits to Kashmir.\(^\text{73}\)


\(^{65}\) Akbarnama, vol. III, part-I, p. 474, & III, part-II, p. 537; Also see, Tuzuk, p. 293.

\(^{66}\) Akbar And The Jesuits, pp. 78-79.

\(^{67}\) R.K. Parmu, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Tuzuk, pp. 292-93, 297-98.


\(^{69}\) Tarikh-i-Hasan, I, pp. 192-93.

\(^{70}\) Ibid; Frederic Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

\(^{71}\) Ibid, pp. 193-94.

\(^{72}\) Ibid, p. 204; Muhibbul Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

\(^{73}\) James P. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
About Kashtawar route, we find that, there are two routes as well as roads leading into Kashtawar from Kashmir. From Islamabad one goes by way of Singhpora\textsuperscript{74} and another via Dasu.\textsuperscript{75} The first Mughal attack on Kashtawar was launched by the same routes.\textsuperscript{76} It connected Kashtawar with Badrawah and Jammu through Ramban.\textsuperscript{77} The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.\textsuperscript{78}

The Zoji-La pass,\textsuperscript{79} since ancient times had been an important thoroughfare and influenced the political history of the country during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The route over this pass connects Kashmir with Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, and the Central Asian region of Badakhshan, Samarqand, Khotan, Bukhara, Kashghar, etc. Some of which states are now parts of Soviet Uzbekistan and some of Chinese Turkestan. It was through the Zoji-La pass that Rinchana entered Kashmir, and Mirza Haidar Dughlat first invaded the country in 1532 at the head of a large Mughal cavalry of Sultan said Khan of Kashghar, entered the valley by the same route. Kashmir also maintained commercial and cultural relations with China and Turkistan through this pass and this route had also been an important commercial highway between Kashmir and western Tibet. Kashmir imported the famous shawl-wool, yak-tail, gold, dry fruits, salt, tea etc. by this route.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{74} In Tuzuk, it is called Sanginpur, p. 295; Also see, Tarikh-i-Hasan, I, p. 207; Singpur is a village about 32 miles north-west of the town of Kashtawar and 42 miles south-east of Islamabad: C.E. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 345.

\textsuperscript{75} In Tuzuk, it is called Desu, p. 295; Tarikh-i-Hasan, I, p. 207; H.H. Wilson, Gazetteer of Kashmir And Ladakh, p. 312.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, pp. 294-95.

\textsuperscript{77} Tarikh-i-Hasan, I, p. 207.

\textsuperscript{78} Tuzuk, p. 295.

\textsuperscript{79} Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Eng. Transl. pp. 423, for further details see, pp. 417-22; It was also the principal pass for the route to Greater Tibet: Irfan Habib, An Atlas of The Mughal Empire, p. 7; Muhibbul Hasan, op. cit., p. 38; R. K. Parmu, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

\textsuperscript{80} C. E. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, pp. 76-77, 80, 89, 92.
Both F. Bernier\textsuperscript{81} and Desideri\textsuperscript{82} in his accounts have given a detailed description of Greater Tibet or Ladak, Lesser Tibet or Baltistan and Central Tibet routes as well as roads and these routes had also been an important for the purpose of trade and commerce.

After the Mughal annexation of Kashmir a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. Akbar during his first visit and his camp followers utilized their tents, but Jahangir during his visit of 1622 and his subsequent tours did not require tents for his encampment.\textsuperscript{83}

During the reign of Jahangir inns were built on the way side of Pakhli route as well as on the imperial road.\textsuperscript{84} After Jahangir, we also find that, during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb a chain of new inns were built and the old inns were repaired and improved on.\textsuperscript{85} The first inn was built by Muhammad Quli Khan at Khampora,\textsuperscript{86} and Send-Barari.\textsuperscript{87} It was completed in 1597.\textsuperscript{88}

But it was during the reign of Shahjahan that a number of magnificent inns were put up along with the imperial road. The main inns were built at Naushahra,\textsuperscript{89} Chingas,\textsuperscript{90} Rajouri,\textsuperscript{91} Thana,\textsuperscript{92} Bahramgalla,\textsuperscript{93} Poshiana,\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{81} F. Bernier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 419-28.
\textsuperscript{82} Ippolito Desideri, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 73-84.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Muntakhabu-Lubab}, vol. I, part -I, p. 301.
\textsuperscript{86} Faizi Sarhindi, \textit{Akbarnama}, Rotograph No. 163, vol. I, ff. 241-42.
\textsuperscript{87} In the text of \textit{Akbarnama}, III, part- II, pp. 725, 540-41, it is \textit{Nandi Brari} perhaps a clerical mistake Beveridge’s translation, it is \textit{Nari Brari}, III, p. 1083; Bernier, calls it Send-brary: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 413.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Akbarnama}, vol. III, part -II, p. 725; Faizi Sarhindi, \textit{Akbarnama},Rotograph No. 163, ff. 241-42.
Aliabad, Hirapora, Shaji-Marg, and Khampora. These places developed into busy trade centres as well as trade routes. Although these inns or serais were basically constructed or maintained for the imperial use and also for the purpose of shelter for travellers and the importance of these stages did not diminish even during the later Mughal periods. It seems that these inns were constructed as well as maintained by the state to promote trade and travel and also provide comforts to the Imperial officials and troops to traverse distances through the rugged hilly terrains.

Conveyance

The geographical features of Kashmir had provided the Subah with natural stream-links and as such the entire trade and commerce was carried on through rivers. Rivers were spanned by bridges constructed of stone and
timber, or by rope bridges formed of three cords made of twisted twigs. These rope bridges were naturally used for foot traffic only. Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, in his *Zafarnama*, mentioned the existence of boat bridges also across the Jhelum. Jahangir and Lahori mentions four bridges, but Bernier in his account mentions only two. While in Hasan’s account we find many bridges of the pre-Mughals and Mughals period and also we find the description of numerous small bridges over the canals in various parts of the valley of Kashmir. According to Baron Hugel, in 1835 there were more bridges in Kashmir than in any other country in the world. They spanned every river and brook. In the valley of Kashmir, river navigation was the main source of transport, but ponies, mules, camels, elephant and horses were also used in the hilly tracks of the *subah*, but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of porters. River transport was a lucrative profession and it always remained in the hands of ‘*Hanjis*’.

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103 *Zafarnama*, vol. II, p. 179.

104 “There have been built in the city four very very strong stone and wooden bridges, over which people come and go. They call a bridge in the language of this country Kadal”: *Tuzuk*, p. 298.


107 For details description of the bridges, see *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, pp. 310-16.


110 *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 94; *Ibid*, p. 154; *Ibid*, p. 301: Kashmir raised horses and ponies on its vast meadows and Jahangir notes that the Kashmir-bred horses were fetching prices up to a thousand rupees.


115 *Akbarnaam*, vol. III, part -II, p.557; In *Ain*, Abul Fazl, mentions that men were used for the carriage of heavy loads over the hilly country: vol. II, p. 170; Also see F. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 392: Bernier mentions that, when Aurangzeb visited Kashmir, all the luggage of the royal camp was carried from Bhimber to Srinagar by Kashmiri porters, were paid for. The wages fixed by
There were more than 5,700 boats playing in the river Jhelum and its tributaries during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.\textsuperscript{117} In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl, mentions that “the carriage of goods is effected by boat, but men also carry great loads over the most difficult country. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade.”\textsuperscript{118} The cargo boats were known as *bahts* and the light boats called *Shikaras*. Shikara was used for the general conveyance of the people.\textsuperscript{119} 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 boats of the Gujrat and Bengal models.\textsuperscript{120} The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called *Mir Bahri*.\textsuperscript{121} Mullah Mazhari was appointed by Akbar as *Mir Bahri* of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{122} He (*Mir Bahri*) had a considerable retinue under him, posted at various ferries and posts, to collect the tax levied on the merchandise, grain and fodder.\textsuperscript{123} Besides, the tax collection, he was supervising the building of boats and the maintenance of

\textsuperscript{117} In *Akbarnama*, Abul Fazl mentions that there were 30,000 boats in the valley: *Akbarnama*, vol. 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-Ha'iy and Ahmad Ali, p.149; *Tuzuk*, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{118} *Ain*, vol. II, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{119} *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. No. 04, vol. I, ff.140ab-141a, The author states that there were different types of boats used for various purposes. Also See Walter Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp.380-82.
\textsuperscript{120} In *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 (*Takht-i-Rawans*), and made flower gardens on the surface of the water,’ vol. III, part -II, p.550; The Takht-i-Rawans (the river palaces) were also used by Shahjahan when he went for sight-seeing on the Jehlam river and the *Dal* Lake, *Muntakhabu-Lubab*, vol. I, part -II, pp. 705-06; *Ain*, vol. I, pp. 144-45.
\textsuperscript{121} *Ain*, vol. I, p. 144-45; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, f. 146a; P. Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{123} *Ibid*, I, pp. ‘144-45; Also see George Forster, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 302-3, Forster, in his account mentions about duties, which was levied on the transportation of goods.
bridges as well.\textsuperscript{124} In the words of Jahangir, “the two large lakes------- are the means for coming and going of the people and for the conveyance of grain and firewood on boats.”\textsuperscript{125} According to Moorcroft, boats were used for carrying grains to the heart of the city.\textsuperscript{126} In Kashmir, river transport was cheaper and therefore quite as important and its goods were mostly conveyed by boats.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{thebibliography}{127}
\bibitem{125} \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 298.
\bibitem{127} Irfan Habib, \textit{Government and Economic Life; Trade, commerce and Industry}, Article No.6, CAS, AMU, Aligarh, p. 21.
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