

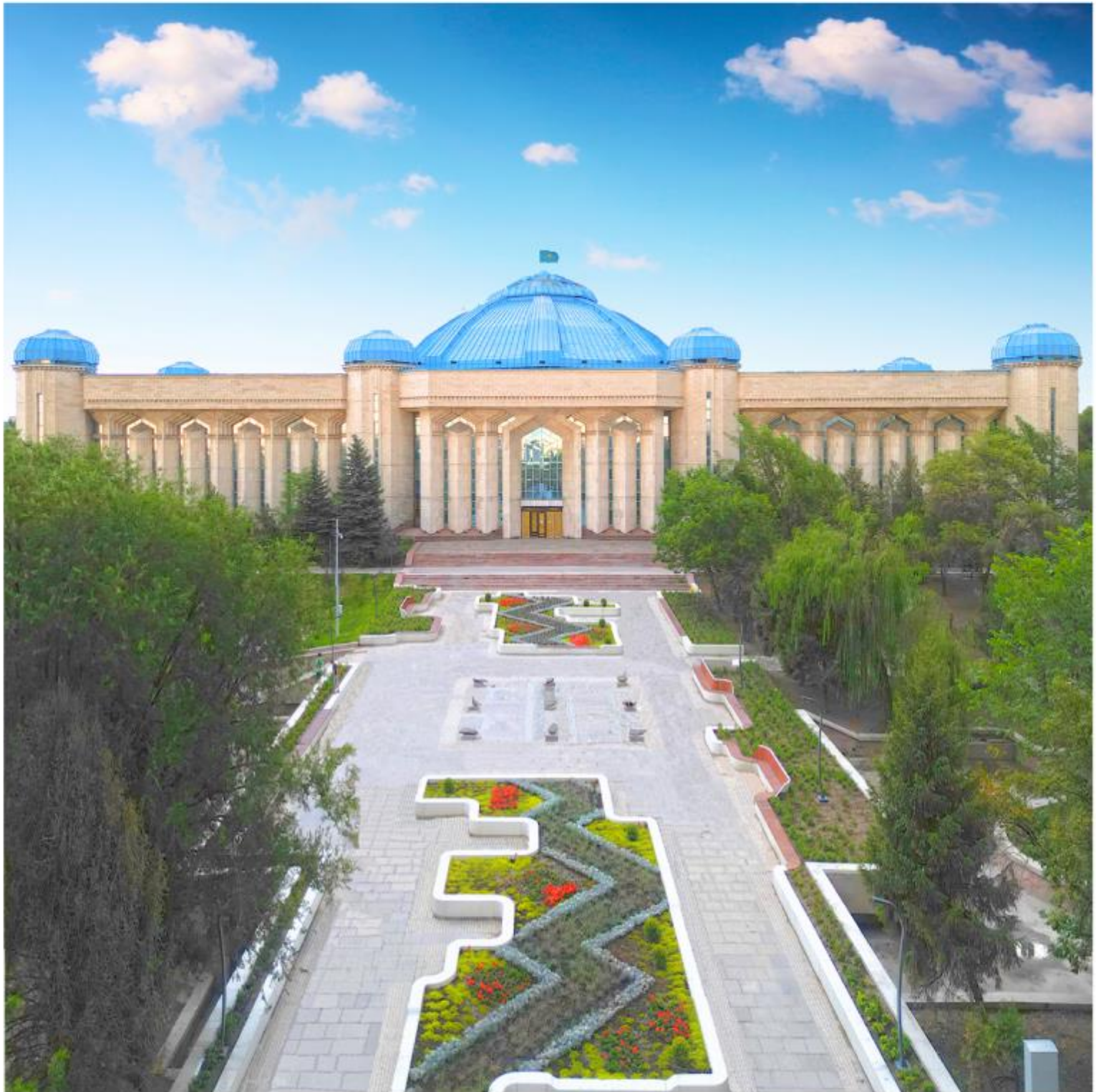
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A NOTE ON THE YEAR OF MĪRZĀ ḤAYDAR'S DEATH

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Abstract. It is generally received that Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt died in Kashmir in 958/1551. This dating is presumably based on the description in a Persian chronicle composed at the third Mughal emperor Akbar's court, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad. In contrast, two Persian provincial histories from Kashmir, the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* by Sayyid 'Alī and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* both provide earlier dates about his death, i.e., on 7 or 8, Dhū al-Qa'da, 957/November 17 or 18, 1550. This paper reviews analyses by previous studies and investigates inscriptional and numismatic sources which have been less studied to date. A Persian monody carved on the gravestone of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's tomb and coins issued in the 1550s support that he died in 957/1550. As far as we peruse the section on Mīrzā Ḥaydar's rule over Kashmir in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, it is likely that its chronology is slid by one year from the historical events in AH 949 on whereby the misdating of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's in this chronicle happened. The fact that the *Akbarnāma* by Abū al-Faẓl also states that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 958/1551 is unresolved.

Materials and methods of research. The researcher collected data and literature related to the death of Mirza Haydar. For the analysis, methods of comparative and historical-comparative analysis, a systematic approach, with an emphasis on defining historical reality were used.

Keywords: Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Kashmīr, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*

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МЫРЗА ХАЙДАРДЫҢ ҚАЙТЫС БОЛҒАН ЖЫЛЫ ХАҚЫНДА

Сатоши Огура

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Аңдатпа. Мырза Хайдар Дулатидің 958/1551 жылы Кашмирде қайтыс болғаны көпшілікке белгілі. Бұл дата Низам ад-Дин Ахмадтың үшінші Моғол императоры Акбардың сарайында жазған «Табакат-и Акбари» атты парсы жылнамасындағы сипаттамаға негізделген болуы мүмкін. Керісінше, Кашмир өлкесінің тарихын арқау етіп жазылған екі парсы шығармалар, Сайид Алидің «Тарих-и Кашмир» еңбегі мен «Бахарстан-и Шахи», оның сәл ертерек, яғни нижраның 957-жылы зұлқаада айының 7/8-күні (1550 жылы 17/18 қараша) қайтыс болғанын айтады. Бұл мақалада алдыңғы зерттеу нәтижелері қайталай сарапталумен қатар осыған дейін аз зерттеліп келген жазба және нумизматикалық дереккөздер басты назарға алынады. Мырза Хайдардың құлпытасына қашалған парсыша жоқтау жыры мен 1550 жылдары шығарылған теңгелер оның 957/1550 жылы қайтыс болғанын растайды. «Табакат-и Акбари» шығармасындағы Мырза Хайдардың Кашмирді билегені туралы бөлімін қарастыратын болсақ, оның билік жүргізген кезеңі нижраның 949 жылы болған тарихи оқиғалардан бір жылдай ауытқыған сыңайлы. Осының салдарынан Мырза Хайдардың хронологиясында қателік орын алған. Әбу-л Фазлдің «Ақбарнама» еңбегінде Мырза Хайдардың 958/1551 жылы қайтыс болғаны туралы жазылған, бұл мәлімет әлі күнге толық зерттелмеді.

Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері. Зерттеуші Мырза Хайдардың қайтыс болуына байланысты дереккөз мәліметтері мен ғылыми әдебиеттерді саралаған. Сондай-ақ, мақалада берілген деректер салыстырмалы талдау әдістері мен тарихи-салыстырмалы және жүйелік талдау тәсілдері арқылы сараланып, тарихи шындықты айқындауға баса назар аударылды.

Тірек сөздер: Мырза Хайдар Дулати, Тарих-и Рашиди, Кашмир, Табакат-и Акбари.

Сілтеме жасау үшін: Сатоши Огура. Мырза Хайдардың қайтыс болған жылы хақында // MUSEUM.KZ. 2024. №4 (8), 38-46 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2024.08.05

ЗАМЕТКА О ГОДЕ СМЕРТИ МИРЗЫ ХАЙДАРА

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Аннотация. Общепринято, что Мирза Хайдар Дуглат умер в Кашмире в 958/1551 году. Эта датировка, предположительно, основана на описании в персидской хронике, составленной при дворе третьего императора Великих Моголов Акбара, Табакат-и Акбари Низам ад-Дина Ахмада. Напротив, две персидские провинциальные истории из Кашмира, Тарих-и Кашмир Сайида Али и Бахаристан-и Шахи, оба содержат более ранние даты его смерти, т.е. 7 или 8 числа месяца Зуль-Када, 957/17 или 18 ноября 1550 года. В этой статье проводится анализ предыдущих исследований и рассматриваются письменные и нумизматические источники, которые были менее изучены на сегодняшний день. Персидская монодия, вырезанная на надгробии гробницы Мирзы Хайдара, и монеты, выпущенные в 1550-х годах, подтверждают, что он умер в 957/1550 году. Насколько мы просматриваем раздел о правлении Мирзы Хайдара над Кашмиром в Табакат-и Акбари, вероятно, что его хронология смещена на один год относительно исторических событий в 949 году по хиджре, из-за чего произошла неверная датировка Мирзы Хайдара в этой хронике. Тот факт, что в «Акбарнаме» Абу аль-Фазла также говорится, что Мирза Хайдар умер в 958/1551 году, остается нерешенным.

Материалы и методы исследования. Исследователь проанализировал данные источников и исследовательскую литературу, связанные со смертью Мирзы Хайдара. Для анализа использовались методы сравнительного и историко-сравнительного анализа, системный подход, с акцентом на определении исторической реальности.

Ключевые слова: Мирза Хайдар Дуглат, Тарих-и Рашиди, Кашмир, Табакат-и Акбари

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Introduction. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, a noble and military chief of the Moghuls, is considered one of the most important figures in sixteenth-century Central Asian history, alongside his cousin Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (r. 1526–30), the founder of the Mughal Empire, because of his own Persian history, the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī. The first part of the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī (tārīkh-i aṣl, completed in 952/1545–46 with additional accounts the following year) is largely the only source on Moghul history in the Middle Ages, and the second part (mukhtaṣar, completed between 948/1541–42 and 950/1543), which consists of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s memoirs, is an important source on the social and religious conditions in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Kashmir in his lifetime. The fact that international conferences on Mīrzā Ḥaydar continue to be frequently held today in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and other Central Asian countries demonstrates the high level of scholarly interest in him.

In addition, compared with the number of studies on the history of the Moghuls and on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s earlier life relying on the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, only a few have explored his later years in Kashmir. This is because, of course, any study of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s life after 948/1541–42, when he completed the second part of the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, must consult other sources such as Persian histories compiled in the Mughal Empire and the Deccan sultanates, inscriptions, coins, and so on. Such dearth of research using sources from the Indian subcontinent leaves room for a further examination of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s life. One issue concerns the date of his death; experts generally agree that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 958/1551.

Sources on the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death. Which study was the first to establish that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 958/1551? Through which kind of source did scholars define the year of his death? To the best of the author’s knowledge, the earliest relevant treatise to claim that he died in 1551 was a short article by Charles James Rodgers, published in 1885, on silver coins issued in Muslim Kashmir. Although the main subject of Rodgers’s treatise has nothing to do with Mīrzā Ḥaydar, he included an English translation of the chapter on the history of Kashmir in the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* of Muḥammad Qāsim Hindūshāh Astarābādī “Firishta” (d. 1620), a Persian comprehensive history of the Indian subcontinent compiled at the Ādil Shāhī court in Bijapur in the Deccan in the early seventeenth century (Rodgers 1885: 98–139). About a decade later, Edward Denison Ross published an English translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* that remains widely referenced today. For publication, Ross extracted from Rodgers’s article a section on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s rule of Kashmir and included it in his English translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* with details on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s later years after the completion of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Ross 1898: II 487–91).

Like several chapters of other provincial histories on the subcontinent, the chapter on Kashmir in the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* was taken almost verbatim from Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad’s *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (completed in 1593–4), a Persian history compiled during the reign of the third Mughal emperor Akbar. A comparison of texts between the chapter on Kashmir in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* and its counterpart in the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* would reveal a great number of parallels. Although the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* does not directly provide information as to when Mīrzā Ḥaydar died, it does record an event shortly before his final attack: on 27 Ramaḍān 958/September 28, 1551, a fire broke out in Ādroṭakoṭa, where the Moghul’s cantonment was located, and many houses were destroyed (ṬA: III 472; Haidar 2002: 104). This was quoted with no alternations in the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* and translated into English in Rodgers’s article (GI: IV 504; Rodgers 1885: 119). Therefore, the basis for the view that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 1551 can be traced to the description of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* as it leads scholars to presume that he died soon after the Ādroṭakoṭa fire.

Another Mughal source that places Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death in AH 958 is Abū al-Faẓl’s *Akbarnāma* (the writing of which started in March 1591 and completed in 1597–8). In the section containing a summary of Mīrzā Ḥaydar, Abū al-Faẓl simply states that, without giving a detailed date, he died of a night attack by Kashmiris in AH 958, soon after mentioning that Mīrzā Ḥaydar started putting *khutba* in Humāyūn’s name when he conquered Kabul (AN: II 28–33). The statement in the *Akbarnāma* has been less consulted by scholars than that in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.

Persian sources from Kashmir that place Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death in 957/1550. Two Persian provincial histories compiled in Kashmir offer different details regarding the date of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death. The first is the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* by Sayyid ‘Alī, a Persian provincial history of Kashmir that records events from the 1370s to the 1550s alongside many episodes on Sufi saints and is thought to have been completed in the 1570s. Sayyid ‘Alī, a nephew of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s puppet sultan, Nāzuk Shāh (2nd r. 1540–51), also frequently tells us that his father Sayyid Muḥammad had a friendly relationship with Mīrzā Ḥaydar. As we will see later, Sayyid Muḥammad also met with Mīrzā Ḥaydar shortly before his death to offer him advice, and we can surmise that the source is based on information provided by someone extremely close to Mīrzā Ḥaydar in his later years. However, the lack of a mention of Sayyid Muḥammad or Sayyid ‘Alī in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is somewhat strange. Also, because of Sayyid ‘Alī’s own strong commitment to Sunnism, he altered the narrative of events concerning Nūrbakhsīyya, the Sufi order with which he was then in conflict (Ogura forthcoming), and we must be careful when adopting his description of the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* without verification. Nevertheless, the statement in the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s commitment to Sunnism is consistent with his own confession in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Furthermore, by the 1570s, when the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* was supposed to have been completed, Kashmir was under the reign of the Chak dynasty, which was dedicated to the Twelver Shi‘is. Sayyid ‘Alī’s alteration of information regarding Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s last days is unlikely to

have helped to improve his political position under such sectarian circumstances. Therefore, the present author believes that the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*'s account of the information about Mīrzā Ḥaydar is relatively trustworthy.

The second reference is the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, which was written anonymously. The narration of this Persian provincial history, which was completed in 1614, ranges from the creation of the Kashmir valley to the author's contemporary time. As the current author has previously demonstrated, the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*'s description of the ancient period in Kashmir up to the end of the second Lohara dynasty is extremely close to the history of Kashmir in the famous Persian world history of the Mongol period, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, written by Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) (Ogura 2010–11: 47–53). In all likelihood, the anonymous author could refer to the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* or its replacement volume by a famous Persian historian in Timurid Herat, 'Abd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh 'Abd al-Rashīd Bihdādīnī "Ḥāfīz-i Abrū" (d. 1430). Meanwhile, *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*'s narration after the establishment of the Shāhmīrid sultanate (1339–1561) relies not on Persian sources but on Sanskrit ones, namely, the sequels of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, that is, of Jonarāja (d. 1459), Śrīvara (d. after 1505), Prājyabhaṭṭa (d. after 1513), and Śuka (d. after 1538). As the current author proved in another study, the anonymous author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* probably referred to the original Sanskrit texts of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs* notwithstanding their translation into Persian at the Akbar court in 1589 (Ogura 2010–11: 47–53). Although the anonymous author's basis for the events after 1538 in his writing is unclear, he was almost certainly referring to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. These facts suggest several points about this anonymous author's profile. One is that he was in a position to access a manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* or Ḥāfīz-i Abrū's replacement volume. Osamu Otsuka pointed out the limited circulation of the manuscripts of the former's second volume, which discusses world history (Otsuka 2016). In the Mughal Empire, by the end of the sixteenth century, the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* manuscripts have circulated only among Mughal court members as much as they relied on the colophons of the extant manuscripts although the extent to which Ḥāfīz-i Abrū's replacement volume circulated in sixteenth-century Mughal India is unclear. The fact that Mīrzā Ḥaydar refers to the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* as a source in his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* means that the anonymous author may have referred to the manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, which Mīrzā Ḥaydar brought from Central Asia to Kashmir. However, we have yet to reach a definite conclusion on this subject.

Because the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* was completed about 65 years after Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death, the author is unlikely to have been born during Mīrzā Ḥaydar's lifetime. However, the book contains information on Mīrzā Ḥaydar's expedition to Kashmir in 1532–33, his substantial rule over Kashmir after 1541, and his death, which is by far richer than those in other historical sources from Kashmir and from the Mughal Empire, including the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. The anonymous author's narrative is as clear and detailed as if he had witnessed the events. By reconciling various prior information, the anonymous author may have undeniably created a kind of historical novel based on the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* and other sources. However, the degree to which Mīrzā Ḥaydar was talked about in Kashmir in the first quarter of the seventeenth century is valuable and useful.

We turn our attention to these two sources' descriptions of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death. First, Sayyid 'Alī's *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* states, (p. 35) The Shi'i people increased their enmity, being averse to Mīrzā Ḥaydar's activity, and reached the stage where they sparked revolt, which was as much as keeping ordinary people away, cutting several persons' ears, noses, and arms. Malik 'Īdī Rayna set forth to Kashmir via Hīrapura. He made Ghāzī Khān [Chak] joined and sent messengers to Dawlat Chak who was in Nawshahr. He (Dawlat) roused himself to enter [the city]. Many Kashmiris gathered in accompany with him and went slowly but surely to the city of Kashmir. Mīrzā Ḥaydar, who left a group of Moghuls in the aforementioned place (Ārdrotakoṭa) to protect women, was accompanied by one thousand Moghuls and several Kashmiris, went to [his] enemies. In the meantime, of Mullā Qāsim and Mullā Bāqir, whom Mīrzā Ḥaydar appointed from his amirs as governors of Tibet, the former was killed by the Tibetans. Mullā 'Abdullāh Samarqandī, the governor of Pakhlī, was also defeated [there] and fled to Kashmir. He was captured by Kashmiris

near Baramulla and killed. This news filled Mīrzā Ḥaydar with astonishment and grief. Nevertheless, he went to Kashmir and got off in the village of Wahthor. Kashmiris stayed in a fort near Khānpur together with Dawlat Chak. Mīrzā Ḥaydar assembled 7,800 horsemen with the intention of a night raid. About this matter, the author's deceased father Sayyid Muḥammad and the lower person Sayyid 'Alī (the author) restrained Mīrzā Ḥaydar. He however did not agree with our warning. Chaks started plundering towns. We came to [my] town to protect our houses. Mīrzā, without agreeing with our caution, (p. 36) reached at the foot of the fort and waited. He approached to the top with thirty men, but he [lost his men] on the way. When he reached the battlefield, there were only seven [from his side]. On the seventh night of Dhū al-Qa'da, AH 957 (November 17, 1550), he was killed by an arrow due to Divine ordaining (qaḏā-yi Ilāhī).

Here, Sayyid 'Alī states that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died on the seventh night of Dhū al-Qa'da, 957. Moreover, because he states that Sayyid 'Alī and Sayyid Muḥammad convinced Mīrzā Ḥaydar not to attack at night just before that time, we can conclude that this information is firsthand and reliable.

Next, the anonymous author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* states, (f. 116a) Eventually, on the night of the day when the Kashmiri army remained in the fort, Mīrzā Ḥaydar, with about 700–800 well-equipped horsemen, (f. 116b) made a raid on them. By the time they reached the foot of the fort, there were no more than thirty Moghuls who had followed Mīrzā Ḥaydar to the foot of the fort. Some of them stayed on the road, and Mīrzā Ḥaydar took seven or eight of them with him to the battlefield. By Divine ordaining (qaḏā-yi Ilāhī), on that night, i.e., the night of Dhū al-Qa'da 8, AH 957 (November 18, 1550), Mīrzā Ḥaydar died from a wound caused by the spear of Kamāl Dūnī. All the remnants of their army fled and arrived at Ādroṭakoṭa. The reign of Mīrzā Ḥaydar in Kashmir lasted ten years.

We observe here that although the date in the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* is one day out, the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* also mentions that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died on Dhū al-Qa'da, 957/November 1550. These two Persian sources mark the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death as being a year earlier than the generally known date.

These descriptions in the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* were not completely unnoticed by scholars. For example, in *Kashmir under the sultans*, one of the most famous historical monographs on the sultanate of Kashmir, Mohibbul Hasan mentions the two sources that place Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death in 1550. However, Hasan concluded that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 1551, based on information from the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* of Abū al-Faḏl (d. 1602), the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and Ḥaydar Malik's *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* (completed in 1620–1), further dismissing the accounts in the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* as fallacious (Hasan 1959: 140, n. 6). While he does not specify the editions or page numbers of his four sources, the original Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* could not have possibly contained information regarding the date of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death; thus, he was certainly referring to Ross's English translation. Moreover, as far as the current author could ascertain from the Persian text of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, there was also no information about the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death. As in the case of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Hasan seems to have referred to the notes attached to Blochmann's English translation and made his assertions as if the original texts contained a description. Furthermore, in his *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, Ḥaydar Malik writes that the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death was not AH 958 but 959 (!) (THM: 75). Thus, no sources to which Hasan referred other than the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* contains firsthand information regarding the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death.

In contrast, in their books, Hasan Khū'ihāmī (d. 1898), a local historian of nineteenth-century Kashmir, and Radha Krishan Parmu state, as if it were self-evident that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 957/1550 (Khū'ihāmī 1961: II 260; Parmu 1969: 233). However, Khū'ihāmī's *Tārīkh-i Ḥasan* contains no bibliographical information, and Parmu does not criticize or even mention the theories of studies such as Hasan, and the basis of his argument is unclear.

On this note, the current author reexamines the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death by relying on the historical sources that Mohibbul Hasan did not refer to and highlighting the sources on his last

days for future studies.

Persian epitaph on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s tombstone. One piece of evidence for reconsidering the date of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death is a Persian mourning poem inscribed on his tomb, which, as is well-known, is located in Mazār-i salāṭīn (the royal cemetery of Kashmir sultans) in the Maharajganj quarter of Srinagar. Sayyid ‘Alī describes the events that led to the placement of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s tomb in this location as follows: Eventually, Sayyid Muḥammad (the author’s father), persons of the Magrī clan, and others went to the place [of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death], brought his blessed body, and buried it in the royal cemetery after five days. In that there were uproar and unrest, Dawlat Chak and others had the intention to burn Mīrzā’s body. Sayyid Muḥammad gathered his men and guarded the aforementioned cemetery for about one month. When a gravestone was set for his tomb, Sayyid Muḥammad finally left there (TSA: 36).



Figure 1: the quatrain on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s gravestone, Mazār-i salāṭīn, Srinagar, Kashmir. Photographed by Satoshi Ogura on March 5, 2024.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s tomb, which is currently located at this site, is marked by two gravestones with Persian inscriptions: a green headstone with a brief inscription about his life carved by Mīr ‘Izzat Allāh under the order of William Moorcroft on February 23, 1823, and a polished gray stone with a Persian mournful quatrain of mutaḳārib meter on its surface in *nast‘alīq* style as follows:

shah-i gūrakān Mīrzā Ḥaydar ākhir
 ba-mulk-i shahādat zada kū-s-i shāhī
 Qazā-yi Ilāhī chunīn būd tārikh
 shuda bahr-i waşlash Qazā-yi Ilāhī

The king of son-in-law (Küregen), Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s end
 The royal drum was beaten in the kingdom of martyrdom
 “Divine ordaining,” there was such a date

Due to being united to him, the “Divine ordaining” came true

The quatrain immediately makes clear the word *tārīkh* (chronogram) in the third line, which indicates the phrase *Qazā-yi Ilāhī*; the sum of the abjad numerical value of this phrase is $100 + 800 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 5 + 10 = 957$.

Although this inscription provides no information about the sculptor, the client, or the date of carving, as Parmu pointed out, some Persian chronicles, including the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* completed in 1614 and the *Wāqi‘āt-i Kashmīr* in 1747, referred to this chronogram (Parmu 1969: 477). An earlier example than Parmu’s Persian histories is Sayyid ‘Alī’s *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, which also quotes the same chronogram *Qazā-yi Ilāhī*. Thus, we can certainly conclude that this chronogram was generally known in the second half of the sixteenth century, probably soon after Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s death.

Names of rulers minted on coins. Another piece of evidence pertains to the names of rulers struck on coins issued in Kashmir in the mid-sixteenth century. When the second Mughal emperor Humāyūn returned from exile in Safavid Iran in 952/1545–6 and entered Kandahar, Mīrzā Ḥaydar issued coins in Humāyūn’s name in AH 953/1546–7, implying that he intended to declare Humāyūn as the ruler. It was in 957/1549–50 when other rulers’ names were engraved on coins issued in Kashmir. A study by Rhodes stated that one of the coins issued that year bore the name of Islām Shāh (r. 1545–54), the second ruler of the Sur dynasty, while another had the name of Nāzuk Shāh, a puppet sultan under Mīrzā Ḥaydar (Rhodes 1993: 100–1).

The change in the rulers’ names on the coins in 957, especially that of Islām Shāh, has been the subject of much scholarly debate. This is because, although the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* indeed mentions that Mīrzā Ḥaydar sent an envoy to Islām Shāh, the envoy returned to Kashmir in 958 (ṬA: III 472), one year after the coin bearing Islām Shāh’s name was issued. Parmu suggested that in his later years, Mīrzā Ḥaydar may have submitted to Islām Shāh based on the description in the *Tārīkh-i Dā‘ūdī* of Khwāja Abdullāh, a Persian history on the Afghans compiled in the early seventeenth century (Parmu 1969: 229–30). Setting aside the truth or otherwise of this description, it is indeed strange that the name on the coins was changed to Islām Shāh a year before Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s envoy returned to Kashmir. In her last monograph, Mansura Haidar argued that names could be struck on coins as “anticipating events which did not come to pass,” that is, before completing the protocols for recognizing a particular ruler (Haidar 2019: 292). However, her argument fundamentally undermines the historical research approach in which chronology is reconstructed based on the year the coin was issued and the name stamped on it. Furthermore, studies have not explained the reason coins with Nāzuk Shāh’s name were also issued in 957. Contrarily, it seems more likely that the Chak clan, who were Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s enemies, issued these coins after his death.

Chronology of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Scholars did not consider the possibility that the chronology in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* is pushed back a year; if Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s envoy returned from Islām Shāh’s court one year earlier, at least the discrepancy involving his name on the coin can be resolved. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* subsection on Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s rule over Kashmir is recorded chronologically. Since other sources contain records of the years of some events during his reign, we can compare the dates across sources. For example, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, the *Akbarnāma*, and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* state that in AH 948, Mīrzā Ḥaydar defeated the forces of the Sur dynasty led by Ḥusayn Shīrwānī and ‘Adil Khān, citing the chronogram *fath-i mukarrar* (repeated triumphs), which yields 948 (ṬA: III 468; AN: II 28–9; BS: f. 108a). If one peruses the following descriptions in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, they would discover that the events in the year AH 949 are not mentioned. Furthermore, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Sayyid ‘Alī’s *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* contain records of the death of Kājī Chak, Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s archenemy, but the first source states that this event took place in AH 952 (ṬA: III 469), while the latter two state that it occurred in AH 951 (TSA: 34; BS: 111a). Interestingly, while the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* refers to a chronogram on Kājī Chak’s death *fawt-i sardār* (the general’s death) which yields 951, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* does not refer to it; the chronogram does not match the year of his death

according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. This fact leads to the presumption that in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, historical events that should have been recorded as occurring in AH 949 were mistakenly recorded as taking place in AH 950, and the years of all subsequent events chronologically slid by one year.

This discrepancy in the chronology of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* is not limited to the section on Kashmir's history. In a 2001 paper, Hiroyuki Mashita revealed that the critical edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* contains a one-year discrepancy between the Ilāhī calendar and the Hijrī calendar in the descriptions of Akbar's achievements. In many extant manuscripts of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, the dating in the Ilāhī calendar actually slid by one year relative to the year in which the historical events actually occurred. Mashita compared the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* edition with its earliest known manuscript housed in Aligarh Muslim University (Maulana Azad Library, Subhān Allāh collection 954/3, copied in 1002/1594–5) because the Aligarh manuscript is a rare exception that records the correct years in Ilāhī calendar (Mashita 2001). Mashita's study leads us to the possibility that there is also a manuscript of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* that records the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death as AH 957 if such chronological discrepancies occurred by copying the manuscripts. As far as the present author's review of the Aligarh manuscript, its section on Kashmir's history is the same as the edition; there is no description of the events in AH 949, and Kājī Chak is recorded to have died in AH 952 and Mīrzā Ḥaydar in AH 958. The current author has not viewed all the manuscripts of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, so a final conclusion is not possible; nevertheless, it is highly likely that a discrepancy in the chronology occurred by the time Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad wrote the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.

Conclusion. Several points can be drawn from the analysis above. Two Persian provincial histories from Kashmir, Sayyid 'Alī's *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* and the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, place the date of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death one year earlier than the generally known one; that is, he died in November 957/1550, which is also supported by contemporary epigraphic and numismatic sources. One major basis of other studies' claim that 958/1551 was the year of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's death is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*; its dating issue can be addressed by interpreting that the chronology of the section of Kashmir is pushed back by one year from the accounts of AH 949 onward. Simply put, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad recorded the historical events in 957/1550 as if taking place in the following year.

The issue surrounding the *Akbarnāma*'s information that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in AH 958 remains unresolved as the present author lacks enough material to discuss it. At the beginning of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad refers to the *Akbarnāma* as a reliable source of the Akbar period (ṬA: I 2), while the first draft of its first volume, which records events up to Akbar's accession to the throne in 1556, was completed in April 1596; its date of compilation is later than that of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. In carrying out the court project of history writing, two Mughal historians could share their knowledge to some extent, and Abū al-Faẓl wrote that Mīrzā Ḥaydar died in 958/1551 possibly under the influence of Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad. However, a definite conclusion seems premature at this point; perhaps future studies will offer a solution to this issue.

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