

KASHMIR

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE traveller to Kashmir will find himself in a country of surpassing natural beauty. The Himalayas have many other beautiful valleys and countless other places from which the great snow ranges and peaks can be seen; but none of these have the same combination of mountain and meadow, river and lake, glacier and forest, that are afforded by Kashmir. It is as if the Himalayas, ending their thousand-mile sweep along the north of India, had determined as a climax to produce some place in which all their charms would be presented at their best in a small compact area. So while the central mountain range continues northwards until it is stopped by the Indus, a branch is sent out to the west and the extremities of both connected by intervening ranges. In the quite considerable space thus formed lies the Vale of Kashmir, a region by itself, having a distinctive and well-marked individuality. Nothing that the traveller has seen elsewhere in the Himalayas prepares him for that combination of sublimity with rich cultivation and homesteads buried in fruit blossom that Kashmir can offer. It is in Kashmir alone that, in a special degree, the gentler and wilder aspects of nature are united in harmony.

It is as the most delightful of all Himalayan valleys that the ordinary visitor knows Kashmir. Yet to regard Kashmir as simply a place of great natural beauty would mean a failure

to appreciate its other achievements and its many-sided character.

It is, in addition, a meeting-place of three great cultures—Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist. The splendid epochs of each of these cultures all have their connection with Kashmir. But the distinctive feature of Kashmir is that these three cultures are not merely stages of past history but are living, co-existent forces. The Kashmiri pandit is one of the most distinguished representatives of Hinduism today. No one follows the five-fold injunction to prayer more piously than the Muslim of the Valley, while in Ladakh the larger rocks are crowned with *gompas*,¹ and prayer-wheels, *chortens*² and *mane walls*³ are evident in every village. In Kashmir accordingly the traveller finds himself a spectator of the three great religious systems of Asia, existing side by side and ruling the lives of their followers with unabated power.

Further, an appreciation of Kashmir not only as a beautiful valley but as a country with a long history going further back into antiquity than the majority of modern states, makes one seek out the evidences of its past greatness. These exist in the ancient temples, of which the temple of the Sun at Martand is the finest example. They exist also in the record of the connection which many of the great personalities of Asiatic history have had with the country. The history of the Valley is by no means merely a record of local events, but is linked up with the great figures and historical movements that affected the whole continent of Asia, and an interest in the events of Kashmir's past forms a good introduction to the treasures of Asiatic life and literature. It is only when we appreciate what Kashmir has to offer besides natural scenery that we can understand it adequately and give it the status to which it is entitled.

¹ Buddhist monastery.

² Buddhist cenotaph.

³ Prayer-wall.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIODS OF KASHMIR HISTORY

1. *The Period of the Hindu Kings*

KASHMIR is distinguished as being the only country possessing an ancient Sanskrit historical record. History as a sober record of facts is foreign to the Hindu genius that prefers to express itself more in mysticism and for which the world of space and time is mostly illusion. It is all the more surprising therefore to come across a work which, written in the sacred language of the great Indian epics and systems of philosophy, is nevertheless a history exhibiting many of the excellences that we expect in a modern treatise conducted according to the latest conceptions of criticism and research. This is the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. The title means 'River of Kings' and as the work covers a period, according to its author, of three thousand years, in which king follows king in apparently never-ending succession, the title is seen to be a just one. Kalhana does indeed make one king reign for three hundred years, but as many of the others occupy power only for a few days or weeks, the flow of kings is little impeded.

The *Rajatarangini* was composed from A.D. 1148–1150. Its author acknowledges other sources from which he has drawn, but these have entirely disappeared with the exception of one, the *Nilamata Purana*. Kalhana wrote in verse

and according to the canons of his day, he was an accomplished versifier. It is in accordance with these canons also that Kalhana uses his work to enforce the moral lesson of the fleeting nature of all the objects of human desire, and the value therefore of detachment from the world. This is pre-eminently a Buddhist sentiment, and as we should expect, we find that Kalhana, though himself a Hindu Brahman, retains nevertheless, a deep sympathy and affection for Buddhism and its profession.

We learn from the *Rajatarangini* that Kalhana was the son of Chanpaka, a minister of the king Harsha, who ruled from A.D. 1089-1101. Chanpaka seemed to have enjoyed the confidence of the king and to have occupied responsible offices. The high position occupied by the family would no doubt have given Kalhana many opportunities to be a spectator of the most important contemporary events in the state. Of even greater significance, it secured him an excellent education which equipped him for his work as historian. This training consisted mainly of rhetoric, grammar and literature, by which Kalhana became acquainted with the ancient Indian epics such as the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. But it must also have trained his general abilities and intellectual powers, for it is as an educated man that Kalhana writes, quick to notice what is happening in the world, to observe little points of detail that illuminate great incidents, to assess the true worth of the actions he portrays, and to give reasoned opinions that are always of value concerning people and events. We find also in his work a high moral sense shown especially in his appreciation of courage against great odds, in his condemnation of disloyalty and in his recognition of the spiritual value of sacrifice and unselfishness. We find also a refreshing independence of judgment that regards the actions of kings not as above the moral law but as subject to it, and capable of being judged by it. The Kashmiri of his day unfortunately gave more opportunities for the

exercise of his judgment of condemnation than for that of his approval.

We cannot indeed expect from Kalhana all that we should demand from a modern historian. He accepts much that is purely mythological, his chronology is by no means accurate, he has a local outlook that is unaware of actions taking place in the outer world, and he is too ready to attribute events to supernatural causes. These were largely the defects of his age, and it is noteworthy that when his chronicle comes to deal with events nearer his time, it becomes infinitely more reliable and trustworthy. It is also then that we have the sense that we are reading about real people whose characters develop consistently in the graphic pictures that Kalhana gives.

Kalhana's work is divided into eight books. Of these, the eighth dealing with Kalhana's own times is by far the longest. In the first book, Kalhana in describing Kashmir mentions features that are still recognizable today, a tribute to the unvarying character which Kashmir has preserved through centuries. The sun, he tells us, does not burn fiercely, while "learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes—things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common there."

Amongst the early kings whose reigns are historical, he mentions the great Buddhist ruler Asoka, to whom he attributes the foundation of the ancient capital of Kashmir, Srinagari, which contained, according to Kalhana, 9,600,000 houses, "resplendent with wealth". It is probable that this town was the same as the Puranadhisthana or the ancient capital occupying the site of the present village Pandrethan, three miles to the south-east of Srinagar. If so, there is unfortunately not room for the nine million and more houses of Kalhana's fancy. The site is a restricted one, being bounded by the hills and the river.

We again come to historical rulers in the notice of the three Turushka kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. These were Kushan rulers, and Kanishka is mentioned by Hieun

Tsiang as having summoned the third great Buddhist council in Kashmir. The three founded towns, the remains of which have been traced. In their time, Kalhana notes, Kashmir was mainly Buddhist.

Another historical figure, of a very different character, comes before us in the person of Mihirakula. He was a king of the White Huns and ruled over a territory stretching from Afghanistan to Central India. His period is approximately from A.D. 515 – 550. Mihirakula, who is mentioned also by Hiuen Tsiang, bears a reputation for cruelty and slaughter. People knew he was coming, according to Kalhana, by the vultures which flew ahead of him, eager to feast on the carnage which they had by experience come to associate with his presence. It is of him also that an incident, recorded by Kalhana, still survives in popular tradition and in a place name. On returning to Kashmir, an elephant was destroyed by falling over a precipice. Its terrified cries delighted the king, and to prolong the experience, Mihirakula had a further hundred elephants also thrown over. The place where this happened can still be identified as Hastivanj, a ridge near 'Aliabad on the Pir Panjal route, with precipitous cliffs leading down to a river beneath. Curiously enough Bernier records that when Aurangzeb visited Kashmir, fifteen elephants which were climbing to the Pir Panjal pass, fell down a precipice and were killed. This was, however, before they had crossed the pass and was not therefore, as in the case of Hastivanj, on the Kashmir side.

Having killed so many others, Mihirakula ended by killing himself, when as an old man his body fell a prey to disease.

Gopaditya is also worthy of mention as the founder of a temple to Shiva on the Takht-i-Suleiman which was then known as Gopadri. It is possible that the base of the present temple joins the remains of building erected by Gopaditya. He seems to have been keen on ritual purity, for those who ate garlic were made to live apart.

In the next two books there are few notable figures. Pravarasena the Second founded a city Pravarasenapura which has now become the modern Srinagar. The city had markets, mansions which reached the clouds and pure and lovely streams meeting at pleasure-residences, with the cool water of the Jhelam running past the houses, and in the centre of the city, a pleasure-hill (the Hari Parbat hill) from which all the houses could be seen in their splendour. In this description of the Srinagar of over thirteen hundred years ago we can recognize a great deal of the present day Srinagar, except that the streams have with the passage of time, lost a good deal of their purity. The old Muslim cemetery at the foot of Hari Parbat is supposed to contain remains of Pravarasena's city.

With the fourth book of the Rajatarangini we come to a period, *circa* A.D. 600 onwards, in which Kalhana's dates can be verified and a fairly accurate chronology compiled. The king who achieves prominence in this book is Lalitaditya or Muktapida (*circa* A.D. 700-736). Of him Kalhana gives a long account. He is credited with conquests in India, Central Asia and Tibet, and his victory over the Turks obtained for him a great reputation in Kashmir. Lalitaditya is remembered today, however, for his construction of the temple of Martand which is described by Kalhana as a wonderful shrine with massive walls of stone and surrounded by a lofty enclosure. Although the temple is now in ruins and deserted except for a pandit who lives beside it, pilgrimages are still made to the nearby temple at the springs of Bhawan, which, like its ancient namesake, is also dedicated to the sun.

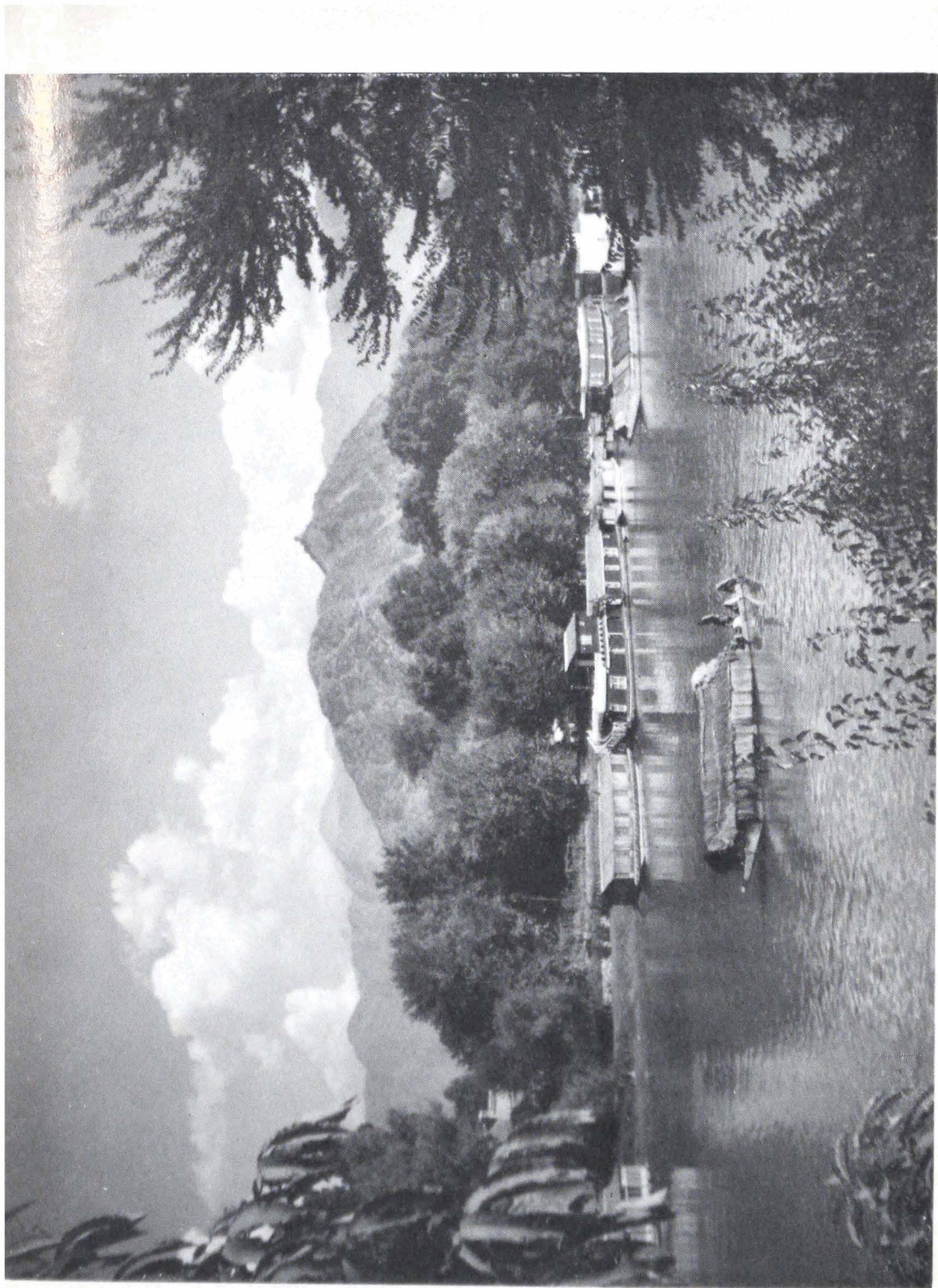
On one occasion, while intoxicated, Lalitaditya ordered Srinagar to be burned down. His ministers, horrified at this command, considered what they should do, and in place of the city, they had some haystacks set on fire. The king, in the madness of his intoxication, exulted in the conflagration, but in the morning, when sanity returned, bitter regret came with it. In his sorrow, his ministers told him the truth that the city

still existed intact, and the king experiencing great relief, praised them warmly and forbade them to carry out any order he might give while drunk.

The end of Lalitaditya was uncertain. He had set out on an expedition to the country north of Kashmir and finished away from his own land. An envoy which had gone to recall him, returned without him, but with his instructions as to the government of Kashmir. These included breaking the power of the tribes in the hills round Kashmir and keeping the villagers at little more than subsistence level.

About a century after Lalitaditya, there came another king the evidences of whose reign are apparent to the traveller today in the temples at Avantipura. This was Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883) with whose advent the Rajatarangini becomes a reliable historical document. Avantivarman seems to have had a good deal of trouble at the beginning of his reign from revolts by his relatives, but when he had firmly established his rule, he gave to Kashmir a period of peace in which the country became prosperous and a great era of building was inaugurated. Learning was encouraged and the scholars who flocked to the king's court were treated with great honour.

Of the two temples at Avantipura, one was erected by the king before his accession, and was dedicated to Vishnu, of whom he was himself a worshipper. The king, however, only revealed that he was a follower of Vishnu at his death. This is the smaller of the two temples and the one nearer the village of Avantipura. It owes its better preservation to an accident of nature, having been for centuries half-covered with earth from the neighbouring hillside. The larger temple, which is dedicated to Shiva, has fallen into a very ruinous condition. The town which the king founded seems to have been of considerable extent and to have remained important long after Avantipura's death. It is still possible to trace the remains of the old town on the hillside for two miles east of the present village.



1. The River Jhelam at Sringar, showing the Takht-i-Suleiman and the temple of Shankaracharya in the background.

An achievement of real skill and of a nature that is curiously modern in character was carried out in Avantivarman's reign. This was an engineering feat by which the waters of the Jhelam were diverted and the place of the junction of the Sind River with the Jhelam altered. The person responsible for this task was a man named Suyya, who, in the light of the results achieved by his work, is regarded by Kalhana as an incarnation of the Lord of Food himself. Apparently cultivation in the valley was being disturbed by the floods of the River Jhelam, and as the people are described as famine stricken, there had probably occurred a severe flood which had brought the whole matter into prominence. People were ready enough with their complaints, but with the exception of Suyya, no one could suggest a remedy or even thought that one was possible. Suyya claimed that he knew how to prevent the floods, but so strange did this attitude appear, that he was widely considered to be mad. The king, however, decided in the face of opinion, to give him a trial and put his treasury at Suyya's disposal.

Suyya accordingly sank money into the Jhelam at different places, and especially with great liberality, one above Srinagar, near Anantnag and the other in the gorge of the Jhelam just below Baramula. The villagers immediately began searching for the money and in doing so, cleared the bed of the river of numerous stones which were impeding its passage. The deeper passage allowed the water to drain away from the valley more quickly. Suyya then had a dam constructed across the river near Baramula. The river bed was then cleared and walls were built to prevent rocks rolling down into it from the hillside. This seems to have been effective, for when the dam was taken away, the waters rushed out leaving the land covered with mud and wriggling fishes.

An even more ingenious operation carried out by Suyya was an alteration in the course of the Jhelam. At present the Sind River joins the Jhelam at the village of Shadipur. A

careful examination of the ground nearby will reveal, however, the ancient course of the Sind River extending in a southerly direction towards the village of Malikpur where it meets a well-defined valley, the Badrihel Nala, that is really the ancient course of the Jhelam. On the table-land of Paraspor above the Badrihel Nala are the remains of Lalitaditya's old capital of Parihasapura which, when he founded it, was on the bank of the Jhelam, but is now about two miles removed from it. Another capital which as a result of Suyya's change has also been left high and dry, is Jayapura, the capital founded by King Jayapida in the eighth century. This was erected near the site of the present village of Andarkot, not far from Sumbal, and is now some distance away from the Jhelam, but in Jayapida's time, was no doubt on the bank of the river. Further, for a distance of 42 miles along the Jhelam, Suyya had stone embankments constructed and a dam was built to enclose the waters of the Wular Lake. The effect of Suyya's work was to divert the Jhelam from a more southerly course through low-lying marshy ground that could be easily flooded, to a course more on the northern side of the valley by which it finally entered the Wular Lake at a point where owing to the natural configuration of the ground, the volume of water that it brought down was less likely to cause floods. Further, it now became possible to reclaim land for cultivation especially in the extensive low-lying area south of the Wular Lake, through the centre of which lay the ancient course of the Jhelam. It also became possible to erect villages in this area. Such villages, because they were surrounded by a wall to keep out the water, received the name of Kundala, or ring. Today, villages resembling this description can still be seen in the area south of the Wular Lake and even the old Sanskrit word 'Kundala' is preserved in their names, e.g. Utsakundal, Marakundal. In addition, Suyya revised the irrigation system, and by an examination of the soil, worked out how much water would be required in different places. He

then arranged the size and distribution of the irrigation channels for each village. In consequence of these improvements, production increased so much that the price of rice, which had formerly in times of abundance, been two hundred dinnaras a khari, now became thirty-six dinnaras for the same quantity—a reduction of almost 600 per cent.

Altogether Suyya stands out as a person hundreds of years in advance of his time. He applied intelligence to a problem by which great distress was caused to the people, and worked in a thoroughly scientific and planned manner. The only doubtful point is Kalhana's story of his scattering the money in the river to have it cleared of stones. No doubt this sent many people searching for it, but it is not likely that in their search they would remove the stones entirely out of the river. Nor would such a device prove necessary, if, as Kalhana says, immediately afterwards, he had the river dammed up and its bed cleaned out. Whatever the truth, we can recognize in Suyya a person of genius and a great benefactor of Kashmir who triumphantly vindicated Avantivarman's bold step of allowing him to prove his claim. It is fitting that there should still be a memorial to Suyya in Kashmir. This is the village of Sopor or Suyyapura, situated in the same place today as it was when he founded it, namely, on the bank of the Jhelam where the river leaves the Wular Lake. The original Sopor is supposed to have resembled heaven, and on his own authority, Suyya is said to have forbidden fishing and shooting of birds in the lake by a prohibition that was to be effective till the end of the world. The present Sopor cannot be described as heavenly, and the Wular has become a favourite place for duck-shooting and fishing, but it is nevertheless fitting that Suyya's name should still be kept alive today.

After Avantivarman's death, an unsettled period follows. His son, Shankaravarman (A.D. 883–902) is credited with conquests in the hill-country between Kashmir and the Punjab, and in his later life became distinguished by his avarice and

skill in oppression. Taxes and exactions of many kinds were imposed, and *begar*, the system of forced labour for transport without payment, was practised on a large scale. So far-reaching were these exactions, that the only free activity left to the people was breathing. In the oppression the Kayasthas or officials, were blamed; it was they who instigated the king. Shankaravarman founded a city, Shankarapura, and in keeping with his avarice, used many of the stones from Lalitaditya's capital of Parihasapura to build it. His foundation did not prove a successful one. It remained merely a market town, to which the people referred by the common word Pattana, or 'the town', and which has been preserved in the modern Patan on the road between Srinagar and Baramula.

Following Shankaravarman comes a number of kings who ruled for short periods, resembling as Kalhana says, the bubbles produced in the water by a downpour of rain, or to use another of Kalhana's expressions, travelling for a short time that path of death which bore the name of 'throne'. Amongst the worthless rulers who characterize this period, was a certain Parvagupta, a man of low origin, who pleased the king at the time by dancing before him with his loin-cloth taken off, and who later, by killing the young King Samgramadeva, throwing him, with a stone round his neck, into the Jhelam, himself became king (A.D. 949). His son, Ksemagupta, who followed him after a year, proved even more depraved and abandoned to every kind of vice. He is important, however, in that he married Didda, the daughter of Simharaja, the chief of Lohara, a state containing a fortress of great strength in the hills south of the main Pir Panjal ridge. Didda herself ruled for some time, and on her death secured the throne for her nephew, Samgramaraja, the son of the ruler of Lohara.

As she had several nephews, she made the selection of her successor in the following way; she threw down a number of apples before her nephews, who were all children, telling

them to collect as many as possible. After the scramble had sorted itself out, it was found that Samgramaraja had both obtained the greatest number of apples and was also unhurt. When asked to explain his success, he replied that he got the apples by letting the others fight while he stood aside. This proof of his calculating self-interest convinced the queen that he was the most fitted for the throne, and she adopted him as her successor. In 1003 accordingly, Samgramaraja became king and inaugurated the rule of the first Lohara dynasty which was to last till Kalhana's own lifetime and later.

It was during Samgramaraja's reign that Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India and established himself on the throne of Delhi. The Muslim conquest of India brought in thousands of Muslims and was a precursor of the time when Kashmir itself was ruled by a Muslim dynasty. On account of its isolation and the vigorous defence of the country at the *Dvara*, or gate of Lohara, Kashmir was spared to continue its own life for some centuries yet.

The Lohara dynasty opened with a weak ruler whose successors found unity the most difficult of all attainments. Father fought against son and wife against husband and the life of the Court was one of open licence. The most remarkable figure is perhaps that of the tragic King Harsha, who reigned from A.D. 1089-1101 and to whom Kalhana devotes considerable space. Even before he came to the throne, Harsha had gone through many strange experiences. He seems to have possessed unusual abilities. An expert linguist, a poet and a person of high education, he was also of great personal courage and prowess and became famous abroad. Unfortunately his extravagant habits made his allowance quite inadequate, and he was only able to maintain his standard of living by the presents which he received when entertaining his father with songs that he had composed.

Harsha became implicated in a plot to take the life of

his father, Kalasha, but on the plot being discovered, was imprisoned. In prison, Harsha escaped poisoning through the devotion of his servant, but when finally released by Kalasha shortly before the latter's death, he was again imprisoned by Utkarsha, his younger brother, who had been nominated to succeed the king. Kalasha died at Martand and Utkarsha was crowned in his place. Harsha, however, still kept the affection of the people, while Utkarsha on account of his meanness, proved extremely unpopular. A rebellion gave Harsha the chance to escape from prison, and Utkarsha, finding himself abandoned, took his life by cutting the arteries in his throat.

Unfortunately Harsha's rule did not fulfil the expectations of the populace. Kalhana, in a mood of sadness, summarizes his reign in a series of contradictions. It is, he declares, a reign in which there are many enterprises, but no success, many plans, yet no policy; extreme assertion of authority, coupled with extreme disregard for others; excessive liberality side by side with extreme confiscation; abundant compassion, superfluity of pity countered by an equal superfluity of sin. A reign in short that is both worthy to be remembered and worthy to be dismissed from the mind.

Harsha began his rule moderately, not by making a general purge, but by retaining the old ministers of his father in their offices. Probably as a result of this, a revolt by his brother Vijayamalla, who had helped him substantially in getting the throne, proved abortive and Vijayamalla had to flee to the country of the Dards in the north, where he was accidentally killed by an avalanche. This event consolidated Harsha's position, and he soon began to show himself as a king who had neither rival nor equal. His court began to assume a new splendour, brilliant dresses, with golden ornaments, were worn by all the courtiers. New fashions were introduced and head-dress and ear-rings which had not formerly been worn, became the practice. The ladies excelled all in their new fashions, with

the corners of their eyes joined to their ears by a line drawn with collyrium, golden threads twined into their hair, and pendants of jewels hanging over their foreheads. Especially at night, when the assembly hall was lit with a thousand lamps, and when there was music and dancing, the magnificence of the court would be fully appreciated.

Soon, however, Harsha began to exhibit signs of misrule. He succeeded in putting down some conspiracies against his own life, and then in panic, had many others, including his own family, and relatives, many of them children, put to death. Then in language reminiscent of a Greek drama, Kalhana illustrates from Harsha's life how 'it is the amusement of fate that the strong are deceived by the weak, and that those who hold all affairs in their hands, are confused by those without power.' Remorselessly we see Harsha taking steps that bring their own retribution—delivering himself over to the judgment of evil counsellors whose advice he blindly follows, despoiling the temples, defiling the images of the gods, imposing new exactions, and giving way to his mad and uncontrolled infatuations for women. The administration of the country fell into abeyance, murder was committed by daylight, and thieves even stole from the king's apartments. Nature herself helped to intensify the misery. A disastrous flood occurred and plague broke out, so that the round of funeral music did not cease, and to increase the carnage, the king began a furious slaughter of all Brahmans of independent position and power. These excesses finally provoked a revolt which was led by his two brothers Uchchala and Sussala who themselves belonged to a branch of the Lohara dynasty.

The king, after some successes, which he neglected to follow up, soon realized that the time of his ruin had approached, and in his rage, turned against Malla, the father of Uchchala and Sussala, who had been living the life of an ascetic, and had him killed. This incident naturally intensified the rage of the two brothers who pressed forward, attacking from differ-

ent directions. Uchchala was successful in penetrating the capital, set the palace on fire and forced Harsha to flee.

Kalhana gives a graphic picture of Harsha's stand at the bridge-head outside the palace, how he who had been clothed in magnificent apparel, now appeared with his body covered in perspiration, his locks of hair dishevelled and his emaciated wan face looking despairingly towards his wives on the palace roof. When the palace was set on fire, the people rushed in to loot it. Some found riches by their looting, for others it brought death. Some showed themselves unfamiliar with the objects they found. One person mistook camphor for sugar and on eating it, had his mouth burned. Others discovered cloth painted with gold, and anxious to get the gold, burned the cloth and searched amongst the ashes. Others took a different kind of booty; they carried off the ladies of the king's household, looking like fairies in their magnificent dresses and contrasting strangely with the wild figures in whose arms they were seized.

In the meantime, Harsha, confused by the conflicting advice, and unable to decide for himself, went for refuge to the houses of the Brahmans who had been his ministers, but was turned away, and the king, having only a single garment in his possession, and accompanied only by his servant Prayaga, and Mukta, a servant of his minister, Chanpaka, at last found shelter in a hut of a low-caste beggar.

Kalhana notes the inexorable march of events to Harsha's end, and explains it by saying that "when the end comes for embodied beings, the lamp of their intellect drains quickly to the point of extinction". Harsha had had several chances of recovering his position, or at least of escaping, but had blindly refused to take them. Sussala had been defeated by his son Bhoja, and had been forced to flee. Uchchala had not pressed his attack on the palace when conditions were most favourable to him, but had withdrawn and Harsha had not taken this opportunity to counter-attack. Harsha had listened to the

advice of worthless counsellors, but had disregarded the sensible suggestions of Chanpaka. Even in seeking refuge, he had gone to treacherous Brahmans who had deserted his cause, and had quite forgotten his loyal minister Bimba, who had not joined his enemies. Even at the last, when he had escaped to the river-side, the king still had a chance to get away. Some boatmen appeared who could have taken him in safety down the river, but Harsha sent them away again. The king indeed, seemed to have recognized a kind of justice in his position. He was heard repeating again and again, the ancient proverb, "The fire which has arisen from the burning pains of the subjects, does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life."

He accordingly accepted the inevitability of his destruction, and wished to end his life in fighting. This, however, had not happened in the struggles before the palace, and now he found himself abandoned, in a lonely place, with the rain pouring down, and the darkness illuminated only by the flashes of lightning. His life, indeed, had been spared just long enough for him to hear of the death of his son, Bhoja, who was slain through the treachery of servants, and whose death the king learned from the coarse lips of the woman who shared the beggar's hut. To complete the tale, the beggar turned informer, and while the king was expecting him to return with food, he found himself attacked by soldiers, and in defending himself, was killed. His head was brought to Uchchala, who had it burned, but his naked body was burned without ceremony by a common wood dealer. Thus, at the age of forty-two, Harsha died, bringing to an end the rule of the first Lohara dynasty.

It is in Harsha's reign that we find Chanpaka, Kalhana's father, occupying the high position of Lord of the Gate, i.e. responsible for the safety of Kashmir from invasion through the passes leading into the country. Chanpaka remained faithful to Harsha, and was only absent from the king at the end

because he had been sent off by Harsha himself to bring him news of Bhoja.

Uchchala, who now came to the throne, represented the beginning of the second Lohara dynasty. After reigning ten years, he was however, himself murdered, and was followed after a short unsettled period in A.D. 1112 by his brother, Sussala, who, after a difficult reign, was also murdered. Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja, and grandson of Harsha, had, in the meantime been striving to secure the throne for himself, and in A.D. 1120 for six months actually ruled as king, until Sussala, who had gained fresh support, managed to expel him. Bhikshachara never regained the throne in spite of continued attempts, and was finally killed near the present village of Banihal at the foot of the Banihal pass.

Jayasinha, Sussala's son, now became king (A.D. 1128) and was still reigning when Kalhana ends his chronicle, about the year A.D. 1150. Jayasinha remained in power for so long through his capacity for intrigue and through his policy of killing those who threatened to become too powerful.

His reign was a troubled one, but the king managed to survive his difficulties, and by the end of his reign, seemed to be governing in peace, with his eldest son crowned as the ruler of Lohara.

The eighth book of the Rajatarangini is occupied with the period from Uchchala to Jayasinha. As the eighth book is almost as long as the other seven books together, we get a detailed picture of this comparatively brief period, which makes it possible to reconstruct much of the social conditions of the time. Srinagar is shown as a place where rumour can be easily manufactured and easily spread, from the bath-houses on the river, the shops, schoolhouses, temples. The pilgrimage to Gangabal in which the ashes of those who have died during the year are thrown into the sacred lake, is mentioned as taking place there on the same day (8th day of the bright half of Bhadrapada), as it still does. Kalhana shows

Srinagar subject then, as today, to disastrous fires, flood and famine. The oriental habit of giving descriptive nicknames is illustrated by the name of Himaraja or Snow-king, which the nobles gave to Jayasinha, thinking that his reign, which had begun in the summer would only last till the time when the snow began to fall. The character of travel in the country north of the valley, is aptly described in the journey to Bhoja on the ridges above the Kishenganga River—the sharp edges of frozen stones which hurt the foot, the falling avalanches resembling in their mass a herd of elephants, the hissing spray and the torrents which hit the body like arrows, the piercing wind, the dazzling reflection from the snow that produces blindness, the crevices in the snow, the illusion one has of climbing when one is really slipping back and losing ground—the difficulties of travel over the snow or the high mountains, are faithfully depicted and can be appreciated today.

Kalhana seems to have known the Pir Panjal hills, both on the Kashmir and Punjab side, well, but with the country north of the valley, he seems to be largely unacquainted. It is for him the land of the Dards and the Buddhists, but with the exception of part of the Kishenganga River, where the fort of Shirahshila was stationed, he does not seem to have known it, and gives us little information about it.

With regard to the people, Kalhana makes observations which would in many cases commend themselves to the modern visitor. He notes with contemptuous amusement the cowardice and boasting of the people. The Kashmiri is a loquacious person, but he rarely resorts to force, and the possibility of his blood being shed can readily instil terror into his heart. The Kashmir portion of the army, for example, which met the Muslims of Mahmud of Ghazni near Punch dispersed immediately they got sight of the foes who were opposing them. The Muslim invasion was fiercely resisted by many Hindus, but the Kashmiris were not among the latter. Even a rumour of attack was enough to send them into panic-stricken

flight, where they abandoned their stores and each sought his own safety. Where it is Kashmiri soldiers that are face to face, as when fighting goes on between the king and one of his more powerful subjects, their one anxiety was not to come to blows and on more than one occasion their mutual fear led them to break off hostilities. The real fighting which takes place is usually done by the tribes of the hills around the valley, who have till recently maintained the lawless role of bandits. The fickleness of the Kashmiris is also portrayed as e.g. in their demand for a new ruler in place of the existing one, and shortly afterwards in their desire to get rid of the very man for whom they had but recently clamoured.

Three classes of people especially come under Kalhana's condemnation and are the objects of his anger. The first of these is the landlords, or Damaras who seemed to have exercised an almost absolute power over their own estates and people, and who were always opposing the king. On them, far more than on the king, depended the welfare of the common people, and the constant strife in which they indulged, must have been carried on at the expense of the ordinary cultivator.

The second class was that of the officials who are described as grasping and rapacious, and like cholera, to be numbered as one of the plagues of the people. Bureaucratic rule has many disadvantages, but that which is perhaps the most irritating is the scope it gives to the petty official to obstruct, delay and disrupt the ordinary life of the people.

Early Kashmir seems to have been an ideal country for the official, and for Kalhana, one of the most popular things that King Uchchala did, was the attack he made on them and the protection against them that he afforded his subjects.

With the officials, Kalhana also classifies the merchants who are ever ready to practice deceit.

The Brahman priests or Purohitas who tended the numerous shrines of Kashmir form the third class. Ideally spiritual leaders for whom worldly things had no attraction, they had

actually a very keen devotion to the accumulation of wealth and possessions, and were shrewd enough to have learned the advantages that came from acting together as one body. They were also always ready to interfere in political matters and to use their fasting as a political weapon. Their mentality of coercion by passive means represents a permanent element in the Hindu outlook.

It is a large canvas that Kalhana has painted, and many people and scenes appear on it. Some of the figures achieve real greatness, but the general picture is that of a country left alone, largely for geographical reasons, from outside interference and carrying on an internal life of its own, where change is continual and nothing is secure, and where amidst all the forces that rob human life of its happiness incomparably the worst are those of human passion, lust and injustice; and unfortunately, of these Kashmir had no lack.

The chronicles of Kalhana are continued by Jonaraja and his successors but as these mainly concern the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, they can be best considered in the next section.

II. *Salatin-i-Kashmir. The Muslim Sultans*

The circumstances in which Kashmir came to have Muslim rulers indicate that the Hindu kings had become incapable of their office. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Sinha Deva, the Hindu king, had fled before a Tartar invasion. When this was past, his minister Ram Chandra attempted the task of restoring order. With Ram Chandra were two men who were destined to change the character of the reigning dynasty. The first of these was Rainchan Shah, son of a Tibetan ruler, and the second Shah Mirza, better known as Shah Mir. The former had come from Tibet, after a dispute with his father, and the latter from Swat, in the opposite

direction; both were received by Sinha Deva and given employment.

Rainchan soon quarrelled, however, with Ram Chandra and in the struggle that ensued, managed to secure the death both of Ram Chandra and of the king, Sinha Deva. On this he became ruler himself, and although, being a Tibetan, he was naturally a Buddhist, he thought it desirable to change his faith. Caste rules prevented him from becoming a Hindu and being attracted, it is said, by the Muslim method of prayer, he became a Muhammadan with the name Sadr-ud-Din. His son Haidar was given into the charge of Shah Mir.

After three years as king, Rainchan died and was succeeded by Udyanadeva, a brother of Sinha Deva. On his accession he married Rainchan Shah's widow. Udyanadeva's reign of fifteen years was a period of confusion, with the king not strong enough to exercise his authority effectively and with Shah Mir all the time entrenching his own position. Consequently on the death of Udyanadeva, Shah Mir felt strong enough to oppose the Queen Kuta who had intended to rule by herself. It is said that on Shah Mir insisting on her marrying him, the queen stabbed herself to death at the dramatic moment when Shah Mir had come for the marriage ceremony to be carried out. Whether this was the case or whether he had the queen and her sons imprisoned, Shah Mir became king in 1346 under the name Shams-ud-Din. The self-seeking and opportunism which Shah Mir displayed in his rise to power did not give promise of a beneficent reign. Fortunately his actual reign, though short, proved to be a better one than could have been anticipated from the early part of his career.

With Shah Mir the Hindu period ends and the period of Muslim rule which was to last till the beginning of the nineteenth century, begins. Within this period we can distinguish three stages, namely, that of the independent Sultans, that of the Mughul Emperors and that of the Afghan rulers.

In the period of the Sultans three figures stand out. The

first of these is Shahab-ud-Din, after whom Shadipur on the Jhelam below Srinagar is named. He is remarkable for having waged war successfully far outside the boundaries of Kashmir as well as for managing efficiently the internal affairs of his country. The troops with which he conducted his campaigns against Sind, Peshawar and Afghanistan were no doubt recruited from the warlike tribes of the hills around Kashmir.

At the end of the fourteenth century there comes a ruler, Sikandar, who occupies in the annals of Kashmir the position of Aurangzeb in the history of India. Both are distinguished for their zeal in destroying the temples and images of the Hindus and on this account both have received the title of Iconoclast. Sikandar is popularly known as But-Shikan, the Idol-Breaker.

In 1398 Amir Timur, the Tartar conqueror better known as Tamerlane, invaded India, but finding the great heat oppressive, withdrew again to Central Asia. Sikandar set forth to meet him, when he was informed that Timur expected him to bring a present of 30,000 horses and 100,000 gold dirhams. Hearing these impossible figures, Sikandar returned to Kashmir. In the meantime Timur who had been expecting his arrival, enquired why he did not come, and the truth came to light that Sikandar had gone back because he could not afford to bring the large present that was demanded. Timur, who knew nothing about the matter, now discovered that it was his own nobles who had sent the demand in his name and was naturally infuriated. He sent, however, for Sikandar to meet him at the Indus and gave the assurance that such demands would not be made, but by the time Sikandar set out for a second journey, Timur had hastened on and the meeting did not take place.

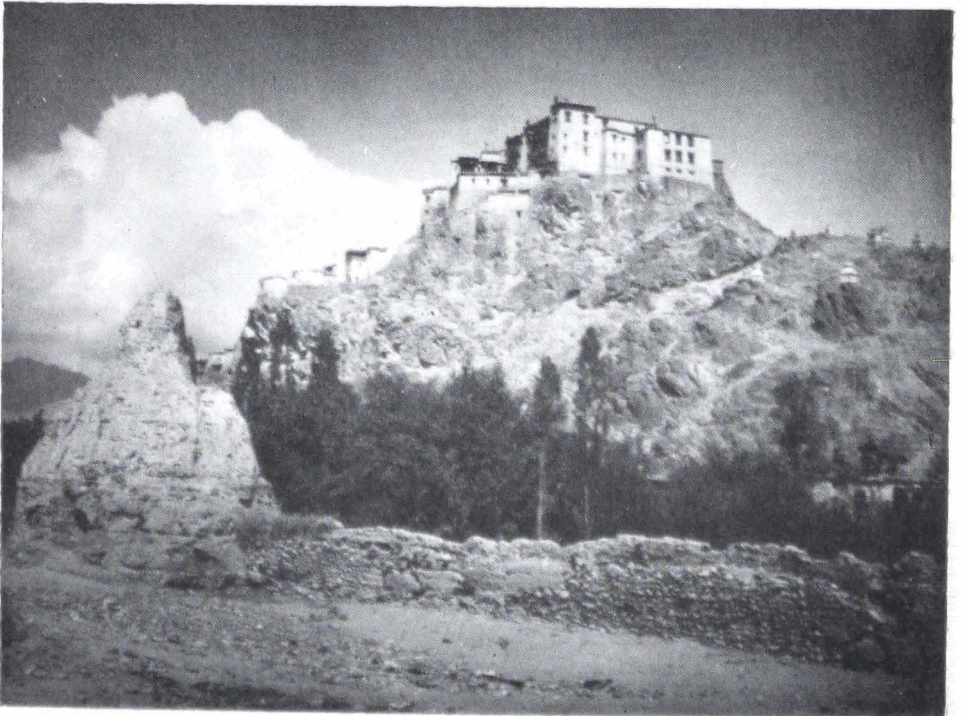
At first Sikandar, who succeeded to the throne while he was still young, continued the policy of toleration which had been carried on by his predecessors. It has been suggested that Sikandar was encouraged to begin his policy of destroying

Hindu temples and shrines by the Muslims who flocked in from foreign countries to his court and were no doubt astonished to see that in a Muslim state Islam did not have the dominion, but existed side by side with the practices of the infidels. If so, they were aided by Sikandar's minister, Sinha Bhatt, a Brahman who had renounced Hinduism and become a Muslim, and who proved his zeal for his new religion by becoming the leader in the campaign of persecution. Hence it is that the visitor today sees the massive temples at Martand and Avantipura and at other places throughout the Valley in a ruined condition, the completeness of which testifies to the strength of the mania for destruction that possessed Sikandar and his encouragers.

Not content with laying waste to shrines and buildings, Sikandar also turned his attention to the people. Forcible conversion of Hindus was the order of the day, and those who wished to leave the country in order to escape such conversion, were prevented from doing so. So many Brahmans were killed that their sacred threads when collected weighed it is said, five hundredweight. It is from this period that the predominance of Muslims in the population dates. It is also on account of the persecutions that we have the curious situation today that the Hindus of Kashmir are almost entirely Brahmans. It was the Brahmans on whom Hinduism had the strongest hold and who had most to lose by conversion to Islam. Accordingly while many of the lower castes became Muslim, a small number of the Brahmans—eleven families, according to some authorities—remained steadfast, and managing to escape death, secured the survival of their caste till more favourable times restored their prosperity and influence. The Brahmans who had remained faithful to their caste and had survived the persecutions, came later to be distinguished from other Brahmans and honoured for their devotion to principle. Naturally conversion under such conditions did not produce a Muslim of very pure quality



2. A road in the Vale of Kashmir. The poplar trees are said to have been introduced by the Mughals.



3. The gompa of Spitok near Leh in Ladakh.

in respect of his faith and observance of the law and it has been frequently noted that many traces not only of Hinduism but of the old snake worship of the country can be observed in the profession of Islam.

Sikandar's reign of persecution and forcible conversions came to an end in 1416, although on account of Sinha Bhatt's continuance in office, the Hindus experienced no relief until in 1420 Zain-ul-'Abidin, Sikandar's second son, came to the throne.

Father and son were of contrasting temperaments. Indeed history can give few examples where the policy of the father was so completely reversed by the son as was the case with Sikandar and Zain-ul-'Abidin. Where Sikandar destroyed, Zain-ul-'Abidin restored and where the former banished or killed Hindus, the latter recalled them and exalted them. As Sikandar has affinities with Aurangzeb, so Zain-ul-'Abidin has been compared with Akbar, the most illustrious of all the Mughul Emperors, and the two undoubtedly resemble each other in their policy of toleration and in their preference for the society of Hindus to that of Muslim fanatics.

Zain-ul-'Abidin set the welfare of his country first, and the record of his improvements and reforms is an impressive one. Irrigation was carefully planned for the whole Valley and some of the canals which he had constructed are still in use today. For example, the canal that is taken off from the Sind River and goes to Manasbal, and the one from the Liddar River to Martand, both date from this period. The causeway across the Dal Lake to Nishat Bagh and beyond, with its curious high arched bridges, is his work. The island of Lanka in the Wular Lake is an artificial one which he had constructed. In addition bridges were built, public buildings erected, schools opened and new occupations and trades were taught to the people. The Kashmiri crafts, the products of which are today thrust upon the visitor's notice, were either introduced or stimulated by Zain-ul-'Abidin. The king also

made the workers and shopkeepers take an oath to uphold the standards of their trade and to prevent cheating and deceit.

The administration of justice was improved and prisoners were employed for the building of bridges, canals and public works. It is in his patronage of literature and the arts, however, that Zain-ul-'Abidin is especially distinguished. Sanskrit works were translated into Persian, and Persian and Arabic ones into Hindi, and his court was thronged by scholars, some of whose works are still extant.

Unfortunately the end of Zain-ul-'Abidin's reign was an unhappy one. He ruled for fifty years and towards the end of his life he suffered from that strife which like a curse embittered the later years of so many Muslim rulers—namely, the struggle amongst his sons for the succession to the throne. In his unhappiness he composed a poem entitled 'Complaint', in which he reproached fate with not having granted him the happiness that he had sought and had deserved. He presents the sad spectacle of a man who having benefited and enriched others, in the end considers all that he has done as nugatory, and with a sense of the emptiness of everything human, turns for relief to a study of how to escape from the wheel of life with its constant rebirths into that union with the Infinite where nothing temporal intrudes.

For another century the Kashmir Sultans were to remain independent. During this period the record is one of petty strife, with the kings unable to control their more powerful subjects.

For ten years during this unsettled period (1541-1551), Kashmir was ruled by Mirza Haidar, a Mughul from Central Asia, related to Babar, the first of the Mughul Emperors of India. In 1533 Mirza Haidar while in the service of the Khan of Kashgar, had invaded Ladakh from Turkestan and from Ladakh had attacked Kashmir and Tibet. His invasion, however, was unsuccessful and by 1536 he had retreated into

Badakhshan, from where he went first to Kabul and afterwards to Lahore. In India he entered the service of Humayun, the Mughul Emperor whom he accompanied in his flight after the defeat of his forces at the battle of Kanauj. With the consent of Humayun, Mirza Haidar entered Kashmir in November 1540 with a small force, and meeting no resistance, took possession of the country which he administered in the name of Nazuk Shah, the ruler whose authority he had usurped.

The next year, however, Kachi Chak, one of the very chiefs who had invited Mirza Haidar into Kashmir, turned against him and sought the aid of the Afghan ruler Sher Shah from whom Humayun had fled. Sher Shah sent a force of two thousand Afghans back with Kachi Chak to expel Mirza Haidar. At a battle on the 2nd August, 1541, Mirza Haidar completely defeated his opponents and by this victory established his power over Kashmir. His rule seems on the whole to have been a beneficent one in which cultivation was restored and the boundaries of the state enlarged. When Humayun had become powerful enough to re-take Kabul in 1545, Mirza Haidar recognized him as the ruler of Kashmir and sent him an invitation to visit the country that was being held for him. At the same time coins were struck and prayers read in the name of Humayun. Mirza Haidar continued to govern Kashmir until 1551 when he met his death accidentally from an arrow discharged by one of his own followers.

Abul Fazl, the historian and minister of the Emperor Akbar, condemns Mirza Haidar for having spent too much time on music. The accusation is not well deserved, for Mirza Haidar, in addition to administering the country he had conquered, occupied his time in writing a long work, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, named after Rashid Khan, the ruler of Kashgar, and forming a history of the Khans of Mughulistan and their dependants, the Dughlat Amirs of eastern Turkestan, to whom Mirza Haidar himself belonged. In addition the author includes a second part which is more autobiographical in character and

contains personal reminiscences of different branches of the Mughuls.

It is in the second part of his work that Mirza Haidar includes a description of Kashmir. He mentions that "Kashmir is among the most famous countries of the world and is celebrated both for its attractions and wonders". As this statement was written in 1543, it is interesting to note that even at that early date the fame of Kashmir had widely spread. The houses and buildings of Srinagar, Mirza continues, are high and extensive, each floor containing apartments, halls, galleries and towers, and their beauty is such that "all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration". The abundance of the fruit, the quantities of mulberry trees used for the silkworm and the charm of the climate are noted by him. The chief wonder of Kashmir, however, is constituted by the ancient temples, of which there are more than one hundred and fifty. The immense stone blocks, closely fitted to each other, arouse admiration for the achievements of the past. Mirza Haidar gives a description of a temple which he does not name, but which might have been Martand or one of the Avantipura temples. He mentions the enclosure, with pillars on the inside, the ornamentation and the pictures representing laughing and weeping figures, with which the walls are covered. The spring at Vernag is also referred to, but is placed on the top of the hill instead of at the bottom. It is also said to remain dry during the year except at the season of Taurus when the water gushes out with such force that it sweeps away all obstacles in its path. The Wular Lake and Zain-ul-'Abidin's island of Lanka and the palace he had built on the island are also described.

Mirza Haidar pays tribute to Zain-ul-'Abidin's impartiality in attending "neither to Infidelity nor Islam", and attributes this to his desire to humour all nations of the world. The beautiful buildings with which Kashmir was embellished were

likewise the result of Zain-ul-'Abidin's devotion to the country. He also pays a striking tribute to the success of another aspect of Zain-ul-'Abidin's thought for the welfare of his subjects in the following words: "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting, gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr¹ except in Samarkand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin".

After Mirza Haidar several rulers had the title of king, but possessed no authority. It was during this period that the Chak family became powerful and eventually became the rulers. In the reign of Yusuf Shah, one of the Chaks, Akbar sent an invading force into Kashmir and secured the submission of Yusuf. Ya'qub, Yusuf's son, however, still held out till 1589 when he also recognized the supremacy of Akbar, and Kashmir passed into the empire of the Mughuls.

III. *Shahan-i-Mughlia. The Mughul Emperors*

After Akbar had annexed Kashmir, the country was ruled by a subahdar or governor appointed by the Emperor. With the loss of its independence went also the loss of its isolation. The routes into Kashmir became busy channels of intercourse. Especially that by Bhimbhar and the Pir Panjal became once more a scene of great activity. Caravanserais were constructed at the different stages and the road was itself repaired. The visits of the Emperors to the country must have had a beneficial effect. The governors would be careful to make everything appear well, the people happy and the country prosperous, when the Emperor was present in person, and the

¹ i.e. Transoxiana.

Emperors themselves would be able to see that any suggestion they had made for the administration or beautifying of the Valley had been carried out.

Akbar's reign has left its trace in the Srinagar of today in buildings on Hari Parbat. The fort crowning the hill is a later addition, built in the eighteenth century by Ata' Muhammad Khan, the Pathan Governor, but the wall round the foot of the hill and the buildings within it formed the fort of Nagar Nagar and are of Akbar's construction. Great strength and solidity characterize these buildings as they do all of Akbar's works. The Emperor adopted, what seems to have been unusual in Kashmir, the practice of paying the workers whom he employed in money and did not enforce compulsory labour. An inscription on one of the gates, the Kathi Darwaza, forming the main entrance into the fort of Nagar Nagar records the fact that "no one was forced to work without remuneration. All obtained their wages from his treasury".

On one of his visits, Akbar was accompanied by his great finance minister, Todar Mal, who made a revenue settlement for the Valley, i.e., decided on the basis of the fertility of the land and the extent of cultivation, how much revenue should be paid to the State by each district. The next land revenue settlement of Kashmir took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when it was made on behalf of the Maharaja by Sir Walter Lawrence.

Akbar's first Governor, Qasim Khan, found his appointment a troublesome one and was glad to exchange Kashmir for Kabul.

Jahangir, the next Mughul Emperor, is distinguished for the frequency with which he visited Kashmir. I'tiqad Khan, whom Jahangir had appointed as Governor, had a reputation for cruelty and proved a harsh ruler in his exactions on the people. In this respect the subahdars of Shah Jahan, Zafr Khan and 'Ali Mardan Khan, were much more considerate

and seemed genuinely to have worked for the welfare of the people. It is recorded of 'Ali Mardan Khan that in a time of famine, he imported grain from the Punjab.

Aurangzeb who followed Shah Jahan, was too much occupied elsewhere to give much attention to Kashmir but the persecution of Hindus which characterized his reign in India was also carried on in Kashmir.

Aurangzeb was the last of the great Mughul rulers. His successors were weak rulers, and as always happened when there was no strong central authority, the outlying parts of the empire began to declare their independence. This took place also in Kashmir, but the subahdars were not long allowed to enjoy their independence, for in 1752 Kashmir passed under the rule of the Afghans.

iv. *Shahan-i-Durrani. The Period of the Pathans*

The period of Afghan rule over Kashmir is a short one of almost seventy years from 1752 to 1819. It was under Ahmad Shah Durrani, the ruler of Afghanistan, that Kabul replaced Delhi as the centre of authority for Kashmir. Ahmad Shah, himself a brutal ruler, who had been responsible for the murder of his own master, set the character of brutality unrelieved by any humanitarian feeling or interest in culture that is maintained during these seventy years.

The Governors sent from Kabul well knew that their tenure of office was insecure and that intrigues at Kabul were, in their absence, continually going on for their recall. Their first task was therefore to secure as much wealth for themselves in as short a time as possible. What happened after them, what was the condition of the people under their exactions, these were matters of little interest. In enforcing their authority they were aided by a natural ferocity before which

the Kashmiris remained quelled and terrorised, without the spirit to protest or revolt.

Amir Khan Jawan Sher, one of the early Governors, despoiled the Mughul gardens. They were traces of a régime which could now be insulted with impunity. He has to his credit, however, the building of the Amira Kadal, the busy first bridge of modern Srinagar and the palace of Shergarhi beside it.

Asad Khan, his successor, gave unchecked expression to his sadistic tendencies. The Hindu Pandits, as *Kafirs* or infidels, were naturally the first objects of his persecution, but they were followed closely by the Shi'as, who as heretics to the true faith of Islam were also worthy of death, and by the turbulent tribes inhabiting the hills adjoining the road between Kabul and Kashmir. These were the Bombas of the Jhelam Valley between Muzaffarabad and Baramula, and no quarter was given to any who had the mischance to fall into Afghan hands. The atrocities of Asad Khan included tying up Pandits by their hands back to back and throwing them into the lake. The hated *jizya*, a tax on Hindus, was reimposed and numerous disabilities were placed on the Pandits and their religion. Madad Khan, who followed Asad Khan, continued his practices and was even considered by the people to have surpassed him. Ata' Muhammad Khan built the fort on Hari Parbat above Akbar's city of Nagar Nagar. Women rather than torture were his reigning passion and beautiful Hindu girls had their features defaced by their parents rather than that they should attract the attention of the agents of this insatiable ruler.

Forster's visit to Kashmir fell in the time of Asad Khan. In travelling to Kashmir he complained of the unjustified exactions of the officers at each small customs house to Zulfikr Khan, an officer in the service of the Raja of Jammu whose party he had joined. Zulfikr Khan, however, assured him "that the chief of Kashmir, though a youth, stands in the foremost

rank of tyrants, and that the exactions of a Hindu custom house will soon be forgotten in the oppression of his government. The one, he said, affects a trifling portion of property, the other involves fortune and life." He writes also that during his stay he often saw the harsh treatment which the people received from their masters "who rarely issued an order without showing the side of their hatchet, a common weapon of the Afghans". The people were oppressed grievously, had to endure evils most mortifying to human nature, and were insulted with it all. Unfortunately the sympathy which he felt for the Kashmiris at the beginning soon died away. Experience, as he terms it, drove him to the conclusion that he had never known "a national body of men more impregnated with the principles of vice than the natives of Kashmir", and so far from pitying them, he came to feel that they deserved their lot.

The description which Forster gives of Asad Khan illustrates the character of this ruler. "Asad Khan, the present governor of Kashmir, of the Afghan tribe, succeeded his father Hadji Kareem Dad, a domestic officer of Ahmed Shah Duranny, and who was at the death of that prince, advanced to the government of Kashmir by Timur Shah, as a reward for quelling the rebellion of Amir Khan, who has already been mentioned. Though the Kashmirians exclaim with bitterness at the administration of Hadji Kareem Dad, who was notorious for his wanton cruelties and insatiable avarice; often, for trivial offences, throwing the inhabitants, tied by the back in pairs, into the river, plundering their property and forcing their women of every description; yet they say he was a systematical tyrant, and attained his purposes, however atrocious, through a fixed medium. They hold a different language in speaking of the son, whom they denominate the Zaulim Khan, a Persian phrase, which expresses a tyrant without discernment; and, if the smaller portion of the charges against him are true, the appellation is fitly bestowed. At the

age of eighteen years, he has few of the vices of youth; he is not addicted to the pleasures of the harem, nor to wine; he does not even smoke the hookah. But his acts of ferocity exceed common belief; they would seem to originate in the wildest caprice, and to display a temper rarely seen in the creation of man.

“That you may form some specific knowledge of the character of this, let me call him, infernal despot, I will mention some facts which were communicated during my residence in the province. While he was passing with his court, under one of the wooden bridges of the city, on which a crowd of people had assembled to observe the procession, he levelled his musket at an opening which he saw in the pathway, and being an expert marksman, he shot to death an unfortunate spectator. Soon after his accession to the government, he accused his mother of infidelity to her husband, and in defiance of the glaring absurdity which appeared in the allegation as well as the anxious entreaties of the woman who had borne him to save her from shame, she was ignominiously driven from the palace; and about the same time, on a like frivolous pretence, he put one of his wives to death. A film on one of his eyes had baffled the attempts of many operators, and being impatient at the want of success, he told the last surgeon who had been called in, that if the disorder was not remedied within a limited time, allowing but a few days, his belly should be cut open; the man failed in the cure and Asad Khan verified his threat . . .”

“Asad Khan, had, in the first three months of his government, become an object of such terror to the Kashmirians, that the casual mention of his name produced an instant horror and an involuntary supplication of the aid of their prophet.”

Unable to secure relief from such tyranny by their own efforts, the Kashmiris naturally turned elsewhere and appealed to Ranjit Singh to come to their help. In 1814 a

Sikh army attempted an invasion by the Pir Panjal route, but was repulsed, and the Pathan Governor of the time showed his exultation at his success by renewed and fiercer persecution of the Hindus. A further personal appeal to Ranjit by Birbal Dar, a Brahman who managed to escape from Srinagar to Lahore, resulted in another expedition by the Sikhs. Mir Diwan Chand, Ranjit's most competent general, who was accompanied by Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, was in command of the Sikh force which in 1819 expelled the Afghans and brought Kashmir under the rule of the Sikhs.

v. *The Period of the Sikhs.* 1819-1846

The ruler of the Sikhs at the time of Kashmir's annexation was Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. Ranjit had an ardent desire to visit his new province and wrote a letter: "Would that only once in my life I could enjoy the delight of wandering through the gardens of Kashmir fragrant with almond blossoms, and of sitting on the fresh green turf". For various reasons his visit was postponed, and he died without having seen the almond blossoms he had longed to see or the green turf on which he had desired to sit.

Ranjit was favourably disposed towards Europeans and had in his employment French, Italian, German and Hungarian officers. One of these was General Allard, the friend of Jacquemont, who received as his salary 40,000 rupees per annum. To prevent him saving enough money to enable him to return and settle in his own country, the General was compelled to spend the whole of his income each year. Ranjit received European travellers royally and pressed office on several of them. The origin of this policy of friendliness to the Europeans is attributed by a contemporary writer to an incident

which, although small in itself, nevertheless made a deep impression on the Maharaja.

The incident occurred when Sir Charles Metcalfe, the envoy of the East India Company, was in Amritsar whither Ranjit and his court had gone for the celebration of the Hindu festival of Holi. Metcalfe's escort, consisting of Sunni Muhammadans, were at the same time going in procession, celebrating the death of the martyrs Hasan and Husain, when the Sikhs, enraged at the presence of the hated Muslims so near their most sacred place, attacked them in a fanatical rush. The escort, however, formed itself in position, faced the enraged multitude squarely, and by acting as a disciplined body, was able not only to stand its ground and meet the assault, but also to counter-attack and put to flight the large crowds of the populace and the fanatical Sikh soldiers. In the meantime Ranjit Singh had been informed that fighting had broken out in the city, and at once went to the scene, expecting to find the English envoy with his officers and attendants ruthlessly massacred, and wondering no doubt what reparation he would be required to make. His arrival coincided with the counter-attack of the Envoy's escort, and the astonished Maharaja beheld the enraged crowds and the fierce soldiers fleeing ignominiously before the determined efforts of a small body of men whom they had come out to destroy. From that moment Ranjit realized the value of disciplined action over individual feats of bravery and began to employ European officers in order to improve the discipline of his troops. From this time also, he realized how formidable a war with the East India Company would be, and seems to have decided that his best policy was to come to an agreement with the Company and to seek the expansion of his territories in other directions. Consequently we have his campaigns to the west and north, by which, amongst other places, Kashmir was brought under his rule.

In appearance, Ranjit Singh, unlike the majority of Sikhs,

was unprepossessing. His face was pitted with smallpox, one eye was gone, and the sight of the other was defective, so that he had to peer closely at anything he wanted to see. His nose was bulbous, his thin lips were tightly drawn over his teeth and his voice was harsh. His large head was sunk on his shoulders and his stature was short. His dress in the cold weather was of an ugly yellow shade, and in his later life he wore no ornaments, although his jewels included the Koh-i-Noor diamond. Nor did he use any throne in his darbar or court. "My sword," he was wont to say, "procures me all the distinction I desire; I am quite indifferent to external pomp". His path to the throne had been marked by a disregard for the sanctity of life or of any kind of trust or promise; nor did considerations of gratitude or friendship ever deter him from ruthlessly pursuing his own advantage. He was devoted entirely to himself and although he had favourites, they were never allowed to obtain any kind of domination over him.

He had built up the Sikhs to a position of great strength and had extended their dominion firmly over a wide area. He had, however, no consciousness of Sikh nationhood, of any unity or existence of his people transcending his own achievements. In keeping with this self-centred policy, he was indifferent to what happened after him. He showed little concern over the question of the succession and the desire to hand on the Sikh community as a strong autonomous body perpetuating his own achievements had no influence on his mind. He did not look on himself as the founder of a dynasty or the creator of a nation.

Nevertheless the position which Ranjit had won for himself showed him to possess unusual gifts and abilities. Amongst these was that energy of mind which enabled him in the interviews he granted to people to gain a masterly insight into the subject under discussion, to reveal incompetence or to penetrate duplicity on the part of his officers. Another was that strange genius of personality by which his word received

unquestioning and instant obedience. This is a mysterious gift which appears in a number of the great Oriental figures—the Mongol conqueror Genghiz Khan, to mention one example—and it is one which is quickly recognized by eastern peoples. It is a gift that is the more striking when it appears against a background of slackness and unreliability.

Ranjit had a passion for horses and delighted to show his stud to visitors. Few presents pleased him more than the gift of a fine animal and the donor was often rewarded with the revenues of some village or estate. In keeping with his love for horses, he showed himself at his best on horseback, where his whole bearing was one of vigour, strength and ability to control.

During the short period when the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh exercised power over North-west India, there was a comparatively large number of governors of Kashmir, many of whom held office only for a short time. Moti Ram, the first Sikh governor, celebrated the change from Muslim rule by forbidding the killing of cows, and put to death several people who were found guilty of this practice. One of his subordinates, in addition to doing his master's work, also exerted himself on his own behalf to such an extent that he amassed a private fortune of thirty lakhs of rupees. His rapacity, however, over-reached itself, for his exactions were on such a scale that they came to the notice of Ranjit Singh. The latter well knew how to deal with such practices, and the whole of the thirty lakhs soon passed into the Maharaja's treasury.

Hari Singh, who succeeded Moti Ram was a man of great personal bravery, who had earlier distinguished himself by killing a tiger with his sword when alone in the jungle. Kripa Ram, the next governor, is perhaps the most interesting of all the Sikh rulers in the Valley, and his pleasure-loving reign recalls that of Jahangir. He was devoted to the enjoyments which the Valley offers so lavishly, so much so that he was referred to as 'Kripa Shroin',—Kripa, "the sound of the boat-

paddle". Wherever he went, he was accompanied by dancing-girls, and even the rowers of his official barge were women. It was in his reign (1827) that a severe earthquake took place, followed a few months later by the outbreak of a severe epidemic of cholera. A census of the dead was begun but had to be abandoned when the deaths increased rapidly and the life of the city became disorganized. During the epidemic Kripa Ram retired to Nishat Bagh. Having enquired from the Muhammadan maulvis the reason of the visitation, he was told that it had been sent because the Muslims were not allowed to eat beef nor their mullahs to call the summons to prayer from the mosques. Kripa Ram was apparently convinced by the answer, for he allowed both requests, but discontinued them as soon as the epidemic was over.

The life of pleasure and display which Kripa Ram followed was naturally to the taste of the Kashmiris who could well understand such conduct, and with them Kripa Ram was very popular. The taxation indeed went on, and the Governor was able to extract a yearly revenue of forty-two lakhs of rupees to send to the Maharaja, but the régime of inhuman cruelty had passed and people were able to enjoy some of the pleasures that life had to offer. The end of Kripa Ram's rule came in dramatic circumstances. He had unfortunately incurred the enmity of Dhyani Singh, the favourite and powerful minister of Ranjit Singh, who had determined to crush him and only awaited a suitable opportunity. Kripa Ram, ignorant of the intrigues going on against him, had arranged a magnificent festival on the Dal Lake. He himself occupied the pavilion on the Char Chenar Island and boats of every description and in the greatest numbers were collected around. The close of the fine summer's evening was the signal for a great display of fireworks and for the discharge of musket and cannon from the Fort. On the island the nautch was being witnessed by the Governor and his court, while refreshment was being handed round. Into this scene of revelry came a

chill portent of disaster. The *chobdar* or herald of the Maharaja, carrying the silver mace of his authority, arrived, his boat thrusting itself in the name of the King through the throng, and presented himself at the very height of the festivities before the startled Governor. The message was for Kripa Ram to repair at once to Lahore. No delay could be permitted. Kripa Ram had to leave the others to continue the revelries, and by next morning was already at the foot of the Pir Panjal Pass. What the charge was that he had to face is not certain, but he was censured and deposed by Ranjit Singh who had no doubt adopted entirely the viewpoint of Dhyan Singh. Kripa Ram having experienced the disillusionment that can attend the service of an earthly prince, renounced the world. He who had been an avowed hedonist and worshipper of luxury, now became an ascetic at Benares, and the last picture we have is of him sitting naked on the banks of the Ganges, making sure that on his death he would enter into that realm where injustice is righted and the changes and chances of this world do not exist.

After some temporary arrangements, Sher Singh, who was reputed to be a son of the Maharaja himself, was appointed Governor. His rule was not a successful one, as he occupied himself more with his own amusement than with the art of governing. A famine made the distress of the people doubly acute, and Khushal Singh, one of Ranjit's most prominent ministers, was sent to improve conditions. His intervention, however, was of little value, and the famine, as always, caused many people to emigrate.

Mihan Singh came as Governor in 1833. He was known, even amongst his own soldiers, as the 'Colonel Sahib'. He found Kashmir a stricken and depopulated country, but by importing grain seed and livestock and by making advances for cultivation, he brought back some degree of prosperity. He was the Governor at the time of the visits of Wolff, Hugel, Vigne and Henderson. Both Hugel and Vigne mention his love of

wine on account of which they found it difficult to get an audience with him. Vigne writes of him: "At breakfast he ate largely of almonds stewed in butter, and never went to bed sober by any chance." In the end he was murdered by his own soldiers who were dissatisfied because he had referred their demand for an increase in pay to Lahore instead of granting it at once.

The murder of Mihan Singh was punished by Gulab Singh and when order had been restored, Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din was made Governor. During his period of office, the Bombas whose leader Sultan Zabardast Khan had been made a prisoner in Srinagar, harassed the Sikhs with such effect that their imprisoned leader was set free and returned to them. It was this same chieftain who had prevented Moorcroft's departure by the Jhelam Valley, and had forced him to return to Srinagar and leave by the Pir Panjal route. In 1845 Muhi-ud-Din's son Imam-ud-Din became Governor, but in the following year Kashmir passed by treaty with the British out of the possession of the Sikhs into that of Gulab Singh. Imam-ud-Din was prepared to dispute the transfer and called in the hill tribes of the west, who took advantage of this summons to plunder the Valley. Their resistance, however, was not long-lived, and on the threat of attack by a force of the East India Company, Imam-ud-Din surrendered and Gulab Singh took possession in 1846 of a territory that he had coveted from his youth.

The condition of Kashmir under the Sikhs was no doubt an improvement on that under the Afghans. The Hindus, to whom the Sikhs are in many ways very near, benefited most and the disabilities under which they had been unable to practise the rites of their religion were removed. It was now the turn of the Muslims to suffer. Mosques were closed, the call to prayer was forbidden and capital punishment was meted out for the killing of a cow. The Sikh régime was, however, by no means a satisfactory one. The Sikhs were con-

querors who owed their power purely to their military capacity and were interested only in reaping the advantages of their conquest. A policy of settled government or administration with the welfare of the people as the main object was something foreign to their outlook. They looked on the Kashmiri with contempt and if one was killed by a Sikh, the compensation allowed to his family was four rupees if a Hindu and two if a Muslim. Moorcroft notes that when he was leaving Kashmir some of the people who had attached themselves to his train were seized by the Sikhs to act as unpaid porters. They were tied together by a cord fastening their arms and driven along the road, and at night, to prevent their escape, their legs were bound with ropes.

The main passion of the Sikhs was avarice. The people were, as Moorcroft writes, "exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers", and this account is confirmed by the other travellers who came to Kashmir during this period. Hugel relates an incident that occurred when he was travelling near Avantipura. He met on the road two Kashmiris, one driving the other in front of him with blows. The unfortunate man would stop from time to time to entreat the compassion of his fellow, but his appeals were only met with renewed blows. Hugel stopped to find out the cause of this strange scene, and learned that the man who was being beaten was a thief who had just been caught in the act by the other. He was then appealed to and the others waited to hear his judgment. At this moment a party of Sikh soldiers appeared and at once a miraculous change came over the two disputants. They protested their friendship and affection for each other, the thief put his arm in that of the person whom he had robbed and the two walked away with every appearance of close intimacy, taking care, however, that they removed themselves from the Sikhs as fast as they could. It was explained later to Hugel that if the Sikhs had intervened, everything in dis-

pute would have been confiscated and in addition, a fee for the judge's decision would have been exacted. This is in keeping with a note of Jacquemont, who writes that the mother of some hill rajas had died, leaving nine lakhs of rupees (900,000): "Her children are quarrelling over the estate, and Ranjit has just sent M. Allard to the spot to remove all cause of quarrel—that is, the nine lakhs". Hugel notes also how when he first arrived in Srinagar, he had publicly told the *sarraf* or broker on whom he had several letters of credit, that he would apply for money to him when he required it. The effect of this innocent remark on the *sarraf* was one of consternation. He replied that he had no money and that it would be difficult for him to collect any. It was only later when he saw Hugel privately that he was able to explain that if it was known that he possessed wealth, the Sikhs would immediately have had it from him.

The consequences of these exactions naturally showed themselves in the impoverishment of the country, and the revenue remitted to Lahore fell drastically as the Sikh régime continued, from sixty-two lakhs of small rupees at the beginning to less than ten lakhs at the end. Begging increased greatly, the country becoming, as Moorcroft writes, "infested by numerous and audacious bands of mendicants". The unhappy condition of the people was aggravated by natural disaster. Earthquake, disease and famine added to the miseries of the populace and many sought relief by emigration. The Valley presented a depopulated appearance, and Vigne, describing the district of Chaugam in the eastern portion, states that he "remarked the numerous but ruined villages that were scattered over the surface of this once thickly peopled district. Many of the houses were tenantless and deserted; the fruit was dropping unheeded from the trees; the orchards were overgrown with a profusion of wild hemp and wild indigo". The change from Sikh to Dogra rule altered this picture, and by giving security and stability, built up the Kashmir of today.

vi. *The Period of the Dogra Rajputs. 1846 to 1952*

To understand how Kashmir passed into the hands of the Dogras, it is necessary to consider the later history of the Sikhs and especially the career of Gulab Singh.

Gulab Singh belonged to a Rajput family which like many other Rajputs had in the course of time been driven up into the outer Himalayas by the Muslim invasions of India. Gulab Singh, who was born in 1792, was sent at an early age to his grandfather's house where he became proficient in martial exercises. At the age of seventeen he ran away from his grandfather's and after some adventures came in 1809 into the service of Ranjit Singh. A little later his brother Dhyan Singh also received an appointment at the Lahore court.

It is said that the real rise of the brothers to power dated from the time when they were joined at court by their youngest brother Suchet Singh. All three were of handsome appearance, but the youngest, Suchet, then a boy of about twelve years old, was exceptionally beautiful and graceful, and these attractive youths soon won the favour of the Maharaja, whose own appearance, by way of contrast, was repellent. In any case, Gulab Singh's military skill and fearlessness were of great help to Ranjit Singh in the various campaigns by which the latter extended his sway, and it was not long before the three brothers received advancement. Dhyan Singh was given the influential post of Deorhi or Chamberlain, the official who granted or denied access to the person of the Maharaja. Gulab Singh became Raja of Jammu and Suchet Singh Raja of Ramnagar, an estate not far from Jammu.

Once he had been installed at Jammu, Gulab Singh preferred to spend most of his time there, only going to Lahore when he was summoned. He was a strong ruler and over matters concerning money he exercised a close personal super-

vision that was an effective check on any misappropriation on the part of his officials. His energy and success in business of this kind led Ranjit to give him responsible posts in the collection of the revenue for his own state.

Ranjit Singh died in 1839. The following year his son Kharrak Singh who succeeded him also died, and when returning from the rites connected with his father's death, Nao Nihal Singh, the son of Kharrak Singh, was accidentally killed by the fall of an archway. Gulab Singh's eldest son, Randhir Singh, who was accompanying the new king, was also killed at the same time.

The deaths of Ranjit's two legitimate successors within so short a time brought rival claimants to the throne. A compromise was agreed upon by which Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit, became the ruler, but the uncertainty induced by these rapid changes and the absence of any dominating personality were soon shown in the events that followed.

Sher Singh, now established as Maharaja at Lahore, considered that Gulab Singh and his brothers had become too powerful and that they constituted a threat to his own position. He accordingly determined to have them put out of the way and summoning Dhyan Singh to his court, received him with assurances of friendship that were intended to annul any suspicion. Other Sikh leaders, however, jealous of Dhyan Singh's position, and hating Sher Singh, resolved to use this opportunity as a means for the destruction of both. One of them, Ajit Singh, evolved a plan by which it was hoped that Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh would mutually dispose of each other. Dhyan Singh was informed that he had been summoned to Lahore to be murdered while Sher Singh was told that Dhyan Singh had come determined to assassinate him. Without waiting for his duplicity to take effect, however, Ajit Singh precipitated matters by himself murdering Sher Singh. He then turned on Dhyan Singh, and charging him with treason, killed him also (1843). A period of anarchy then ensued, and in

1844 Suchet Singh was killed when fighting in the support of a rival claimant for the throne. Hira Singh, the son of the murdered Dhyān Singh, met his death in the same year.

Of the Jammu brothers only Gulab Singh was now left. The Sikh party in power at Lahore became hostile to him and sought his destruction. An attack against him in Jammu failed, but he had to pay a fine of sixty-eight lakhs of rupees. Within a year, however, the whole position was reversed, as the Sikhs had begun a campaign against the British, for which they ardently desired the help of Gulab Singh, of whose military skill they were fully conscious. They appealed to Gulab Singh to become their leader, and after some natural hesitation to assist those responsible almost for the extermination of his family, Gulab Singh agreed to become their minister for the purpose of reaching a settlement with the British. After the battle of Sobraon in February, 1846, when the Sikhs were defeated, he concluded negotiations with the British. In the treaty which followed, a Sikh government at Lahore was recognized and certain Sikh territory together with an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees (fifteen million rupees) was ceded to the British. This agreement was followed a week later by a separate treaty with Gulab Singh himself at Amritsar by which the hilly or mountainous country east of the River Indus and west of the River Ravi was transferred to him and his heirs, and in consideration of the transfer, Gulab Singh paid to the British a sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees.

In this way Gulab Singh came into possession of Kashmir, in addition to Jammu and the other territories which he already held. The boundaries of his territory were not definitely fixed by the terms of the treaty—the country was not very well known at the time—and much of what became the Maharaja's territory, e.g. Gilgit and Leh, would not comply with the above description. A boundary commission and

later re-arrangements and transfers, however, fixed the present limits. On the 9th November, 1846, Gulab Singh entered Srinagar as its ruler .

When he took over Kashmir, Gulab Singh had no easy task. The country was in a disturbed state, but the Raja was indefatigable in his attention to every detail of business and was able to make his rule effective throughout his whole domain. Twelve years after acquiring Kashmir, he died, his last action being the donation of more than a lakh of rupees in charitable gifts.

The character of Gulab Singh is a complex one. Much can be said against him. His treatment of other hill rajas was unscrupulous and ambition for the private interest of himself and his brothers led him to many doubtful actions. Of him Cunningham¹ writes: "He will indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions". The latter quality indeed was one of his major passions. It was said of him that any of his subjects could secure his attention, even although he was surrounded by a throng of people, by holding up a rupee and shouting 'Maharaja, a petition'. He would at once make for the money and having secured it, would then fulfil his part by hearing the case and giving his decision.

Yet Gulab Singh was a man of ability and his character has many attractive points. His personal bravery was never doubted. He may have preferred to gain his ends by treachery, breach of trust or stratagem, but he was always ready for warfare if that course were indicated. As a youth of sixteen he had distinguished himself by his fearless conduct in the battle of Jammu against the forces that Ranjit had sent to capture the city. On a later occasion at the siege of Multan one of the Sikh nobles to whom Ranjit Singh was deeply attached, was killed. Ranjit wished his body to be recovered,

¹ History of the Sikhs.

and it was Gulab Singh alone who braved the fire of the enemy and retrieved the body.

His loyalty to the Sikhs, after he had entered their service, was another noteworthy characteristic. No doubt it was a loyalty that was in line with his own self-interest, for Ranjit rewarded him royally; but even after Ranjit's death, when the Sikhs had been responsible for the murder of his brothers and had become hostile to himself, he still declared himself loyal to the Sikh government and, as he might well have done, did not turn against it in its difficulties with the British. Indeed Sir Henry Lawrence who at a private interview reminded Gulab Singh of the unworthy treatment his family had received from the masters they had served so well, received the reply that his brothers were the subjects of the Lahore government which had the right to treat them as it thought best.

With his loyalty went his devotion to his religion. Gulab Singh was a Rajput, belonging to the warrior caste of Hinduism. The Sikhs, who had come out from Hinduism, had abolished caste and had formed themselves into a distinctive sect which under the leadership of Ranjit Singh, had established its supremacy over the whole of North-West India. The Sikhs remained, however, in many respects very close to the Hindus, and in becoming a Sikh, a Hindu did not—as he does not today—make such a sharp separation from his family and his former mode of life or incur the same harsh penalties as follow on his conversion to Christianity or Islam. It would have been easy for Gulab Singh to have become a Sikh in religion and it would no doubt have been politic for him. Yet throughout he remained a Hindu of great orthodoxy. He did not neglect pilgrimages to sacred places or the founding of temples, and the veneration of the cow and the prohibition against killing it, were followed throughout his dominion. Even when it concerned the training and discipline of his army, the words of command were taken from Sanskrit, the

ancient writing of the sacred books of the Hindus. Whether as a result of his religious practices or whether due to a better natural disposition, it is true that Gulab Singh's private life stood out as one of purity against the immorality of the Sikhs. The debauchery and licentiousness of the Lahore court were unknown in that of Jammu.

It is a matter for comment that Ranjit passed over so many of the other Sikh leaders in favour of Gulab Singh and his brothers. For this there were no doubt several causes, many of them of a personal nature, such as the ability of the three brothers and the undoubted value of their services. There was however, a further reason which Ranjit was astute enough to perceive. This concerned the balance of power within his state. The establishment of a Rajput dynasty in the north of his kingdom served as a counterpoise both against the power of the other Sikh leaders who were by no means easy to control and against the Muhammadans from whom Ranjit had himself wrested his kingdom. Exactly the same considerations applied with the British when they made the Treaty of Amritsar, and explain in part the facility with which the cession of the hilly or mountainous country between the Indus and the Ravi to Gulab Singh took place. They are referred to in despatch No. 8, of 19th March, 1846, from the Governor-General Lord Hardinge, to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the East India Company :

“I request your Honourable Committee's attention to the treaty made with the Maharaja Gulab Singh, by which a Rajput principality of the hill districts has been constructed extending from the Ravi to the Indus, and including the province of Kashmir. The Maharaja is declared by the treaty independent of the Lahore State and under the protection of the British Government. As it was of the utmost importance to weaken the Sikh nation before its Government could be re-established, I considered the appropriation of this part of the ceded territory to be the most expedient measure I could

devise for that purpose, by which a Rajput dynasty will act as a counterpoise against the power of a Sikh prince, the son of the late Ranjit Singh, and both will have a common interest in resisting attempts on the part of any Muhammadan power to establish an independent state on this side of the Indus, or even to occupy Peshawar."

It is also true that Gulab Singh was ably served by his own officers and the fact that he could evoke and retain service of such a quality is itself a tribute to his ability and personality. Of these the most remarkable was Zorawar Singh, who, beginning as a private in Gulab Singh's army, rose to the position of Wazir and leader of his forces. The manner in which Zorawar first came to the notice of Gulab Singh was one well calculated to commend him in the latter's eyes. He had shown how economies could be made in the feeding of the army, and being given the chance to prove his scheme, he succeeded to such purpose that Gulab Singh gave him as reward the governorship of Kishtwar.

Zorawar's next employment was in a design which Gulab Singh seems long to have contemplated—the conquest of Ladakh. In marching on Ladakh, Zorawar avoided Kashmir, the Sikh Governor of which would by no means have been ready to assist, and meeting the Ladakhi army at Sanku in the Suru Valley not far from Kargil, he defeated them and drove them over the hills to Shergol, near Mulbeck (16th August, 1834). Occupying Suru, Zorawar continued his invasion and met the Ladakhi forces again at Pashkyum, about seven miles beyond Kargil on the main Leh road. Here the Ladakhis made a brave stand, and the fighting seems to have been evenly balanced until on their leader being slain by a musket-ball, the Ladakhis took to flight, and Zorawar was left as victor. With the winter approaching, Zorawar was anxious to conclude a treaty by which the submission of the Ladakhi king to Dogra rule would be recognized and tribute would be paid. Negotiations for this purpose were begun, but fell through,

and the Dogras had to retreat for safety to the Suru Valley.

Had the Ladakhis been wise, they would have attacked during the winter, when the Dogras were unable to use their muskets effectively on account of the bitter cold and the danger of frostbite. They left off their attack, however, until the spring and when they eventually appeared before the Dogra army, the sun was beginning to revive the frozen countryside. Characteristically, the Ladakhis had come unprepared, without any plan of campaign, and the Dogras were able to watch their leaders as they formed little groups and argued indecisively as to what should be done. It was when the Ladakhis, still not knowing when to begin their attack, had settled down to their tea of butter and salt and their barley flour, that the Dogras sallied out and with little loss to themselves routed the whole Ladakhi army. Zorawar then advanced into Ladakh, receiving the submission of the various villages on the way, and at Bazgu met King Tsepal, who had come out to negotiate the conditions of surrender. These were concluded at Leh, and while allowing King Tsepal to remain ruler with the Dogras as the paramount power, they required an indemnity of fifty thousand rupees for the expenses of the war and an annual tribute of twenty thousand rupees.

Gulab Singh's conquest of Ladakh was not pleasing to the Sikhs generally, and when Zorawar had left Leh, Mihan Singh, the Governor of Kashmir, incited the Ladakhis to rebel. The next few years were disturbed ones, with Zorawar going to Suru, Zaskar and Leh to quell the revolts. The last of these revolts was one organized by Sukamir, a man from Kargil district. Unfortunately, just as Sukamir and his abettors were collecting a force at Leh, Zorawar himself arrived at the Ladakh capital and on enquiring the meaning of the large number of people, was told that they were petitioners who had come with their various complaints to be decided by him. Zorawar replied that as they were too numerous for him to hear all, it would be sufficient if the main body

dispersed and left their leaders. In this way Zorawar killed the rebellion before it had time to mature. His cross-questioning soon revealed that Sukamir was the real instigator, and to punish him and warn the others, he had Sukamir's hand cut off and displayed on a pole at the Khalatse bridge. Unfortunately, it is said, the hand was stolen by a cat at night, and the villagers in panic replaced it by another which they hacked off from the body of one of their lamas who had just died.

The subjugation of Ladakh was followed in 1841 by that of Baltistan. A family quarrel in the Raja of Skardu's household gave Zorawar a pretext for invasion. Ahmad Shah, the friend of Vigne, had quarrelled with his eldest son Muhammad Shah and had nominated his second son for the succession. Muhammad Shah then foolishly repaired to Zorawar and invoked his aid. Zorawar at once prepared for an invasion. He enlisted a force of Ladakhis and sent them under their own generals into Baltistan by the Chorbat Pass and Khapallu. True to their genius, the Ladakhi soldiers had a peaceful journey and finally entered Skardu without having seen the enemy or fired a shot. Zorawar himself led his own Dogra force by the Dras and Indus rivers. The path at that time followed the right bank of the Indus for some distance, then crossed over to the left. The Dogras had crossed over to the right bank, but when they wished to re-cross, the Baltis were in wait for them and destroyed their advance party. The Dogras now found themselves in a serious plight. The country was inhospitable, the winter had set in and it seemed that nothing but a melancholy retreat was possible.

From this position they were extricated by the advice of the villagers of Dah, a frontier village between Ladakh and Baltistan, who showed them how a temporary bridge could be made. Logs of wood were obtained and fastened to the river bank so as to project into the water. The water, impeded by this obstacle, soon formed a thick coating of ice which cemented the logs firmly together. When this had taken place, other logs

were fastened to the original ones and the process repeated until a rough but satisfactory bridge had been formed. On account of the negligence of the Baltis who thought themselves secure and considered it only a matter of time before the enemy would be defeated by cold and hunger, the Dogras were able to cross the Indus secretly by night and fall on the Baltis as they were asleep. The Baltis then fled to Skardu, and entrenched themselves in their rock fortress there, but a siege soon brought their supplies of water to an end and surrender became inevitable. Muhammad Shah was made raja under the Dogras and Ahmad Shah and his other son taken off as captives.

Having subdued Ladakh and Baltistan, Zorawar now turned his attention to Yarkand and Central Asia, and began his campaign by an invasion of Tibet. He had to penetrate a long distance into the elevated plains of Tibet before, on the 10th December, 1841, at Tirtapur, his army found itself face to face with a Tibetan force. The sufferings of the Dogras must have been intense. The piercing wind of these wide open spaces and the intense cold that is the result of the altitude can only be endured by those accustomed to such rigours from their birth. To make matters worse, snow and hail fell during the night and some of the soldiers died from exposure. Trenches were built, and after the fighting had gone on for three days, Zorawar himself was hit by a bullet. The Tibetans, seeing this, followed up their advantage and in a fierce attack by them, Zorawar was killed. On his death the rest of the army lost courage and took to flight. A small fraction only reached Leh in safety. The Tibetans took their prisoners, including Ahmad Shah and his son, to Lhasa, where it appears they were treated kindly.

Zorawar's defeat naturally led to a revolt in Leh, but another Dogra force sent from Jammu soon quelled this. A Tibetan army which had advanced as far as the Pangong Lake was then engaged and defeated, and on this both sides

came to terms. The Dogras became the rulers of Ladakh, the Ladakh king was given the village of Stog on the other side of the Indus from Leh as his estate, and trade with Lhasa was resumed. Prisoners were also exchanged. Dogras who had settled down in Lhasa were returned with their Tibetan wives and Tibetans came back from Jammu with their Indian wives. The position thus reached in 1842 obtained till modern times and Ladakh settled down to a century of peace.

Zorawar Singh was the most capable of the Dogra generals and his early death no doubt deprived Gulab Singh of one who would have been of great service to him in consolidating his power over Kashmir. His abilities were never severely tested, as the Ladakhis and the Baltis are not naturally war-like peoples, but one can recognize his skill in conducting his campaigns successfully in regions that are barren and inaccessible, subject to scorching heat in summer and almost unendurable cold in winter, and in which the altitude renders every exertion a painful labour. Zorawar seems to have been imbued with the single aim of conquest for his master. All else was irrelevant. The trophies of war that fell into his hands, the tribute moneys that were collected, were sent off forthwith to the Jammu treasury, without even a letter of explanation, so that Gulab Singh had to find out from others the sources of his new revenues. He was indeed a man after Gulab Singh's own heart, and no one could have mourned more sincerely for his death than Gulab Singh himself.

It remains now to trace briefly the affairs of Gilgit and the surrounding territories. The rulers of Gilgit before the Sikhs annexed it to Kashmir, seem to have been very unstable, occupying power only for a short time before they were murdered or expelled. These changes probably only affected a few powerful families. The majority of the people would carry on their lives quietly in cultivating the ground and submitting themselves to the ruler that fortune permitted to exercise

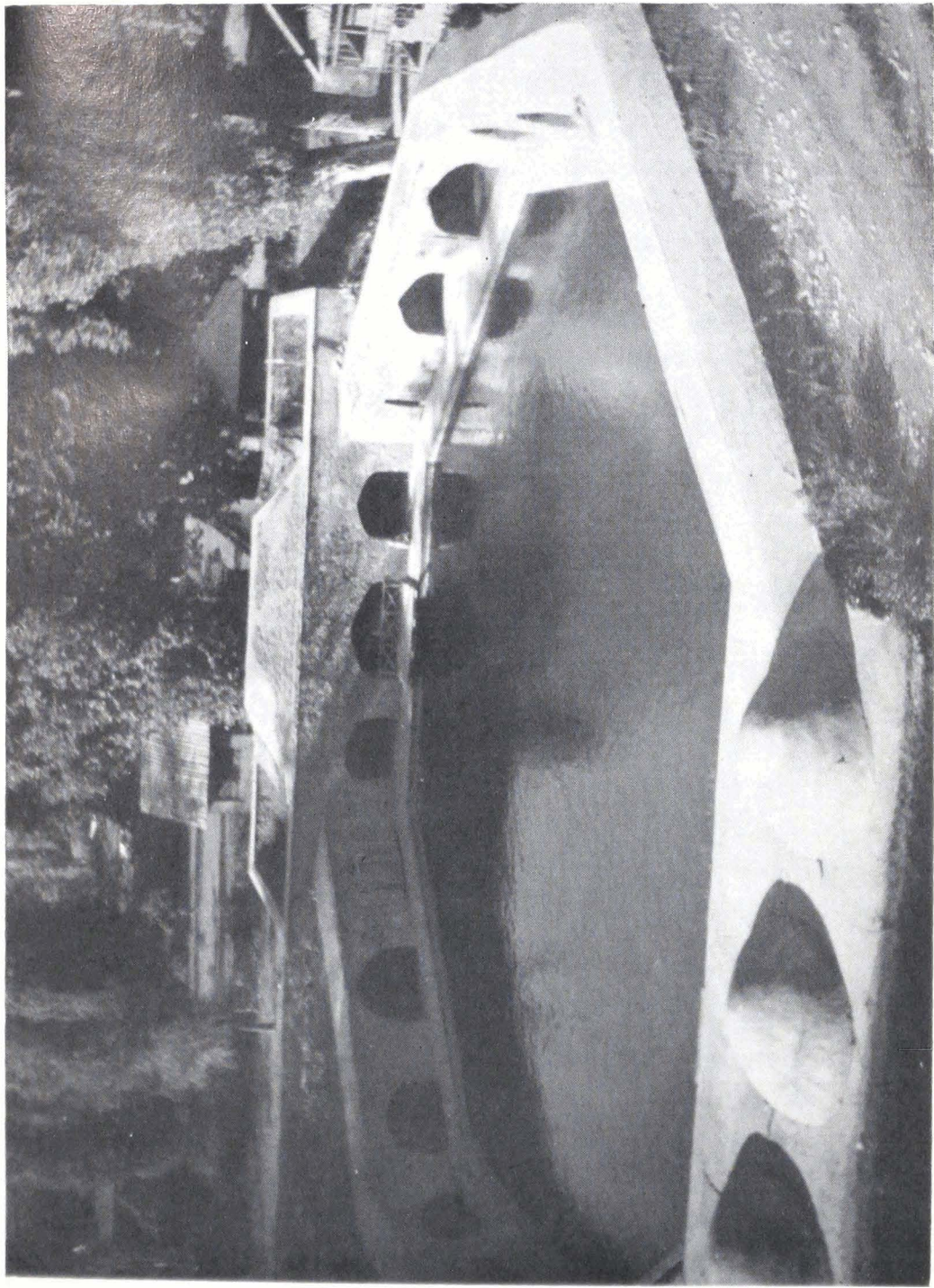
authority for the moment. In 1842, Nathu Shah, a Sikh commander, though himself a Muslim, occupied the fort at Astor. At the invitation of Karim Khan, the deposed ruler, he advanced to Gilgit and defeated the forces of Gaur Rahman, the ruler of Yasin, who had seized Gilgit. At a later encounter between the two forces, a truce was made by which the Sikhs were given Gilgit and a boundary was drawn delimiting the territory of Gaur Rahman. The Sikhs established themselves at Gilgit, but allowed Karim Khan a share in their authority.

When Kashmir was ceded to Gulab Singh in 1846, Gilgit was also handed over and Nathu Shah took service under the Dogras. The next year Gilgit was visited by Lieutenants Vans Agnew and Young of the Bengal Engineers, the first Europeans to see the country. At the instigation of the ruler of Hunza who was alarmed by their visit, some disturbances arose in which Nathu Shah was killed. These were however, soon quelled and the former position restored. In 1852 more serious fighting broke out. The Dogra forces at Gilgit and Naupura, an adjacent fort, were surrounded by Gaur Rahman. Bhup Singh, a Dogra commander, then advanced with reserves from Bunji and Astor to their relief but was surrounded at a *pari* beside the Gilgit River. Before, above and behind him, the forces of Gaur Rahman had managed to establish themselves. Beside him was the dangerous Gilgit River, running in flood, and opposite him on its other bank were the Hunza people, ready to cut off any who ventured to take to the river for escape. The enemy pretended to negotiate and promised supplies and safe passage if Bhup Singh would agree to withdraw. Bhup Singh foolishly consented and was kept waiting on in the hope of food supplies which were never intended to be delivered. Hunger and weakness soon incapacitated the Dogras and when their enemies saw that they had now nothing to fear, the attack began. Stones were rolled down from three sides, the Hunza men fired from the opposite bank, and in a short time Bhup Singh's force of about

a thousand men was almost completely annihilated. Gilgit and Naupura forts were then dealt with and their garrisons put to the sword. Thus just before Gulab Singh's death, Gilgit had to be given up and the Indus became the boundary of the state, with Bunji as its most northerly outpost.

In 1860 Ranbir Singh who had succeeded his father sent a force under Devi Singh which recaptured Gilgit without much opposition, Gaur Rahman having in the meantime died. Dogra influence was also established over the neighbouring states.

Towards the end of the century, no doubt because of its position on the frontier bordering Russia, which was then sending expeditions into Chitral and Hunza, Gilgit became a British Political Agency, with Major J. Biddulph as the first Political Agent (1877). In 1891 trouble broke out in Hunza-Nagar. The chiefs of both states had entered into agreements to stop raiding and to allow British officers to travel through their territories. In return they received allowances from the Government of India. They kept their agreements for two years, but no doubt finding a life of peace unnatural, they began their slave-raids again and marched against Chalt. Colonel Durand, the Political Agent at the time, forestalled them by occupying Chalt and the Hunza-Nagar force withdrew. By the seizure of Chalt, Col. Durand secured the Chaichar *pari* which in the hands of the Kanjuts, as the people of Hunza-Nagar are called, would have been a formidable obstacle. The Nagar people prepared to meet Col. Durand and his force of Gurkhas and others at Nilt where they had strengthened the fort and occupied what they considered an impregnable position on the cliffs above the deep Nilt ravine. The fort, however, was taken by assault, but the most difficult task of crossing the nullah and storming its defences remained. For eighteen days the two forces continued looking and firing at each other across the nullah, until the impasse was resolved by a Dogra soldier named Nagdu. He suggested



4. Vernag garden encloses a spring that is considered to be one of the sources of the Jhelam. The octagonal building was erected by the Emperor Jahangir in 1620.

a way of climbing the cliff on which the Nagar people were entrenched with a small party of men in such a way as to get up to the highest *sangar* or breastwork unnoticed, take it by storm, and using it as a vantage-ground, attack the numerous *sangars* in different places lower down. The plan was a bold one and it required men with the abilities of mountaineers, subject in addition to dangers that mountaineers are not called to face. The plan, although made difficult of accomplishment by the nature of the ground, was also aided by this, since the steepness of the cliff that had to be ascended prevented the attacking party from being seen by the Nagar men in the breastwork unless they leaned over and exposed themselves to such an extent that they would have been easy targets for the fire of their opponents. Consequently having got as far as they could by night, the attacking-party began the ascent of the cliff by daybreak. The *sangars* to be stormed, from which they could have been seen and fired at, were themselves subjected to such a heavy fire that the people inside them dared not look out. The attacking-party, composed of fifty Gurkhas followed by fifty Dogras under the charge of two British officers, was able to advance beyond the most dangerous spots before they were seen, and even then they were first discovered by the Hunza people on the other side of the river, who had been eagerly looking on. The storming-party, once detected, was subjected to a rain of stones, but the most vulnerable points had been passed and the cliff itself gave protection. Consequently they were able to work their way round to the flat ground on which the *sangars* had been constructed, and once there a hand-to-hand fight with bayonets and kukris soon secured the capture of the *sangars*. With the highest vantage-point having been taken, it was comparatively easy to dispose of the defenders of the lower *sangars*, and in a short time the Kanjuts were in general undisguised flight. For this expedition three officers received the Victoria Cross. This campaign brought about the submission of Hunza-Nagar and proved the

beginning of an era of great friendship with the people and chiefs of these two states.

Gulab Singh, who had died in 1857, was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh as Maharaja. On the latter's death in 1885 his son Pratap Singh came to the throne and reigned till 1925. Up to this year accordingly, a grandson of Gulab Singh was ruling over the State. The direct succession was then broken when Sir Hari Singh, a nephew of his predecessor Pratap Singh, was installed as ruler. The events which took place under Sir Hari Singh and which brought the Dogra hereditary rule to an end, can best be considered in a separate section.

Recent Years. 1. The Dispute with Pakistan

The story of Kashmir in recent years exemplifies the pattern of continual change to which the country has been subject throughout its long history.

In 1947 British rule ended in India and out of the undivided country two states were fashioned—India and Pakistan, the latter again being in two units of East and West Pakistan. Under British rule, in addition to those parts directly administered, India had contained a large number of states. The majority of these were small in area and population, but some were large in both respects, and their rulers preserved in their courts much of the ceremonial and splendour of ancient India. Their relations with Britain were governed by treaties, in which Britain was the paramount power responsible for foreign affairs and defence, and the states were left free on the whole to manage their internal affairs. The granting of independence meant that this special relationship came to an end and that Britain no longer remained the paramount power. These powers were now to be taken over by the new

India and Pakistan but in other respects the states would retain their independence and would legally be sovereign. As, however, legal considerations could not ignore geographical and economic factors entirely, Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy at the time, urged on the rulers of the states to come to some agreement with the new Indian and Pakistan governments before August 15th, 1947, the date of independence, and in fact his advice was followed by the great majority of the rulers. The Maharaja of Kashmir, however, preferred not to throw in his lot either with India or Pakistan and accordingly, from the legal point of view, became the ruler of an independent state from the 15th August, 1947.

In the meantime Kashmir did not remain unaffected by the events which were taking place in India following its partition. The division of the country saw a large scale emigration of Hindus from Pakistan and Muslims from India. This emigration had indeed been going on for some months before August 15th, but after that date it was greatly intensified and accompanied by widespread disturbances. As a consequence numbers of refugees sought safety in Kashmir and added to the unrest which already existed. To maintain order, the Maharaja had already, in July, 1947, increased his Hindu and Sikh forces and had enjoined the Muslims to surrender their weapons to the police. The result of this step, however, was to bring about a resistance movement amongst the Muslims. Many of the latter withdrew to the hills of the Punch district, bordering West Punjab, from which they carried on local warfare. Out of this revolt there developed the Azad or Free Kashmir movement, which was later to supply a government to those portions of the Kashmir State that bordered on Pakistan and were not under the control of the Srinagar Government.

From Punch the Muslim guerillas made contact with the Tribal Territories of the North-West Frontier, the people of which had for many years made serviceable rifles in their

villages by primitive methods, and from them they secured a supply of arms. The later happenings, in the context of the situation of the time, might have been anticipated.

The tribesmen, aroused by the stories which they had heard, attacked Kashmir by way of the Jhelam Valley from Muzaffarabad to Baramula. The attack on Kashmir territory began at Domel on the 22nd October, 1947, and by October 26th the tribesmen had reached Baramula. This town was sacked and looted, a Roman Catholic Convent and many of its inhabitants being among the victims. The way seemed clear for an assault on Srinagar itself, and the inhabitants of that city were busy, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, in preparing for the defence of the capital.

In the meantime, the Maharaja, alarmed by the invasion of his country and by the prospect of devastation which seemed imminent, appealed for help to the Government of India. The latter Government was prepared to help, but first required that Kashmir should accede to India, on the ground that if India sent troops into an independent Kashmir, Pakistan would be entitled to do the same, and war would ensue. On the other hand, if Kashmir acceded to India, the position would be legalized and military help would at once be forthcoming. This position was explained in a personal visit to the Maharaja by V. P. Menon of the Indian States Ministry, who brought back a letter, dated October 26th, 1947, in which the Maharaja declared his willingness to accede to India and attached an instrument of accession. In his reply, Lord Mountbatten accepted the accession on behalf of the Government of India, and stated that when law and order had been restored, "the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people". The promised military forces were sent off by aeroplane on the 27th October and reached the airport at the same time as the tribesmen, four and a half miles from Srinagar, were preparing to occupy the airport and move on to the capital. A delay of several hours would

have been fatal. As it was, the Indian troops were able to land, to drive back the invaders and to save the city.

These proceedings naturally had repercussions in Pakistan. The first reaction was to send Pakistani troops also into Kashmir, but this project was abandoned and in its place, a meeting was arranged between Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan. The proposals put forward at the meeting by Mr. Jinnah were that there should be a cease-fire to all fighting, that both Indian troops and tribesmen should withdraw from Kashmir and that both Governor-Generals should be given power to administer the State and to arrange for a plebiscite under their supervision. Lord Mountbatten felt that he could not accept these proposals for the Indian Government without its consent, and put forward the counter-proposal that a plebiscite should be undertaken by the United Nations.

At the beginning of the following year, 1948, India took the step, already suggested by Lord Mountbatten, of referring the dispute to the Security Council of the United Nations. In its appeal, it accused Pakistan of being the aggressor and stated that if Pakistan continued to give assistance to the raiders, India might in self-defence be required to enter Pakistan territory. In actual fact this latter step did not prove necessary, and the fighting which took place was all within the boundaries of the Jammu and Kashmir State. India's request to the Security Council was therefore that Pakistan should be prevented from giving any assistance to the invaders and should deny them access to its territory as well as any kind of supplies. India further gave the assurance that a plebiscite would be held as soon as Kashmir was free of the raiders and conditions had become normal.

The Indian case was met by denial and counter-charges by the Pakistani delegates. The latter claimed that the accession of the Maharaja was invalid, having been made while a Standstill Agreement, signed by the Maharaja on the 15th

August, 1947, between Kashmir and Pakistan, was still in operation. It was in addition, contrary to the declared will of the majority of the people. The Muslims who were operating in Punch were considered as fighting in defence of their freedom, while the people of Gilgit, in a local action, had already rejected the Maharaja's rule and established their own government. The Maharaja himself, when the invaders were at Baramula, had fled from Srinagar to Jammu and by this action alone declared that he was no longer in effective control of his own country. In such circumstances he was not in a position to determine the future of the State. The Pakistan case ended with the request that the United Nations should appoint a commission which would have the duties of bringing about a cease-fire, and of arranging that everyone who had gone into Kashmir in recent months, whether nationals of Pakistan or India or tribesmen, should go out. In addition the commission should help to bring back Kashmiri refugees who had fled in the disorders, and should set up an impartial administration that would be followed by a plebiscite in which, without any pressure, the people should be allowed to decide their future for themselves.

The Security Council considered the issue and was able with the consent of both the Indian and Pakistani delegates, to pass a resolution on the 20th January, 1948, authorizing the appointment of a commission of three people to visit Kashmir as quickly as possible and to exercise mediation between the parties in dispute. Unfortunately no action was taken on this resolution, and the debate continued, until, on April 21st, 1948, another resolution was passed, under which a Commission of five people was appointed to proceed to India and Pakistan, and to mediate between the two Governments. The recommendations of this resolution were that Pakistani nationals and tribesmen should be withdrawn from Kashmir and that Indian forces should be reduced to a number that was required only for the maintenance of law

and order. A government should be set up which would be representative of all the communities in the State. A plebiscite should be held under the supervision of an administrator who would have powers sufficient for his purpose. Arrangements should be made for refugees to return and for political prisoners to be freed. The Commission itself should have the power of appointing observers, and should report to the Council on the way the plebiscite was actually conducted. The Commission thus appointed reached Pakistan and India at the beginning of July, 1948.

In the meantime the fighting in Kashmir had become more extensive and more serious. The Indian troops had succeeded in driving back both the tribesmen and the forces of Azad Kashmir to a point which seemed to Pakistan to endanger the safety of its own territory. The fighting was also accompanied by the influx of a large number of Muslims, said to be more than half a million, from Kashmir into Pakistan. Pakistan had therefore considered itself justified in sending its own troops in May, 1948, to meet what it believed to be a threat to its own security, and hence in addition to the tribesmen and Azad Kashmir forces, there were also Pakistani troops actively engaged in the struggle within Kashmir territory.

The Commission thus faced a situation which had greatly deteriorated since the dispute was first referred to the United Nations, but after a number of meetings with the Governments of India and Pakistan, it was able, on August 13th, 1948, to pass a resolution representing the unanimous view of its members. The resolution called for a cease-fire, a withdrawal of Pakistan troops, Pakistan nationals and tribesmen followed by the withdrawal of the majority of the Indian troops. Until a final settlement of the dispute was effected by reference to the will of the people, Indian troops would remain within the limits of the cease-fire line in order to preserve the internal security of the State. The resolution was discussed by both Governments, accepted by India with its interpretation of cer-

tain points explained in writing, and also accepted by Pakistan, but in such a conditional manner that the Commission felt that little remained of the original resolution. The Commission thereupon considered that its work had come to an end, and after a short visit to Kashmir, it left for Europe to submit its report to the Security Council.

The result of further meetings and consultations by the Commission in Europe was the formulation of a new resolution, passed on the 5th January, 1949, which was designed to supplement the earlier resolution by making the proposals for determining the future of the State more definite. It laid it down accordingly that accession either to India or Pakistan should be by means of a free and impartial plebiscite and that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who would have the powers necessary to conduct an impartial plebiscite. Before the resolution was actually passed, its terms were accepted by both the Indian and Pakistan Governments and a cease-fire was proclaimed for the 1st January, 1949. The line at which fighting stopped went through the western part of Jammu, through the eastern part of Punch, leaving the capital city of Punch on the Indian side of the line, crossed the River Jhelam at a point west of Uri, and then made a large sweep, following the valley of the Kishenganga River. From there it proceeded to Kargil, which also remained on the Indian side, and then northwards to the Chinese border. Hunza-Nagar, Gilgit, Baltistan, Chilas, the greater part of Punch and the smaller part of Jammu remained in the control of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir forces. Eastern and Southern Ladakh, the Vale of Kashmir itself with the hills immediately around it, and the greater part of Jammu was held by the Indian forces. For access to this territory, India had already constructed a road to Jammu from Pathankot, which was within her own borders, as the old road to Jammu via Sialkot passed through Pakistan. In further implementation of the resolution of the 5th January,

Admiral Nimitz of U.S.A. was nominated as Plebiscite Administrator in March, 1949, with the agreement of both India and Pakistan.

With these achievements, the Commission again returned to India but almost immediately ran into difficulties concerning the withdrawal of troops from Kashmir. Being unable to secure agreement on this point, including the suggestion of an arbitrator to settle differences, the Commission returned to the United Nations and recommended that instead of further visits from the Commission, a mediator should be appointed and that there should be provision for arbitration if mediation should prove of no avail. United Nations Military Observers, however, were sent out to assist in establishing the cease-fire line and to investigate reports of its violation. By July, 1949, the cease-fire line had been demarcated.

In view of the Commission's report, the next step of the Security Council was to request its President at the time, General McNaughton of Canada, to discuss the issues involved with the delegates of India and Pakistan and to arrive at some settlement that would be acceptable to both. General McNaughton's plan was that there should be a large scale demilitarization whereby not only Pakistan and Indian troops should withdraw, but also the State forces of Kashmir and the Azad forces should be disarmed and disbanded. The northern areas of Gilgit and Baltistan should also be demilitarized, but their local administration which had already broken away from the Maharaja's rule, should continue. These proposals were strongly criticized by the Indian delegate who considered that they put the Pakistan Army on the same level as the Indian Army, and the Azad Kashmir forces similarly on the same level as the State forces. They thus failed to distinguish between the aggressor and those against whom aggression had been waged, and they ignored the legal position by which the Indian Army had been sent into Kashmir at the urgent request of the lawful government, not only from its ruler the Maha-

raja but also from its emergency government under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. Further, India maintained that the northern areas as a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir should come within the sovereignty of the government at Srinagar. In spite of these objections, however, when a resolution was put forward in the Security Council on the 14th March, 1950, requesting India and Pakistan to withdraw their forces from Kashmir in accordance with General McNaughton's proposals, it was accepted by both India and Pakistan. The resolution also authorized in place of the Commission, the appointment of a United Nations representative to facilitate the process of demilitarization.

The first representative appointed by the United Nations was Sir Owen Dixon, who paid a three months' visit to India, Pakistan and Kashmir in the summer of 1950. Unfortunately Sir Owen's mission was not a successful one. His proposals for demilitarization, which followed in the main the recommendations of General McNaughton, were unacceptable. His suggestions for the plebiscite throughout the whole of the State were likewise rejected. He followed this by recommending that regions where there was no doubt about the will of the people, should be allocated either to India or Pakistan, and that where there was doubt, a plebiscite should be held. Again this plan did not secure acceptance. A final suggestion was that the State should be partitioned and that a plebiscite should be held, by United Nations officials, only in the Vale of Kashmir. On this proposal also no agreement was obtained. Sir Owen's conclusion was that partition of the State by plebiscite was the only permanent solution and he recommended that the time had now come for India and Pakistan to agree between themselves as to what should be done.

The Security Council, however, felt that it could not abandon its efforts, as Sir Owen had recommended, and accordingly in April, 1951, it appointed another representative, Dr. Graham, who was given the task of bringing about the demili-

tarization of Kashmir in co-operation with the Governments of India and Pakistan. A time limit of three months was set, and if the mission had not been successful by then, Dr. Graham was to report to the Security Council. Dr. Graham set out for Kashmir in the summer of 1951, but the three months lengthened out into two years of consultation and negotiation, at the end of which no settlement had been reached. The first point of disagreement concerned the number of troops to be retained on each side of the cease-fire line when demilitarization had been completed, and the second centred round the question of when the Plebiscite Administrator should begin his duties. On neither of these points could Dr. Graham secure the agreement of the two governments, and in the end he had to report that he had no further proposals to make.

From this time, for several years, the Kashmir dispute disappeared from the agenda of the United Nations. The period immediately following the failure of Dr. Graham's attempt to mediate, however, began hopefully. The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan entered into direct negotiations and in August, 1953, issued a joint statement that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the will of the people, and that the best means of doing this was by a plebiscite. Before the plebiscite could be held, certain preliminary measures concerning demilitarization would have to be taken, and committees of military and other experts were to be set up to advise the Prime Ministers as to how these preliminary issues should be settled. When this first task was done, a plebiscite administrator was to be appointed, who would take the steps necessary to secure a fair and impartial plebiscite throughout the whole State. It was envisaged that the plebiscite administrator would be appointed by the end of April, 1954.

The joint statement, however, did not lead to any action. Differences at once began to appear. Pandit Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, pressed for the appointment of a new plebiscite administrator from some small country instead of Admiral

Nimitz, whereas the Pakistan view was that the original appointment should stand. Other points of disagreement arose, and the whole situation in Indian eyes became radically altered when Pakistan agreed to accept military aid from the United States. Protests by Pakistan that the decision to accept such aid had no relevance for the Kashmir dispute were unavailing. Direct negotiations between India and Pakistan thus also broke down. The plebiscite administrator was not appointed in April, 1954, as the Prime Ministers' public statement had anticipated, and Admiral Nimitz himself resigned in September of the same year from an office which he had never been able to exercise.

Since the dispute between India and Pakistan became an international issue, it has tended to take away attention from the events that were happening in Kashmir itself. These, however, are sufficiently noteworthy to deserve record.

When, in October, 1947, the Maharaja, Sir Hari Singh, was seeking military assistance from India, he wrote to Lord Mountbatten that he intended to form an interim government in which Sheikh Abdullah would be associated with his Prime Minister. The elevation of Sheikh Abdullah to this position represented a complete reversal in the fortunes of this popular leader, known to the people at the height of his power as *Sher-i-Kashmir*, the Lion of Kashmir. The story of his struggles and rise to leadership dates back to a period long before 1947. Educated at the Muslim University of Aligarh, Sheikh Abdullah had returned to his native State to find that the political agitation then sweeping India had affected the people of Kashmir. He put himself at the head of the popular agitation only to find himself arrested and imprisoned. With the revolt quelled, the Sheikh was released and began at once the work of political organization which resulted in the formation of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October, 1932. In the following years the Maharaja initiated several reforms, but as these were considered inade-

quate, discontent continued to grow. In the meantime Sheikh Abdullah had become hostile to the policy pursued by the Muslim Conference in the formation of which he had played a leading part. His objection was that the Conference was a communal body, representing the interests of Muslims alone. What was required, according to his conception, was a body which would be national and not sectional, which would be democratic and secular, without religious ties, and which would demonstrate that members of all communities could work together in unity. As this was the policy of the Indian Congress Party, Sheikh Abdullah found himself much more sympathetic to its aims than to those of the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. This affinity of ideals naturally also brought him into contact with the leaders of the Indian national movement.

Accordingly Sheikh Abdullah broke away from the Muslim Conference, and in 1939 helped to found another party, the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, which succeeded in gaining a large number of adherents. During the war years, as the issues between Muslims and Hindus became more clear-cut, and as the demand for partition and the creation of a separate state for Muslims became more insistent, the policy of the Kashmir Muslim Conference became increasingly identified with that of the Muslim League. Its membership began to increase and in 1943 its annual meeting was presided over by Mr. Jinnah himself who was able to bring new inspiration to the movement. Another visit from Mr. Jinnah in 1944 further strengthened the Muslim Conference. With the rival body gaining in power, Sheikh Abdullah inaugurated in 1946 a campaign for the Maharaja to quit Kashmir, similar to the 'Quit India' campaign being waged at the time by the Indian Congress Party against the British. It was alleged at the time that this was a move on Sheikh Abdullah's part to recapture popular support for the National Conference, but whether this is so or not, the Maharaja's response was to have

the Sheikh arrested and sentenced to a term of nine years imprisonment. Such was the position immediately preceding the granting of independence and the creation of the two states of India and Pakistan on August 15th, 1947.

Following the declaration of independence, the Maharaja, as we have seen, wished his State of Jammu and Kashmir to remain independent. From the beginning of 1947, however, Kashmir was in an extremely unsettled condition, increased both by the news of the tensions and struggles in the rest of the sub-continent and by the stories of atrocities circulated by the refugees who had fled to Kashmir. Kashmir itself followed the pattern of the rest of India and bitter struggles between the two major communities developed. In these circumstances the Maharaja released Sheikh Abdullah from prison at the end of September, 1947. In the following month the invasion of the tribesmen took place, and it was while they were at Baramula, within thirty miles of Srinagar, that the Maharaja appealed to India for immediate military support, sent the instrument of the accession of his State to be accepted by the Indian Government and declared his intention of setting up an interim government in which Sheikh Abdullah would have a leading position. The interim government lasted for about six months, until March, 1948, when Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister. Thus within a space of two years, Sheikh Abdullah's position changed from that of a revolutionary leader whom the Government sought to suppress to that of the most influential person in the whole of Kashmir.

Then followed several years in which Sheikh Abdullah, in control of affairs, followed the programme of economic, educational and social development which he had already adumbrated in a pamphlet entitled *New Kashmir*. His task was made easier by the fact that the Maharaja had left the State in June, 1949, and was living in exile in Bombay. His powers, as hereditary ruler of the State, had been transferred to his son, the Yuvaraj Karan Singh, but the latter had little

authority in the affairs of the State, and his position was mainly a nominal one. The real power was exercised by Sheikh Abdullah and his government.

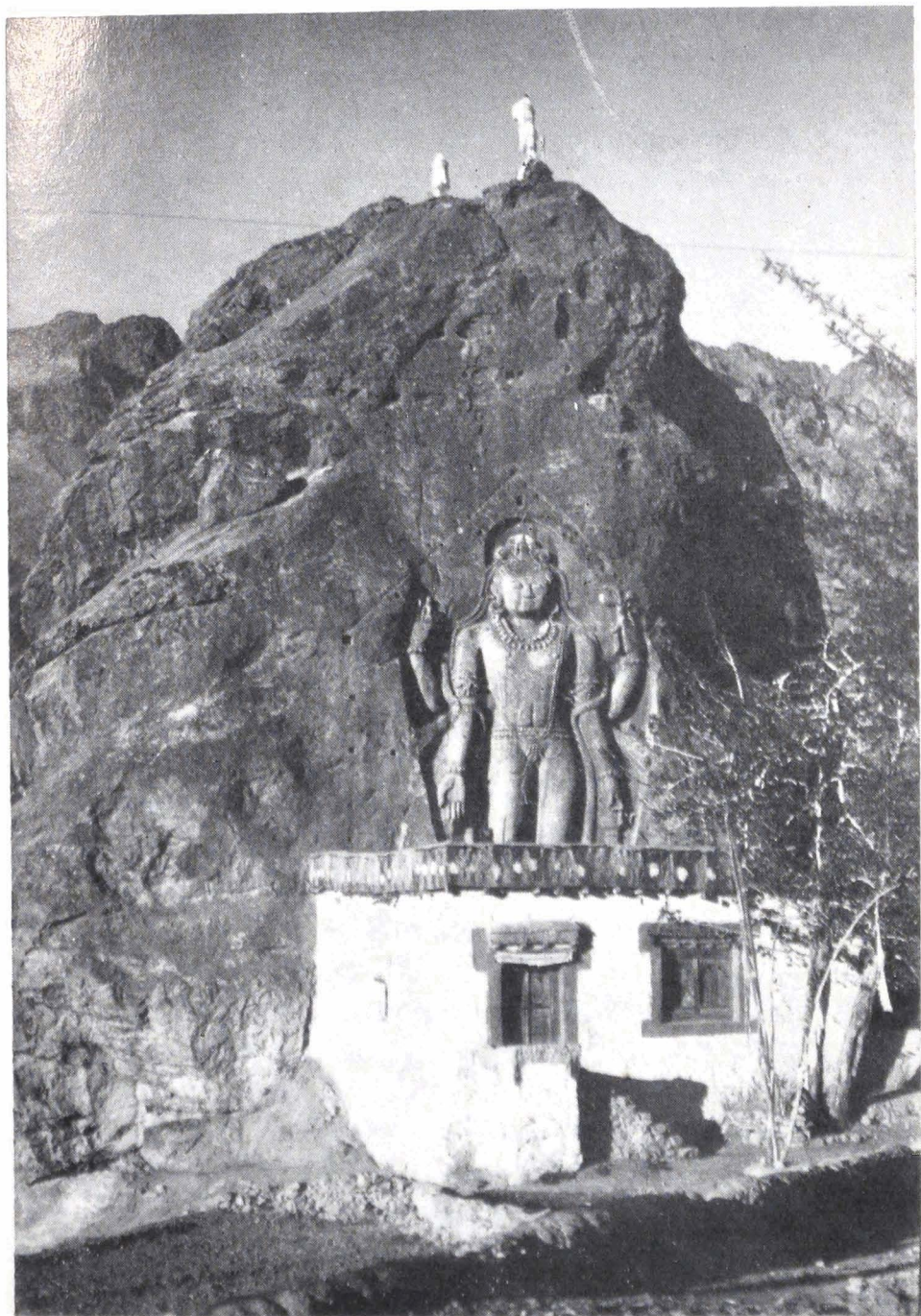
Having established his authority, Sheikh Abdullah's next step was to arrange, in accordance with a resolution of the National Conference of October, 1950, for the formation of a Constituent Assembly which would decide the future of the State. Elections for the seventy-five seats in the Assembly were proclaimed for September and October of 1951, but as there was no opposition, all the candidates secured their seats without contest, and the Constituent Assembly duly came into being in October, 1951. The first work of the new Assembly was to pass "The Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act, 1951" in which the Maharaja was given the position of a constitutional ruler acting on the advice of his government, and in November of the following year, by an amendment to the Constitution, the position of Maharaja was replaced by that of a Sadr-i-Riyasat, or Head of the State, who would be elected for a period of five years at a time. In accordance with this amendment, the Yuvaraj became, on the 14th November, 1952, the first Head of the State and was recognized as such by the President of India. With this date, the hereditary rule of the Dogras which had begun in 1846, came to an end.

Meanwhile opposition against Sheikh Abdullah and his policies began to mount. In India it appeared that he was working actively to establish a personal rule in Kashmir that would result in alienation from India which was supporting to a considerable extent the financial costs of his administration. This impression was heightened by a speech which the Sheikh made at Ranbirsinghpura in the Jammu province in April, 1952, in which he pointed out the undeniable existence of a communal spirit in India and declared that the Indian Constitution could not apply in full to Kashmir. The accession of the State had meant control by India only in the spheres of defence, foreign affairs and communications. In

line with these views, the Constituent Assembly had at the same time authorized a State flag for Kashmir, and its action appeared in India as another step towards separation. The result of the Ranbirsinghpura speech was an invitation to the Sheikh and his colleagues to come to Delhi to discuss the position, and the outcome of the discussion was an eight-point agreement between the Indian and Kashmir Governments, made public on the 24th July, 1952, by Pandit Nehru. The agreement made several concessions to Kashmir demands and gave the State a specially privileged position. For the moment therefore the differences that had arisen between Kashmir and India were smoothed out, but within Kashmir itself the situation did not remain quiet.

The Hindus of Jammu took alarm at the treatment meted out to the Maharaja with whom they had in the past aligned themselves and whom they saw as one of the strong supports of their own position. Any tendency for Kashmir to move away from India was abhorrent to them and the Kashmir State flag as an evidence of this tendency became a special object of their attack. Consequently demonstrations against the Abdullah régime became more frequent, more bitter and more extended, and repression by the Government failed to halt the disturbances. These attacks against his policy led to a counter-attack by the Sheikh when, in a speech at the beginning of August, 1953, he reverted to the theme of communalism and its harmful effect on relations between India and Kashmir, and even threw doubt on the validity of Kashmir's accession to India.

The final act was precipitated by the Sheikh's demand for the resignation of a member of his Cabinet, Mr. Shamlal Saraf, the Development Minister. In his reply, Mr. Shamlal refused to resign, and on the next day, August 7th, three members of the Cabinet, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Girdharilal Dogra and Mr. Shamlal Saraf himself, submitted a memorandum in which they attacked the Sheikh and his



5. A large boulder carved with an image of Buddha Maitreya, the future Buddha, at Mulbeck in Ladakh. To prevent the statue from desecration, it was formerly covered by a screen, the outline of which can still be traced on the rock.

administration, accused him of causing a rupture in the relationship of the State with India and ended by affirming that the Cabinet had lost the confidence of the people. The memorandum was sent to the Head of the State, who recommended that differences should be settled by the members of the Cabinet meeting and discussing the matter together at his residence. The suggestion was not accepted by the Sheikh, who then left for Gulmarg, a holiday resort about twenty-seven miles distant from Srinagar. On the 8th August, Karan Singh, in his position as Head of the State, then issued an order dismissing Sheikh Abdullah from the Premiership of the State and dissolving his Council of Ministers, and on the same day invited Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad to form a Cabinet. In the morning of the 9th August, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and taken to Udampur, where he was lodged in the Government rest-house. On the same evening, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, now Prime Minister, made a broadcast in which he justified recent events by stating that the ideals and principles to which the National Conference had been committed had been abandoned by his former colleague with the result that the State faced the danger of disintegration. He attacked the conception of an independent Kashmir which he asserted was being fostered by foreign imperialist powers and claimed that indissoluble links had been established with India through sharing in the same secular and democratic traditions. His policy and actions were later endorsed by the Constituent Assembly when it gave him a unanimous vote of confidence.

The startling events of the beginning of August could not be expected to pass unnoticed or without comment. Popular demonstrations took place in Kashmir in favour of Abdullah, but were repressed. Criticism from Pakistan was vehement, but meetings between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan took place and their joint statement of the 20th August, 1953, in which the need for a plebiscite was still upheld averted any

immediate danger. Thus Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was able to maintain his position, and by the end of 1953 he had emerged as the new and undisputed leader of Kashmir.

Having consolidated his position, the new Premier took the next step to which his policy committed him. In February, 1954, the Constituent Assembly ratified the accession of the State of India, and in doing so, accepted all the implications that were necessarily involved in such accession. This was followed in May of the same year by an extension of the Indian Constitution to include the State of Jammu and Kashmir as part of the Indian Union. As this new arrangement meant that customs duties would no longer be levied on goods from India, the Indian Government agreed to indemnify the Kashmir State for the loss.

The reaction of Pakistan to the Assembly's decision was one of violent protest and hostility. It claimed that the vote of the Assembly was a unilateral action taken by a subordinate body which had no right to prejudge an issue that was already covered by the agreement of both India and Pakistan, supported by the Security's Council's resolution, to hold a plebiscite. Nor could the action of the Assembly affect the fundamental right of the people of Kashmir to determine themselves to which country they should accede. The Indian view was that while the action of the Assembly was the expression of the will of the people through their representatives, it could not be considered as rendering a plebiscite unnecessary. The agreement to hold a plebiscite was one which would still have to be honoured.

In the following year relations between India and Pakistan became somewhat easier as a result of a visit of the Governor-General of Pakistan to Delhi in the month of January. Later on in the year, however, an unfortunate incident brought about a deterioration in the situation. On the Indian-Pakistan border near Jammu a Pakistan police party fired on and killed five Indian soldiers and six civilians. United Nations military

observers made an investigation and found that the fault lay with the Pakistan police. The incident, however, had one good result in that it led to a conference between the leaders of India and Pakistan in which measures were agreed upon for the prevention in future of such occurrences. The year was also notable for the visit to Kashmir of Marshal Bulganin who in a speech in Srinagar stated that the people of the country were part of the Indian people.

The Soviet leader's statement was followed by a similar statement from Pandit Nehru himself at the beginning of 1956. Owing to Pakistan's decision to accept military aid from the United States and to become a member of military associations such as the Baghdad Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization Council, the Indian Prime Minister declared that the position with regard to a plebiscite in Kashmir had been radically changed and that therefore he could no longer support such a proposal. In its place he considered that an agreement should be reached on the basis of the cease-fire line. In Kashmir itself the Constituent Assembly drew up a new constitution, which was to come into force on the 26th January, 1957. In this constitution the accession of the State to India was confirmed and Kashmir was regarded as being an integral part of the Indian Republic.

The action of the Constituent Assembly led Pakistan to take up the dispute again with the United Nations, which for the last four years had been free from discussions on this topic. The position adopted by the Security Council was that its previous resolutions still held. The accession of the State could only be decided by plebiscite, and the Constituent Assembly of the State was not the body to make the decision for the people. A motion to send the President of the Council and a United Nations force to bring about demilitarization and to hold a plebiscite was not successful, but in its place a resolution that the President of the Security Council, Mr. Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, should go to confer with the Indian and

Pakistan Governments on the means of effecting a settlement, was passed. Mr. Jarring made the visit but was unable to bring about any reconciliation or settlement. The Indian view was that any plebiscite must be conditional on the withdrawal of Pakistan forces from the State territory, and until this condition was fulfilled, no plebiscite could be held. In November of 1957 the Security Council again considered the dispute and proposed that Dr. Graham should once more try to mediate between the two parties.

In Kashmir itself, the new constitution came into being by which Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad became the Chief Minister of Kashmir and Karan Singh was re-elected for another period of five years as Sadr-i-Riyasat. Opposition, however, began to develop within the National Conference and was headed by G. M. Sadiq, the former Minister for Health and Education. With his supporters, he formed a new party, the Democratic National Conference.

On the 8th January, 1958, Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison and immediately began a campaign in favour of the holding of a plebiscite. This led to his re-arrest on the 29th April. Dr. Graham, who had again been active in his efforts at mediation, had again to admit failure. His proposals were that the Pakistan Army should withdraw, a United Nations force should occupy the border between Kashmir and Pakistan and that a conference of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should be held to reach agreement on a plebiscite. His proposals were rejected by India on the ground that they did not name Pakistan as the aggressor and that they made no distinction in treatment between the aggressor and those against whom aggression had been committed.

The position at present therefore is that there has been a *de facto* division of the former State of Jammu and Kashmir. The hereditary rule of a Maharaja has been abolished and although the present Head of the State still belongs to the

former Dogra ruling house, he holds office for a period only of five years at a time and has to be re-elected at the end of that period. Of the old approach roads, that via Sialkot is no longer used. The Jhelam Valley road gives access to the parts of Kashmir held by the Azad Government and Pakistan, but stops short before Uri on the way to Srinagar. The main access by road to the Vale is now from Pathankot via Jammu, and near the old Banihal Pass the Pir Panjal range has been pierced by tunnels so that access to the Vale from India is possible throughout the year.

Recent Years. II. The Dispute with China

After the dispute with Pakistan, India had to face trouble from another quarter, namely, China. The northern frontier of India extends from east to west over a length of almost 2,500 miles, in mountainous territory containing the highest ranges in the world. The boundary disputes between India and China concerned three sectors of this extended line. The first of these was the eastern part of the frontier from Bhutan to Burma. This had been delineated at a Tripartite Conference in Simla in 1913-14 between the Governments of India, Tibet and China, and was known as the McMahon line, after Sir Henry McMahon, the British representative of the Government of India at the Conference. The second sector concerned the frontier where the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab come up to the Chinese border. The third sector concerned the Kashmir boundary with China and included a large part of the boundary of Ladakh. It is with this sector that we are concerned.

The maps of Ladakh show the boundaries as following the Karakoram range to the Kuen-lun mountains as far as a point beyond the line of 80° longitude. From this point the boundary goes roughly southwards, then south-west to approxi-

mately the line of 79° . From this point it crosses the eastern extremities of the Pangong and Spanggur lakes and continues till it meets the Punjab boundary.

The present Ladakh boundary thus includes a large piece of territory branching out to the north-east. This area is now referred to as Aksai Chin. On earlier maps it is marked as the Kuen-lun and Lingzhitang Plains and described as an uninhabited plateau.

The great altitude of this area—over 16,000 feet—and the extreme severity of the climate render permanent habitation impossible, and in the past, even the number of travellers has been few. It possessed, however, to the Chinese Government a considerable value in that it lay across the route they wished to follow for a road between Tibet and Sinkiang. The Chinese Government claimed that it had been making considerable use of a route across this area since 1950, and as the route was used continually and carried a large amount of traffic, they had from March, 1956 to October, 1957 constructed a motor road from Yehcheng in Sinkiang to Gartok in Tibet, which went through the Aksai Chin area for about one hundred miles. They further claimed that until September, 1958, no Indian patrols had been met with, and the conclusion they drew from this was that Indian authority had neither been established nor exercised over the area.

The incidents on the Ladakh border began in 1958, when Chinese troops occupied Khurnak Fort in Indian territory near the Pangong lake. In October of the same year the Indian Government protested against the construction of the road through the Aksai Chin area which it considered a violation of its old-established frontiers. Enquiries were also made concerning a patrol which had been sent into this area and which could not be traced. The Chinese Government replied that the Indian party had crossed into Chinese territory where they had been detained. They were, however, released on the 22nd October and returned to India.

Further incidents occurred throughout 1959. In July Chinese troops penetrated into Indian territory near the Pangong Lake and took captive an Indian police party engaged in reconnaissance work. A Chinese camp was established at Spanggur within Indian territory. A further cause of dispute concerned Lamas from Ladakh and Muslims from Kashmir who had gone to Lhasa and other places in Tibet. In the past such people had been allowed to move freely between the two countries, and their residence in Tibet did not make them lose their Indian citizenship. This claim was denied by the Chinese authorities who replied that the people in question were undoubtedly Chinese nationals. The most serious incident on the Ladakh border so far, however, occurred in October of this year. An Indian police party, on patrol near the Kong Ka Pass in the Chang-chenmo Valley in Ladakh, had its three members detained by Chinese frontier guards. A search-party sent out on the following day was fired on by the Chinese. In this encounter, nine Indians were killed and seven captured. Those who were captured were interrogated under pressure and confessions obtained from them before they were returned on the 14th November.

To avoid further clashes, the Prime Minister of China then proposed that both Chinese and Indian armed forces should withdraw twenty kilometres from the line up to which both countries had established control, although unarmed police and administrative officers should still be allowed to carry on their duties. To this the Indian Prime Minister made the counter-suggestion that Indian personnel should be withdrawn to the west of the line which the Chinese Government considered to be the boundary line, as shown on its latest maps, while Chinese personnel should be withdrawn to the east of the boundary line as shown on Indian maps. This arrangement, it was pointed out, would have the advantage of leaving a considerable space between the forces of the two countries, and as this space was mountainous and uninhabited, it would

not require any administrative personnel. This suggestion, however, was unacceptable to the Chinese Government, which regarded it as a retrograde step and replied that in this area India had no personnel to withdraw, while China had been actively using it since 1950. For the Chinese it was an area of the greatest importance, as it allowed access between Sinkiang and Western Tibet; if this area were to be given up, intercourse between Sinkiang and Western Tibet would be rendered impossible, since to the north-east of the Aksai Chin lay the Gobi Desert across which no road could be constructed.

The Chinese Premier then proposed a meeting with Mr. Nehru, and after some correspondence, Mr. Chou En-lai accepted an invitation to Delhi for April, 1960. When the meeting took place, however, the talks between the two Prime Ministers did not result in agreement concerning the points at issue. It was decided, however, that the historical material should be further studied both in Peking and in Delhi by Chinese and Indian officials, and reports made to their respective governments on the results of their research. In spite of the lack of agreement, it was generally held that the talks were valuable in that each government recognized the sincerity and conviction with which the other maintained its view regarding the frontier line, and that it was a much more reasonable procedure to study the historical facts in order to find out the truth, than to indulge in skirmishes on the frontier that resulted in casualties on both sides.

After the meetings between the Chinese and Indian officials had taken place in Peking and Delhi as planned, it was found that the task had not been completed. A third session proved necessary, which was held in Rangoon in November and December, 1960, and the Report was finally presented to the Chinese and Indian Governments in February, 1961.¹ The

¹ Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. February, 1961.

Report gives both the statement of India's case, and, in an unofficial English translation provided by the Chinese themselves, that of China also.

The discussions naturally dealt with all areas of the border which were in dispute, but with regard to the Ladakh frontier, the Indian case was, briefly, as follows. It was emphasized that the Ladakh boundary followed natural, permanent and accepted features such as the watersheds of the great mountain ranges. In the Aksai Chin area, the mountains in question were the Kuen-lun, and there was no evidence at all that the Chinese province of Sinkiang had ever come south of these ranges. It was indeed only at the end of the nineteenth century that Chinese maps had even shown the border of China as coming as far as these hills, far less going south of them. Further, not only were the boundaries of Ladakh in accordance with the natural unchanging features of the region, but they were also confirmed by treaty. In 1684, following the invasion and expulsion of the Mongols by the ruler of Ladakh with the help of the Mughul governor of Kashmir, a treaty was concluded between Ladakh and Tibet in which it was stated that the original boundaries between these countries would be maintained. Very similar wording was used in the treaty of 1842 which followed Zorawar Singh's invasion of Tibet, where again the boundaries between Ladakh and Tibet were referred to as fixed from ancient times. It was further pointed out that Indian maps, showing the boundaries at present in dispute, had been freely available for many years and had been accepted by China itself up till September, 1959. The dispute was all the more unexpected and unwelcome as in 1954 China and India had agreed on the Panch Shila or Five Principles of mutual friendship and co-existence, as a result of which India had the right to look for confidence and co-operation from its great neighbour.

To the Chinese objection that the present-day boundaries were in many cases the result of British imperialism, the

Indian reply was a categorical denial. The existing boundaries were not the arbitrary result of British aggression, but scrupulously followed well-marked natural features, and could throughout be supported by evidence from many non-British sources, including Chinese sources themselves. In any case the Chinese for their part did not hesitate to use evidence from British sources where they thought it favourable to their own position. Indeed, the paradoxical feature about the whole dispute was that even if India had been unable to produce any evidence of its own, or if the wealth of supporting material that it was able to furnish were temporarily disregarded, it could still have proved its case conclusively from the evidence adduced by the Chinese, the effect of which was in many instances to give added confirmation to the contentions of the Indian side.

Further, it was noted that the Chinese officials refused to discuss the boundary of Kashmir west of the Karakoram Pass. In the Indian view this attitude clearly indicated that China did not recognize the legality of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India. With this point of view India could in no way agree. The area of the State west of the Karakoram Pass was still *de jure* as much a part of the State as any other area, and consequently India wished to put on record the evidence for its boundary in this sector also, in spite of the Chinese refusal to discuss.

The publication of the Report made clear the fundamental cleavage between India and China on the boundary question. The discussions had not brought about agreement between the two countries, but at least they had shown the true state of affairs, with the result that India now knew what measures had to be taken. These included the provision of more roads and better communications in frontier areas; they meant greater surveillance, and especially an alertness and preparedness which would prevent further violations of the frontier. The operations of the Chinese in border areas would certainly

no longer go unnoticed for years, as they had done in the past.

At the beginning of the dispute, India's differences had been with China alone. As the Report indicated, the later stages of the dispute brought in Pakistan also. At one point it was reported that China claimed the states of Hunza and Nagar which had already thrown in their lot with Pakistan, then it was later stated that China and Pakistan had agreed in principle to discuss their common frontier. In the Indian view, Pakistan had no common frontier with China and therefore had neither cause nor right to discuss boundary questions with China. It was the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir that had acceded to India, and although certain regions had broken away, they had done so illegally, and their illegal action could not confer any right on Pakistan to open discussions on boundary matters with China. If such discussions did take place, the Indian Government gave notice that it would not recognize any decisions that might result from them.

The Prime Minister of India has characterized the dispute regarding the Ladakh border as being one concerning the facts, and certainly what are claimed to be the facts by the Chinese Government are very different from those put forward by the Indian Government. If the dispute, however, is factual, it becomes necessary to consider what the testimony of history is. To obtain a detailed account of the history of the Ladakh frontier is not easy, and the difficulty is increased by the very nature of the country itself. Ladakh is one of the most elevated and mountainous regions of the world and has many parts which are only accessible for limited periods of the year. The name of Ladakh itself, according to one derivation, comes from the Tibetan words *la-dwags*, meaning 'beyond the passes', and is a most appropriate description. From any direction, or from any of the surrounding territories, the traveller to Ladakh has to scale passes which vary in height from 11,000 to 20,000 feet, and it is the isolation thus induced by its situation beyond

the passes that has enabled Ladakh to preserve its peculiar mode of life unchanged for centuries.

The early history of Ladakh is obscure, but it appears to have been for some centuries an independent kingdom. In an invasion by 'Ali Sher, the ruler of Skardu, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the gompas were sacked and their records destroyed. In the latter part of the same century Ladakh was again invaded by the Sokpos, a Central Asian tribe. The ruler of Ladakh then appealed for help to Ibrahim Khan, Governor of Kashmir under the Emperor Aurangzeb. Assistance was promised on condition that the Ladakh ruler should become a Muslim. Hence when the forces of Ibrahim Khan had expelled the invaders, the ruler received back his throne and in accordance with his agreement, adopted the Muslim faith. At this time also—A.D. 1687—the boundary between Ladakh and the Tibetan district of Rudok was marked by heaps of stones which were still in position in the nineteenth century.

It is in connection with these incidents that the Indian side has referred to and quoted a treaty of 1684 between Ladakh and Tibet, the very existence of which is denied by the Chinese. The source of the treaty is given as the Ladakhi Chronicle *La dvags rgyal rabs* which was translated, in his book 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', by A. H. Francke, who worked in the Moravian Mission at Leh on historical studies. The important passage is a statement that "the boundaries fixed in the beginning, when Skyid-lda-ngeemagon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained." The time when the king gave a kingdom to his sons and when the boundaries were first fixed, is considered to be the tenth century A.D. The Chinese objections to accepting this text as a treaty were that no mention was made of the contracting parties, no signatures of representatives were given, and no time and place were specified. In their view the passage in question simply came from a translation of a manuscript and

even that translation was not accurate—the word ‘*kingdom*’ for example was a mistranslation for ‘*estate*’. Quite apart from the dispute as to whether or not there was a treaty in 1684, however, the document quoted does not unfortunately describe the location of the boundaries, and although one can readily believe that the boundary between Ladakh and Rudok district was fixed and well-known at this time, it is a different matter to use this quotation as an authority for the antiquity of the complete boundary line of modern Ladakh.

After 1687, later rulers of Ladakh reverted to Buddhism, but continued to pay tribute to the Governor of Kashmir. The Afghan and Sikh rulers of Kashmir still continued to receive this tribute until Ladakh was conquered for Gulab Singh in 1841 by his general Zorawar Singh. The next year, on Zorawar Singh’s death, a Tibetan force invaded Ladakh but was repulsed, and its defeat was followed by the Treaty of the 16th September, 1842. This treaty was made between the officers of the Lhasa Government and two officers on behalf of the Sikh Khalsa and Raja Gulab Singh who agreed that “relations of peace, friendship and unity between Sri Khalsaji and Sri Maharaj Sahib Bahadur Raja Gulab Singhji, and the Emperor of China and the Lama Guru of Lhasa will henceforward remain firmly established for ever . . . We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient time”.¹ The latter reference is most probably to the boundary between Ladakh and the Rudok district of Tibet, as in 1842 this boundary had been marked and had been in existence for more than a century and a half. Further, it was to Rudok that the Tibetan force retreated after its unsuccessful invasion of Ladakh. Unfortunately, the treaty does not give any indication of where the ancient boundaries were, nor of how far they extended,

¹ Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. XI. Calcutta, Government Press, 1909.

and accordingly is not as helpful as it might have been.

In 1846, through the Treaty of Amritsar with the British, Raja Gulab Singh became ruler of Kashmir, or, as it was described in the treaty, "all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee". Article II of the treaty stated that the eastern boundary of the land transferred to Gulab Singh should be determined by commissioners appointed by the British Government and the Maharaja, and in accordance with this stipulation, commissions were in fact appointed for the purpose in 1846 and 1847.

The first commission, which submitted its report in 1847, dealt only with the boundary between Ladakh and British India, as the disturbances in Kashmir which took place when Gulab Singh came to assume possession of his new territory, prevented the commissioners from reaching the Tibetan border. Mr. Vans Agnew, however, who was one of the two commissioners—Captain A. Cunningham being the other—prepared a statement in which he considered that the boundary line with Tibet was, except for the two extremities, well-defined both by nature and custom. In determining that portion of the frontier with British India which they were able to delimit, the commissioners took as their principle that in mountainous country the ranges which form the water-sheds between different river systems should be considered to constitute the boundary. Such a boundary, they thought, would be permanent and easily ascertainable, and by adhering to it, future disputes would be prevented. A second commission was set up in 1847. In addition to three British representatives, headed by Captain A. Cunningham, the commission was also to include delegates from Kashmir and Tibet. Those from Kashmir were duly appointed and were ready to take part, but as no one came from Lhasa, the commission was unable to carry out its task, and the project came to nothing. Since this date it does not appear that any other commission involving

representatives from China or Tibet has ever been appointed either to fix or to demarcate the boundary of Ladakh with Tibet.

How then have the present boundaries been determined? There is plenty of historical evidence that the boundary between Ladakh and the Tibetan district of Rudok had been demarcated from ancient times, but how far this boundary extended is not certain. The main difficulty concerns the Aksai Chin area, where the present Ladakh boundary makes a large sweep to the north-east and includes the territory that is now the subject of the dispute with China. Thus neither Moorcroft in 1820 nor Cunningham in 1854 include the Aksai Chin region within the boundaries of Ladakh. From the middle of the century, however, this area began to become known to travellers. Schlagintweit crossed it in 1857 on his way to Kashgar, and Johnson, later Governor of Ladakh, in 1865 on his way to Khotan. In 1868 it was crossed independently of each other by Hayward, Shaw and Cayley; in 1869 Drew explored the area as Governor of Ladakh, while in 1870 and 1873 it was traversed by the first and second Yarkand missions.

From the accounts of these travellers it is possible to form some picture of the features of this region. Drew records that vegetation of any kind is rare, pasture still rarer and even wild animals are seldom encountered. Other travellers stress the comparatively easy nature of the route across this region. Thus Hayward writes: "An army attempting a passage across the mountains from Eastern Toorkestan to India would have no great impediment to encounter until they had entered the deeper defiles of the lower Himalayas". Johnson affirms that wheeled conveyances could be driven from Rudok across this area to Khotan and Yarkand. Shaw mentions that the old route to Turkestan goes at right angles to the hills from Leh via the Karakoram Pass, whereas by going some distance to the east "the heads of all these rivers can be turned, and the travellers can pass round them in a high country, where the

ranges have sunk down and the valleys have been exalted so as to form a comparatively level tract with but few formidable irregularities”.

It is apparently this increasing knowledge and exploration of the area that led to its being incorporated in maps of Ladakh. Throughout this period also the official Survey of India was being carried out. Thus in 1862–63 Captain H. H. Godwin-Austen was working for the Survey in the Chang-chenmo Valley and around Pangong Lake when he was transferred to another part of India, and presumably prevented from investigating the frontier beyond these points. Frederic Drew, who was in the Maharaja of Kashmir’s service from 1862 to 1872, in the latter years of which he became Governor of Ladakh, mentions in his book on Kashmir that from the Karakoram Pass north of Leh to the meridian of 80° the boundary has not been defined and that “there has been no authoritative demarcation of it at all”.¹ As the country was uninhabited, the principle of determining the boundary by actual occupation or possession of the territory could not be used, although on the other hand the inclusion of the area within the boundary of Ladakh did not conflict with any fact of occupation. The same position applied to the eastern boundary. From the extreme north-easterly point, roughly 80° E and 36° N, to the head of the Chang-chenmo Valley, the boundary was “equally doubtful”.² From the Chang-chenmo Valley onwards, however, through the Pangong and Spanggur lakes and then southwards to the frontier with India, the boundary, in Drew’s opinion, was in accordance with the actual facts of occupation, with which he himself, as Governor of Ladakh, was familiar.

From this period onwards, a good deal of exploration and survey work was done in Kashmir, but the areas which attracted most attention were the Karakoram regions in Baltis-

¹ F. Drew: *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*. London, 1875.

² *ibid.*, ch. 22.

tan, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar. In the present century such work was interrupted by the two world wars, and so far as can be ascertained from available records, the remarks made by Drew regarding the boundaries of the Aksai Chin area are, in the main, still true today. The inclusion of the Aksai Chin area as part of Ladakh appears therefore to date from around 1870. The area is so shown in the maps appended by Drew in his book of 1875. Before this date, maps published in the United Kingdom show the eastern boundary of Ladakh as following the Karakoram range, and as late as 1877 Keith Johnston's *Royal Atlas of Modern Geography* puts the Aksai Chin region as outside the borders of Ladakh. The editions of Johnston's *Atlas* after 1880, however, give Aksai Chin as inside Ladakh. Later maps on the whole though not entirely, have taken Drew's work as authoritative and have followed the boundary lines which he inserted. These include not only Indian and British maps, but also official Chinese maps.

Such in brief is the testimony of history in so far as it can be obtained from published material. According to this evidence, the Indian claim that the Ladakh-Tibet border was well-known from ancient times is undoubtedly true of part of the border, but not of the boundary around the Aksai Chin, about which nothing authoritative has come to light. On the other hand the historical evidence does not substantiate the Chinese claim that the area had been used from early times as a highway between Sinkiang and Tibet, that since the middle of the eighteenth century the Ching Dynasty of China had set up check posts that exercised authority over the area and that such authority had been maintained without interruption till the present day. The nineteenth century travellers found the area uninhabited and the lack of pasture made travelling difficult. Chinese maps themselves, until the last few years, show the Aksai Chin area as part of India, and give the boundary of China as north of the Kuen-lun. The Chinese

province of Sinkiang was not thought of as going south of these mountains.

The position therefore seems to be that the Aksai Chin area has been shown on maps as part of Ladakh since approximately 1870. Such maps have been quite public and for almost a century they have been generally accepted. No protests or counter-claims have been made, and no border incidents have occurred until recent years. That is, the present-day boundaries of Ladakh, including the Aksai Chin area, have been established and have been in existence without question and without change for a period considerably longer than those of many, perhaps the majority, of modern states. During this period no Chinese incursions into the territory had been observed, although the area was becoming better known and was traversed by travellers, hunters and explorers. A review of recent happenings creates the impression that the facts already noted with considerable prescience by Hayward, Johnson and Shaw in the middle of the nineteenth century regarding the easy nature of the Aksai Chin route to Central Asia, came to be strongly appreciated by the Chinese in the middle of the twentieth century, and, acting unilaterally and expeditiously, they constructed a road through Ladakh territory and presented the Indian Government with an accomplished fact. It is because of this sense of the unilateral seizure and occupation of her territory that India considers the only solution to the dispute to be the entire withdrawal of Chinese personnel outside the borders of Ladakh as these have been publicly declared and accepted for the last hundred years.

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT KASHMIR

1. Approach Routes

IN ancient Kashmir, as in the time of the Mughuls, the Pir Panjal route was extensively used. It was the ancient salt route by which salt, which is not found in Kashmir itself, was imported into the Valley from the Punjab Salt Range. Many of the present villages on the way have existed for centuries. Thus Rajaori is the ancient Rajapuri, Baramgalla and Poshiana are also villages whose names appear in the old chronicles of Kashmir, and Poshiana was important as providing a refuge for those who had to flee from Srinagar on account of some political trouble. Once across the pass, they were out of Kashmir and had freedom from persecution. The Pass itself, the ancient name for which is Panchaladhara, was regarded as a place peopled by supernatural beings, and offerings were made to the presiding genius of the place by travellers as they crossed the summit.

From the top of the pass, the ancient route diverged a little from that used by the Mughuls; the former took the right bank of the stream that leads down to 'Aliabad, near which it crossed the Hastivanj Ridge, while the latter went by the left bank. Below 'Aliabad comes Hirpur, the ancient Shurapura, which was the frontier town for people coming into the country by the Pir Panjal route. It was also one of the import-

ant watch-stations (Dranga) whose names are still preserved in several villages at strategic points on the routes out of Kashmir. An even more ancient watch-station was on the site marked by the defence towers of the Afghans, further up the valley towards 'Aliabad.

On account of its height, the Pir Panjal Pass remained closed for about six months of the year. At that time, people entering Kashmir would make a detour by Punch, either from Bhimbar or Thanna, or could come direct to Punch by Kotli and the valley of the Punch River. Punch is the ancient Par-notsa and is sometimes referred to in old writings as Prunch. Punch and its surrounding territory were given by Ranjit Singh as a jagir or estate to Dhyana Singh, the younger brother of Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty of Kashmir.

The Emperor Jahangir used the Punch route several times in his visits to Kashmir. From Punch the route proceeds to Uri in the Jhelam Valley over the Haji Pir, an easy pass of 8,500 ft. and thence to Baramula.

Another route of great antiquity leads from Abbottabad by Muzaffarabad to Domel and thence on by the Jhelam Valley. Abbottabad is the chief town of the present Hazara district, which is the ancient Urasa, and which was on the main route between Kashmir and Gandhara, the centre of ancient Kushan civilization.

From Muzaffarabad, however, the ancient route followed the right bank of the Jhelam, i.e., the opposite bank to the present road. The small village Peliassa marks the old frontier of Kashmir, at which a military guard was certainly stationed. The actual Drang or watch-station, however, was at Baramula, where the Jhelam leaves the valley. Baramula was the 'Dvara' or gate which is referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in his travels, when he visited Kashmir in A.D. 631 as the western gate. In Moorcroft's time (1822) there was actually a gate here which he describes as follows: "Below the town, i.e., Baramula, the whole space between the river and the mountains is closed by

a wooden rampart and folding gates. In the time of the Afghans, a strong guard was posted at this place and the gateway was kept in good repair". Owing to the nature of the ground rendering any other place unsuitable, it is probable that the gateway mentioned by Moorcroft was on the same site as the gate through which Hiuen Tsiang passed.

The Dvaras or gates of ancient Kashmir were established at all the passes into the kingdom and were jealously guarded. The position of Lord of the Gates was then one of the most responsible offices of state. Opposite Baramula was the important town of Hushkapura, represented by the modern village of Ushkar. This town was named after the Kushan King Huvishka¹ and had many Buddhist monasteries and stupas. From Ushkar the road followed the present motor road to Srinagar. The stretch of road from Uri onward is also of some antiquity, as this was on the Punch route out of Kashmir.

Another ancient route into Kashmir, which has now been largely abandoned, is that from Punch by the Tosh Maidan, one of the most extensive of the margs or meadows on the Pir Panjal. From Punch, a route led up to the strong fortress of Lohara which has played an important part in the defence of Kashmir. Alberuni, who saw it in A.D. 1021, described it as, with the fortress of Rajagiri, another of the defences of Kashmir, the strongest place he had ever seen. It was at Lohara that Mahmud of Ghazni's force (A.D. 1021) and Ranjit Singh's army (A.D. 1814) under his own command retreating from the Tosh Maidan, were both defeated in their attempt to invade Kashmir. The altitude and difficulty of the mountain defiles, together with the extreme cold and barrenness of the region, must have had a good share in making Lohara so formidable a fortress. At present nothing remains of the castle except traces of the foundations and heaps of stones.

From Lohara, the route went over the Pir Panjal by an

¹ or Hushka.

easy pass of over 13,000 feet, crossed the Tosh Maidan and descended into the valley by the village of Drang, the name of which shows that it was once an old watch-station. The Dvara or gate was probably at the edge of the Tosh Maidan itself, at a place marked today by several ruined towers.

The picture we have of ancient Kashmir is of a land very closely guarded with its watch-stations established at strategic points on all the main routes. The system of regulating entrance into or exit from the country, seems to have been an elaborate one and customs duties were exacted then as later. In the course of time, however, all the ancient routes have become unimportant, having been replaced by modern roads.

II. *Capitals*

Ancient Kashmir has had a number of capitals. All of these were built on the banks of the Vitasta or Jhelam, an indication that the river was largely used for transport and trade.

The most ancient capital was that situated on a site occupied in part by the modern village of Pandrethan, about a mile and a half east of the Takht on the main Jammu road. The name Pandrethan is itself informative, as it is a derivative of the Sanskrit Puranadhithana, literally, the old capital. The latter was probably identical with the city of Srinagari founded by Asoka *circa* 250 B.C., and was built both on the level ground near the river and on the hill slopes, behind the village of Pandrethan. Part of it would thus have occupied the site of the modern cantonments of the State forces, and in digging the foundations for the military buildings, remains of the old city have been discovered. Archaeological excavations which have taken place have revealed some Buddhist stupas and the foundations of a monastery.

The name Srinagari, the City of Sri, an appellation of the

goddess Lakshmi, is a feminine form of Srinagara, the name of the present capital. Both are identical in meaning. The old name seems to have been attached to the new city which was originally called Pravarasenapura or Pravarapura, after its founder Pravarasena II. The fact that both capitals were so near each other no doubt facilitated the transfer of the name which thus survived the original city to which it referred.

The present Srinagar was founded by Pravarasena II about the middle of the sixth century A.D. It is described by Hiuen Tsiang as bordered on the west by a great river, 12 or 13 li¹ from north to south and 4 or 5 li² from east to west. He notices that about 10 li³ to the south-east of the new city and to the north of the old city, and on the south of a great mountain, there was a monastery with about 300 priests. This description agrees with the identification of Pravarasena's capital with the modern Srinagar and Asoka's capital with Pandrethan and its surroundings.

Pravarasena's city was constructed near the Hari Parbat hill and extended along the right bank only of the Vitasta. It is described by Kalhana as having markets, mansions which reached the clouds, and pure and lovely streams meeting at pleasure-residences, with the cool water of the Vitasta running past the houses. In the centre of the city there was a pleasure-hill (Hari Parbat) from which all the houses could be seen in their splendour. In addition there were numerous splendid temples, the site of some of which it has been possible to identify.

The embankment which stretches today from the Dal Gate along the Tsunth Kul or Apple-tree canal to the Jhelam is attributed to Pravarasena and is supposed, from its shape, to have been originally the leg of a Rakshas or demon who bent his leg in this way in order to allow Pravarasena a means of crossing the lake in his search of a site for his new city. Apart from this legendary origin, it is evident that this embankment

¹ 2½ miles.² 1 mile.³ 2 miles.

was very necessary in order to render the new capital safe from flooding from the river. Without it the low-lying ground of the city on the right bank of the river would have been dangerously exposed to flooding.

The site of the new capital was so well chosen that it has remained the situation of the capital to the present day and has outlived several attempts to change it.

The advantages of the site are numerous. It has a central position in the valley and the river and lakes which surround it make it easily accessible by water. The abundance of water facilitates cultivation and full use is made of the lakes and their numerous agricultural products in the food supply of the city. From the point of view of defence, which was a consideration that had to be carefully borne in mind in Pravarasena's time and for many centuries afterwards, the situation was also eminently suitable. On every side, except for a narrow tongue of land on the north, the city is surrounded by water—the Vitasta on the south, the Anchar Lake on the west, the Dal Lake and its canals on the east. It is only on the north that the city is accessible by land, along what is the present Ganderbal road. This approach, however, is at one point so narrowed by the Dal and Anchar Lakes coming together that its defence presents no difficulty.

In later times the city was extended to the left bank of the Vitasta also, to a portion enclosed by the canal which takes off from the river below Sher Garhi and joins it again near the seventh bridge. This portion of the city, however, remained subsidiary, although in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028–63) the royal palace was transferred to it.

Although several sites of the temples of Pravarasena's city have been identified, little of the city remains to be seen by the visitor of today. The chief relic is the embankment along the Tsunth Kul canal which is still firm and solid, and still resembles in shape the bent leg of a Rakshas. It now furnishes a mooring-place for numerous dungas where the family life of

many Kashmiri boatmen is exhibited to the gaze of those using the road that has now been constructed along part of the ancient *setu*. As Hari Parbat was in the centre of Pravarasena's city, the Muslim cemetery at the foot of the hill and Muslim shrines and buildings in the neighbourhood have drawn for their materials largely on the buildings of the ancient Srinagar. The rock on the south of Hari Parbat, now smeared with red paint, is a reminder of Pravarasena's city, as it was then considered to be an appearance of the god Ganesha, who in his interest in the new city that was rising around him, is said to have turned his face towards the east in order to behold it better. The embankments along the River Jhelam have also been largely constructed of the massive pillars and stone blocks that used to support the edifices of the city founded by Pravarasena and further adorned by later kings. The extent of these ruins and the elaborate carving which they display testify to the labour and effort which must have gone to the making of the capital and enable one to conceive something of the magnificence which the city must have possessed.

The modern part of Srinagar has moved eastwards from the old city so that the Takht rather than Hari Parbat has become the central hill round which it is grouped. The hill of the Takht was, however, as prominent in ancient times as it is now, and although outside the city, it lay between the old capital of Asoka and the new one of Pravarasena, and was accordingly easy of access. Its convenient and striking position ensured that it was not neglected and, as we should expect, from an early time it has had its temple and been considered a sacred spot. Its ancient name was Gopadri or the hill of Gopa, called after King Gopaditya who built a temple to Shiva Jyestheshvara on it. The dates of Gopa's reign are uncertain, but the temple is probably a century earlier than that of Martand. Gopaditya's temple most probably occupied the site of the existing temple which is the most natural place for the erection of a building of this nature. The present temple

is on the whole of a much later date but its base seems to be old and may well be part of the ancient structure. In front of the temple are some ruins of two Muslim buildings, but apart from these, the hill is otherwise quite free from ancient remains.

The next capital was that of Parihasapura founded by King Lalitaditya (*circa* A.D. 750). The site of this has been identified as the *karewa* of Paraspor about two miles south of Shadipur. The *karewa* forms a plateau roughly two miles long and one mile broad. At its northern end there exists a depression, known as the Badrihel Nala, which represents the ancient course of the Vitasta before its diversion to its present course by Suyya, the minister of Avantivarman. Lalitaditya's capital was, as were all the ancient capitals, on the river bank, and when owing to Suyya's engineering feat, this no longer became the case, the abandonment and ruin of Parihasapura were facilitated.

Remains of Lalitaditya's city still exist on the *karewa*, and it has been possible to identify some Buddhist structures and to recover some carvings of figures. A characteristic of these buildings is the immense stone blocks of which they were constructed. Remains of two other temples exist which seem to have been on the same plan as Martand, i.e., a shrine enclosed by a colonnade, but which were considerably larger. The outside measurements of the latter are 220 ft. by 142 ft., whereas those at Parihasapura were in one case 275 ft. square and in the other 230 ft. by 170 ft. Amongst the other wonders there was also a large pillar, 54 yards high, erected near one of the temples of Vishnu.

Parihasapura's later history was unfortunate. Lalitaditya's son Vajraditya did not reside there. The diversion of the river left the capital occupying an isolated position difficult of access. Even within the comparatively short space of a century and a half, about A.D. 900, the stones of Parihasapura were being used for the construction of a new capital at the present-

day village of Patan. Under King Harsha Parihasapura was the scene of fighting and one of the temples was robbed by the king of its silver image of Vishnu. Sikandar But-Shikan made it the object of his zeal for destruction and Abu-l-Fazl records that while one of the lofty temples was being destroyed, a copper tablet came to light on which, written in Sanskrit, was the prophecy that at the end of eleven hundred years, a person called Sikandar would destroy the temple and as a result would store up great punishment for himself. Unfortunately for the prophecy, Sikandar's destruction of the temple took place seven hundred years after the foundation of the capital, and Sikandar himself escaped the great punishment in his lifetime. Sir Aurel Stein, who in 1892 re-discovered the site, states that on a visit four years later he found the stones of the buildings being removed and broken up to form road-metal for the main Srinagar-Baramula road which was then being constructed and which passes quite near the *Paraspor karewa*. The traveller nowadays can remember as he passes this locality that his car is going over fragments of the royal buildings of one of the ancient Hindu kings of Kashmir.

The next capital was founded by Jayapida (*circa* 800) and called after him Jayapura. It is marked in the present day by the village of Andarkot, situated at a distance of about a mile to the south-west of Sumbal on the Jhelam. At the time of its foundation the capital was no doubt situated on the river which was then following a different course.

Jayapida is said to have had his capital built in the middle of a lake after the ground had been filled in. On account of its being surrounded by water, Jayapura was referred to as 'the castle'. The present village of Andarkot preserves its popular name of Antarakotta or Inner Castle. The outer castle was a place called Dvaravati and was constructed on what is now the solid ground between Andarkot and the river, but was then the shore of the Wular Lake. The waters of the lake have since receded. The distance between the

outer and inner castle, however, was very small and the name Dvaravati has disappeared, having been absorbed in that of Andarkot.

The buildings on the island included both Buddhist and Hindu structures, but of these only a few shapeless heaps of stone remain. As the island constructed by Jayapida is of very limited area, the capital could not have been a large one. It is probable that its buildings were not constructed so solidly or of such massive dimensions as those of Parihasapura. They were thus easier to destroy and time has dealt hardly with Jayapura. The city of victory as the derivation of the name means, has itself been conquered and it is impossible to recognize its former glory in the scattered boulders which are all that remain today.

The next capital was erected in the eastern half of the valley. This was Avantipura, founded by King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883), easily identified by the ruined temples at the village of Avantipura on the Jammu road, at a distance of eighteen miles from Srinagar.

The town which the king founded seems to have been of considerable extent and it is still possible to discover traces of it on the hillside for two miles east of the present village. Although Avantivarman's son later abandoned his father's capital and founded a new one about as far removed from Avantipura as possible, nevertheless Avantipura by no means lost its importance, but continued to be one of the notable cities of ancient Kashmir. Its situation on the Vitasta, the high ground behind serving as security against the danger of floods, the proximity of one of the most fertile tracts of the valley, the presence of what must have been a considerable population, all served to keep Avantipura a busy centre long after its founder had died.

With the exception of the two temples, however, little is evident today of the former greatness of Avantipura, and as the traveller passes this locality, there is little indication that

there was once a busy city here, the residence of the king and the centre of the valley's life.

The larger of the two temples is that nearer Srinagar. It is dedicated to Shiva and seems to have been on a pattern similar to that of Martand. The other and smaller temple is nearer the village of Avantipura and is dedicated to Vishnu. King Avantivarman was himself a worshipper of Vishnu, but in Kashmir which from the beginning has been the land of Shiva, the king apparently thought it better to conceal his attachment to Vishnu, only revealing this when he was on the point of death.

Both temples have been damaged and have suffered from the destructive mania of Sikandar But-Shikan, but the temple of Vishnu is in the better condition. It owes this to the fact that it has been for centuries half-covered with earth from the adjacent hillside. Hence many of the sculptures representing Hindu deities have been well-preserved, and in their panels it is possible to see representations of the lions, crocodiles, tortoises, elephants and legendary birds that figure in Hindu mythology. No other of the extant temples furnishes such a range of carving and sculpture as this temple of Vishnu-Avantisvami.

The large earthenware jars which have been excavated and placed along the walls were used for storing food-grains. On one of them, now in the Srinagar museum, an inscription in which the name of King Avantivarman appears, was found. It was this temple which some two hundred years after its foundation, was converted into a castle and stood siege for some time. The old temples with their colonnade of massive stones could be easily adapted for the purposes of war, and no doubt their suitability for such purposes suggested itself quickly to the commander of the King's forces when he was attacked in Avantipura by the disaffected landlords of the surrounding district.

Avantivarman's son Shankaravarman (A.D. 883-902), seems

to have been dissatisfied with his father's capital. Father and son were very different in character, and whereas Avanti-varman was remembered with affection, the very name of his son came to be execrated by reason of his extortion and oppression.

The name given to the new capital was Shankarapura, situated about five miles west of Parihasapura. In keeping with his avarice, the king used many of the stones from Lalitaditya's capital to build his new city. His foundation, however, did not prove a successful one, and the name of Shankarapura which commemorated and perpetuated that of the king, was rarely used. The people referred to it by the common word Pattana or 'the town', and it remained merely a market-town, owing its importance not to its association with the king but to its position on the road leading out of the valley by the western gate. This position it has preserved in modern times also. Shankarapura, known simply as Pattana, 'town', is now the modern village of Patan on the main road half-way between Srinagar and Baramula, and is still a local centre of trade.

The only remains of the capital are the two temples at Patan. The larger one, that nearer the village, is attributed to the king himself, and the smaller one nearer Srinagar, to the queen. The temples are still imposing structures, but the larger one is not seen to its best advantage without the setting of the colonnade. It is possible that both temples were constructed out of material taken from Parihasapura, and that in seeing them we are really looking at some of the splendour of Lalitaditya's city.

The early capitals of the three Kushan kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, have been traced in villages existing today.

Kanishka's capital of Kanishkapura is represented by the small present-day village of Kainspor, about five miles to the north-east of Baramula. No remains of buildings now exist

here but an ancient mound near-by has furnished stones and coins from time to time.

Hushka's capital was not far away. Its name of Hushkapura is preserved in the modern village of Ushkar, about a mile from Baramula and on the opposite side of the river. Hushkapura, indeed, seems to have been in ancient times a more important place than Baramula, probably because its site, while still close to the western gate of the kingdom, gave plenty room for expansion. It was in one of the Buddhist monasteries here that Hiuen Tsiang stayed when he first arrived in Kashmir. Lalitaditya had a Buddhist vihara and stupa built in Hushkapura, as well as a temple to Vishnu, the remains of which have been traced. An examination of the site revealed the fact that Lalitaditya's stupa seems to have replaced, on the same position, a far older structure which was probably erected by the Kushan king Hushka himself.

From this site pieces of terra cotta figures¹ have been excavated. The heads of the figures are of great beauty and interest, and reveal an advanced state of artistic achievement. One of the heads is that of a sadhu or Hindu ascetic, and with the long hair brushed back and tied together in a knot and the abstracted appearance, it presents an easily recognizable portrait of a type that is as common in India today as it was when Hushkapura was a thriving frontier town. Other figures are definitely Mongol in appearance and point to the close connection of the Kushan dynasty with Central Asia. The remains of an old wall built of small stone pieces embedded in mud are interesting as revealing an early method of building construction.

In early times Hushkapura seems to have easily eclipsed Baramula in importance, but time has revised this relationship, and it is now Baramula that has become the centre of the western end of the valley, while the small village of Ushkar gives little evidence of its past greatness.

¹ Now in the Srinagar Museum.

Jushka, the third of the Kushan kings, also built a city which has been identified as the present-day village of Zukur, about a mile to the north of the Nasim Bagh. None of the ancient buildings can now be traced, but a number of old stones have been incorporated into the Muslim tombs and mosques of the village.

iii. *The Divisions of the Valley*

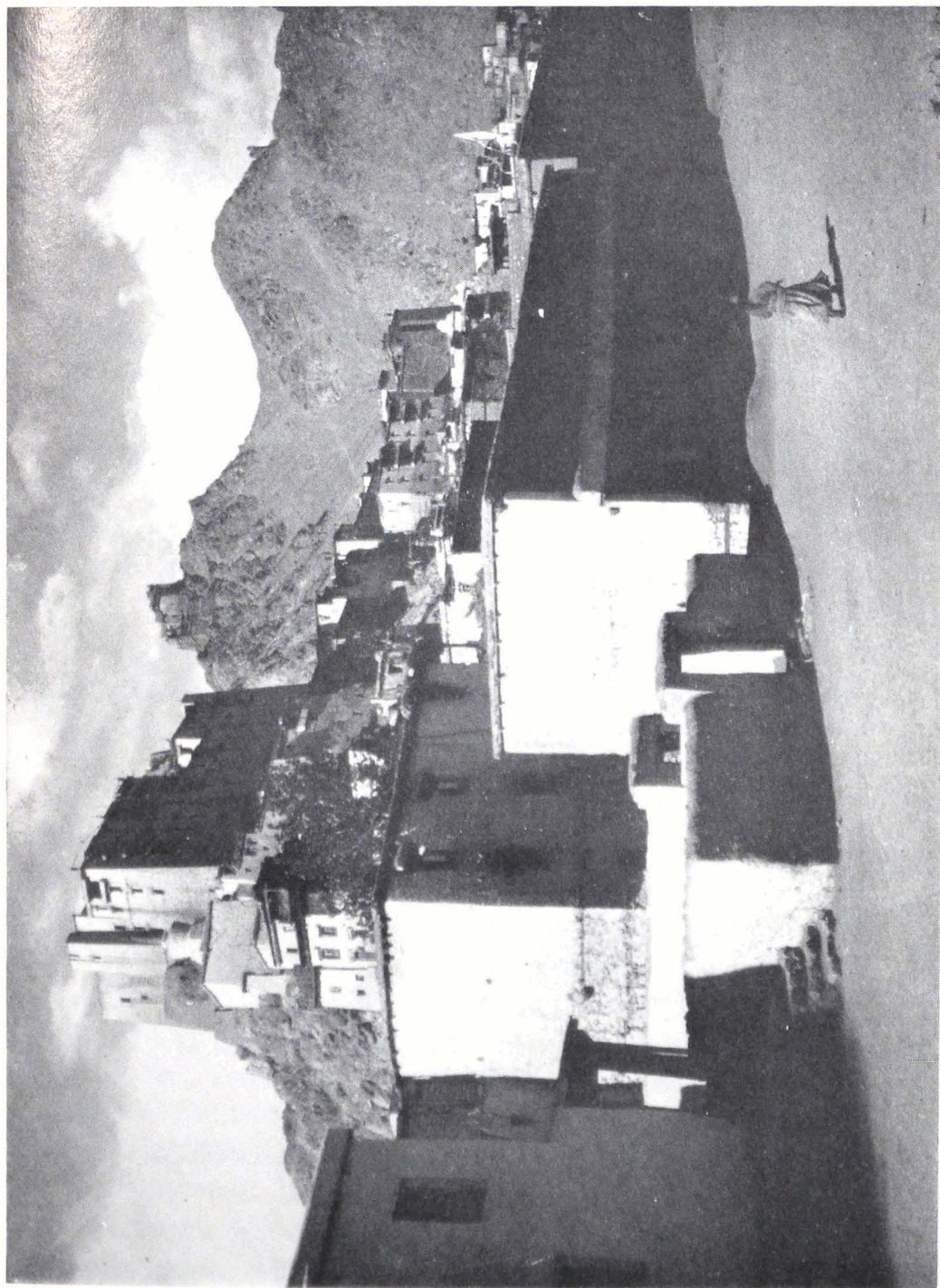
Srinagar, as the central point in Kashmir, has formed the basis of a division of the valley from ancient times. The land above Srinagar on both sides of the Vitasta was known as Madavarajya, and the other half below the capital as Kramarajya, the popular names of which are Maraj and Kamraj.

The upper half of the valley contains a number of ancient sites of importance, in addition to the old capitals of Puranadhithana and Avantipura.

Pampur is the ancient Padmapura, founded *circa* A.D. 800 by Padma, the uncle of Jayapida. The Muslim shrines of the present village contain ancient remains that have probably come from the buildings erected by Padma.

Beyond Pampur, off the main road, is the interesting village of Khreu, the ancient Khaduvi, with a temple to Jwalamukhi-Durga. Near Khreu, the village of Sar was formerly a place where iron-smelting was carried on. Loduv, two miles to the south-west of Sar, has two temples, the larger one of which shows great simplicity of construction and is probably on that account one of the earliest of the Kashmir temples. Narastan, in a remote valley about twelve miles to the north of Avantipura, has also an interesting temple from the site of which sculptures have been excavated.

The most perfect of all the Kashmir temples is that of Payar, about six miles to the south of Avantipura. It has



6. The castle at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. The castle was formerly the residence of the Gyalpo or ruler.

largely escaped destruction and its carvings of flowers, geese and bulls, elephants and gods and goddesses, are in good condition.

The temples of Martand and Mamal, and the spring at Vernag, all of which were of considerable importance in ancient Kashmir, fall within the division of Maraj. The temple of Martand is the largest and most impressive of the ancient Hindu temples of Kashmir. It is mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle as having been built by King Lalitaditya in the eighth century A.D. Kalhana notes its massive walls of stone and its lofty enclosure and adds that the town adjacent to the temple swells with grapes. Actually recent excavation has shown that an older temple existed on the same site and that the base of this temple was incorporated into the new one. It is thought that the old temple was the work of King Ranaditya a few centuries earlier.

The situation of Martand on the *karewa* or alluvial plateau above Anantnag is a striking one, and affords extensive views of the vale and the Pir Panjal range beyond. A little more than a mile away, to the north-west, at Bhawan, on the edge of the *karewa*, are some springs which have been for centuries a place of pilgrimage. The springs are associated in legend with the creation of the sun, and the temple of Martand is accordingly dedicated to Vishnu in his incarnation as the sun.

The temple itself is enclosed by a colonnade or peristyle, 220 feet long and 142 feet broad. The number of pillars in the peristyle was 84, which was a sacred number with the Hindus as being, according to one explanation, the product of the number of days in the week and the number of signs in the Zodiac. Each pair of pillars enclosed a cell, those at the centre of the two longer sides being more imposing than the others. Inside the large courtyard enclosed by the peristyle was the temple itself. This had three divisions, a porch, a middle temple, both decorated, and an innermost temple which was entirely plain and enclosed on three of its sides. A special

feature of the temple was the construction of two wings on either side of the porch, with openings facing east and west. The main gateway to the temple was in the western side of the peristyle and was an elaborate structure with three divisions, elegantly carved, repeating the pattern of the temple. The roofs of the temple and gateway were probably pyramidal in shape, but both have disappeared, perhaps because they were made of wood.

The massive character of the building rendered it suitable for use as a fortification, and it was so used in Kalhana's own time by a party which had rebelled against the ruler. The temple is said to have been despoiled by Sikandar But-Shikan at the end of the fourteenth century.

The cave of Amarnath seems to have been known in ancient times, but not to have been so important then. Its Sanskrit name, Amaranatha, is the same as its present one, and the pillar of ice in the cave is taken as an embodiment of Shiva. Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin is said to have visited the cave.

Kamraj, the western half of the valley, is equally rich in ancient sites, of which a number—the towns of the Kushan kings, Parihasapura, Jayapura and Patan—have already been described.

Baramula, at the entrance to the valley, is a place of great antiquity. The first part of its name is derived from the Sanskrit Varaha, a boar, and refers to the incarnation of the god Vishnu in the form of a boar. The temple at which Vishnu Adi-Varaha, or Vishnu in the form of a boar, was worshipped, was one of the most popular and most frequented in ancient Kashmir, but was destroyed in the reign of Sikandar But-Shikan.

Another of the famous shrines was the temple of the goddess Sharada on the right bank of the Kishenganga in the difficult country about forty miles to the west of Kanzalwan. This shrine had a great reputation extending far beyond Kashmir. Near the temple was the old fort of Shirahshila, i.e., rock

of the head, which was besieged by King Jayasinha's troops.

The Lolab is the ancient Laulaha, but has no historical sites. Sopor was originally Suyyapura, the city of Suyya, the famous engineer of the King Avantivarman. The present town has nothing old beyond its name. The Sind Valley is a district now known as Lar, a form of its ancient name Lahara, and was distinguished for its troublesome landowners who often became powerful enough to oppose the kings.

Between Ganderbal and Manasbal, the village of Tulamula and its springs marks the ancient place of pilgrimage, Tulamulya, which has preserved its fame into modern times. The spring is supposed to possess the property of changing its colour from time to time, and when this happens, the changes are attributed to the presence of the goddess Durga.

The mountain of Haramukh has also been for many centuries an important place of pilgrimage. Its Sanskrit name is Haramukuta the diadem of Shiva, and its lakes, Gangabal and Nundkol, were known as Uttaraganga, the source of the Ganges, i.e., the Sind River, and Nandisaras, the place of Nandin, the attendant of Kala or Shiva. From a remote period Gangabal has served for the Hindus as a receptacle for the ashes of the dead. The temples at Nara Nag in the Wangat Valley had an important function in the pilgrimage to Gangabal and Haramukh.

In the Sind Valley itself, Kangan and Gagangair had the ancient names of Kankanapura, a foundation of Queen Didda in memory of her husband, and Gagangiri, a place of some importance in the defence of the entrance to Kashmir by the Zoji La.

One of the most interesting of the ancient sites is that of Harwan, two miles above Shalamar, on the way to the lake that supplies water to Srinagar. Excavation here has revealed the foundations of Buddhist structures of different types of construction and built on terraces on the hillside, each level being connected by a flight of stairs with the others. The

buildings are taken to be the work of the Kushans, and to be approximately A.D. 300 in date.

A unique feature of the ruins is a tiled pavement belonging to the temple furthest up the hillside. The patterns on the tiles are instructive. They exhibit line designs, flowers and leaves, dragons, animals and human beings. The portrayal of some of the figures is excellent. A naked ascetic is shown in a crouching position; a warrior shooting an arrow from his galloping horse has his body facing front and his head in profile; female musicians are portrayed in realistic guise. The tiles show the early artists feeling their way, not having overcome as yet the difficulties of perspective. The work on the whole is crude, but it has vigour and life. Perhaps the best representations are those of the animals—the geese, the galloping horses and deer, the fighting cocks, and the elephants which appear more African than Indian. The early Kushans evidently loved their animals and observed their movements accurately. An interesting point is that numerals in the Kharoshti script have been stamped on the tiles and baked in, so that when the tiles were laid together, the exact position of each would be known. This indicates that the workmen were literate enough to be able to follow the series indicated by the numbers.

Kashmir has its prehistoric monuments at Yandrahom, two miles to the north-west of Harwan, where a group of large stones, some still erect, is situated. Nothing is known of the origin or purpose which the stones subserved.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUGHUL GARDENS

THE Mughul Gardens which are so frequently encountered around Srinagar and throughout the Vale, represent an abiding contribution of the culture of Iran and Central Asia to Kashmir. They are the creation of the Mughul emperors, who originally came from Central Asia, and it was Babar, the first of them, who introduced India to the delights of the enclosed garden planted out with flowers and shrubs and trees arranged in symmetrical plots and kept green with cascades and fountains. Kashmir, however, owes its superb gardens, the best examples in India, principally to Jahangir and his queen, Nur Jahan, and to his son, Shah Jahan, the fifth emperor.

The plan of the gardens follows a regular and easily recognizable pattern. The shape is invariably rectangular, and the garden is enclosed by a high wall in which there is one central entrance and several subordinate gates at different places. The wall is a legacy from Central Asian gardens, where it gave security. It is not a feature of the Persian gardens. In India, its purpose was more to ensure privacy, and its great height and solid nature with no openings, served this purpose admirably. The members of the Zenana could disport themselves in the open in the uppermost terrace usually reserved for them, yet be perfectly free from outside observation. Within this wall, which invariably encloses a considerable space—Nishat,

the largest, is about fifty acres in extent—the ground was arranged in terraces. This was naturally easy in Kashmir where the gardens are situated on the hillside, but even in the plains of India terraces were industriously constructed to allow a flow of water. From the level of one terrace to that of another the water fell down a sloping stone chute called a 'chadar', which, to secure a diversified effect, was carved in various designs such as waves or shells. In addition the channels through which the water coursed were paved with blue tiles so as to heighten the effect of the reflections of the sky and clouds.

In a central position, on which the channels converged and surrounded by fountains, there was the other main feature of the garden—the pavilion or barahdari. A barahdari is literally a building with twelve open doors, but there might be more or less than this number. The barahdari came into special use in the monsoon season, when it provided both a vantage-ground from which to observe the black masses of rain-filled clouds and also a shelter from the torrential rain that followed. Such occasions were times of leisure from ordinary occupations and the pavilions in the gardens of Kashmir must have witnessed many festive scenes when the court either of the Emperor or his Governor established itself in their precincts.

To produce the most satisfactory effects in the gardens, the Mughuls made extensive use both of flowers and trees. The glory of the Kashmir garden is at its height in spring when irises, daffodils and gigantic tulips are flowering in mass against a background of the blossom of fruit trees and the new foliage of the immense chenars. In summer there is a profusion of roses, carnations, hollyhocks, delphinium and dahlias. All these plants were used by the Mughuls and for the rose they had a special affection. In many cases the trees had a symbolic meaning and the Mughuls and their associates saw in the different characters of the trees and blossoms the symbols of

life and death, of youth and innocence, of hope and despair, of love and unfulfilled longing.

Kashmir has a number of Mughul gardens at various places throughout the valley. Three of these—Nishat, Chashma Shahi and Shalamar—are not only the best preserved but are also within a short distance of Srinagar, and have accordingly received disproportionate attention. The others, however, which have to be sought out in remoter places, have their own charms to repay the traveller for the effort of his pilgrimage.

Nishat Bagh, or the Garden of Gladness, is the most easily reached from Srinagar, and a shikara ride through the lotus blossoms of the Dal Lake and underneath the high-arched bridge of the Satu causeway, brings one to the landing-place just outside the small entrances set in the garden's imposing wall. Nishat has ten terraces some of which are of considerable elevation. It was constructed by Asaf Jah, the brother of Jahangir's queen, and a person who because of this connection, supported by his intrinsic ability, rose to a position of great influence in the royal court. As such it was a private garden, not belonging to the emperor. When one has actually visited Nishat and seen the garden for oneself, Shah Jahan's surprise that a garden of such dimensions, position and advantages, should be the possession of one of his subjects, appears natural enough. Nishat is the best preserved of the gardens, and its immense chenars and—in proportion—its immense tulips, are its noteworthy features. From its commanding position it has a splendid view across the lake, and in summer one can see throughout the day a continuous stream of shikaras converging on it.

Nishat originally stretched down to the lake, and to appreciate its original splendour, it has to be remembered that its lawns terminated in the clear waters of the Dal. But modern times have demanded, reasonably enough, the construction of a good road to link up the northern side of the Dal Lake with the capital. Across the proposed route of the road stretched

the great length of the Nishat Bagh. To circumvent the garden would have meant an awkward and arduous detour round the hillside. So Nishat lost its lower terraces, sacrificed to the demands of modern convenience. Now its wall stands near the water, yet cutting the garden off and giving it an isolation and land-locked character that for centuries it did not possess. However inevitable the change, it cannot but be regretted. The lost ground constituted a link that increased the attractiveness of the garden many fold, and the combination of the series of terraces with the lake and its lotus blossom must have made up a diversity and perfection that the present garden, beautiful though it is, cannot attain.

Two miles beyond Nishat is Shalamar, the most renowned of all the Kashmir gardens. Its present fame can be largely attributed to Thomas Moore, who places the scene of his romantic picture of the quarrel between Jahangir and Nur Jahan and their reconciliation at the Feast of Roses in this garden. More than any of the others, Shalamar has lost its earlier glory and the passage of time has treated it unkindly. The canal approach to it from the lake is now unprepossessing, the modern road has altered its dimensions, and the whole garden seems to have fallen on evil times when the former care and attention which it received as its due is no longer forthcoming. But enough remains to reconstruct something of its past splendour.

Jahangir refers to the origin of the garden as occurring when, on a visit to enjoy the flowers of Phak and Shalamar, he gave orders to his son, Khurram, to have the stream dammed up and a waterfall made. The result he writes, was one of the sights of Kashmir, and the four centuries that have elapsed have only served to confirm the truth of this assertion. Although Shalamar was built by Jahangir, the name which he gave it and by which he knew it, was that of Farah-Bakhsh, the Bestower of Joy. The name Shalamar refers to the locality and comes from a much older construction, a man-

sion built on the same site by Pravarasena II at the end of the first century A.D. All traces of Pravarasena's foundation have long since disappeared, but the name remained attached to the locality. Actually, Shalamar, which means the Abode of Love, is an even more fitting name than that devised by Jahangir and it summarises admirably the popular estimate in which the garden is held. In Shah Jahan's reign, the garden was further extended at its northern end, the new portion being given the name of Faiz-Bakhsh, the Bestower of Bounties.

Bernier, who knew the garden by its ordinary name of Shalamar, visited it in A.D. 1665. He notes that Shalamar belongs to the king, and although the hill slopes bordering the lake are crowded with gardens, yet Shalamar is supreme amongst them all. Crossing from the lake, the entrance is by a long spacious canal, bordered by poplars. Nowadays this canal has not been well maintained, and is crowded with dungas, so that the first impression the traveller obtains of Shalamar, is not encouraging. The canal leads according to Bernier, to a summer-house, where the real excellence of the garden begins. From this point, the canal becomes more elaborate and more ornamented, the fountains and water reservoirs more numerous, till the second summer-house at the end of the garden is reached.

The summer-houses, Bernier notes, are situated in the centre of the canal, so that they are always surrounded by water. The houses are domed and their interior walls are painted and gilt, and inscribed with various Persian sentences, amongst which is the famous couplet, 'If there be a Paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here'. The same inscription appears on the walls of the Diwan-i-Khass in the Fort of Delhi, but there the letters are carved in marble and so have a permanence that the Shalamar inscription did not possess. In spite of this, the traveller who knows Kashmir well, will have no difficulty in deciding as to which place the claim truly applies.

Bernier specially remarks on the value and beauty of the doors and pillars of the summer-houses, which he states were taken from old idol temples, but the traveller is no longer in a position to judge, as the doors have long since been removed. The same is true of the domes. The Afghan Governors of Kashmir are credited with having erected a flat roof over one of the pavilions, so as to have a convenient place for smoking their hookahs, but whether they pulled down the domes, or whether the domes had already disappeared, is not certain. The pavilions have at present tile roofs and that of the large pavilion at the upper end of the garden is carved in such a way as to give it a distinctively Chinese appearance.

Jacquemont, who visited Kashmir in 1831, was fortunate enough to be granted a reception in Shalamar by the Sikh Governor. A barge was sent for him, and escorted by a guard in a number of smaller boats, Jacquemont was taken to the reception in the main pavilion in Shalamar, which he describes as "a little palace, now deserted, but still charming by reason of its position and magnificent shady trees". The Governor, attended by a numerous bodyguard of Sikhs, was awaiting him, and on his arrival, music and dancing began. Jacquemont, however, soon tired of the nautch. He had no high opinion of Kashmir female beauty, and he found nothing in the features of the dancing-girls to make up for the monotony of their performance. His interest was more aroused by the spectacle which the setting provided—"the quaint architecture in the palace, the varied brilliant groups of martial figures which thronged all round it, the gigantic size of the trees, the fresh grass, the waterfalls, and, in the distance, the bluish mountains with their white peaks". His description enables us to conjure up to some extent a picture of the splendour and vitality of the Shalamar of the Mughuls.

Baron Hugel, whose visit to Shalamar took place in 1835, mentions a feature of the garden which has regrettably fallen into disuse in modern times—the covered terrace or pergola.

This was usually constructed of vines draped over a trellis or supported by pillars and in the heat of summer provided not only coolness and shade but delicious refreshment also, for the grapes of Kashmir were famous. One Pathan Governor of Kashmir even had the idea of covering the Tsunth-i-Kul or Apple-Tree canal leading from the Dal Lake to the River Jhelam with a trellis of vines. This would have been a pergola *par excellence*, combining in its extent most of the pleasures that Kashmir can offer, but the design was never realized. Whatever the reasons may be, however, the pergola has been discontinued and the modern gardens are in that respect poorer than those which earlier centuries knew.

Chashma Shahi, the Royal Spring, nearer to Srinagar than Shalamar or Nishat, is also smaller. Situated on the hillside about a mile away from the lake, it is constructed round a copious spring which makes the garden independent of any other water supply. Built in 1632 by 'Ali Mardan Khan, Shah Jahan's Governor of Kashmir, its two main terraces are separated sharply from each other by a height of eighteen feet. The pavilions date from the period of Afghan rule, but the other features such as the fountains, water channels and reservoirs are original. The view across the Dal Lake and over to the Pir Panjal is magnificent and amply compensates for the long climb up to the garden. In some ways Chashma Shahi is the most attractive of all the gardens. The walls enclosing beds of bright-coloured flowers, the fruit trees with their blossoms, the pavilion covered with dark creepers, the channels of running water, all give an impression of an old-world garden in which one can recover peace and leisure. Overshadowed by its larger sisters, less easy of access than they, the garden of the Royal Spring has nevertheless a charm which ensures it a special place in the affections of the visitor.

A prominent object on the hillside beyond Chashma Shahi is the Peri Mahal or Fairies' Palace, which is stated to have been originally built by Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's eldest

son, as a school of astrology for his tutor Akhund Mulla Shah. Astrologers were held in honour in the Mughul court and Jahangir in his memoirs is continually referring to Jotik Ray and his prophecies which repeatedly proved to be correct. In Dara Shikoh's case, however, the students and professors of his college must have proved singularly inept, for no person stood in more need of some foreknowledge of events than Dara Shikoh himself. A little exercise of their science on the part of the astrologers might have prolonged his hapless life and saved him from his death at the hand of his younger brother Aurangzeb. The six narrow terraces of the Mahal rise one above the other, and the arches and buildings are in ruins.

On the other side of the Dal Lake, looking across to Nishat and Shalamar, is Nasim Bagh, the Garden of Zephyrs. Planned by Akbar, the garden has now nothing to show of its original work except some ruins by the lakeside. It consists at present of hundreds of huge chenar trees, planted in Shah Jahan's time, and is used as a camping-ground. As an introduction to life in Kashmir, the place is ideally fitted, and if the newcomer refuses a houseboat, he can well be recommended to establish his tent in Akbar's Garden of Zephyrs. A Persian couplet lays it down that Nasim should be enjoyed in the evening and Nishat in the morning.

The Mughul gardens we have considered so far are all grouped round the Dal Lake and being nearer to Srinagar are the most familiar. The western half of the Valley of Kashmir contains another that is still recognizable, namely, the Jarogha Bagh on the shore of Lake Manasbal. Here again the situation is perfect, for the surface of the lake in the summer is covered with an abundance of lotus blossom, but all that remains of the garden are the walls and some tall poplars. The terraces are now cultivated by the people of a near-by village. Locally the garden is attributed to Lalla Rukh, the youngest daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, but history gives its

founder as Nur Jahan. The garden has an isolation that the others do not possess and one can surmise for this reason it must have witnessed the more personal side of the Emperor's life.

The eastern half of the valley contains three royal gardens, those of Bijbehara, Achhabal and Vernag, the last two of which can set up as rivals to Shalamar and Nishat.

The garden at Bijbehara is the creation of Dara Shikoh, but little remains now except the gigantic chenars and ruins of a barahdari and a bridge across the river to join the two parts. This novel feature makes it clear that Dara's project was an ambitious one and that his garden was intended to rival or surpass those of his predecessors. Dara, the Persian form of the name Darius, was the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jahan, who with his wife Mumtaz Mahal is buried in the Taj Mahal at Agra. Dara Shikoh was a handsome youth, popular with the court and the people and had his father's love of pleasure and sport. Unfortunately he was not allowed to succeed Shah Jahan on the throne. His younger brother Aurangzeb, after a campaign of intrigue, succeeded in defeating his brothers, imprisoning his father in the fort at Agra and seizing power in his own hands. By the time he became Emperor, however, the great age of the Mughuls was on the wane. Aurangzeb himself had not complete control over his empire and the warlike and independent Mahrattas under their leader, Shivaji, remained a continual source of trouble to him. It is difficult to speculate what would have been the course of events had Dara Shikoh come to the throne, and whether under him the difficulties that beset Aurangzeb would have been successfully surmounted. With regard to Kashmir one can say with fair certainty that he would have been a more frequent visitor than Aurangzeb, who paid only one visit for reasons of health. So Bijbehara is a place of memories, recalling the early promise of the life of one of India's most romantic yet tragic figures.

Six miles beyond Anantnag, comes Achhabal, built like

Chashma Shahi, to enclose a spring. The place itself is one of great antiquity, its ancient name being Akshavala, and the spring had a reputation sufficient to justify a mention of it in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, where its water is stated to possess health-giving properties. Although founded by Nur Jahan and called after her by the name of Begamabad, it is only once referred to by Jahingir, when in a characteristic note he says: "On the 1st of Shahriwar I encamped at the fountain of Achbal, and on Thursday I had a feast of cups beside the fountain."

Like the garden at Vernag, Achhabal lies at the foot of a mountain spur which is closely covered with tall cedars. Against this dark background, the water sparkling in its fountains and cascades, the colours of the flowers and the fruit blossoms, the fresh green turf, the cream-coloured pavilion and the distant view of the snow peaks at the head of the Liddar Valley, all make up an enchanting combination of natural beauty skilfully heightened by man's industry and ingenuity. Mutilated though it is by the destruction of its lowest terrace, Achhabal still retains enough of its original features to witness to the good taste and sense of beauty of its royal founder.

Bernier, who had been sent in 1665 on a quasi-scientific expedition to the eastern end of the valley by Danishmand Khan, the noble in whose service he was employed, took the opportunity to call in at Achhabal and writes of the garden in eulogistic terms: "Returning from Send-brare, I turned a little from the high road for the sake of visiting Achiavel, a country house formerly of the Kings of Kashmire and now of the Great Mogol. What principally constitutes the beauty of this place is a fountain, whose waters disperse themselves into a hundred canals round the house, which is by no means unsightly, and throughout the gardens. The spring gushes out of the earth with violence, as if it issued from the bottom of some well, and the water is so abundant that it might rather

be called a river than a fountain. It is excellent water and cold as ice. The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks, and full of fruit-trees—apple, pear, plum, apricot and cherry. Jets *d'eau* in various forms and fish-ponds are in great number, and there is a lofty cascade which in its fall takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable; especially at night, when innumerable lamps, fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water.”

Bernier's brief but accurate description draws attention to several of the distinctive characteristics of the Mughul gardens. The first of these is the presence of fruit trees in the garden itself. Such trees were an integral part of the plan of the gardens, and were skilfully interposed with other non-flowering trees against which their delicate blossoms showed to advantage. It was a happy thought of the Mughuls to make use of flowering trees and shrubs, and the fruit trees enhanced the beauty and utility of their creations in no slight degree. Western gardens are the poorer for having banished fruit trees altogether or relegated them to orchards. Secondly, Bernier notes that the large water chute takes the form of a sheet. Actually the word 'chadar' used to describe this chute means a 'sheet', and as it was probably unknown to Bernier, his employment of this word is a tribute to the success of the effect attained by the Mughuls. Thirdly, Bernier remarks on the employment of innumerable lamps for illumination at night. These little 'diyas', made simply of a small earthenware vessel filled with mustard oil on which the wick floated, were placed in recesses in the terrace walls while the water poured over in front of them. The mechanism was simple and inexpensive, but the effect produced was magical.

A rough road, reminiscent of what Kashmir roads must have been before the motor age, leads east from Achhabal to Kokar Nag, another copious spring at the foot of a low forest-covered range of hills. Although the water of Kokar Nag has

the reputation of being the best in the whole Valley and was sent for the use of the Governors of Kashmir in the period of Afghan rule, the spring nevertheless has no garden attached to it. Its distance and remoteness probably left it unvisited by the Mughuls. A path leads, again through beautiful country, from Kokar Nag over the intervening ranges and across the stony bed of the incipient Jhelam to Vernag. The ordinary approach, however, is from the Banihal road, the way to Vernag branching off just as the motor road begins its long upward climb to the pass.

The Emperor Jahangir noted that the eastern half of the Valley of Kashmir was much superior in beauty to that of the other portion. His testimony is reinforced by George Forster whose visit took place in 1783. As Forster's comments on the people of Kashmir and their Afghan rulers are unflattering in the extreme, his description of the natural scenery of the country may be quoted to redress the balance. The portion of the valley which Forster is describing is the surroundings of Vernag, and the visitor who approaches Srinagar by the Banihal route will be able to share in Forster's evident appreciation and wonder: "The road from Veere Naug leads through a country, exhibiting that store of luxuriant imagery, which is produced by a happy disposition of hill, dale, wood, and water; and that these rare excellencies of nature might be displayed in their full glory, it was the season of spring, when the trees, the apple, pear, the peach, apricot, the cherry and mulberry, bore a variegated load of blossom. The clusters also, of the red and white rose, with an infinite class of flowering shrubs, presented a view so gaily decked, that no extraordinary warmth of imagination was required to fancy that I stood, at least, on a province of fairyland."

Vernag is the most unusual of all the Mughul gardens. Situated at the foot of the thickly-wooded hillside beneath the Banihal Pass, the springs of Vernag come up in a deep pool of icy water. Hordes of sacred fish inhabit the pool and



7. Nanga Parbat, 26,620 ft. The summit was first reached in July, 1953, after the mountain had claimed thirty-one lives in previous attempts.

follow the visitor round, waiting to be fed. Round the pool an octagonal stone building has been erected. A barahdari or pavilion exist, underneath which the water flows in two main channels into a large garden planted with flowers, poplar and chenar trees. In the garden there are also other springs. The water from the springs constitutes one of the sources of the River Jhelam.

The spring at Vernag is one of the most historical spots in the Vale of Kashmir and has been for centuries an object of pilgrimage and veneration. The name 'Nag' itself points to its antiquity, to the remote period when Naga worship was the prevalent religion in Kashmir. Then each spring had its Naga or tutelary deity in the form of a snake, to whom the people of the place ascribed supernatural powers. Indeed Kashmir as a whole was known as the country of Nagas, and Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited it in A.D. 631 attributes its freedom from invasion to the protection given by a powerful Naga.

For the Hindu Vernag is a place of special interest. The goddess Parvati, the consort of Shiva, with the worship of whom Kashmir is, to the Brahman, specially identified, wished to become manifest in the form of a river so as to provide a means of purification to the inhabitants of the Valley. Her desire however, could not be fulfilled until Shiva, piercing the ground with his trident, made an opening through which the pure waters that were the embodiment of Parvati, gushed out. As the opening was equivalent in size to the span of a hand, i.e., to one Vitasti, as the Sanskrit word is, the stream that issued forth was itself known by this name; and as the stream was considered to be the source of the Jhelam, the river too became known as the Vitasta, which is its ancient Sanskrit name. The modern Kashmiri word, Vyath, is a derivation from Vitasta. The more common name Jhelam, is not a Kashmiri word at all, and has been introduced into general usage by visitors to the valley.

With the Mughul emperors, Vernag attains its zenith of popularity. It is particularly associated with Jahangir who visited it several times. Jahangir seems to have been considerably impressed, as he refers to Vernag in his memoirs on several occasions, and as he lay dying near Rajaori on the other side of the Pir Panjal, his last wish was to be carried to Vernag. Jahangir mentions that while his father was alive, i.e., in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, he went twice to Vernag. Then after he himself had become Emperor, he renewed his acquaintance with the spring. It was after his accession also that he gave orders for the buildings, the remains of which still exist, to be erected, and for a garden with a canal to be made. The finished result, which he saw in his visit of 1620, gave him great pleasure, and he remarks that few travellers had seen anything to equal it.

Jahangir comments, as the visitor today is also sure to do, on the clarity of the water and the numerous fish which inhabit the spring. So pure is the water, he writes, that if a poppy-seed is thrown in, its progress can be followed till it reaches the bottom. He had been told that the spring was too deep to be fathomed, but being of a sceptical mind, he had this tested by putting in a cord with a stone fixed to one end. This showed the spring to be only nine feet deep, or as Jahangir writes, "the depth was not more than one and a half times the height of a man". This, however, is an underestimate, and in another part of his memoirs, where he has evidently forgotten what he had previously written, he gives its depth as forty-two feet. The latter estimate is much nearer the truth.

Although Jahangir had a keen eye for the natural beauty of Vernag and its surroundings—he comments on the hillside clothed with verdure, the flowers and the sweet-smelling plants of the garden—he did not neglect the social pleasures. On Thursday, the 2nd of Mihr in the year A.D. 1620, he celebrated the feast of cups at the spring. Unfortunately he gives

no details of how this feast was observed, beyond mentioning that he allowed permission to his attendants to sit down, that he gave them Kabul peaches as a relish and that they all returned to their houses exhilarated. Though the account is brief, it is clear that the party enjoyed themselves and the woods and alcoves of Vernag must have re-echoed for hours to the sounds of mirth and revelry.

Shah Jahan seems to have shared his father's love for Vernag, for popular tradition identifies the ruins by the stream outside the garden with his hammam or Turkish baths, and the place where the hot water was prepared is still pointed out.

With Shah Jahan's son and successor, the Emperor Aurangzeb, Vernag begins to sink into obscurity. We have no record of the Emperor ever having gone there and the only reference to it during his reign is that given by Bernier. After leaving Achhabal, Bernier went on to Vernag and the brief picture he gives us of the place is a pleasing one. He mentions that the fish are so tame that they come when they are called and that some of them still have gold rings which were placed on them by Nur Jahan, Jahangir's beautiful queen.

CHAPTER V

EARLY TRAVELLERS

1. *Chinese*

TWO early Chinese travellers have left accounts of their visits to Kashmir. The first is Hiuen Tsiang who visited Kashmir in A.D. 631 on his way to India in order to study Buddhism at its source. In Kashmir, for some reason probably not unconnected with the beauty and climate of the country, he stayed for two years. From Hazara, a country, he notes of rude and unrefined people, Hiuen Tsiang entered Kashmir by the stone gates of the western entrance, i.e., by Baramula, and spent the night at Hushkapura, now represented by the small village of Ushkar. The same night the priests in Kashmir were warned in a vision of the presence in their midst of this distinguished visitor from China who travelled under the protection of countless good spirits, and were exhorted by diligence in study to be worthy of him.

In his journey through the mountains of Kashmir, Hiuen Tsiang gives a graphic picture of the nature of travelling, in which we can recognize many of the features of the present day. He mentions the craggy and steep paths, the dark and gloomy mountains—'Karakoram' means literally 'black stone'—foot-bridges suspended in the air, flying bridges across the chasms and the wooden steps let into the ground for climbing the steep embankments. From this we can understand that the

rope-bridges and the *paris* or cliff paths with their wooden platforms resting on beams forced into the rock are no modern inventions but have formed the means of transport for many ages. For Hiuen Tsiang there were also the additional dangers induced by his belief that the caves and fissures along the banks of the Indus were the habitations of poisonous nags and hurtful beasts.

Hiuen Tsiang was received with great honours outside the capital by the king with his ministers and priests, and mounted on an elephant rode into Srinagar. Here he was supplied with twenty men to prepare copies of the sacred books in addition to those appointed to wait on him. He characterizes the people of Kashmir as "light and frivolous and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition". Unfortunately their later history contains many periods of oppression and sorrow in which they had little opportunity of expressing their frivolity. He mentions also their love of learning, which is still true of the Kashmiri pandit. At the time of his visit there were both heretics and believers, i.e., Brahmans and Buddhists. The country was protected by a dragon, and in view of this the people regarded themselves as superior to the inhabitants of neighbouring countries.

From Hiuen Tsiang's account we learn that Kanishka, King of Gandhara, held a council of five hundred sages in Kashmir at which they composed poetical works in explanation of the Buddhist scriptures. The date of this council is known to be *circa* A.D. 125. These works were then engraved on copper sheets, sealed in a stone box and buried underneath a stupa. Excavations were made in 1882 at Ushkar to recover these sheets but were unsuccessful.

Two capitals of Kashmir, the old and the new city, are mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. The old city has been identified as occupying the site of the small village of Pandrethan, about three miles east of Srinagar on the Jammu road. On the hillside above the old city there was a Buddhist monastery

containing a tooth of Buddha himself, which reached its resting-place here after many adventures. A Buddhist monk of Kashmir had gone on a pilgrimage to various holy places in India, when, hearing that his own country was now peaceful, he decided to return there. On his way he encountered a herd of elephants rushing across his path. To escape them he climbed up a tree. The elephants, however, tore up the tree by its roots, put the monk on the back of one of their number and bore him off at great speed into the middle of the jungle where another wounded elephant was lying in pain owing to a bamboo splinter having penetrated its foot. The monk extracted the splinter and bound the wound. In return for his action, the elephants gave him a golden casket containing a tooth of Buddha, and taking him to the edge of the jungle, set him on his way.

Having progressed some distance, the monk came to a river which he had to cross by boat. In the crossing, however, the boat was in such danger that the crew after consultation together, decided that their peril must be due to some relic of Buddha in the monk's possession which the dragons were coveting. On this the tooth of Buddha was discovered, and to ensure the safety of the ship, he had to deliver the tooth to the nagas or serpent deities. He then returned to India to devote himself to the study of how to acquire power over dragons and when after three years he felt himself able to make them do his will, he set out again for Kashmir, recovered the tooth from the demons and reaching his native country, gave the tooth to the monastery where it was placed in a stupa.

Hiuen Tsiang left Kashmir by Punch and Rajaori to continue his journey to India, whence after an absence of sixteen years, he reached China again with a caravan of Buddhist relics and writings.

A second Chinese pilgrim, Ou-kong, came to Kashmir in A.D. 759. He stayed for four years, occupying his time in

studying Sanskrit and visiting places of pilgrimage in the valley. It appears from his account that Buddhism had increased since Hiuen Tsiang's time, as in the interval between the two, Buddhist monasteries had trebled in number and other monuments had also increased.

It is interesting to find Ou-kong referring to the routes by which Kashmir maintained contact with the outside world. They are the same as those in use today. One is in the east, to Tou-fan or Tibet, another in the north to Poliu or Baltistan, and a third in the west to Gandhara. Here we have a testimony to the antiquity of the Zoji-La route to Ladakh and beyond, to the Gilgit road via the Burzil Pass which also leads to Baltistan over the Deosai Plateau, and to the Jhelam Valley route from Baramula. Ou-kong also mentions another road which he tells us is kept closed unless used by the royal army. He gives no indication of where this road is to be found, but it is probable that it refers to a route over the Pir Panjal.

For many years after this, India still continued to attract Chinese pilgrims, anxious to learn more of Buddhism at first hand, and it is probable that many of them visited and stayed in Kashmir on their way. No record exists, however, of their visits, and with Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-kong the contribution of Chinese travellers to our knowledge of early Kashmir closes.

II. *The Mughul Emperors*

Under the Emperor Akbar, Kashmir was conquered and became part of the Mughul empire, being classed as a sarkar or division of the subah or province of Kabul. As the residence of the Emperors was in Agra or Delhi, the internal affairs of Kashmir were administered by a Governor whom they appointed and they themselves visited the valley mainly for

purposes of health and recreation. In the case of the Emperors Akbar and his son Jahangir, we have accounts of their visits, either by themselves or their historians.

The Emperor Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, was himself illiterate. His minister, Abu-l-Fazl 'Allami, however, was a historian of great literary power and energy, and a brother of Abu-l-Faiz, who, under the pen-name of Faizi, is a distinguished Persian poet. To Abu-l-Fazl we are indebted for the Akbarnamah, containing a history of the reign of Akbar and his ancestors, and an account of the imperial household and system of government. Abu-l-Fazl is himself a great figure to whose efforts and wisdom much of the success of Akbar's reign was due. We have a picture of him from another Muslim work, in which his personal characteristics are described. He is stated to have had a prodigious appetite and to have treated his servants well, never resorting to the practices of fining a servant or stopping his wages. On the day when the sun entered Aries, i.e., in March, the beginning of the Persian New Year, it was his custom each year to inspect and make an inventory of all his possessions. At that time he gave away all his clothes to his servants, except his pyjamas which he had burnt before him. His literary style has been extolled and his letters were long used as models in the madrassas or Muslim schools. Indeed he was known throughout India as the 'Great Scribe'. In addition his character was one of high integrity; bribery and immorality were alike far from him, and amongst the nobles to be found in the Imperial court, Abu-l-Fazl stood out as pursuing with singleness of purpose the welfare of his master and of the state. It was therefore small wonder that Akbar placed great reliance on him and mourned bitterly his death which took place through the enmity of the Emperor's own son Jahangir, exclaiming that if Salim wanted to become emperor, he would have done better by killing his father and sparing Abu-l-Fazl.

Abu-l-Fazl tells us that he followed his master's stirrup to

Kashmir three times. From this we infer that Akbar paid three visits to Kashmir. Abu-l-Fazl does not mention Akbar's reaction to Kashmir, but judging from the determined efforts which the Emperor made to obtain possession of the valley, he could not have been insensible of its charms.

Kashmir is described by Abu-l-Fazl as an enchanting country, fit to be called a garden of perpetual spring. His description occurs in his account of the twelve subahs or provinces of the Empire and is accordingly mainly a recounting of facts and statistics. But the personal element is also present and it is easy to perceive that the description of the country is one drawn from the experience gained in his three visits.

The points which impressed Abu-l-Fazl are various. He notes the pleasant streams, the waterfalls of which are music to the ear, the abundance of flowers and fruit, and the beauty of the spring and autumn seasons. A modern visitor would agree with Abu-l-Fazl's singling out of these two periods of the year. The spring is the time of fruit blossom, of the flowering of the tulips in the gardens and the irises in the old graveyards that are found outside each village, and the autumn is the season when the foliage of the chenars and poplars is a mass of brilliant red and gold. Both are times of extreme loveliness. Continuing his description, Abu-l-Fazl notes the tall houses, built of wood on account of the abundance of that material and also of the danger of earthquakes. The ancient temples excite astonishment, but many are in ruins. About the Kashmiris, he remarks: "The bane of this country is its people, yet strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare."

Silk cultivation is noticed and the eggs of the silkworm are said to be brought from Gilgit, as they are today. The craftsmen of various trades are praised and are considered to be deserving of employment in great cities. The people go out on the lake in shikaras and send the hawks which they have

brought with them after wild fowl. The hawks catch their prey in mid-air, and gripping them firmly in their talons, drown them underneath the water before bringing them back to the boats. This type of hunting no longer exists. Transport of goods is by boat, although men also are used for the carriage of heavy loads over hilly country. The Kashmir musicians come in for condemnation; their music is monotonous and "with each note they seem to dig their nails into your liver."

Abu-l-Fazl gives a brief survey of the country. The whole of Kashmir is considered to be holy ground by the Hindus. There are one hundred and thirty-four shrines dedicated to Hindu deities. There are, however, seven hundred places in which snake-worship is carried on and around which marvellous legends have grown up. This is an interesting testimony to the power which the ancient naga or serpent worship still exercised in a country that had long been ruled by Hindu or Muslim kings. Wherever the summit of Mount Mahadeva can be seen, however, no snakes exist. Amongst the springs that abound throughout the valley, Abu-l-Fazl distinguishes Kokar Nag for the excellence of its water, which is said to be able to appease hunger. The water of the spring still has the same high reputation, although on account of its remote position at the east end of the valley, it is no longer frequently visited. The saffron fields of Pampor when in bloom, constitute a sight "that would enchant the most fastidious". The spring and cave at Matan are mentioned, but not the temple at Martand. The cave at Amar Nath with the ice lingam considered by the Hindus as an image of Mahadeva, is described as a shrine of great sanctity and the pilgrimage to the cave seems to have been an annual event then as it is now. The floating gardens of the Dal Lake, on the side nearest to the city, are noted and the path dividing the lake, which joins Nishat to the city near Hari Parbat, is given as the work of Sultan Zainu-l-'Abidin. The spring of Vernag has a stone embankment and is supposed to be unfathomable. It was in the

reign of Akbar's son Jahangir, that Vernag was embellished with the stone arches that make it noteworthy today. Haramukh, though not mentioned by name, is described as a lofty mountain, dominating all the surrounding country and having a difficult ascent. The spring at Nara Nag in the Wangat Valley has, however, in Abu-l-Fazl's account, become two springs, two yards apart, one of extremely cold and the other of equally hot water. The lake of Gangabal is used—as it is today—as a repository for the ashes of the dead. If by chance some animal flesh falls in and desecrates the water, the displeasure of the mountain deities is expressed in heavy falls of snow and rain. Gilgit is referred to as a pass leading to Kashmir and more accurately, as a gold-producing district.

According to Abu-l-Fazl, when Akbar first visited Kashmir, or, in his language, “when the Imperial standards were for the first time borne aloft in this garden of perpetual spring”, a copy of the Rajatarangini was presented to the Emperor, who had it translated. Abu-l-Fazl gives a summary of the history of Kashmir previous to the Mughul conquest, borrowing his material largely from the Rajatarangini, and concludes his account of the valley by saying that “at the present time under the sway of His Imperial Majesty, it is the secure and happy abode of many nationalities.”

On the whole Abu-l-Fazl's account gives a picture that is little different from the Kashmir of today. The ruling dynasty has changed, but the places, the occupations, the character and customs of the people remain substantially unaltered.

Jahangir, Akbar's son and successor, is of all the Mughul emperors, the one who, along with his queen Nur Jahan, is most associated with Kashmir. He visited the valley six times, twice as Prince Salim, and four times as Emperor. We learn from Bernier that Jahangir would have preferred to lose every province of his mighty empire rather than give up Kashmir, and Jahangir's death actually took place at Rajaori when he was on his way to Srinagar. From there, against his dying

wish, his body was brought back and buried in the large tomb at Shahdara near Lahore. Near him, in death as in life, lies the body of his queen, Nur Jahan.

Jahangir was frankly a sensualist, openly avowing his love of pleasure and regarding the sterner purposes of life as subsidiary to his enjoyment. For an account of his visits to Kashmir, we have fortunately his own memoirs, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, covering eighteen years of his reign. These were written in Persian and their use of the ornate figures of speech in which that language abounds constitutes one of their great charms. Thus he refers to the death of one of the Begams by saying that "one of the chief sitters in the harem of chastity had hastened to the hidden abode of non-existence". Or in writing of the fort at Kangra which had withstood even Akbar's forces, he describes its strength by saying that "the hand of force cannot reach its skirt and the noose of stratagem must fall short of it". And when at last Kangra fell to his own armies under his son Prince Khurram, he expresses his exultation and thankfulness by writing, "I bowed the head of humility at the throne of the merciful Creator and beat with loud sounds the drum of gladness and pleasure."

Jahangir expresses his delight with Kashmir in lavish terms that must have taxed even his facility for finding unusual figures of speech. "Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there is verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be counted. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and meadows are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of the banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or of the broad meadows and the

fragrant clover?" In short, even to spread a carpet on the green lawns of the valley would be bad taste and desecration.

In describing Kashmir Jahangir mentions that he had its length and breadth measured. He calls Srinagar by its present name and tells us that there are four bridges over the Jhelam or Bihat. The best routes into the valley are by Bhimbar and Pakli. The former is the Pir Panjal route which is shorter but opens later in the year than that by Pakli, i.e., by the Kishan Ganga and Baramula. The latter route has the advantage in that it enables one to reach Kashmir in time for spring. Jahangir mentions the variety of flowers and fruit, and among the latter singles out apricots, pears, apples and melons as being specially delicious. Rice is the principal food of the people, but is of an inferior quality. The dress both of men and women consists of a woollen tunic which the women wear down to their feet and with a belt round the waist. This is probably the well-known Kashmiri pheran. Jahangir speaks of this dress without any reference to the story repeated by some modern writers that Akbar on his conquest of the country forced the Kashmiris to wear the pheran as a sign of their effeminacy and softness. If this were the case, we should expect Jahangir to make some comment on his father's innovation. That he does not do so can be interpreted as indicating what is much more likely, that the pheran had existed long before Akbar's time and had become the national dress for the obvious reasons of its utility and ease of manufacture. Shawls are made, then as now, from the wool of the Tibetan goat. Formerly only ponies were found in Kashmir, but from Akbar's conquest, or "when this God-created flower-garden acquired eternal beauty under the auspices of the State", horses were introduced by the cavalry and soldiers and soon Kashmir-bred horses were fetching prices up to a thousand rupees. Jahangir also notices the existence of a number of Brahmans who could trace their descent to ancient times and who possessed their own Sanskrit books. The old idol temples

are still in existence and the immense stones of which they are constructed are commented on.

On one occasion in Srinagar, Jahangir's grandson Shah Shuja' aged four, fell from a window ten yards above the ground, but was not injured. Jahangir was much affected by his accident and escape, and refers to a prophecy from Jotik Ray, his favourite astrologer, that this time was an unpropitious one in the horoscope of the Prince, and that though he might fall down from some height, yet "the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life". Jahangir had carefully tended him on the difficult journey to Kashmir, but he had apparently relaxed precautions in Kashmir itself, where the accident took place. The incident illustrates Jahangir's faith in astrology and his journal contains many similar references to events falling out as they had been predicted.

Jahangir records a visit to the Tosh Maidan and near it came across a valley of flowers, of which fifty different kinds were picked in his presence. The same was true of another marg he visited, which he describes as "a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation". The name of the latter place, which he considered to be without doubt the most beautiful of all in Kashmir, is given as Gaurimarg, the old name for the present Gulmarg.

During Jahangir's stay, on a certain night according to an ancient custom, the Jhelam in its course through the city was illuminated with lamps on both sides. This custom commemorated the day on which the source of the Jhelam was supposed to have been discovered by Shiva and was called Veth tarwah. Veth is the Kashmiri name for the Jhelam and tarwah the thirteenth of the Hindu month when the festival occurred. The ceremony from the date mentioned by Jahangir would have taken place at the end of August or the beginning of September. Jahangir went down the river in a boat to see the illuminations and considered the effect to be very pleasing. This picturesque custom is no longer observed and Veth

tarwah is now only remembered as a day in which Hindu parents make presents to their daughters.

Jahangir gives a comparatively full account of his time in Kashmir and it is easy to recognize today most of the places and products of the valley that he describes. What one misses in his memoirs, however, is some account of what is most associated with him, namely, the feasts and entertainments which he and Nur Jahan celebrated with their court in the gardens on the bank of the Dal Lake or under the shade of chenar trees by fountains and springs. Especially one would like to hear something of the Feast of Roses, when, according to Moore, it was

“all love and light,
Visions by day and feasts by night.”

This more personal side Jahangir does not reveal to us. The feast he mentions most is the feast of cups, which seems to have come round frequently enough. But we can well understand that his visits brought an era of splendour and prosperity to Kashmir. It is said that there were in his time almost eight hundred gardens in the neighbourhood of the Dal Lake and the owners, the nobles of the court, were certain to follow the example of their master in making full use of the facilities that Kashmir so readily offers for pleasure-seeking and enjoyment.

Shah Jahan, Jahangir's son and successor, visited Kashmir several times, one of his visits being spoiled by tempests of wind and rain and widespread flooding. The descriptions of Kashmir which we find in the pages of a Muslim historian of the Emperor's reign stress the facts that never fail to surprise and delight the visitor from India—the abundance of water in streams and springs, rivers and lakes, the green meadows and forests, the gardens with the fruit trees and their products, and the mountain margs. Kashmir is referred to as

a pleasure-resort, a Paradise-like country, and the best of the beautiful places in the world.

Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughul emperors, paid only one visit to Kashmir for reasons of health. The visit took place shortly after his assumption of power and seems to have been effective in its purpose, since Aurangzeb lived till old age and reigned for over forty years. The Emperor never went back to Kashmir. The pleasure-resort of Jahangir and Shah Jahan had few attractions for this zealot. For his visit, however, we have the full record of the French physician Bernier for whom Kashmir was the Paradise of the Indies. This is considered in the next section.

III. *Europeans*

The Jesuit Missionaries

The first Europeans to visit Kashmir, of whom we have any note, belonged to the Jesuit Missions sent to the Mughul Emperors, the first of which arrived in Agra in A.D. 1580. The Emperor Akbar, who became more and more dissatisfied with Islam as his reign continued, sent an invitation to the Jesuit Fathers at Goa, expressing the desire to study the Law and the Gospel and asking for two learned priests to whom he promised protection and rewards. The third mission sent in reply to this and later invitations left Goa in December, 1594, and consisted of three men, Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, the great missionary to India, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro, and Brother Benedict de Goes. Xavier was a native of Navarre, the latter two of the Azores. Of these three, Father Xavier and Brother Goes went with Akbar on the latter's visit to Kashmir in 1597. The circumstances in which this visit took place were as follows:

At Easter, 1597, which happened to come at the time of the Nau Roz or New Year, when the sun reached the sign of Aries,

Akbar celebrated the occasion by a feast in honour of the sun. The Emperor was then in the fort at Lahore. A great fire unfortunately broke out from some cause which has not been ascertained. The houses were rendered uninhabitable and the king's treasure of gold, silver, precious stones, silk and cloth was destroyed to the value of "eight or ten millions of gold". The Emperor then decided to visit Kashmir and escape the great heat of the summer in Lahore which would have been felt all the more as proper housing was now limited. Father Xavier and Brother Goes accompanied the Emperor, Father Pinheiro remaining in Lahore to superintend the construction of the church.

The route was by the Pir Panjal, and gave the Father and his companion much trouble. Xavier notes the ridge formation of the Himalayas, which means that when the path is at right angles to the general run of the mountains, as it is in the Pir Panjal route, the journey proceeds by continual ascents and descents which become more difficult the further one penetrates into the interior of the hills. "From eight to ten days", writes Xavier, "we went from mountain to mountain, from snow to snow, and under great cold, though it was the end of May."

On his arrival at Srinagar, which he calls Caximir, he unfortunately became ill and for more than two months lay ill with fever. He made, however, a good recovery, which was helped by the climate.

Xavier notes certain points about Kashmir that are still true. The first is the intelligence of the people. This applies especially to the Hindu Brahmans. Secondly, almost all the people are Muhammadans—a tribute to the effectiveness of the forced conversions that had taken place not so very long before his arrival. Thirdly, the Muslims are outwardly very pious—a character they still preserve, as the traveller today can testify when he sees them prostrating themselves in prayer at the appointed times, wherever they may happen to be.

The Jesuit visit seems to have coincided with a famine, which Xavier attributes to the tyranny of Akbar's governors and officials. There must, however, have been other and more serious natural causes, for the famine was a severe one. The people were forced to eat their seed-grain, and to abandon their babies in the streets for lack of food. This gave the two Jesuits an opportunity, which they were not slow to take, of baptising the children before they died so that they were able on their death to go to heaven "*per viam sine impedimento*", by the way that was unhindered, i.e., in their innocence, before they had time to commit sin.

Xavier gives a long description of a spring in the south of the valley, where the water ebbed and flowed twice or thrice a day during the months of March, April and May. Xavier travelled more than fifteen leagues to see it, but unfortunately does not give its name. It may, however, be that mentioned by Bernier. The springs of Kashmir, which occur throughout the valley, have always attracted the attention of travellers.

With the next Emperor, Jahangir, the Jesuits had even greater hopes of conversion than in the case of Akbar. They were greatly favoured by Jahangir, and as the older men gradually withdrew and were replaced by others, two new arrivals, both Italian, came into prominence—Father Francis Corsi and Father Joseph de Castro. Both accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir, de Castro being with him in his last visit in A.D. 1627

In writing from Kashmir, de Castro mentions religious discussions—some very stubborn ones—held there before the Emperor, who liked to hear the arguments and to put forward objections of his own. De Castro went daily to court and stayed with Jahangir up till midnight, so that he had plenty of opportunities, of which he made full use, to speak about the Christian religion. The King favoured the Jesuits and gave them gifts, and de Castro was sorry that he had nothing to give in return. In his letter of the 26th July, 1627,

de Castro mentions that in May, 1627, Father Francisco Godinho arrived from Tibet (i.e. Tsaparang) where he had been ill and gave him some company 'in Domino'. He refers to villages that were asking for baptism, but gives no information about them, as the Father Superior (Father Andrada) would be writing about this matter.

Being in attendance on the Emperor was no sinecure, especially when on the march. "In those journeys," writes de Castro, "one suffers so much that one cannot imagine it, not even he who sees and experiences it: extreme privations, discomforts, and a continual agitation, bodily and mental." De Castro wrote these words from Kashmir and no doubt had in mind the journey across the Pir Panjal.

In his letter of the 15th August, 1627, he mentions two Venetians present at Mass on the Feast of the Assumption, and refers to others, Frenchmen and Portuguese, who had left Kashmir and returned to Lahore. At this time the two Venetians with two Armenians and six or seven Indians constituted his Christian congregation in Kashmir. The Europeans mentioned here were in the service of the Mughul Emperor, employed usually in some technical capacity, as craftsmen, and especially in connection with the artillery. A number of them no doubt visited Kashmir in the train of the Emperors, but they remain nameless and their visits unrecorded except through some passing reference such as this furnished by Father de Castro.

In the time of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the Jesuit Mission continued, but difficulties began to increase. The new Emperor, who conformed more normally to the ordinary pattern of a Muslim ruler, did not grant the Jesuits the special favour and attention shown by his predecessors, and in his reign the Jesuits experienced some sharp persecution. One of the Fathers attached to the Mission at this period, Father Busi, was in Kashmir when Shah Jahan visited that province in 1651. Busi is said also to have visited Kashmir again with

Aurangzeb when the latter made his only visit to the valley in 1665. Bernier, however, makes no mention of the Father being with the Emperor, although the two knew each other well and were on friendly terms. It was Father Busi, according to Manucci, that the prince Dara Shikoh, when a prisoner in the power of his younger brother Aurangzeb, wanted to see before his death.

In the meantime a Jesuit mission had been established at the small village of Tsaparang in Tibet, in the upper regions of the Sulej Valley, not very far away from the western Tibetan town of Gartok. This mission was largely the work of Father Andrada, a Portuguese in origin, who on a preliminary visit was welcomed by the local ruler and returned to begin the mission in 1625. With Tsaparang as a base, visits were made to different places in the neighbourhood. Father Godinho visited Kashmir in 1627 and stayed with Father de Castro. Father Azevedo and Father Oliveira visited Leh in 1631. They attached themselves to a caravan which left Tsaparang on October 4th of that year. The journey, which took them over high passes and through uninhabited regions, was a difficult one, made the more so by the advanced season of the year at which it was undertaken. They arrived in Leh on the 25th October, 1631, the first Europeans of whom we have any record to visit that city.

Father Azevedo describes Leh in the following words:¹ "It is built on the slope of a small mountain and numbers about 800 families. Half a mile lower down but still quite visible flows the river that goes to Lahore. By the town itself passes a mountain stream which works a large number of water-mills; a few trees are also found here". The passage contains an involuntary tribute to the clarity of the atmosphere in Ladakh. The half mile he mentions is in reality four miles; "the river that goes to Lahore" is the Indus, though actually it passes some hundred miles to the west of that

¹ Wessels: *Early Jesuit Travellers*.

city. The stream coming down from the Khardong Pass still remains and works water-mills, but the trees and possibly also the area of cultivation seem to have increased in modern times.

The Fathers had interviews with the King of Ladakh, Sengenam Gyal, and both received and gave presents. Their stay, however, was not a long one. On November 7th they left on their return journey which proceeded by Rupshu, Lahaul and Kulu to the Punjab, and thence to Agra, which they reached on the 3rd January, 1632. A few years later the Fathers had to retreat from Tsaparang, and although Garhwal was used as a base for some time afterwards, this centre also had to be abandoned, and evangelistic work amongst the Tibetans came to an end.

The Jesuits do not seem to have considered setting up a mission in Kashmir itself, although de Castro wrote of many people in Kashmir desiring baptism. Tibet appears to have interested them more. Xavier was strongly in favour of sending a mission to Lhasa, and Andrada's report on his visit to Tsaparang, when published in Europe, aroused widespread interest. Kashmir enchanted the Fathers on account of its beauty and equable climate, but it was never seriously considered as a field for evangelistic work. It was important to them chiefly as forming a way, though by no means an easy one, into Tibet. The latter country attracted them not only on account of its people, of whom they gave good reports, but also on account of the resemblance between Buddhist and Christian worship and the rumours of ancient Christian churches and kingdoms in those regions.

This preoccupation with Tibet and its peoples comes out in many references in the correspondence of the Jesuits. Father Godinho talks of the 'good disposition', the 'rare piety' and the docility of the Buddhists. In one of his letters Father Xavier writes: "While I was in Caximir, I was also told that there are many Christians and Churches with priests and bishops

in the kingdom of Rebat (Tibet). I wrote to them from Caximir in three different ways". The interest of the Jesuits in Tibet is above all shown in the life of Father Desideri, who had a sense of vocation for work amongst the Tibetans. We shall consider his long journey to Lhasa via Kashmir after dealing with the next European traveller, the French physician, François Bernier.

François Bernier

Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughuls and great-grandson of Akbar, visited Kashmir in 1665 in order to recover from a long illness from which he had been suffering in Lahore. Danishmand Khan, a noble in his court and paymaster of the army, was present on the journey, and being himself a person of consequence, was accompanied by his own physician. The latter happened to be a Frenchman, François Bernier. The circumstances in which Bernier came into the service of Danishmand Khan are fortuitous enough, but the connection once established seems to have been satisfactory to each. Bernier was well treated. His salary of Rupees 300 per month was a large sum for those days and its purchasing power today would represent a sum many times greater. Danishmand Khan appears also to have been satisfied. He was a man of liberal outlook, interested in scientific matters, and encouraged the researches and speculations of his physician. Indeed Bernier notes that his principal employment for five or six years was to translate the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes to his master. The association between the two is a pleasing example of harmonious co-operation between peoples of different races and faiths.

Bernier, after taking his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Montpellier, felt the urge to travel and having stayed in Palestine and Egypt, intended to pay a visit to Ethiopia. Fears concerning his safety in that country led him to change his plans and instead of Abyssinia, he arrived

at Surat in India at the time when the struggle for the throne between the four sons of Shah Jahan was about to commence. Near Ahmadabad, on his way to Agra, he fell in with Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor. The fortunes of Dara were then at a low ebb. The Prince was fleeing from the forces of his brother Aurangzeb, and meeting with Bernier sent for him to relieve the sufferings of one of his wives. He wanted Bernier to continue in his service, but such was the miserable state to which his extremity had reduced him, no one would give him transport to enable Bernier to accompany him. It seemed evident to the people that Aurangzeb was going to be the winner in the contest for supremacy and that Dara had fallen too low to recover. Considerations of respect for the King's eldest son, memories of Dara's former greatness and power, feelings of gratitude for his past favours, none of these had any influence with the neighbouring rulers and governors. Opportunism alone prevailed, and Bernier notes that such was Dara's destitution that neither his threats nor his entreaties could obtain for him a single horse, ox or camel. Dara had therefore to continue his flight without Bernier whom he left in difficulties with robbers. From these Bernier was saved by a nobleman, Danishmand Khan, who was himself travelling to Delhi, and to whose protection Bernier committed himself. The association thus formed continued for about eight years.

Bernier published his memoirs in several parts. The description of Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir is contained in a series of nine letters to M. de Merveilles. Of Bernier's writings as a whole it can be said that they are of the highest order. Written almost three hundred years ago, there is nothing of the archaic in them and they read with the freshness of a modern book. They reveal a person of high intellectual power who could well understand the reasons and motives that actuated the conduct of the oriental personages in whose circle he moved. His observations of people and scenes are faithful

and acute and their truth can often be appreciated by the traveller in India today. What he has to say is always informative and appropriate, and the whole is written with clarity and distinction of style. Bernier was taught by the philosopher Gassendi, himself a disciple of Descartes, and it is possible to recognize in Bernier's account something of the lucidity and penetration that characterize the works of his masters. There is nothing in Bernier's writings of the egotism of his fellow-countryman Jacquemont who followed in his footsteps nearly two hundred years later, yet it is impossible not to gain the impression of how much Bernier was appreciated in the Mughul court. The appreciation was not merely limited to his professional services, which seem to have been of value, though not too frequently exercised, and from the perusal of his memoirs we carry away the impression of an affable, rational philosopher, welcomed for his own sake in a society totally different from that of his native France, and making an effective contribution to its brilliance.

Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir was for the restoration of his health, and in view of the long distances involved, it was decided to allot eighteen months to the expedition. At that time Aurangzeb was keeping his father Shah Jahan a prisoner in Agra Fort, where the old Emperor would spend his time gazing over at the Taj Mahal, in which the queen whom he had so dearly loved lay buried. There was indeed some doubt as to whether Aurangzeb should go away for so long a time when his father still remained alive, but considerations of health and the persuasions of his queen, Raushanara Begam, decided the issue. The 6th December, 1664, having been discovered by the astrologers to be a day propitious for long journeys, Aurangzeb and his bodyguard of over fifty thousand troops set out.

Bernier, who accompanied Danishmand Khan whose services were required throughout the journey, gives a graphic account of the mode of travelling. Proceeding leisurely, the

party reached Lahore, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles, in a little less than two months. During the march, the tents and equipment of the royal camp were in duplicate, and while the King was staying in one, the other set was sent forward to be ready for his arrival at the end of the next stage. The camp was an elaborate enclosure, about 300 yards square, containing large tents, one of which served as the *Diwan-i-'Amm* or public court. During the march, the Emperor and the *umara* or nobles met each morning, as they did in the capital, to transact state business, and again in the evening.

For the evening assembly, the nobles were lit on their way by servants holding flaming torches aloft, and the long rows of these torches through the lanes of tents presented an imposing spectacle. The colour of the royal tents was red, and in height they overlooked everything else. If some of the great officers of state had erected a tent that seemed too high to the Emperor, the order would be given to have it thrown down. Each nobleman or rajah had his special place within the camp, and this place was rigidly kept for him throughout the march. The camp included a large bazaar, aligned in the direction of the next day's march, as well as numerous other smaller bazaars, marked by long poles, from which yaks' tails were suspended. The noblemen's or rajahs' tents were often very magnificent, and were distinguished by their own standards outside. This, together with the regular plan that was always followed, enabled the members of the camp to find their way without inconvenience. The difficulty arose either when the camp was being pitched and everything was in temporary confusion, or at night, when the smoke from innumerable fires obscured all landmarks. On one occasion Bernier got lost, and had to remain all night at the foot of the Akas Diya, a light placed on a tall mast to act as a landmark.

It was the custom that when the Emperor entered the camp the nobles by whose tents he passed would come to meet

him and present an offering of golden rupees. To distribute the favour of his presence equally, the king would accordingly enter the camp from different directions on successive days.

In travelling, the Emperor was usually carried on a throne (*takht-i-rawan*) that was carried by eight men, with eight others at hand to relieve them. The throne, which was magnificently decorated, was covered and had sides and windows. For hunting, the king went on horseback and at other times travelled on an elephant which was marked out from all the others by the splendour of its trappings and *mikdambar*, or small square tower, in which the king sat. The most splendid spectacle, however, was presented by the transport of the ladies of the harem. First came the queen, Raushanara Begam, on a huge elephant, lavishly equipped, followed by a procession of about sixty other elephants almost as gorgeous as the first, and bearing the principal ladies of the court and their attendants. Surrounding them went the eunuchs and female servants, all on horseback and in fantastic costumes. Before them went the footmen who cleared the way for the procession that was following. The whole spectacle was one of extreme magnificence and brilliance, but it was dangerous to stay and watch it, as the insolent eunuchs and footmen had no compunction in attacking fiercely anyone whom they considered too near. Indeed, on the road there were three things to be avoided—being kicked to death by the special horses that were being led along, trespassing into the jungle when a royal hunt was going on, and approaching too closely the procession of the ladies of the harem.

From Lahore, the party proceeded to Bhimbar at the foot of the hills, which they reached about the middle of March, 1665. For the difficult marches that were to follow, the camp was broken up into parties; the king and the ladies of the harem and the highest officers of state going first, and others proceeding on the dates allocated to them. The number of those accompanying the king into Kashmir was drastically cut

down, and many of the *umara* were left behind to act as guards at Bhimbar. The retinue of those who were allowed to come with the king was also severely cut. In spite of these precautions, and in spite of the fact that for a month before immense quantities of baggage and stores had been sent on, thirty thousand porters, according to Bernier, were employed, of whom six thousand were required for the king alone.

The ascent of the lower hills at Bhimbar at once brought the party into a cooler climate and a region abounding in the products and vegetation of temperate climates. Water, too, became abundant, and a particularly fine waterfall at Baramgalla attracted attention.

After crossing the lower ridges, there came the ascent of the Pir Panjal, the highest range of all. Here an unfortunate accident marred the day. The foremost elephant, at a narrow point in the way, stepped back, forcing the elephants behind it off the path and down the hillside. Altogether fifteen elephants were involved in this disaster. The ladies whom they were carrying escaped, but the elephants were abandoned to their fate. Bernier, who passed the spot two days later, saw some of them still moving their trunks in agony. The accident caused considerable delay and confusion, in which it became difficult to get any food.

Bernier makes three observations about the ascent of the Pir Panjal. The first was the contrast in temperature experienced within the same hour. While they were climbing, the heat made them perspire profusely, but when they reached the pass itself, they had to walk through snow with a cold rain falling and a bitter wind chilling them to the bone. The second was the change in the direction of the wind. In the ascent, it blew from the north, but no sooner had they crossed the pass, than the wind came from behind, i.e., from the south. The strangest phenomenon, however, was that presented by a faqir who had taken up his post in a cave on the mountain pass. This figure cautioned them against making a noise, and

advised the army to pass quietly and rapidly from these regions. His advice was wise, as the vibrations set up by a large volume of sound have the power of causing avalanches in the masses of snow that lie banked against the steep hillside. The old hermit had been in his cave for a long time and had seen the emperors Shah Jahan and Jahangir with their retinues pass before him. To them also he had given the same advice. Shah Jahan, always prudent, had observed it, but Jahangir, reckless of consequences, had disregarded it and ordered the cymbals and trumpets to be sounded in defiance. Aurangzeb followed Shah Jahan's example and his party crossed safely.

The Pir Panjal pass, it may be noted, seemed to have had its resident hermit for many years after this. Father Hypolite Desideri, who crossed it in 1714, remarked in a letter that the people brought offerings to a venerable old man who was, as they asserted, the guardian of the place; and Vigne, who crossed about 1835 also met a faqir on the summit. But this person, in contrast to his predecessors, lived a luxurious life. He had a stone hut to live in, a huge blanket to wrap himself up in and a little store of flour, bread, tobacco and water which brought him in some income. Such decadence was the sign of the end, and today the Pir Panjal is lonely without a hermit to control its storms or to sanctify its desolation.

From the pass, 11,500 feet in altitude, Aurangzeb and his party went on to 'Aliabad, where the Mughul serai still remains, and thence to Srinagar. Having arrived in Srinagar, which he calls by the old Muslim name of Kashmir, Bernier was sent on various short journeys within the valley with which he thus became quite familiar.

Bernier notes the reputation for beauty which the women of Kashmir had even in his time, and relates a device which enabled him to see the inhabitants of the zenana and judge for himself. He would follow richly dressed elephants through the streets. As these elephants passed along, the noise of the

silver bells with which they were adorned attracted the attention of the ladies inside the house, who would crowd to the windows to see the spectacle and at the same time, unknown to themselves, to be observed by Bernier. A better expedient, however, was revealed to him in Srinagar by one of the inhabitants there with whom he was in the habit of reading Persian poetry. They both would go to houses where his friend was known, and there Bernier was introduced as a rich relative from Persia who was desirous of marrying. Presents were distributed, and soon the two were surrounded by all in the house who were curious to see the suitor. Bernier writes that this was an effective but expensive method of getting a sight of Kashmir ladies and concludes that their reputation for beauty was justly deserved.

At the request of his nobleman, Danishmand Khan, Bernier made several short visits in the valley to report on alleged miracles. One of these was to investigate the ebb and flow of water at a spring to which Bernier alludes as Send-Brary and which is the spring still known as Sunda-Brari in the eastern end of the Valley. Bernier accounts for the phenomenon by explaining that the sun's rays striking different parts of the mountain at different times and melting the frozen waters underneath, caused the ebb and flow of water at the spring. While at this end of the valley, he took the opportunity to visit Achhabal and Vernag.

His next excursion was in the other direction, to Baramula, where he was assured he would see a real miracle effected by the power of a famous Pir or Dervish. The latter, although dead, still carried on his work of curing the sick. His main achievement, however, was to enable eleven men who had invoked his name, to lift a heavy stone by the tips of their fingers. Bernier found Baramula a populous place, crowded by people who had come to worship at the Pir's shrine, but really attracted, in his opinion, by the large boilers of meat and rice in the kitchen attached to the mosque.

In watching the miracle of lifting the stone, Bernier was convinced that the eleven mullahs were using their full strength, but by standing closely round the stone and concealing their hands in their clothes, they made it appear that the stone was lifted by each person using one finger only. Pretending to be convinced that a miracle had taken place, Bernier gave them a rupee, and with a look of adulation, begged that he might for this occasion take his place amongst those who lifted the stone. His request was not welcomed, but evidently believing that every man has his price, Bernier offered another rupee and secured a place. The result was as he had anticipated. So long as he used only one finger, the stone was improperly balanced and continued to slip. It was only when he held it firmly that after great effort the stone could be lifted. Sensing the hostility of the other miracle-workers, Bernier pretended to be convinced, threw down another rupee and made his exit as rapidly and inconspicuously as possible. In a short time he had mounted his horse and left the scene of the Dervish and his miracles. To modern eyes, the miracle seems a very humble one for a Pir with a great reputation, especially in view of the fantastic tales of other miracles that are common in Kashmir, and seems to have been executed in a clumsy manner. But apparently it had a great reputation, and Danishmand Khan, judging very falsely, even believed that it would so impress Bernier as to cause him to change his religion.

While at Baramula, Bernier paid a visit to the rocky passage by which the Jhelam leaves the valley and becomes transformed from a noble, placid river into a foaming torrent. He also turned aside to visit the Wular Lake and another lake in the mountains, when he returned to Srinagar on learning that Danishmand Khan was worrying over his protracted absence.

At Srinagar Bernier met the Raja of Baltistan who had received the support of Shah Jahan in his struggle for his position and had come to pay his respects to Aurangzeb. An

embassy from Tibet had also come, with typical Tibetan offerings of musk, jade and yaks' tails. The embassy included a doctor who gave many instances of the Buddhist doctrine of re-incarnation, and explained how the successor to the Grand Lama was chosen by the ability of a young child, born at the time of the Lama's death, to recognize objects belonging to the Lama. Bernier also mentions some details about the route followed by merchants from Srinagar to Kashgar. This was by way of Gurais, Skardu and Shigar, from which it was a month's journey to Kashgar. At one point the path was over ice for a quarter of a league—a reference to the glaciers beyond Shigar. The road is described as being 'extremely bad'. In recent times it has become even worse and is no longer able to be used. The wonder is how it could ever have been used for the transport of merchandise at all.

Father Desideri and Father Freyre

Father Ippolito Desideri, who felt himself divinely called to work in Tibet, left Delhi on his journey to that country on the 23rd September, 1714. With him was his Superior, Father Manoel Freyre. Lahore was reached on October 9th, and leaving it on the 19th, they arrived in Srinagar on the 13th November, where Desideri, like Xavier before him, at once fell ill. After his recovery the two Fathers set out on the 17th May, 1715, for Leh, which they reached on the 26th June, having taken forty days for a journey that is now divided up into fifteen stages for travellers on foot.

Desideri refers to the Pir Panjal range as the Caucasus, a name which, together with the legend of Prometheus, had been ascribed to the Himalayas by the soldiers of Alexander the Great, and was used by Europeans in India up to this time also. A map drawn by a Dutchman to illustrate Bernier's travels uses the title of Caucasus for the Pir Panjal. Like Xavier, Desideri comments on their ridge formation. "They form like a ladder of mountains, one rising above another, till

one reaches a horribly high and steep mountain, called the Pir Pangial". The end of October was a bad time to choose for entering Kashmir by this route, and Desideri, travelling on foot, and not warmly clad, found the torrents of icy water, the sharp stones and the piercing wind very troublesome. It took him twelve days to cross the mountains. Arriving at Srinagar, he was soon incapacitated by a fierce attack of dysentery which continued well on into the next year, although during it he found time to study Persian.

Desideri recognizes the beauty of Kashmir. Srinagar, which he calls Kascimir, he describes as a densely populated city, containing imposing buildings and fine streets, squares and bridges. Perhaps coming at the end of the Mughul period, he was seeing Srinagar at its best. The lakes near the city, he continues, are surrounded by pleasant gardens, and there are small boats—the modern shikara—and large ones—the dunga, the precursor of the modern houseboat—in which one can sail. One day during the year crowds of people ascend the Takht and celebrate a festival.

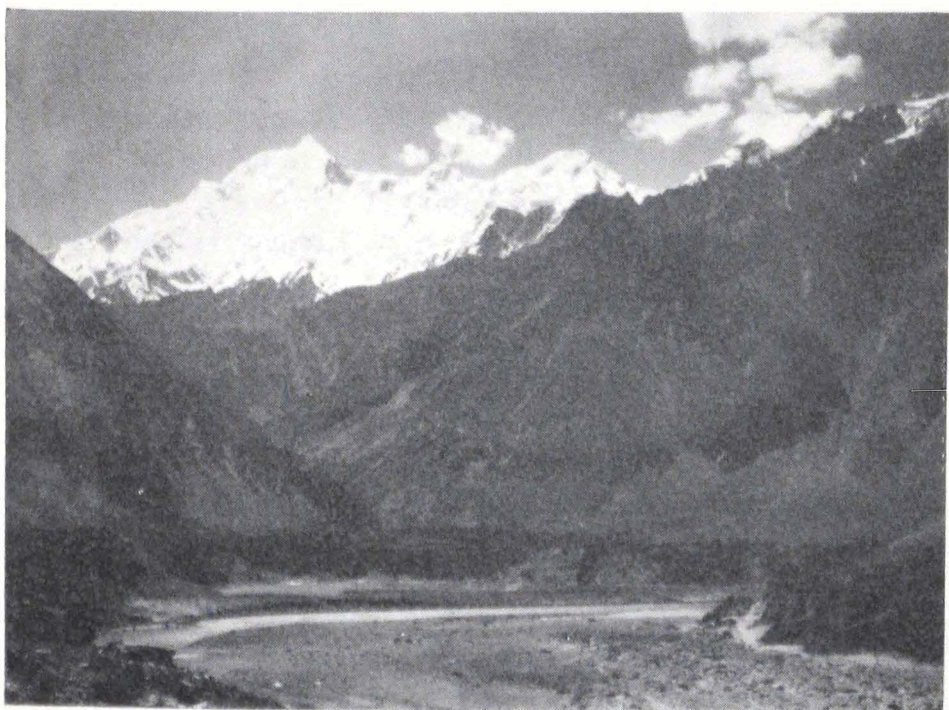
The district around the capital is both beautiful and fertile, and produces a wide range of fruits, while in spring European flowers such as tulips, narcissi and hyacinths appear in quantities. The shawls of Kashmir are especially remarkable, and although they cover the whole upper part of the body, they can nevertheless be folded up and enclosed in the hand. Desideri adds that they were well treated by the Kashmir Governor and officials and helped by them.

The journey to Ladakh proved difficult for the Fathers. For the first six or seven days, writes Desideri, the journey is tolerable. This is the portion of the journey through the Sind Valley which is considered nowadays as one of the most delightful places in Kashmir. Desideri's 'tolerable' seems to express a very grudging tribute to its beauty.

Kashmir ends and Tibet begins at a high mountain called Kantel, which the Fathers crossed on the 30th May. This



8. Balti musicians. The cap is a long woollen bag rolled up at the edges and is a very distinctive feature of this region.



9. Rakaposhi, 25,550 ft., comes to one sharp summit which dominates the Hunza-Nagar valley.

peculiar name designates the Zoji La and may be intended to refer to Baltal. The year 1715 appears to have been one of excessive snowfall, for on the day of the crossing, as well as on the days before and after, there were heavy falls of snow, and snow and ice continued up to Dras. By the end of May one expects nowadays the weather to be better and snow to be finished with by Machoi or by Matayan at the furthest.

From Dras to Leh, although the road was free from snow, travelling was still difficult. The way was over mountains that were "the abode of horror, aridity and desolation". Trees, shrubs or grass were non-existent. The path could not go along the mountain ridges on account of the snow; nor could it go down in the valleys, on account of the torrents. It had, therefore, to go along the slopes of the mountains and was often so narrow that progress could only be made step by step, with the danger of falling down the precipice and meeting instant death or mutilation in the torrent below. Desideri often despaired of reaching his destination in safety, but the special protection of St. Venantius enabled him to continue without hurt.

The bridges proved another fearful obstacle. Usually they were a narrow stake placed across the torrent, but there were also bridges of ropes made with thin branches of trees that had to be crossed barefooted, after one had commended one's soul to God. "This sort of bridge", writes Desideri "is called Zampa, and, whenever I think of it and how we passed, I tremble and turn pale."

Other troubles of the journey included snow-blindness, so painful as to constitute "a cruel torture", and the rapacity of the customs officials who had always to be appeased with presents of tobacco, candy, sugar and coloured cloth in addition to the money they demanded.

Desideri summarizes his experiences on the journey in the following words: "The difficulty of the roads is not the only inconvenience; you must add to it the sharpest cold, furious

winds, abundant snows, the necessity of sleeping on the ground exposed to the inclemency of such a rough climate, and of eating only flour made from satee, which is a kind of barley. The people of the country eat it unprepared; but we generally make a broth of it, and it was no small thing for us to get enough wood to cook it.”

Arrived in Leh, Desideri describes the Ladakhis—unjustly—as uncultured, ignorant, without arts or sciences, and living a life isolated from other nations. The people are very poor. The country, which is mostly arid mountain, produces only wheat and barley, from which they make what he calls “a kind of wine”, i.e., the chang of today. The Ladakhis eat meat of any kind and use butter a great deal. In character the people are gentle and tractable and unwilling to harm others. They made a good impression on Desideri who describes them as “well-inclined and disposed.”

At Leh the two Fathers stayed two months, living in the hut of a poor Kashmiri beggar. They visited the king and the ministers and lamas, and were received favourably. Desideri, when in Kashmir, had understood that there were two Tibets—Little Tibet or Baltistan, governed by a Muslim ruler, and Great Tibet, the capital of which was Leh. He now learned that there was a third Tibet, a three months’ journey away. As the road to this Tibet was not mountainous, and as it was possible to return to India from it by an easy route, Father Freyre, who liked mountain paths even less than Desideri, decided to go on to the third Tibet, i.e., to Lhasa and to return to Agra from there. Desideri strongly wanted to stay at Leh and having learned the language, to begin the work of evangelism, but as Freyre was his Superior, he thought it his duty to submit. At Lhasa, however, which they reached in March, 1716, they parted; Freyre returned to India and Desideri stayed on for five years, learning the language, translating books and studying the country. In 1721 he finally returned to India via Nepal. His letters and journals from Lhasa are

valuable for the information they give about Tibetan history and for their insight into the Lamaism of the country.

Desideri's companion, Father Emanoel Freyre, in a letter from Agra dated 26th April, 1717, gives an account of the journey to Leh which enables us to supplement that given by Desideri himself. Freyre also calls the Pir Panjal range the Caucasus, which "rise in the clouds in steep inclines and winding passages". Srinagar is called Cazimir and Freyre dwells on the same points that Desideri had noted—its populous character, its lakes crowded with boats for pleasure and commerce, the lilies growing on the roofs of the houses, the abundance of fruit and the gardens with the trees hung with vines. Unlike Desideri who is silent on this point, he refers to the nature of the people and characterizes them as fair and handsome, but timid and unreliable, guiding their actions by horoscopes made out for them by the Brahmans.

It took them eight days to reach the Zoji La, or as Freyre calls it, "the Black Mountains of Tibet". During the night of their arrival at Baltal, there was a heavy fall of snow. The servants, in this respect typical Kashmiris, objected to proceeding further but were overridden. The deep snow made progress very difficult and night overtook them while they were still on the pass. They spent the night in a cave, while more snow fell. In the morning Desideri and one servant were snow-blind, the water running from their eyes. The servants again entreated them to return, but were silenced and appeased by Freyre. They accordingly continued their journey, taking care to protect their eyes with handkerchiefs, and by noon had reached a place clear of snow. From here, for several days, they continued along the Dras River, sleeping at night in the open. The stages after Dras, however, in early June are warm and dry and considerably lower in altitude, so that sleeping in the open would not entail much hardship.

Freyre gives a depreciatory account of Leh which compares strangely with the favourable notice that the city receives from

Desideri. Freyre compares it to a bee-hive, i.e., composed of a number of caves on the hillside in which the people live, while Desideri refers to the fine buildings of the King and the Grand Lama, and considers the houses to be strongly built and well suited to the country.

It is the poverty and dirt of the Ladakhis that impress Freyre. On one occasion he saw a woman eating lice, and when he remonstrated, she replied that she had nothing else to eat.

The Fathers enquired about other missionaries, but were told that they were the only Europeans to have visited Ladakh so far. In this respect their information was mistaken, as Azevedo and Oliveira and no doubt Godinho also had preceded them. A person who had come from Rudok talked about some Europeans whom he had seen in the Third or Greatest Tibet, and Freyre concluded that these must be the Capuchin Fathers. The Third Tibet, of which they heard now for the first time, is the present Tibet with the capital of Lhasa. Although dismayed at the prospect of a long journey to Lhasa at this advanced season of the year, Freyre nevertheless decided to go there, and on the 16th August, 1715, he set out with Desideri on the long and difficult journey to Lhasa, rendered all the more arduous by the terrible cold and wind of a Tibetan winter.

George Forster

George Forster, the next European to visit Kashmir, was a civil servant of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras, and his work is dedicated to Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General at the time. He recounts his travels in a series of letters from the various places on his route. Starting from Calcutta on the 23rd May, 1782, he travelled by Patna, Benares, Lucknow, along the boundaries of the Himalayas to Bilaspur on the Sutlej and on to Jammu. At Najibabad he gave himself out as a Turk going to Kashmir to purchase shawls, and secured a Kashmiri, who seems to have served him

well, as his servant. He tells us that the route by Bhimbar by which Bernier travelled had now become insecure on account of Sikh depredations and that the Jammu route, though longer and more expensive, had become the general one in use. Men, usually Kashmiris, were used for carrying the merchandise. From Jammu he travelled to Chenani, where he crossed the Chenab by a seat suspended from a rope and drawn across the river. Having crossed in this manner, he was waiting for his servant and his luggage to arrive when the ferrymen, having pulled them half-way across, left them suspended above the river until a second payment was made. After this he succeeded in joining the train of a Muslim noble, Zulfikr Khan, and found his progress considerably facilitated on this account. After following a rather devious route, he crossed into the Vale of Kashmir at a point near the present Banihal Pass, where he stood admiring the view until the cold led him to descend to warmer levels. He had at last reached that land which, as he notes, the Persians call Kashmir be-nazir, Kashmir the unequalled.

His first halt inside the Vale was at Vernag, where he mentions the spring and garden of Jahangir. From here, still in the company of Zulfikr Khan and his retinue, he went on to Islamabad, and having hired a boat, the party had gone five miles downstream when they were ordered to return until permission to proceed to Kashmir should have been obtained. To make matters worse, heavy rain set in and continuing all night, drenched all the occupants of the boat. Forster states that he received no ill effects from this wetting, and attributes his good health and freedom from colds and fevers to his frequent use of tobacco. At last, however, they received permission and on the 7th May, 1783, Forster arrived in Srinagar, which, like Bernier, he calls Kashmir.

Srinagar had evidently grown since Bernier's visit, as Forster observes that the city extends about three miles on each side of the Jhelam and that there are four or five bridges. He

remarks also on the roofs of the houses being covered with a fine layer of earth, adorned in summer by a great variety of flowers, and giving the effect of a beautifully chequered pattern. Unfortunately the rest of the city did not maintain this impression, the streets being described as filthy and the inhabitants as proverbially unclean. The only building of note was the Jami' Masjid, of the architectural merits of which, however, he did not form a high opinion.

Forster mentions some of the products of Kashmir. First among these are the shawls. The border, decorated with patterns of figures and colours, is, he notes, produced separately and attached to the shawl, but so finely that the join cannot be seen. Wine, writing-paper and saffron are also mentioned.

The dress of the people, especially the pheran, which he considers awkward, together with their beards and grave countenances gave him the impression that at first that he had come into a nation of Jews. About the women he expresses disappointment. They were fair enough in complexion, but did not have the beauty and elegance of women in other parts of India. However, whatever their other qualities, they were fruitful enough, and no oppression from their rulers seemed to have any effect on the number of their offspring.

At first Forster lodged in Srinagar with Zulfikr Khan in whose company he had travelled from Chenani onwards, then transferred to the house of a broker who was effusive so long as he hoped for some advantage, but immediately turned cold and hostile when he saw that he could hope for no profit. Here Forster aroused the suspicion of a Georgian who was evidently something of a phrenologist; for the latter, having examined the shape of Forster's head, declared him to be a Christian. As the Georgian might arouse mistrust in others, Forster judged it better to tell him the truth. His confidence was not misplaced, for the Georgian proved faithful and was able to help in many ways.

After having stayed in Srinagar for about three months,

Forster applied for permission to leave Kashmir, giving himself out as a Turk with two servants. The Governor, however, refused the application on the ground that the Turks were good soldiers and that he wanted them for his army. Forster thus found that his disguise had led him into a serious position; nor could he say anything or solicit any help, as if the Governor's decision regarding him had been known, he would have been at once deserted by all. Having then changed his name, he applied to his banker to help him in securing the necessary passport, but before he could do so, the banker himself fell into disfavour and was in fear of his life. Forster's position was now a critical one, and there was a danger of his real nature being discovered, with imprisonment or death to follow. In his extremity the Georgian came to his aid, and a passport being secured, Forster left Srinagar on the 11th June and two days later was congratulating himself that he had tricked the Governor of Kashmir and was now safe from him, when his coat, containing the precious passport, was stolen. At the boundary, Forster told his story of the theft, which was disbelieved, and was ordered to get another passport. Fortunately, a bribe enabled the officer to dispense with requiring a passport and Forster moved on. No sooner had he gone a short distance than four men came running to arrest him, and he had to repeat the bribe, but for a much larger amount. Anything, however, appeared to him better than going through the procedure of applying for the passport a second time. He managed to reach Muzaffarabad safely and from thence journeyed to Peshawar. His later travels took him to Kabul, through Persia to St. Petersburg and thence by boat to England.

It was an adventurous journey that he undertook through regions where security did not exist. That he survived its dangers is a tribute both to his physical endurance and to his resourcefulness of mind. One may regret his various disguises and the deceptions in which they involved him, but they were

no doubt necessary if his purpose was to be carried out at all. In spite of the difficulties under which he wrote them, his letters give a valuable picture of the places through which he passed and of the conditions which existed at a time when few other records are available.

Czernichef

In 1780 a Russian, Czernichef made a journey from Bokhara to Lucknow, passing through Kashmir on his way. Czernichef apparently kept a diary, but as no record appears to remain of this, it is not possible to ascertain what his experiences were under the Afghan Governor or what impressions of the country his visit left with him.

William Moorcroft, Trebeck and Guthrie

After Forster the next European was William Moorcroft, accompanied by George Trebeck and Mr. Guthrie. The latter is described as a native of India and was probably what would now be termed an Anglo-Indian. Moorcroft was a veterinary surgeon who went out to Bengal in 1808 as Superintendent of the military stud of the East India Company. In order to improve the breed of horses, he undertook journeys the first of which led him to Mansarowar, the sacred lake at the foot of Mount Kailas, and the second into Ladakh and Kashmir and beyond as far as Bokhara. On this second journey he took with him goods to the value of several thousand rupees for the purchase of horses. He died of fever in August, 1825, at Andhko, and Trebeck a short time afterwards died at Mazar. Moorcroft's papers were, however, collected and edited, and although he himself was unable to revise them, they form nevertheless a continuous and readable narrative.

Proceeding to Lahore, Moorcroft obtained permission from Ranjit Singh to visit Ladakh by the Kulu route and from thence pass through Kashmir on his way to Bokhara.

The main purpose of Moorcroft's travels was a commercial

one, namely, to open the regions he visited to British trade. We find, consequently, many allusions in his work to the possibility of trade at various places, the special needs of the different parts and the quality of the local products in comparison with European goods. His enthusiasm even led him to submit to Ranjit Singh a draft scale for customs duties to be charged on the admission of British goods into Ranjit's territories. Ranjit received the proposal but postponed consideration until the appropriate officers should return from the field—an answer which Moorcroft rightly took to be another way of putting the matter off indefinitely. Ranjit was not interested in helping to increase the profits of British merchants.

While at Shujanpur in the Kulu Valley, Moorcroft cured the brother of the Raja of an illness and at once became a favourite with the Raja. He notes that the Raja was fond of drawing and had many artists in his employment. This is a reference to the Kangra School of painters, well-known in Indian art for their representations of scenes from Indian mythology.

Moorcroft and his companions entered into Ladakh by the Bara Lacha La, a high pass of over 16,000 feet. The party suffered a good deal from the altitude and that curious alternation of intense heat with intense cold that is a feature of Himalayan travel. After traversing a desolate region for some weeks, they reached Giah, where they halted so that arrangements might be made for their entry into Leh. They approached Leh along the Indus Valley above the town, and on passing through its gates, found that all the inhabitants had come out to see them, the first European visitors to the capital for more than a century.

Their dealings in Ladakh were with the Khalun or Chief Minister. The visit of Moorcroft and his companions caused the latter considerable worry. Harassed by enquiries about the party from Tibet, warned by the Governor of Kashmir and

questioned by the Raja of Baltistan, the Khalun found himself in an unenviable position as he answered interrogations and endeavoured to allay apprehensions. In the meantime Moorcroft occupied himself with giving medical treatment to the Ladakhis, making arrangements for travelling on to Yarkand, collecting as much information about Ladakh as he could and endeavouring to open up trade between Calcutta and Ladakh.

Amongst other observations on the country and people, Moorcroft remarks that gold was found in the rivers of Chauhan and in the sands of the Shayok. Its search, however, was stopped by the Ladakh Government on the ground that its collection, according to the prediction of a lama, might be followed by a bad grain harvest. In some places the belief was that the local spirit would punish anyone who had the temerity to remove the gold. He notes also that the Tibetans never drank plain water if they could avoid it. The richer preferred some kind of sherbet while the poorer drank chang.

Near the beginning of his stay an attempted political revolution took place and was almost successful. During a festival a lama having fallen into a trance, became the vehicle for a supernatural voice which proclaimed that the Gyalpo or Raja was unworthy, that he should no longer rule and that his son should take his place on the throne. The shouts of the people indicated their approval for the course of action indicated to them from the unseen realm of spirits. The Gyalpo who was of a weak nature became intimidated and hastened to express his willingness to abdicate. The incident was, however, an astute plan evolved by the intrigues of the Lompa or Governor of Leh who had been insulted by the Gyalpo and whom the spirit of enmity and hatred had led to seek his revenge in this way. The plan was foiled by the Gyalpo's wife, evidently a person of strong will, who refused to accept the lama's proclamation for what it pretended to be and was ready to defy

the revelation of the demons. At the meeting where the Gyalpo was to have abdicated in favour of his son, she had infused enough courage in him to proclaim his intention not only of retaining office but even of punishing those who opposed him. She had also made sure that if the Gyalpo's reversal of his former attitude should arouse discussion, there was a strong party to support him. But the services of the supporters were not required. The declaration was accepted, the abdication did not take place and things remained exactly as they had been. The Gyalpo's wife had guessed truly what was behind the lama's ecstatic utterance. The guise of religion in which it had been put forward did not deceive her and she stands out as an opponent to interference in temporal matters by the Buddhist lamas.

A deputation from Yarkand now arrived to receive information about the nature and intentions of Moorcroft and his party. When they had discovered that Moorcroft had come as a merchant, they declared themselves satisfied. On their return journey, in March, the leader Mullah Nyas and a little girl were riding on yaks. A guide was leading them, when at a certain pass, a blast of wind and snow came with such ferocity that the guide threw himself on the ground. When he arose after the tempest had ceased, he found the yaks without their riders. The latter had been blown off and buried in the snow. The young girl was recovered alive, but the old man had died by the time he was rescued. The rest of the party were in a difficult situation. If they went back without their leader, who was a man of some position in Yarkand, they would be suspected and accused by the Chinese of having murdered him. The difficulty was solved by their decision to take the corpse with them, so that they might convince the Chinese as to the natural mode of his death. So for the rest of their long journey, for nearly forty days over desolate country, they travelled with the dead body of their companion always beside them. It was their only security against suffering his fate at the

hands of the Chinese amban or magistrate who, they well knew, would be difficult to convince by any other way.

During his sojourn at Leh, Moorcroft became involved in political matters. The Sikh Governor of Kashmir was demanding the payment of tribute from Ladakh, when the Khalun, to avoid this, decided to apply for British protection and asked Moorcroft for his help in obtaining such protection. Moorcroft agreed to forward the Khalun's application and also wrote to Ranjit Singh about what was taking place. Moorcroft's action, however, was censured by Metcalfe, the British resident at Delhi and by the Bengal Government, and Ranjit Singh was informed that he had acted without any authority from the East India Company. According to Moorcroft, the offer of allegiance from the Ladakh rulers was entirely voluntary and due not to any pressure from him but to their own desire to escape the harsh exactions of the Sikhs. His action in this matter has been misrepresented by Baron Hugel, who alleges that Moorcroft drew up and signed a treaty with the Gyalpo and condemns him for doing something to which difficult circumstances had not forced him, and which brought the suffering of invasion and strife into Ladakh.

After staying at Leh for some time, Moorcroft obtained permission to make some journeys in the neighbourhood. The first of these was to the Nubra Valley. A longer expedition was to the eastern boundary of Ladakh beyond the Pangong Lake to a place called Chibra in the plains of the upper valley of the Indus, where in winter the flocks from the higher lands of Rupshu come to graze. Near Chushul, however, Moorcroft was recalled to Leh and the journey was continued by Trebeck. They saw many herds of the kiang or wild ass, which seem to have been more plentiful then than they are now, and on one occasion, at night, a large herd of these animals almost ran into Trebeck, but fled on discovering his presence.

In his endeavour to open trade, Moorcroft experienced the hostility of the Kashmiri merchants in Ladakh. On one occa-

sion a shot was fired at Trebeck when he was in the house at Leh, and had he not moved, he would probably have been killed. The enmity of the merchants was also shown in their attempt to prevent Moorcroft from going to Yarkand. In the hope of getting permission to go there, Moorcroft delayed his departure from Leh till the summer of 1822, and while waiting for permission, went on an excursion to Dras, while Trebeck went on one to Spiti. On his journey Moorcroft was continually stopped and welcomed by people on whom he had operated for cataract at Leh or had treated medically in other ways, and who brought him offerings of food and fruit, firewood and provision for his horses. At Pashkyum near Kargil a Muslim Sayed showed him a book which turned out to be a copy of the Bible from the Papal Press and was dated 1598. Moorcroft surmised that it had been given by Desideri. He had not heard of any European having been at Leh before him and considered it doubtful that Desideri himself had arrived there. At Dras he found that he had to be continually on the watch to save his property against the thieving propensities of the inhabitants. A sheep which had been presented to him disappeared during the night. A tent which had been put out to dry, lost one-fifth of its canvas. Even while he was operating on a patient for cataract, the instruments which lay beside him were purloined. In addition to the thefts, exorbitant prices were charged.

At last Moorcroft learnt that permission to go to Yarkand was definitely refused by the Chinese authorities. He had therefore to abandon this project and in its place resolved to set out for Bokhara by way of Kashmir and Kabul. Accordingly on the 20th September, 1822, Moorcroft finally left Leh. He seemed to have gained the affection of the Gyalpo and the lamas who gave him presents of china, silks, tea and a horse. On the return journey the party arrived at Dras just as a raid was taking place by the Raja of Hasora or Astor. The latter however, took alarm and retired before his men could carry off

the grain they had seized or even have the game of polo for which they had marked out the ground. They had, however, taken away a great deal of cattle and the raid must have caused considerable suffering to the villagers during the winter that was just beginning. On crossing the Zoji-la, Moorcroft noticed the almost magical change in the scenery whereby the aridity of Ladakh is exchanged for the fertility and beauty of Kashmir. At Gund they were received by an escort and had a public entry into Srinagar, the streets and houses of which were crowded with spectators. The place where they were lodged was the garden of Dilawar Khan, which was used also by later travellers such as Jacquemont, Hugel and Vigne. It is now used to accommodate a State school. Here Moorcroft remained till May, 1823, spending his time, as he writes, in carrying on medical work, collecting information and occasional excursions.

At this time, Moorcroft tells us, the Jami' Masjid, the principal mosque of the city, was not in use. By command of Ranjit Singh it remained closed, on the ground that it could be used as a means of plotting against his rule.

The condition of the people he notes as being abject in the extreme. The Sikh Governors were rapacious and did not scruple to use any means of extortion that they pleased. The result was widespread poverty and disease, the abandonment of cultivation and emigration of the best elements in the population. At one time he had six thousand eight hundred patients on his list suffering from diseases of the most loathsome character, a product, he notes, both of malnutrition and immorality. On an excursion which they made to the Lolab, the deserted villages and wretchedness of the people were everywhere apparent. A party of tax-gatherers was actually in one of the villages in which they stayed.

Moorcroft found no literature of any kind in Srinagar. After persistent enquiries he was able to see two copies of the Rajatarangini, the ancient chronicles of Kashmir, written on

birch-bark. He was unable to purchase either, but was allowed to make a copy, which he sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On one of his excursions he visited the temple of Martand, which he recognizes as a 'precious specimen of ancient art', deserving a high place amongst Hindu antiquities. Vernag on the other hand did not make a strong appeal on account of the dilapidated condition in which he reported it to be.

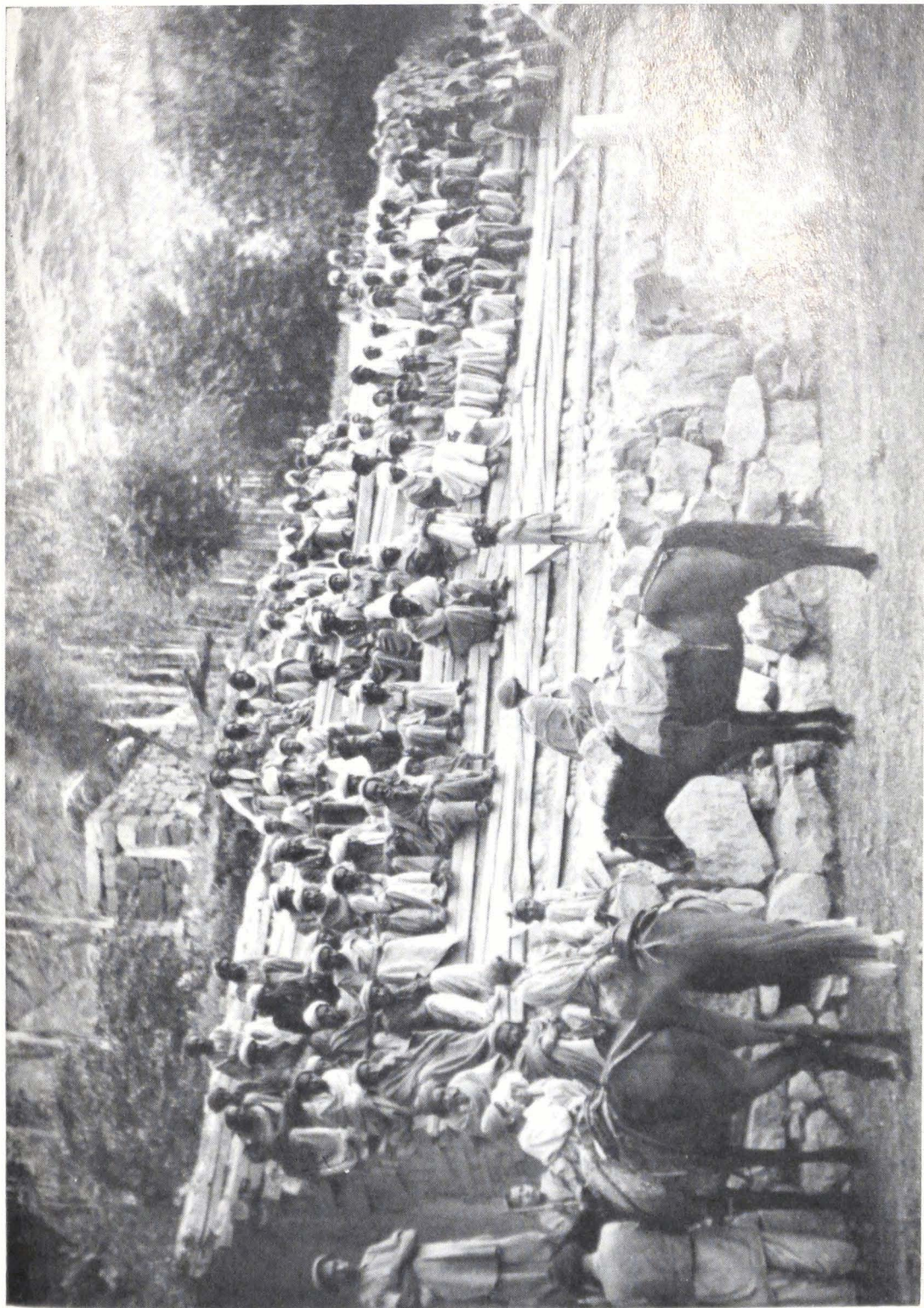
On the 31st July, 1823, Moorcroft left Kashmir and had gone some distance beyond Baramula when he was stopped by the agents of Muzaffar Khan, the chief of the Bombas. They tried to dissuade him from going any further, as Zabardast Khan, the ruler of Muzaffarabad, was in open insurrection and would probably attack him. Moorcroft replied that he would not hold them responsible for his safety, but that he was nevertheless determined to proceed. Later news which they received, however, confirmed that Zabardast Khan had rebelled against the Sikhs and had destroyed bridges and communications. Moorcroft therefore returned to Baramula and decided to leave Kashmir by the Pir Panjal route. As it was now the rainy season, and as the rains were particularly heavy in the Punjab hills, he did not begin his return journey till the 17th September, when he and his party crossed the Pir Panjal without mishap and reached the town of Jhelam on October 6th.

Having obtained passports for their onward journey after some delay, they proceeded to Peshawar and on to Kabul and Bokhara. They reached the latter place on the 25th February, 1825, after five years of wanderings and danger. The hopefulness with which Moorcroft reached Bokhara and the promise it seemed to contain of marking the end of his hazards were not realized. At Andhko he became ill with fever and died, his property was looted and his servants imprisoned. All the purposes which had sustained him came to nothing, and his enterprise ended in failure. As if to make the failure more complete, Guthrie died shortly afterwards and Trebeck having gone on

to Mazar, also succumbed to fever and died there. It is melancholy to think that for five years Moorcroft and his party had lived surrounded by danger, that they had survived the worst part of their travels and were now on the last stage when the whole enterprise failed.

Had Moorcroft remained alive, however, it is improbable that the object of his journey, to open up trade between Britain and the places he visited, would have been achieved. The regions he travelled to were too remote, communications too insecure and the petty chiefs on the route too lawless to make his venture a success. It was indeed an unusual aim—in his own words, “the hope of creating a demand for British manufactures in the heart of Asia”—which led him to penetrate into these difficult regions, especially as he was travelling independently and not as the agent of government or of any private business company. Indeed a large proportion of the expense was borne by himself, and when his absence became protracted, his salary was suspended. He was in truth before his time and what he attempted would have been appropriate many years later. He emerges from his journey, however, as a man of great determination and integrity of character, regarding his commercial object as a high moral purpose, and as a person who, trained as a doctor, used his medical skill lavishly for the benefit of the people in the countries which he visited. With whatever suspicion he may have been regarded by the rulers of each principality that he entered, and however harshly he may have been treated by his own government, nevertheless large numbers of the common people benefited by his medical services, given freely and unselfishly, and must long have remembered him with gratitude. That is perhaps the best thing that can be done by any traveller. His ostensible object failed, but his journey was not in vain.

Moorcroft mentions two other Europeans—of very different characters—whom he met in his visit to Kashmir. The first was an Englishman named Lyons, described as a deserter,



10. Waiting for a polo match to begin in Skardu. Central Asia is the home of polo.

presumably from the forces of the East India Company. In compassion at his destitution Moorcroft engaged him as a servant and took him to Kabul. Here Lyons worked against his master by spreading fantastic tales of chests filled with jewels and gold in Moorcroft's baggage and such reports caused Moorcroft considerable trouble in his dealing with the credulous and suspicious Mir Murad Beg, the ruler of Kunduz, through whose territory he was passing and whose permission he required to continue on his way. Other servants, Afghan, Armenian and Turki, had also laboured to excite enmity against him, but, Moorcroft notes, they at least, unlike Lyons, did not add ingratitude to malevolence. What was the end of Lyons is unknown. Having given this brief information, Moorcroft never alludes to him again, but a person of so debased a character would have little prospect of safety or employment in the lawless regions to which he had penetrated.

Alexander Csoma de Körös

The other person whom Moorcroft met in Kashmir was the Hungarian Alexander Csoma de Körös. They encountered each other on Moorcroft's journey to Dras and spent some time together. De Körös had travelled overland from Hungary to Tibet and Moorcroft obtained permission for him to stay in the gompas of Yangla in Zaskar in order to learn the Tibetan language. De Körös' stay in Zaskar is still recalled by the people there. After some years in western Tibet Csoma proceeded to Calcutta where he published a number of works and finally died at Darjeeling where he is buried.

In his geographical notice of Tibet, Csoma de Körös refers to Ladakh and Baltistan. Ladakh, formerly called Mar-Yul, which includes Zaskar, Purik and Nubra, has its own ruler, who, however, has to be careful not to give offence to the Chinese. Leh is the centre of trade with Turkestan, Lhasa and the Punjab. Baltistan or Little Tibet, has several chiefs, of whom the most powerful is the ruler of Skardu, but on account

of the quarrels of these chiefs, the people have an unhappy time. The fruit is good and abundant, but salt and wool are lacking.

Csoma de Körös occupies an honourable position in the history of Tibetan scholarship. His work, together with that of his even greater countryman of modern times, Sir Aurel Stein, represents an invaluable contribution to the knowledge of Central Asian history and culture. In 1834 at Calcutta de Körös published a Tibetan and English dictionary and a Tibetan grammar. His main work is an analysis of the two great collections that contain the chief religious works of Tibetan Lamaism, the Kahgyur and the Stangyur, the former consisting of one hundred volumes and the latter of two hundred and twenty-five. The existence of these collections had already been noticed by Desideri, but the first detailed information about them was given by Csoma.

In 1830 Jacquemont wrote to his father from the Kanawar hills in the Sulej Valley that he hoped shortly to meet "that incredible Hungarian original M. Alexander Csoma de Körös", at Kanum where the latter had been living for the past four years. Jacquemont accuses de Körös of having orientalized his name to make it the equivalent of Alexander the Great. The meeting probably took place, as later on Jacquemont refers to him as "my friend". A sceptic in religious matters, however, Jacquemont had little patience with the results of de Körös' researches. Two years later, travelling in the Deccan, he was given an analysis of the Tibetan translations made by de Körös and records his verdict as follows: "They are extremely dull. There are about twenty chapters on the kind of shoes that Lamas ought to wear. Amongst other far-fetched absurdities with which these books are full, priests are forbidden to hold on to a cow's tail in order to help them to ford a swift river. There is no lack of profound dissertations on the properties of the flesh of griffins, dragons and unicorns and on the admirable qualities of the hoofs of winged horses. To

judge this people by what I have seen of them and by what the translations of M. Csoma inform us of them, one would say that they were a nation of madmen or idiots.”

In spite of this comment, the remarkable system of Lamaism in Tibet has attracted many scholars, and among them few can have attained the intimacy and thoroughness with which Csoma de Körös acquired his knowledge.

Victor Jacquemont

After Moorcroft the number of European visitors to Kashmir rapidly increases. The next traveller, a Frenchman, Victor Jacquemont, arrives within ten years, and after him there is almost each year some new arrival. Born in 1801, Jacquemont had visited New York and the West Indies when he was appointed by the Jardin des Plantes in Paris to make a botanical survey in India, the area proposed being that of the Malabar coast and the Ghats. He landed at Calcutta on the 25th May, 1829, where his introduction to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, soon led to a close friendship between them. His record of the places he visited is contained mainly in letters which he sent to his father and brother and to other friends in France. These letters were illustrated by drawings which show Jacquemont to be an artist of great skill and delicacy. He writes also with literary power and the sketches he gives of the personalities he encountered are, like their subjects, most picturesque. His literary achievement can be the more admired by those who have had actual experience of the conditions under which it was carried on—writing in a tent after an exhausting day's march when one feels thoroughly tired and disinclined for any effort.

From Calcutta Jacquemont travelled to Delhi from where he made an excursion to Mussoorie and Jamnotri, the source of the Jumna, then to Simla and beyond it to Kanawar and Spiti, where he collected a large number of specimens of rocks and plants. He remarks on the bareness and aridity of the

Tibetan regions, and yet it is evident from his writings that this country had made a profound impression and had aroused a deep attraction in his mind.

After receiving permission to enter Ranjit Singh's territory, Jacquemont crossed the Sutlej on March 2nd, 1831, where he was met by a party of Sikhs sent to welcome him and give him presents of money (a bag containing 101 rupees) and foodstuffs. These presents were repeated each day till he reached Lahore and we find Jacquemont computing how much he will have received by the time he arrives at the Sikh capital. Formerly, he writes, he had been annoyed by the slow rate of travel, but these arguments of Ranjit Singh reconcile him to the pace of a tortoise. From Ranjit Singh he obtained permission to visit Kashmir and was assured of the Maharaja's protection and favour during his visit. At Lahore also he heard from the Jardin des Plantes that his allowance had been increased. On leaving Ranjit, Jacquemont received another gift of eleven hundred rupees and learned that on the way to Kashmir he would be given a further five hundred and on his arrival another two thousand. At Pind Dadan Khan Jacquemont was met by Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, to whom he was much attracted.

Jacquemont entered Kashmir by the Punch route. The journey was made difficult by the lack of coolies and by the necessity of impressing villagers to carry his loads. At one point he was captured and held prisoner by a petty chief, Nihal Singh, who thought that in this way his grievances would receive a hearing from the Maharaja. From him Jacquemont achieved his liberty by a gift of five hundred rupees. For this action Nihal Singh was expelled by Ranjit Singh from his land and orders were given that if he appeared in Lahore his nose and ears were to be cut off. Actually when Nihal Singh was captured by Gulab Singh, he was imprisoned in some fortress where he was to be kept until Jacquemont asked for his release. Jacquemont takes this as an example of Ranjit Singh's astute-

ness in devising a punishment that would establish for himself a reputation for humanity.

On May 9th, 1831, at a time of the year when Kashmir is perhaps at its loveliest, Jacquemont entered Srinagar and was received at Shalamar by the Governor, Mihan Singh. The reception most probably followed ancient custom. The fountains of the garden played, soldiers in picturesque uniforms were in attendance and the place was thronged with people. After greeting the Governor, Jacquemont was entertained by a nautch or dance of Kashmiri girls, but found the performance insipid and left after half an hour.

The Dilawar Khan Bagh, the residence of Moorcroft, was given also to Jacquemont, who found it too exposed to the public gaze. To ensure some privacy from the Kashmiris who crowded round in their boats, he had the carved shutters that formed the walls of the pavilion hung with cloth. Near his residence the bodies of a dozen people who had been hanged were still suspended from the trees. The Governor mentioned that it was no longer necessary to hang so many people as had been the case when he first came to Kashmir. In this disregard of human life the Governor was evidently at one with his subjects, for Jacquemont writes that it was a common practice to kill a man so as to steal some article of small value belonging to him.

During his stay Jacquemont complained of the heat from which bathing in the lake could give him no relief. He notes that the Isle of the Plane Trees had only two trees left out of the four planted by Shah Jahan. The view from the lake to the Mughul gardens with the Takht-i-Suleiman in the background brought him no pleasure. He confesses himself too European to find it attractive—probably in writing so his mind was going back to the formal gardens and conventional landscapes of eighteenth century France. The Kashmiris on the other hand, he tells us, delight in the view, as it gives them some compensation for their miserable condition.

In August, Jacquemont went on an expedition to Minimarg, just below the Burzil Pass, which he describes as the watershed between the Hydaspes and the Indus. Here he was attended by the local chief who sent his men into the forests to search for specimens of plants and animals that Jacquemont wanted. The men brought him a bear and what he describes as a kind of chamois, which was probably an ibex. In addition he brought back some rocks and plants and a marmot, which he considered 'a most estimable quadruped'. In return for the help he received, he gave the local chief some good advice, namely, not to eat opium like bread.

At Bandipur he received an envoy from Ahmad Shah, the Raja of Little Tibet or Baltistan. The envoy had come under the guise of supplying specimens for Jacquemont's collections on a political errand, but was not encouraged. A hill chieftain from the country west of the Wular Lake also came to meet him. This unfortunate man's wife and daughter were prisoners in Kashmir and Jacquemont promised to intercede for them.

On September 19th, after a stay of four months, Jacquemont left Kashmir and returned by the Pir Panjal route to Jammu. At Jammu, Gulab Singh being absent, he spent some time with the Raja's eldest son whom he found as attractive as his father. A day or two later he met Gulab Singh himself and went hunting with him. From Jammu he went on to Amritsar, where Ranjit suggested that he should go back to Kashmir as Governor. Jacquemont's reaction to this was one of hearty amusement, and there the matter stopped.

When he left the Punjab he was on his homeward journey. From Delhi he visited various places in Rajputana and made his way to Poona where he stayed some months. On September 14th he left for Bombay, breaking his journey at Thana on the Isle of Salsette, where he met Baron Hugel who had recently arrived in India. In a letter written shortly after his arrival on the island, he describes his health as perfect, but inflammation of the liver set in, and he moved to the sick

officers' quarters at Bombay, where he died on the 7th December, 1832. He had been three and a half years in India and died at the age of thirty-one.

Jacquemont's letters are mainly interesting for the vivid description of personalities who in his pages come to life with all the weaknesses and strong points of actual human beings. On his side Jacquemont seems to have impressed the people whom he met. He had the ability of making friends easily and many of the people with whom he stayed seem to have become warmly attached to him. He was a conversationalist of great charm and this, added to his scientific knowledge and the enquiries he was pursuing, secured for him in Ranjit's court the title of Aflatunu-z-Zaman, the Plato of the Age. He was also addressed by the Maharaja and his courtiers as Socrates and Aristotle. Titles of this character seem to have pleased him; he was not sufficiently experienced to discount such high-sounding phrases.

Unfortunately also Jacquemont was kept on a small allowance from the Jardin des Plantes which was quite inadequate for anyone travelling in the style that he thought right to assume. The result is that his letters show a preoccupation with money that is far from agreeable. Baron Hugel, who came immediately after him, makes several comments on Jacquemont. He mentions that the publication of Jacquemont's letters injured his reputation in India, as many people who had given him hospitality now saw themselves depicted critically and unfavourably in evident breach of the obligations of hospitality. Actually, however, anyone reading Jacquemont's correspondence today does not get this impression. The people with whom he stayed and their habits are no doubt described in a lively and interesting fashion, but there is nothing censorious in this, and it is evident that Jacquemont himself considered his comments quite compatible with the friendship that he had for his hosts.

Joseph Wolff

In 1832 Kashmir was visited by the Rev. Joseph Wolff, though at that time he had not become ordained. The son of a Jewish rabbi, Wolff was born in 1795 at Weilersbach in Bohemia and at an early age showed a desire to become a Christian. He was baptized by the Abbot of a Benedictine monastery at Prague in 1812, receiving the Christian name of Joseph. He proved, however, too critical of the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church and was expelled from the Propaganda where he was studying in preparation for a missionary career. He was then befriended by some English people and after he had been introduced to Simeon of Cambridge, the leader of the Evangelical movement in the Church of England at the time, it was decided that he should study at Cambridge to train as a missionary to the Jews. Here, he tells us, he learnt everything that he undertook with the exception of one thing which Simeon tried in vain to teach him, namely, how to shave himself. At the end of two years, in 1821, he was sent out as a missionary by the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. For the next twenty years he travelled extensively in Asia, Africa and America. He visited India in 1832 and entering the country from Afghanistan, travelled throughout the land from Kashmir to Cochin. He ended his life as vicar of Ile Brewers in Somerset.

Baron Hugel writes of Wolff with distaste and mentions that his work is a confused mass of materials, in which the ever-present 'I' abounds. Strangely enough, the pronoun 'I' is never used; the author invariably refers to himself in his memoirs as Wolff, a practice almost unique amongst travellers. Hugel also charges him with adopting a method of evangelism from which little results could be expected, namely, that of going to a place, holding a few meetings and then moving on, without any thought for the after-care of the converts. There is considerable force in this objection, but as Wolff

does not appear to have made many converts, this particular difficulty could not have arisen. Certainly, Wolff's book of travels is an extraordinary collection of adventures and incidents such as could never befall the normal traveller and his work makes entertaining and remarkable reading.

Like Moorcroft, Wolff went to Kashmir with a definite purpose, though unlike his predecessor his purpose was concerned with evangelism and not with trade. Consequently we do not find many descriptions of the country or the people, but mainly records of the controversies in which Wolff was always ready to indulge. He writes of some of the places he visited, but adds that he has forgotten their names. He entered Kashmir by the Pir Panjal route and had just crossed the Pass when an avalanche took place. He calls the capital Nagar Nagar, the name of Akbar's city, and mentions that there were seven bridges over the Jhelam, as there are today. He attended a *darbar* or court at which Sher Singh, the Governor, presided and presented him with a gift of a shawl and five hundred rupees. An Akali, one of the warrior Sikhs, who was present, impressed him by his beauty of countenance. In the evening dancing-girls came for the *nautch*, and on being sent away by Wolff, said that they had been sent by the Governor. Wolff allowed them to dance and liked their performance, considering them rather modest-looking than otherwise. The Governor was considered to be one of Ranjit Singh's sons, though Wolff repeats a story that as a baby Sher Singh had been bought by Ranjit's second wife from a poor Sikh woman and passed off as Ranjit's own child. Wolff predicted that Sher Singh would be Ranjit's successor, and this actually happened. Wolff spent his time in conversation with Muslims and Buddhists and preached the Gospel to thousands. At Shupiyān the beggars crowded round him, asking for alms, and saying that the fame of his name had preceded him, but when he asked them to repeat his name, they were unable to answer. Returning from Kashmir, he allowed a large number of impoverished

Kashmir emigrants to join him and so escape out of Sikh territory to other places where it was possible for them to earn a living.

Baron Hugel, G. T. Vigne and Dr. Henderson

The next two travellers, Baron Charles Hugel and G. T. Vigne were both in Kashmir at the same time. The former paid a visit of a few months in 1835, the latter made an extensive stay of some years, and both met in Srinagar. They were joined there by a third, Dr. Henderson, who had travelled from Ladakh in the guise of a Muslim.

In preparing for his trip to Kashmir, Hugel considered his comfort. Besides an abundance of food and wines, a lavish provision of tents and furniture, he had seven ponies, a palanquin, thirty-seven servants and sixty bearers. Thus equipped and prepared for any emergency, he ventured to brave the dangers of a journey to the Himalayas. Actually the management of this large retinue must have taken up a considerable part of his time, and later passages in his journal mention some of the continual difficulties he had in managing his followers. Having visited Mussoorie and Simla, he received word in the latter station that permission had been received for him to travel through Ranjit Singh's territory and accordingly he set out for Kashmir from Simla on the 13th October, 1835.

At Jammu which he reached on the 2nd November, he mentions a curious incident. An Englishman in the service of the Raja, Gulab Singh, asked to be allowed to see him and when Hugel had given permission, a young man, his dress adorned with jewels, came before him, and as soon as they were alone, threw himself at his feet and burst into tears. In vain Hugel besought him to explain the reason for his conduct. The man admitted that he had been a long time in Jammu and that he was not in want materially. He was labouring under a heavy sense of guilt but beyond entreating Hugel to have pity on him, would say nothing and soon rushed

out. Hugel heard no more of his strange visitor who seemed to have done some deed that separated him from his fellows and compelled him to live forgotten in the service of an Indian raja.

Hugel entered Kashmir by the old Mughul route of the Pir Panjal. In Srinagar he found that he was given rooms in a house in the city, overlooking the Jhelam, which he considered had a striking resemblance to the River Arno at Florence, but disliking the accommodation, he transferred to the Dilawar Khan Bagh, where Moorcroft and Jacquemont had lodged. One of the small buildings in this garden was already occupied by Vigne. Hugel took the other and had just settled in when he received a call from Dr. Henderson, arrayed in filthy Tibetan costume.

Henderson, a doctor in the service of the East India Company, was spending his leave in the ambitious project of trying to trace the Indus to its source, and for this purpose, disguised as a Muslim, had travelled from Ludhiana in the Punjab where he was stationed, to Ladakh. At Leh he was detained by the Gyalpo who wished through Henderson's presence to create the impression that the East India Company was desirous of concluding a treaty of allegiance with him. As Henderson's arrival coincided with the invasion of Zorawar Singh, the latter suspended his activities till he had time to acquaint Gulab Singh of Henderson's arrival and ask for instructions. Gulab Singh in turn referred the matter to Ranjit Singh who asked the Political Agent of the Company at Ludhiana for an explanation. Ranjit was informed that Henderson had no political status and had gone into Ladakh without the Company's permission. Zorawar Singh thereupon renewed his attack and the Gyalpo of Ladakh, realizing that Henderson's presence was valueless, allowed him to depart. Henderson immediately left for Srinagar, arriving at the same time as Hugel and calling on him in mistake for Vigne.

The same evening also Hugel met Vigne, both having dinner together, and as they found each other's company congenial, they soon became intimate friends. At this time Vigne had been back about three weeks from his travels in Baltistan.

The next day the Sikh Governor, Mihan Singh, sent the state barge to bring Hugel to the darbar. Unfortunately by the time Hugel was ready, it was already noon and the Qazi who had come to summon him declared that it was too late. On this Hugel in a mood of irritation affirmed that he would not go at all. The Qazi, appalled at the thought of what would happen to him if Hugel did not present himself, was ready to take him at once. His fears were allayed, however, by Hugel consenting to go the next day and when this satisfactory compromise had been reached, the truth came out that the darbar always finished by noon since at that time it was the Governor's custom to drink two bottles of Kashmiri wine, after which he was not in a fit condition to receive guests. Actually Hugel went two days later and the meeting consisted of little else than the exchange of compliments, the Governor telling him that his slightest wish would be a command, and Hugel informing the Governor in what capable hands the administration of the country was placed.

After staying in Srinagar for a short time, Hugel set out for Anantnag, where he had a supper of the sacred fish in the springs. From there he went on to Matan and was just entering the village when his horse was stopped by a Brahman who demanded alms. Hugel offered a rupee which was scorned by the Brahman who wanted fifty. "Do you tax me so low?" Hugel replied angrily, "drive him away". At Matan he saw the temple and the spring and explored the caves to the astonishment of his servants who scarcely expected him to come out alive. From Matan he visited Martand, his first impression of the temple being one of gloom and heaviness.

On his return to Srinagar he suggested to Vigne and Henderson that a tablet commemorating previous travellers

should be prepared and erected on the Char Chenar island. The following inscription was agreed upon—

“Three travellers in Kashmir on the 18th November, 1835, the Baron Ch. Hugel from Jamu, G. T. Vigne, from Iskardu, and Dr. John Henderson from Ladak, have caused the names of all the travellers who have preceded them in Kashmir to be engraven on this stone.

“Bernier, 1663. Forster, 1786. Moorcroft, Guthrie and Trebeck, 1823. Victor Jacquemont, 1831. Joseph Wolff, 1832.

“Two only of these, the first and the last, ever returned to their native country.”

Hugel notes that he has omitted the names of the Catholic missionaries, though he neither gives the reason for this omission nor explains why in the light of this omission he puts the words “all travellers” on his tablet. He has also omitted the name of Csoma de Körös. He explains that Forster reached England, but that on coming out again to India, he died at Madras. The wording of the inscription gives the false impression that Forster never reached his home country.

As a suitable stone for the inscription, Hugel without any qualms thought of one of the doors of a mosque at Nagar Nagar. Vigne tried to get the door when it was dark, but found that it was too heavy to move without tackle. On later attempts they encountered so much opposition that they had to abandon this plan and get a slab of black marble out of the Shalamar garden.

At the beginning of December Hugel and Vigne left Srinagar. The day before Dr. Henderson had also left for Attock on his way to the Hindu Kush and Kabul.

Hugel and Vigne travelled down the Jhelam and across the Wular Lake to Bandipura, from where they climbed one of the adjacent hills. Hugel describes the cold as being an un-

forgettable experience and the party suffered from severe headaches. From thence they returned to Bandipura where Hugel passed a painful night, unable either to eat or sleep. Recrossing the Wular Lake, they reached Baramula where Hugel was shown the tooth of a demon which turned out to be an elephant's upper tooth. Here also a yak belonging to Vigne died. Hugel wanted to take its head to Europe and horrified one of his Hindu servants by asking him to cut the head off. The man replied that while he was willing to die for Hugel, he could not do this. Life itself would be of no value if he were to commit such a heinous crime. From Baramula the two travellers went by Attock and reached Lahore safely.

After they had been some days in Lahore, Dr. Henderson also arrived. He had been unable to carry out his projected journey, and having been attacked and stripped by robbers, he made his way to Peshawar where he was given clothes by General Avitabile, an Italian in Ranjit Singh's service. Dr. Henderson was tall and thin, and Avitabile short and stout. His appearance, Hugel notes, was as extraordinary as when he had first met him in Srinagar. However, he was welcomed and also received by the Maharaja. When Henderson returned after his travels to his station at Ludhiana, he was put under arrest by the East India Company for having crossed the Sutlej without permission. Before any judgment could be given, however, he died of cholera. No record of his travels and explorations is extant.

It is unfortunate that Hugel made his journey to Kashmir in the winter, from October till December, when the cold is intense. The sufferings which he experienced from the cold form the most vivid impression of his journey that the Baron conveys to his readers, and his stay, which should have been a happy one, was spoiled on this account. The cold also prevented him from visiting any place outside the valley and from making any effective use of his stay within it. For Kashmir, Hugel's account is therefore not of the value that might have

been expected, nor does it make the contribution that Hugel's powers of observation and intellect justify one in assuming, had the visit been made at a time when his energies were not almost fully occupied in the task of keeping warm. The valuable part of his Journal deals with his stay in Lahore, where he gives a graphic and living picture of Ranjit Singh, his courtiers and the Europeans working in his service. All the time Hugel was anxious about his return passage to Europe. A ship was leaving Bombay in the spring of 1836 and he was eager to reach Bombay before it left, otherwise he would have to wait another year in India. This reason made him refuse Ranjit's overtures to stay in his service, and also prevented him from doing justice to Kashmir and the Punjab.

G. T. Vigne, whom Hugel met in Kashmir, spent a number of years in India and travelled extensively in Kashmir. He explored thoroughly the different routes into the valley. On the ancient Mughul route of the Pir Panjal, he mentions that the stones which had formed a causeway made by Akbar's engineers were still there, though many of them were loose. Vigne was a person of scientific and artistic tastes. His journal is full of records of the geology and botany of the regions he passed through, and he is continually halting his travels to sketch some scene or building. Indeed, Hugel records that when asked by Ranjit Singh if he had any request to make, Vigne's reply was that he wished to make a sketch of the Maharaja. Ranjit, however, was not pleased with the answer and referred him to a portrait of himself which had been painted for the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck.

While at Shupiyan, Vigne mentions an industry that has since disappeared from Kashmir. He states that the herons which nested in the valley were very highly valued. No one was allowed to trouble the birds, which nested in the chenar trees. When in the spring their long neck feathers dropped off, these were carefully collected and sorted out. The best ones were exported to Lahore where they were in great

demand by the Sikhs for making plumes for their turbans. Between ten and twenty of the feathers were bound together in a narrow stem covered with gold thread and adorned with jewels, the whole springing from the turban and forming its crowning attraction. This picturesque ornament has now disappeared from the head-dress of the Sikhs.

At Shahabad, a former residence of the Mughuls in the eastern end of the valley near Vernag, Vigne became on intimate terms with Samad Shah, a descendant of one of the Maliks appointed by Akbar to superintend the Banihal entrance into Kashmir. On one occasion Samad Shah persisted in demanding some calomel from him, and a year later, on meeting Vigne again, told him that thanks to the medicine he now had a son, although he had long been childless. The fame of such a wonderful medicine naturally spread throughout the country and the Governor of Kashmir even thought it worthy of communicating the incident to Ranjit Singh. The child was then produced and said what he had been evidently taught to say, that he "had been created from the dust of the earth by the command of Providence and the power of the Sahib's medicine."

Besides exploring the valley thoroughly, Vigne went to Skardu, where he claims to have been the first European visitor, and to Leh. At this time Ahmad Shah was the Raja of Skardu, who in spite of the propinquity of the Sikhs, had so far been able to retain his independence. Ahmad Shah was himself desirous of receiving a visit from an English person, and on being informed of this by Captain Wade, the East India Company's Agent at Ludhiana, Vigne immediately determined to take advantage of the opportunity. He received permission from Ranjit Singh to make the journey, but experienced a good deal of opposition from the Kashmir authorities who regarded the plan unfavourably. Between Gurais and the Burzil Pass Vigne noted that Ahmad Shah had destroyed every house so that a Sikh invading force

should find no shelter or provisions. The plan was a wise one, but unavailing. The attack, which took place by the Dogras under Zorawar Singh in 1841 came from another direction altogether, from the Indus Valley above Skardu, and Ahmad Shah found that all his anxious precautions to defend his country had come to naught.

Vigne made two visits to Skardu. On his first, he was welcomed just before the Burzil Pass by Achmat 'Ali Khan, the son of Ahmad Shah and an escort of soldiers complete with band. Here he received news of a band of raiders from Chilas who had secured prisoners and cattle from a village near Dras and were now on their way back with their booty. The Raja of Skardu had himself come with a strong force to intercept the raiders and was waiting in ambush not very far away. Vigne was taken to the place where he could see the Raja's men lying in wait and notes that in spite of the number of men the whole place appeared silent and desolate. Everything happened as had been anticipated. The raiders came along the defile through which they were expected to pass, unsuspecting and driving their sheep before them. At the proper moment, the band gave the signal with its wild music, the Baltis rushed forward and in a short time the issue had been decided. By the time Vigne came up to the scene of action, most of the raiders had been killed and the Baltis were engaged in looting. Vigne's Kashmiri coolies took advantage of the confusion to seize some of the sheep and in a moment had killed and buried them so as to ensure provisions for their return journey.

It was here too that Vigne met Ahmad Shah, who in greeting him with every show of obeisance, informed him that all his life he had wanted to see a Feringi, and that his desire was now accomplished. He had now seen people from all countries with one exception—a negro. A good deal of the Raja's attitude was due to his belief that Vigne was an officer of the East India Company, and although Vigne made his position clear, the Raja no doubt regarded his protests merely as a

means of concealing his true mission. On his way down from the Deosai plateau, Vigne states that at the defile of Burgeh a wall had been constructed with a small opening through which they had to creep. It was a place of very great natural strength and Vigne pleased the Raja by remarking that a few men could defend it against an army. Similar gates or *dar-wazas* had been constructed at other strategic points, including one near the lake at Satpura. They were all part of Ahmad Shah's scheme of defence which in the end proved so unnecessary.

From Skardu, Vigne, in the company of the Raja, went to Shigar and thence to the hot spring at Chutrung and the glaciers of Arandu. They marched very slowly, as it was the custom of the Raja to stop and have a smoke at frequent intervals. At such times the band which had been lurking not very far off, would suddenly appear and regale them with its music while they rested. Vigne states that the land appeared fertile, as it does today, and that the Raja was popular. At every corner in the road people were waiting to present offerings of fruit and to press round the Raja to touch his feet. At Shigar, Vigne first saw a game of polo, which he describes as 'hockey on horseback'.

On another occasion Vigne paid a visit to Astor, going via the Alampi La and gaining on the way an impressive view of Nanga Parbat. At Astor he met some of the inhabitants of Chilas who, he states, regarded him as a magician with power to cut out soldiers from paper, endue them with life and use them in conquering a country, and as the possessor of large snakes which at his command would intertwine and form a bridge across a river. He then descended the valley of the Astor River to a place Acho on the summit of the Hattu Pir, where he notes the extent and sublimity of the view. Vigne had sent his servant on to Gilgit to ask permission to visit that country, but the Raja of Gilgit, learning that he was accompanied by forces from Skardu, became suspicious and ordered

the bridge over the Indus near Bunji to be destroyed. Vigne had therefore to return without visiting Gilgit and came back to Kashmir by the Kamri Pass, the height of which he wrongly gives as only 9,500 feet.

Vigne made a further excursion from Skardu up the Indus and the Shayok and on by Chorbat and the pass of Hanu into Ladakh. At Khalatse just as he and his party had crossed the Indus, the bridge was burned down during the night. Vigne suspected the Baltis, but they protested their innocence, and he concluded that it had been done by enemies in the village to give him and his party a bad name. He was confirmed in this opinion by the fact that the Sikhs who were now in possession of Ladakh did not take the matter very seriously. The Sikhs refused to allow Vigne's escort of Baltis to proceed, and Vigne had to separate from them and travel on with another escort to Leh. Here he found that the Sikhs would allow no one to come near him, and if he even walked abroad, the Sikhs who followed him everywhere so terrified the people that they disappeared on his approach. Nor was he allowed to travel in Ladakh as he wished, and his intention of visiting the plains of Chang Thung and the road to Yarkand had to be abandoned. Vigne broke through the surveillance of his guards on one occasion by galloping off on a visit to the Gyalpo and forcing an entrance past the guards. His visit, however, did not last long, as he was followed shortly by his own guard. He was able, however, to manage a journey to the Nubra Valley which he found populous and beautiful. Returning to Leh, he set out after a short time for Skardu.

On his last visit to Skardu, Vigne attempted to go on to Kokan, but the lateness of the season prevented him from getting very far, and he accordingly returned to Kashmir in disappointment at the frustration of his plans. Ahmad Shah, noticing his disappointment, tried to relieve it by organizing a hunt on a large scale. A large party of his men drove the ibex and wild sheep before them for two days until they had

rounded them up near where Vigne and the Raja were camping. Vigne retired with rosy hopes of a great shoot on the next day, and the Raja's men lit fires to keep the animals within the cordon. Unfortunately for their hopes, a thick mist came up in the night and blotted everything out. In the mist the animals were able to make their escape and the next day only a few were killed by the huntsmen. Vigne then parted from Ahmad Shah and continued his way to Kashmir by Dras, the Zoji La and the Sind Valley, which with the exception of the Baramula Gorge, he considered to be the most beautiful of all the valleys leading into Kashmir.

Altogether Vigne stayed almost seven years in India, from 1832 to 1839. He used his time to travel extensively in Kashmir. He explored the various ways into Kashmir and made a complete tour of the valley itself, besides visiting Skardu and Leh. He also intended to go to Gilgit, but was prevented, as explained above, by the Raja becoming suspicious. In all his travellings he had the friendship and support of Ranjit Singh and of Mihan Singh, the Governor of Kashmir, and the only difficulties that he experienced in his travels came from Gulab Singh's men in Ladakh. For these difficulties Gulab Singh later apologised to him. Vigne had therefore opportunities for studying Kashmir and coming to know its people that were denied to previous travellers, and he makes a good use of these opportunities. His narrative is an objective one, concerned with the things and places he sees rather than with his personal feelings or adventures. He collects a great deal of information about the different places he went to and recounts many of the old Hindu myths connected with the valley. He is also interested in the derivation of place-names, but unfortunately many of his suggestions are quite fanciful, as his identification of the name Zoji La with Shiv-ji-la, or mistaken, as his confusion of 'Aliabad with Allahabad. The same is true of his attempts to link up Kashmir history with the genealogies of the Old Testament. Vigne looks forward to the time when

Kashmir will adopt western ways of life and become modernized. He entirely underestimates the strength of its own culture and the tenacity with which it has been able to preserve its distinctive forms in spite of the modifications induced by western influence.

An interesting fact that emerges from Vigne's account is the abundance of wild animals in the valley itself. Vigne often mentions that he sees or hears of bears, leopards, deer and other animals in the valley. These have long gone into higher and remoter places where they have to be sought for. The abundance of wild animals is a sign that the valley was then not so populous as now.

In Kashmir, Vigne met another European traveller besides Baron Hugel and Dr. Henderson. This was Dr. Falconer, Superintendent of the East India Company's garden at Saharanpur in the United Provinces. Dr. Falconer visited Kashmir in 1838, near the end of Vigne's stay, and no doubt came on a botanical expedition. Falconer also came to Skardu while Vigne was there and tried in vain to persuade the Raja to be vaccinated. With Vigne, Falconer visited Shigar and explored a little in the Shigar and Braldu-Basha Valleys.

Vigne's departure in 1839 may be taken as a convenient point at which to close the record of European travellers. From this time Kashmir becomes more accessible, and the stream of European visitors gradually gets larger. Further, soon after Vigne's departure, the whole of Kashmir came into possession of Gulab Singh, whose descendants are still in Kashmir and with whom the modern period of Kashmir's history begins. Vigne's journal therefore forms a fitting close to this record of travellers, as it gives us a picture of Kashmir just before the modern period commences.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

AS we look at Kashmir in retrospect, the striking thing is the strong continuity and identity which it has preserved throughout the many changes of its history. The Kashmir of the old chronicles and tales of travel is easily recognizable in the Kashmir of the present age, and very often it is the same things that were noted centuries ago which attract the visitor's attention today.

This continued identity is due in large measure to the well-defined geographical features which have served to isolate Kashmir and keep it unaffected by the cataclysmic changes that were enacted in the plains of Northern India. The historical invasions of India followed a course never very far away from Kashmir, but the intervening distance was filled by a series of mountain ridges, increasing in height and difficulty towards the interior, and in these ridges lay Kashmir's safety. The invading hordes preferred the easier gains and richer prizes of Hindustan to the toils and scanty rewards of a mountain campaign, and for centuries Kashmir remained unmolested, absorbed wholly in the affairs that went on within its own borders.

A further powerful reason for the continuity of Kashmir life is the devotion which the Kashmiri has for his own valley. Many indeed have in the course of centuries left the valley and settled in various places in Northern India. Excess of

population has made others emigrate. Famine has driven thousands to seek a subsistence elsewhere. Misrule and persecution have caused many to flee, but the Kashmiri does not willingly leave his own country. The climate, food and mode of life of a large part of India are often as strange to him as they are to the visitor. The attachment which the Kashmiri feels to his own land is confined to the Vale of Kashmir. To be sent to Kargil or Leh, is exile, and the Kashmiri longs to be back in Srinagar or its neighbourhood, where there is life, warmth and abundance. The State of Kashmir is a political creation, but for the Kashmiri, as for history, his country is only the Vale of Kashmir, the territory of the Jhelam and its tributaries from its source to Baramula. It is this which is distinctive and which receives his affection. Its traditions, its customs, its sacred places of pilgrimage, its arts and crafts, are remembered, cherished and transmitted from generation to generation and the result is that the general impression is one of continuity and identity.

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