



HISTORY OF
KANGRA
AND
KULLU
STATES

HISTORY OF KANGRA AND KULU STATES

J. HUTCHINSON

and

J. Ph. VOGEL

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THE HISTORY OF THE
INDIAN NATION
BY
J. H. HENNING

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Kangrā and Kulū had been two very prominent hill States of Punjab of the pre-partition era. Embedded in the lap of snowy and sylvan Siwalik Hills of the Himalayas, Kangrā and Kulū had been very scintillating States, both politically as well as historically, in the annals of medieval and British Punjab. This study resurrects and enlivens the history of the twin very important States since the mythical times till the second decade of the twentieth century. To condense, compress and present cohesively and meaningfully the historical desiderata of the two States spanning over several centuries in a monograph of this size is veritably a herculean task but the authors have done it admirably with painstaking labours typically involved in the domain of historical research, particularly when the source material is very scanty as in this case. However, details of socio-political significance of the region appear to have escaped the searching eye and the analytical approach of the authors.

At its zenith, the kingdom of Jālandhara was a very extensive kingdom and comprised almost all the tract of land between the Sutlej and Ravi rivers as well as Jālandhara Doāb. The alternative name of the kingdom of Jālandhara in the ancient literary sources is Trigad̥h or Trigarta which means 'the land of three rivers'—the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. The name Trigad̥h was synonymous with the Lower Biās Valley, *i.e.* Kangrā proper. This study has been able to trace back the history of Kangrā State to the very ancient times of Bhumi Chander, the founder, focuses on the rule of about 500 subsequent rulers. The first name which has been regarded truly historical is that of the 234th ruler Sursarman Chandra. It is said of him that he participated in the Great Mahabharata War from the side of the Kauravas under the name Susarman. The geneology of the Rājput Dynasties of the Kangrā Hills, of whom the Katoch is the oldest, has been continuous and unbroken. After the Mahabharata War, the descendant of Susarman settled in the district of Jālandhara and built the fort of Kangrā. The name 'Kangrā' means a fortification or a fortress. This fort was famous all over India in former times and was regarded as impregnable. Kangrā State enjoyed a relative peace and prosperity till the Mohammedan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century. Akbar and Jāhangir made systematic attacks on the Kangrā Valley and conquered it with considerable efforts but could not amalgamate the identity of the place into the personality of their empire. The presence of the Devi Temple was a source of unflinching strength to the Hindus who never shirked even in losing their lives in any number to defend the abode of their deity. It became a crucible of political upheavals and intercentine warfare among the petty chiefs who fought with each other with an equally formidable determination of exterminating each other. After the Mughals, the Sikhs under Mahārāja Ranjit Singh indulged in adventurism in this hill region and brought it under the subjugation of the mighty

Maharāja. The British rule absorbed a considerable part of this area in the British dominions leaving very small kingdoms to their chief which could not stand on their own due to the fact that they lacked political and economic viability. The last ruler, covered by this study in respect of Kangrā, was Lieutenant Colonel Raja Sir Jai Chand whose military services to the British Empire in the First World War were commended by the British rulers. A huge mass of religious literature, travel literature of medieval travellers, chronicles, official records, etc. have been distilled in the delination of a pen-picture of the Kangrā State in this study.

Kulū was an equally important principality of this region and at one time it was a sub-division of the Kangrā State. The source material in case of Kulū is very scanty because an infuriated mob in the times of Rājā Jit Singh (1816-41) had set the state archives on fire, thereby completely destroying the documents which could be helpful in writing a historical account of this State. Colonel Harcourt, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, salvaged whatever he could and on the basis of his researches into the surviving material, he wrote his famous book *Kooloo, Lahul and Spiti*, a work never surpassed in matters of details and authenticity. The study of Kulū history takes a coin of Virāyasa, a Rājā of Kulū, as the starting point of the history of Kulu and the historians have ascribed this coin to the second century A.D. The original name of Kulū was Kulūta and reference to it occur in the *Ramāyaṇā* and the *Mahābhārta*. The history of Kulū before the accession of Badāni Dynasty in 1500 A.D. is largely a matter of conjecture. One thing which is certain that after Kāshmir and Kangrā, Kulū was one of the oldest principalities in the Punjab hills. There were 88 rulers in all, 73 belonging to the Pāl Dynasty and 15 to the Singh Dynasty. The Singh Dynasty rose to power around the year 1500 and continued till 1840 when the last ruler of the Singh Dynasty was overthrown by the Sikhs under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. It is conjectured that the 73 Pāl Rajas ruled over the State for about 1460 years prior to the rise of Singh Dynasty. The Kulū State also underwent the same kind of political vicissitudes as the Kangrā State and the historical account of the two States makes almost an identical reading with change in the names of persons and places.

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(P.C. VAISH)

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History of Kangra State

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

The kingdom of Jālandhara or Trigarta, at the time of its greatest expansion, previous to the Muhammadan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century, probably comprised almost all the country between the Satluj and the Rāvi in the outer hills, except Kulū, and also the Jālandhar Doāb on the plains.¹ At that early period the State seems to have included two great provinces, under the above names, of which the capital was at Jālandhara, with a subordinate capital at Nagarkot or Kāngrā. In somewhat later times its limits were restricted by the foundation of new principalities, either as offshoots from the parent stem, or independent States; like Suket and Bangāhal in the East, and Paṭhānkot or Nurpur on the West. At all times, however, the hold of the State on the outlying portions of the territory must have been of a very loose character, and was probably nothing more than a nominal suzerainty over numerous petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs. That this must have been the case in the eastern part of the State, seems clear from the condition of the country as portrayed in the early records of Kulū, Suket and Mandi, where these petty chiefs held practically independent rule down to a comparatively recent period. As regards the central portion of the State, around Kāngrā, there is not the same clear evidence of such a political condition, in our records; but the existence of many Rānā families in Kāngrā proper, even to the present time, seems to indicate that there too in ancient times numerous petty chiefs wielded power, though probably reduced to submission at an early period. We read of a Rānā of Kiragrāma or Baijnāth in the 12th century, who was counted worthy to intermarry with the royal house of Trigarta or Kāngrā.

After the Muhammadan invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot or Kāngrā then became the chief capital²; and with the rise of new principalities on its borders at a still later period, the State was probably reduced to the dimensions still obtaining at the time of its extinction in A.D. 1827.

³Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the history of the royal family of Jālandhar and Trigarta in detail, and the results of his researches are contained in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, and in the *Ancient Geography of India*. Mr. William Moorcroft had previously noted the existence of the *Vansāvalī* or genealogical roll, which he examined at the court of Rājā Sansār Chand in A.D. 1820. (*Vide Moorcroft, Travels, Vol. I, p. 145*).

¹ Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, Vol. I, p. 137, from which it appears that the kingdoms of Satadru (Sirhind?) and Chamba may also have formed a part of Jālandhara.

² These were—Jaswān, Guler, Siba and Datārpur, all offshoots from Kangra.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 145 et seq. *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 136-141.

As already stated, the original capital was at Jālandhara. According to Cunningham the name of the place is said to have been derived from the famous Dānava, Jālāndhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean, who is considered the "Father of Rivers."¹ The extract from the *Padma Purāna* on the subject is as follows:—² "At his (Jālāndhara's) birth the earth trembled and wept, and the three worlds resounded, and Brahma having broken the seal of meditation and having perceived the universe to be lost in terror, mounted his *hansa* (goose) and, reflecting on this prodigy, proceeded to the sea. Then Brahma said, "Why, O Sea, dost thou uselessly produce such loud and fearful sounds." Then Ocean replied, "It is not I, O chief of the gods, but my mighty son who thus roars." When Brahma beheld the wonderful son of Ocean he was filled with astonishment and the child having taken hold of his beard he was unable to liberate it from his grasp; but Ocean approached smiling and loosed it from the hand of his son. Brahma admiring the strength of the infant then said, "From his holding so firmly let him be named Jālandhara," and he further with fondness bestowed on him this boon: "Jālandhara shall be unconquered by the gods, and shall through my favour enjoy the three worlds."

"When the boy was grown up Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, appeared before his father, Ocean, and said to him, "This son shall, through his might, thoroughly enjoy the three worlds; do thou, therefore, recede from Jambudwīpa—the sacred abode of holy men—and leave unwashed by thy waves an extent of country sufficient for the residence of Jālandhara. There, O Sea, give a kingdom to this youth, who shall be invincible." Sukra having thus spoken, the Ocean sportively withdrew his waves and exposed, devoid of water, a country extending 300 *yojanas* in length, which became celebrated under the name of "the Holy Jālandhara."

³ Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the passage quoted had reference to the physical features of the Indo-Gangetic river plain, of which the plains of Jālandhara form the junction point; and which were once covered by the Ocean: and that the legend of Jālandhara is rather a traditionary remembrance of the curious physical fact than the invention of the Purānic author.

⁴ The account of the Titan's death is contained in the *Jalandhara Purāna*, and is supported by local tradition. Cunningham's version is as follows:—"The invincibility of Jālandhara was derived from the spotless purity of his wife, *Vrinda*, which was overcome by the fraud of Vishnu in personating her husband. The Titan was then conquered by Shiva who cut off his head, but the head quickly rejoined the trunk, and repeatedly regained its wonted place after having been dissevered by Shiva. To prevent this continuous resuscitation, Shiva buried the giant underground, and so vast was his size that his body covered a circuit of 48 *kos*—or about 64 miles, which is said to be the exact extent of the present pilgrims' route, called

¹ In Hindu mythology the Ocean is usually called the husband, not the father of rivers, which are always personified as female deities.

² From the *Uttara Kanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Researches in Mythology*, Appendix, p. 457, Col. Vans Kennedy, and *A.S.R.* Vol. V, p. 145.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, Punjab, pp. 145^a, 7, 8.

Ibid., pp. 146-7.

Jālandhara Tirath. But as all the places of note in this line of pilgrimage lie to the north of the Biās river, with the single exception of Kālesar, on its south bank, the city of Jalandhara, which derives its name from the Titan, is most inexplicably excluded from the holy circuit. That this was not the case in former times is quite certain, as the Hindu name of the district, in which the town of Jālandhara is situated, is *Jālandhara-pītha* or Jālandhar's back. The story which I heard in 1846, when I first visited the Kāngrā Valley, placed the head only of the Titan to the north of the Biās, with his mouth at Jwālamukhi, while his body covered the whole extent of country lying between the Biās and the Satluj; his back being immediately beneath the district of Jālandhar and his feet at Multan."

"A glance at the map will show that this version of the legend must have originated in the shape of the country, as defined by its two limiting rivers; not unlike that of the constellation of Orion. From Nadaun to the south of Jwālamukhi, that is, just below the Titan's mouth, the Satluj and Biās approach each other, within 24 miles, to form his neck. Both rivers then recede from each other, until they are 96 miles apart, at Rupar and Ādinagar, which form the two shoulders. The two rivers now join at Firozpur, but only a few centuries ago they did not approach each other, nearer than 16 miles, between Kasūr and Firozpur, where they formed the giant's waist, and then ran parallel courses, like a pair of legs down to Multan."

¹ Another version of the legend is as follows: "Jālandhara was a *rākash* or demon who would not allow the Doāb now called by his name, to be inhabited. Bhagwān or Vishnu took the form of a dwarf (*bān-rup*) and killed the demon, who fell upon his face, and the city of Jalandhar was then built on his back. The demon was 48 *kos* in extent, or 12 *kos* in every direction from the middle of his back, that is, from the city of Jālandhar. This was the first place occupied and all others are of later date."

² A third version locally current confines the demon's body to the Kāngrā valley. According to it the top of the Titan's head lies under the temple of Nandikeswara Mahādeva at Jindrāngol on the Nigwal river. Between this place and Palampur the pine tree forest is called *Vṛindāvana* or the forest of *Vṛinda*—after the wife of Jālandhara: the head is said to be under the Mukteswar temple, in the village of Siensol, 5 miles to the north-east of Baijnath: one hand is placed at Nandikeswara—that is on the top of the head: and the other at Baijnāth—near the head: while the feet are at Kalesar on the left bank of the Biās river to the south of Jwālamukhi.

In the *Āin-i-Akbari* the Jālandhar district is called Bist-Jālandhar, an appellation which, Cunningham thought, may have been suggested to Akbar by the name of Jālandhar-pīth. This is improbable.

The alternative name for the kingdom of Jālandhara in the ancient documents is *Trigarṭa* meaning, "the land of the three rivers", but the common interpretation of the name, as referring to the Rāvi, Biās and Satluj, is open to question. In those documents the name *Trigarṭa* is always applied to the Lower Biās valley—that is,

Kāngrā Proper: ¹ and on the whole it seems much more probable that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Biās, which water the Kāngrā District. These are, the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite at Haripur, under the name of Trigadh, which is the same as Trigar, and fall into the Biās at Siba Fort. ² The name *Trigadh* was also in use for the Kāngrā State, down to the early part of the 19th century. We may, therefore, assume that *Jālandhara* was the name of the portion of the kingdom on the plains, and *Trigarta* of that in the hills; and these names may have been used interchangeably for the whole kingdom. An almost exact parallel is found in the case of the two provinces of Jammu and Kāshmir in that State at the present time.

³ Cunningham remarks on this subject as follows:—"The name of Trigarta is found in the *Mahābhārat* and in the Purāns, as well as in the *Rājā-tarangini* or History of Kashmir. It is also given as synonymous with Jālandhara by Hema Chandra, who says:—

Jālandharas Trigartah Syuh
"Jālandhara, that is, Trigarta."

The *Trikanda Śesha* has:—

Bāhlikāscha Trigartaka

which Lassen renders by,

*Bahlici idem sunt ac Trigartici.*⁴

"But here the name should be Bahika, as we know from the *Mahābhārat* that Bahi and Hika were the names of two demons of the Biās river, after whom the country was called Bahika."

It is certainly surprising that in the *Trikāndasesha* the Trigartas appear to be identified with the Bahlikas or Valhikas, a name by which the Bactrians (Balkh) are indicated. They are mentioned in the Iron Pillar inscription of Delhi. It is however far from certain that Cunningham's emendation is correct. *Bahika* or *Vahika*, is the name found in the Epics to indicate the people of the Punjab. (Sanskrit, *Panchanada*). The word really means "the outsiders," "the aliens," and was evidently a term of contempt used by the inhabitants of the Gangetic Plains to indicate the Panjabis. This is clear from an interesting passage in the *Mahābhārat* (Canto VIII, Chapters 44-45), in which the Bahikas are spoken of with scorn. That the name *Bahika* is derived from the names of two demons, Bahi and Hika, is out of the question. On the contrary these demons have clearly been invented to account for the geographical name; and probably the same is true of the name Jālandhara which more probably was in the first instance the name of a tract of country.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

² The name *Trigarta* may be translated "the three valleys," the word "garta" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water, and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply cut valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called *Trigarta*.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V., Punjab, p. 148.

⁴ *Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 52. At the time the *Mahābhārat* was composed the capital of the Bahikas was at Sakala (Sialkot).

The chronology of Kāngrā State is largely a matter of conjecture. The *Vansāvalī* contains nearly 500 names from that of Bhumi Chand the founder, but of the early Rājās for many centuries we know nothing. The first name which may be regarded as possibly historical is that of Susarman Chandra, the 234th from the founder—called Susarman in the *Mahābhārat*—who is believed to have reigned at the time of the Great War and figures as an ally of the Kauravas. All the names previous to that time we may regard as mythical. Mr. Moorcroft was the first to draw attention to the *vansāvalī* which he saw at the Court of Sansār Chand at Nadaun in 1820. He says:—"Sansār Chand deduces his descent from Mahādev, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of the document and some Kāshmirī Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family." As we know, Mr. Moorcroft never returned to claim the document which had been promised him.

The great antiquity of the Kāngrā family is undoubted, and we may therefore conclude that in the *vansāvalī* from the time of Susarman Chandra we possibly have to do with an historical record. Sir A. Cunningham says:—"The royal family of Jālandhara and Kāngrā is one of the oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Susarma Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief, than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." Sir Leper Griffin too refers to the Rajput dynasties of the Kāngrā hills, of whom the Katoch is the oldest, as having "genealogies more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world."¹

The first historical notice of Jālandhara, Cunningham says, is to be found in the works of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, "where it is called Kalindrine or Ktalin-drine, which should probably be corrected to Salindrine, as K. and z are often interchanged in Greek manuscripts." Alexander's expedition terminated on the banks of the Biās, but he received the submission of *Phegelas* or *Phegeæus*, the king of the district beyond the Biās river, that is of the Jālandhar Doāb. These identifications, however, are very uncertain, and cannot be accepted without clearer proof.

The mountain kings to the north of the Punjab are also referred to by Alexander's historians (B.C. 326). Cf. *Early History of India* by V. Smith, p. 81.

Jālandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the *Hemakosa* (a Sanskrit dictionary); the *Rājā-taranginī* and the *Uttara khanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Trigarta* is repeatedly referred to in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Mahābhārat*, where we read of "Susarman, the king of Trigarta," who was the ally of the Kauravas,² and attacked Virāta, the king of the Matsyas, with whom the Pāndavas had sought refuge. Apparently the Trigartas and Matsyas were neighbours. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 27) says:—"The Macchas or Matsyas, were to the south of the

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145.

² *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 137-8; and *Punjab Ethnography*.

³ Vide Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 193, for mention of *Trigartas* in *Mahābhārat*, and Note 122 which says that they were in the Great War.

Kurus and west of the Jumna, which separated them from the Southern Pañcālas." According to the account in the *Mahābhārat*, Susarman, when about to attack Virāta, marched in a south-eastern direction.¹ The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the Great War they lost their lands in Multan and retired under Susarman to the district of Jālandhara, where they settled, and built the fort of Kangra.

The history of Trigarta is practically a blank down to the capture of the Fort by Mahmūd, but the references found in the *Rājā-taranginī* and the narrative of Hiuen Tsiang establish the fact that it had existed for six hundred years previous to this, as an independent State.

² *Jālandhara* and *Trigarta* are several times referred to in the *Rājā-taranginī*, the earliest mention being towards the end of the 5th century A.D. In the early part of the 7th century Hiuen Tsiang passed through Jālandhara, which he describes as 1,000 *li* or 167 miles in length from east to west, and 800 *li* or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. ³ "If these dimensions," says Cunningham, "are even approximately correct, Jālandhar must then have included the State of Chamba on the north, with Mandi and Suket on the east and Satadru (Sirhind ?) on the south-east. As the last is the only district to the east of the Satluj, which is included in N. India, I infer that it must have belonged to the kingdom of *Jālandhar*. With the addition of these districts, the size of the province will agree very well with the dimensions assigned to it by the Chinese Pilgrim." At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Jālandhar itself was the capital, which he describes as from 12 to 13 *li*, or upwards of 2 miles in circuit. The capital of *Trigarta* was probably at Nagarkot (Kāngrā) from ancient times, but the place is not mentioned in history till the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni, by whom it was captured in A.H. 400=A.D. 1009.

⁴ In the *Tārikh-i-Yamīnī*, by 'Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmūd, it is called Bhīm-nagar, but Ferishta refers to it as Bhīmkot, or the fort of Bhīm. These names are said to have been derived from the name of a previous Rājā, who founded the fort, and probably the one referred to the fort and the other to the town.

The name *Nagarkot*, however, must also have been in use, probably from early times, and it is mentioned by ⁵ Abu Rihān (Alberūnī—A.D. 1030), who, Cunningham affirms, was present at the siege and capture of the place by Mahmūd. This name also was probably meant to include both the town and the fort. A reference to the place under this name, and evidently drawn from older documents now lost, occurs in Ferishta, in connection with events which are said to have taken place about the first century of the Christian era or even earlier.

⁶ An interesting reference to Trigarta is found in two Chamba copper-plate title-deeds granted about A.D. 1050-60, but relating to events which must have occurred in

¹ *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 138.

² *Rājā-taranginī*, Stein, Vol. III, v-100-285. and Vol. IV, v-177.

³ *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 137.

⁴ Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 34; and *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁵ Alberuni's *India*, 1910, p. 260. Cf. *Arch. Geog. of India*, p. 140.

⁶ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 186, 194. Cf. *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 76

the beginning of the 10th century. At that time Chamba was invaded by a tribe called *Kīra*, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatika (Balōr or Basohli). In the contest which ensued the allies of Chamba were Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū). This reference is specially important as showing that *Trigarta* was then the name of the tract now called Kāngrā, and under the abridged form of Trigadh or Trigart it continued in use till about a hundred years ago or even less, after which it seems to have fallen into abeyance.

Alberuni also refers to Jālandhar, in the itinerary from Kanauj to Kashmīr, which then ran through the outer hills from Pinjor *viā* Dahmāla (Nurpur), which is called "the capital of Jālandhar, at the foot of the mountains." From this reference Cunningham conjectured that Dahmāla had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour, Trigarta. It thus seems probable that the whole hill tract as far west as the Rāvi had from ancient times formed a part of the kingdom of *Jālandhara* or *Trigarta*.

In more recent times Trigarta seems also to have been known as *Katōch*, though this name also may be ancient, and from it the clan name of the ruling family is derived. The origin of the name is uncertain. Mr. Moorcroft, who visited Nadaun in 1820, states that the kingdom of Kāngrā then contained three provinces, *viz.* *Katōch*, *Changa*, and *Pālam*. *Katōch* seems to have included the country around and to the west of Kāngrā, and we may perhaps surmise that this was the original nucleus of the state; *Changa*, or more correctly *Changar*, is the name of the broken hilly country to the south of Pālam, and between it and Jwālamukhi; and *Pālam* is the eastern portion of flat land lying between Kāngrā and Baijnāth. As the designation of a separate province or district the name *Katōch* is now disused, but the fact that a hundred years ago it denoted a portion of the State as well as the State itself, seems clearly to prove its geographical origin.¹ Many other derivations of the name have been assigned which may be dismissed as fanciful. The names *Changar* and *Pālam* are still in use for the tracts indicated.

The name *Kāngrā*, meaning "a fortification" or "fortress," is probably of ancient origin, and may have been applied originally only to the fort. Fanciful derivations have been attached to the word, for example, *Kāngarh* meaning "the fort of the ear," pointing to the legend that it stands over the ear of the buried demon, *Jālandhara*; or possibly to the fact that the configuration of the ground bears a strong resemblance to the shape of a human ear. The fort was famed all over India in former times and was regarded as impregnable.

There is yet another name for the capital of the State in some of the old records. In the Baijnāth eulogies, as already mentioned, the name *Susarmapura* is found, and Dr. Buhler has rightly pointed out that it must be identical with Nagarkot or Kot-Kāngrā. The name points to the tradition that the Rājās of Kāngrā are descended from Susarman, the king of Trigarta mentioned in the *Mahābhārat*. In the first Baijnāth Eulogy (I, 31-32) we read of an astrologer named Balhana of *Susarmapura* and also of an architect from the same place (I, 35-37). Again in the second *Rājā-*

¹ Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 205.

² *Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

tarangini of Jonaraja (Trans., 1898, Vol. III, p. 39) it is related that one Malla Chandra, "belonging to the house of Susarman of Trigarta," having been exiled by his enemies, took refuge with Jaya Simha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-1140), and distinguished himself against the Turushkas. Another passage from the same source relates that during an expedition of Shahāb-ud-din of Kashmir, A.D. 1363-86 (*vide* Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 459), "the Rājā of Susarnapura out of fear forsook the pride of his fort, and found a refuge with the goddess." Evidently Kot Kangrā is referred to and the goddess must be the famous *devī* of Bhawan near Kangrā.

In the second Baijnāth Eulogy, *Jālandhara* and *Trigarta* are used as names of the same country. Jaya Chandra, the overlord of the Rājānaka of Kirāgrāma (Baijnāth), is called "the supreme king of Jalandhara" (II. 6), whereas farther on the suzerains of Kirāgrāma are designated "kings of Trigarta" (II. 20-21) and Kirāgrāma itself is said to be situated in Trigarta (II. 10). Hṛidaya Chandra is also called "king of Trigarta" (II. 18). The names thus indicated a well-recognized territorial area at the time when the Eulogies were inscribed (A.D. 1204).

The earliest reference to Kangrā by a European traveller is that of William Finch, A.D. 1611, but he does not seem to have actually visited the place. It is contained in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and is as follows: "Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck Chand, whose chiefe city is Negarcoat, So c. from Lahore, and as much from Syriran, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man, much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idol's feet have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid, to serve the father of lyes and iyers, however); yea some out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering; the holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in pains before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which, having made their offerings, by dreams in the night receive answers, not departing discontented. They report this Pagan Diety to have been a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name), yea that she still lives (the Divell shée doth), but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Rajaw is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visit She Selim."

The earliest European visitor to Kangrā was probably Thomas Coryat, and on his authority Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, A.D. 1615, refers to the place as "Nagarcot, the chief city so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth being ceiled and paved with plates of pure silver, most curiously imbossed overhead in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it, and all this cost these poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel. The idol thus kept in

that richly adorned Chapel, they called Matta, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who out of the officiousness of their devotion, cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it as sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before”

“ In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallarmakee (Jwālamukhi) where out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard rocks are daily to be seen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryate.”¹

² A somewhat similar description is given by the French traveller Thevenot in A.D. 1666. He says, “ They are pagodas of great reputation in Ayoud, the one at Nagarcot and the other at Calamac (Jawālamukhi), but that of Nagarcot is far more famous than the other, because of the idol, *Matta*, to which it is dedicated, and they say that there are some Gentiles that come not out of that pagod without sacrificing part of their body. The devotion which the Gentiles make show of at the pagod of Calamac proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle that the water of the town, which is very cold, springs out of rock of Calamac, is of the mountain of Balagrate (Bālaghāt), and the Brahmans who goveru the pagod make great profit of it.”

The story about the sacrifice of some part of the body by the pilgrim is also related by Abul Fazal. He says, “ Nagarkot is a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. In the vicinity of this city upon a lofty mountain is a place, *Maha Maiy*, which they consider as one of the works of the divinity, and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this they cut out their tongues, which grow again in the course of two or three days and sometimes in a few hours.”

“ According to the Hindu mythology *Maha Maiy* was the *wife*, but the learned of this religion understand by this word, the *power* of Mahādeva, and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself, and that different parts of her body fell on four places. That the head with some of the limbs alighted on the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmraj, and which place is called Sardhā. That some other members fell near Bijapur in the Dakhan, at a place called Talja-Bhawani. That others dropped in the east near Kāmrup, and which place is called Kāmcha, and that the rest remained at Jālandhar on the spot above described.”³

Nagarkot or Kāngrā is frequently referred to in the works of the Muhammadan historians from ‘Utbi (A.D. 1009) and Alberuni (A.D. 1030) downwards, and more especially during the Mughal period, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāhjahān.

Among European travellers, as already stated, Thomas Coryat was probably the first to visit Kāngrā, in A.D. 1615; followed, perhaps, by Thevenot⁴ in 1666 and Vigne

¹ Journal, Punjab Hist. Soc., Vol. I, No. 2, p. 115; and Terry, *Voyage to East India*, p. 82.

² *Travels*, Part iii, Chap. 37, fol. 62. Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 167.

³ Gladwin's *Ain-Akhbari*, ii. 109.

⁴ It is uncertain if Thevenot actually visited Kangra.

in 1835. Forster in 1783 and Moorcroft in 1820 both passed through the Outer Hills but do not seem to have visited Kangrā.

The origin of the Katoch royal line is lost in the mists of the past. Its claim to great antiquity is fully corroborated by the many offshoots which have sprung from the parent stem, and the great extent of country which formerly owned their sway.¹ "Throughout the lower hills," says Mr. Barnes, "there is scarcely a class of any mark that does not trace its pedigree to the Katoch stock. Four independent principalities—Jaśwān, Guler, Siba, and Datārpur—were founded by cadets of the parent line. The fraternity of Sadu Rajputs with their seven Raos or Chiefs, who occupy the Jaswān Valley between Una and Ruper, claim to be descended from the same source. The powerful colony of Indauria Rajputs at the other extremity of the Kāngra district, to the west, boast that their ancestor was an emigrant Katoch. But of the founder of this ancient line we know and can know nothing, for all records of every description have disappeared. Even the infancy of the State and its gradual development are beyond the range of conjecture, and the earliest traditions refer to the Katoch monarchy as a power which had already attained to the vigour of maturity."

As Chandarbansis they bear the surname of *Chandra*, which they profess to have borne from the time of Susarma Chandra, down to the present day. This we know to be correct from the coins, and inscriptions, as well as from the casual mention of some of the princes by Muhammadan historians, and the names can be checked from the 14th century downwards.

The first Rāja according to local legend was not of human origin, but sprang from the perspiration off the brow of the goddess at Kāngrā. His name was Bhum Chand, and he stands as the mythical progenitor of the Katoch line. The two hundred and thirty-fourth chief in lineal descent was Susarma Chand, at the time of the *Mahābhārat*, who ruled in Multan and fought on the side of the Kauravas. On their defeat he is said to have retired to Jalandhar, which he made his capital, and also built the fort of Nagarkot or Kangra.

The earliest historical reference, if it can be so regarded, to Nagarkot, is found in Ferishta's History, and it relates to events which are said to have occurred in the first century of the Christian era or even sooner. Where Ferishta got his information we do not know, but it may have been derived from older documents now lost. In his introductory chapter on the history of ancient India he speaks of a king of Kanauj, then probably the paramount power in northern India, who invaded Kumaon and overran the hills as far west as Kashmir. In the course of this expedition, which lasted for five months, he subdued 500 petty chiefs, among whom is mentioned the Raja of Nagarkot. The extract is as follows:—"Rām Deo having subsequently compelled his enemy (the Raja of Kumaon) to give him his daughter in marriage left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nagarkot plundered it, and at length arrived at Sheokot Pindi where on account of his veneration for the idol Durga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of

¹ Kangra Gaz., p. 25. * Ferishta. *History*, Briggs, 1830, Vol. I, p. lxxviii.
Probably the temple of Dhawan in Kangra.

a neighbouring hill at Nagarkot, he halted and summoned the Rāja to appear before him. The Rāja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Rām Deo at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Rājā having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Rām Deo, the latter proceeded from there to the fort of Jammu."

The next mention of the country, under the name of *Trigaṛṭa*, is in the *Rājātaranginī* (III. V. 100) where it is stated that Sreshta Sena of Kāshmir bestowed the land of *Trigaṛṭa* upon the Pravaresa Temple in Kāshmir. This is referred to the 5th century (A.D. 470); and again about A.D. 520, Pravarasena II is said to have conquered *Trigaṛṭa*. (*Rājātarang.* Stein. iii. 285).

¹The visit of the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, to Jālandhara in March A.D. 635 is the most important of all the early references to the State. He describes the kingdom of *Che-lan-l'o-lo*, i.e. Jālandhara, as situated north-east of *China-po-ti* (Chinabhukti) and south-west of K'iu-lu-to (Kulūta) or modern Kulū. The position thus described seems to correspond with the Kangra Valley. He remained there as the guest of Rāja Utito for four months before proceeding to Kanauj, and again halted at Jālandhara on his return journey in A.D. 643. Cunningham identifies the Utito of Hiuen Tsiang, with the Adima or Adita of the *Vansāvalī*. Jalandhara was then subject to Harsha Vardana of Kanauj and on his way back from Kanauj the Pilgrim was entrusted to the care and protection of the Rāja of Jālandhara.

A long interval elapses after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang before another historical reference to *Trigaṛṭa* or Jālandhara occurs. It is found in the *Rājātaranginī*. In the reign of Śankara Varman (A.D. 883-903) an expedition led by the king in person left Kashmir for the conquest of Gurjara (Gujrāt), and it was opposed by the Chief of *Trigaṛṭa*, who perhaps was an ally of Gurjara. The reference is as follows:—"When he (Śankara Varman) who had as the advance guard of his army nine lakhs of foot soldiers, three hundred elephants, and a lakh of horsemen, was wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara, he caused Prithvi Chandra (the lord) of *Trigaṛṭa*, who was afraid of his own overthrow, to be laughed at in his gloomy delusion. He (Prithvi Chandra) had previously given his son, called Bhubana Chandra, as a hostage, and was come into his (Śankara Varman's) neighbourhood to do homage. Then on seeing the army of the king, with which moved many feudatory princes, as it marched towards him, large as the ocean, and fearing to be captured by it, on its approach he returned and fled far away, failing in resolve."

Though Prithvi Chandra's name is not found in the *Vansāvalī* yet we may accept the above as the record of an historical occurrence, from which it appears that *Trigaṛṭa* was then subject to Kashmir, which had extended its sovereign power as far as the Satluj.

²That Kashmir held a widespread dominion in the western hills at that period is proved by two Chambā copper-plate deeds of the middle of the eleventh century

¹ Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 130, 564-6-7.

² *Rājātaranginī*, Stein, Vol. V, 143-150.

³ *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 76. Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 90.

already noted, in which a reference occurs to events which must have happened about the beginning of the tenth century,—that is the very time above referred to. Chambā was then invaded by a foreign army, called “Kira” in the Chronicle, most probably Tibetans and Kashmiris, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatikas or people of Vallapura (Balor) to the west of the Rāvi. The Chambā Chief, we are told, had as his allies the lords of Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū), with whose help he defeated the invaders. These references prove that Trigarta existed as an independent kingdom for at least six centuries previous to its conquest by Mahmūd of Ghazni.

† In the same plates there is a reference to the Turushkas or Muhammadans, who were then engaged in the conquest of Afghanistan, preparatory to an invasion of the Punjab. Kabul fell into their hands in A.D. 870. About twenty years before this (c. A.D. 850), the Turki-Shāhi dynasty which had ruled for many centuries over Kabul and the Punjab (descendants of Kanishka) was subverted by the Brahman Wazir of the last Rāja of the line, named Lalliya or Kalar, who founded the Hindu-Shāhi dynasty, whose later capital was at Waihind or Ohind on the Indus. In the conflicts with the Turushkas, the kings of Kabul and Waihind seem to have had the help of contingents from the Punjab States, probably including Kāngrā and Chambā, for the latter chief is said to have distinguished himself in these wars.

At length about A.D. 980 Peshawar was captured and soon afterwards the last bulwark against the Muhammadans was broken down. Mahmūd of Ghazni succeeded his father in A.D. 997, and in A.D. 1001 invaded India. In his fourth expedition (A.D. 1009) Mahmud, after defeating a large Hindu army on the Indus under the command of Anand Pāl of Waihind and Lahore, advanced into the Punjab, and crossing the large rivers near the foot of the hills, laid siege to Nagarkot.¹ In Ferishta's history we have an account of the expedition, probably taken from the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbi, who was Secretary to Mahmūd. He however was not present at the siege, though Abu Rihān (Alberuni) is said to have been. According to 'Utbi the fort was then called Bhimnagar from a mythical ancestor of the Katoch family, possibly a former Rāja by whom it was founded, or perhaps from Bhim Sen the hero of the *Mahābhārat*. Ferishta calls it the Fort of Bhim and by these two names we are probably to understand the fort and the town. Traditionally the fort is said to have been founded by Susarma Chandra, soon after the time of the *Mahābhārat*, but there are no remains older than the 9th or 10th century. As the fort was famed for its strength all over Northern India and frequent references to it are found in the Muhammadan histories, a full description, from the pen of Sir A. Cunningham, fittingly finds a place at this stage of our narrative:—

“The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land in the fork between the Mānjhi and the Bānganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit,

† Elliot's History, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 403 *et seq.* Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 115 *et seq.* The author gives A.D. 970 for the extinctions of the Turki Shahi dynasty and A.D. 1002 for the final conquest of the Peshawar Valley by Mahmud.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* in Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 34-35.

² A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 102-3.

but its strength does not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of the Bānganga rise to a height of about 300 feet. The only accessible point is on the land side towards the town, but here the ridge of rock which separates the two rivers is narrowed to a mere neck of a few hundred feet, across which a deep ditch has been hewn at the foot of the walls. The only works of any consequence are at this end of the fort, where the high ground appears to be an offshoot from the western end of the Malekra hill, which divides the town of Kangra from the suburb of Bhawan. The highest point is occupied by the palace below which is a courtyard containing the small stone temples of Lakshmi Narayan and Ambika Devi and a Jain Temple with a large figure of Adinath. The courtyard of the temples is closed by a gate called the *Darsani-Darwāza*, or "Gate of Worshiping" and the gate leading from it to the Palace is called the *Mahalon ka Darwāza* or "Palace Gate." Below the temple gate is the upper gate of the fort, called the *Andhēri or Handēli Darwāza*. This is now a mere lofty arch, but formerly it was a long vaulted passage, which on account of its darkness received the name *Andhēri* or "Dark Gate," which is sometimes corrupted to Handēli. The next gate, which is at the head of the ascent, is called the *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*. This is said to have been the outer gate of the fortress in the Hindu times, but its original name is unknown. Below this are the *Amīri Darwāza* or "Nobles' Gate," and the *Ahīni Darwāza* or "Iron Gate," which received its name from being covered with plates of iron. Both of these gates are attributed to Nawāb Alif Khān, the first Mughal Governor under Jahāngīr. At the foot of the ascent and the edge of the scarped ditch there is a small courtyard with two gates called simply *Phātak* or "the Gates," which is occupied by the guards."

The short description in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (ii. 184-190) of the time of Shāh-jahān is also interesting. It runs thus: "That fort (Kāngra) is situated on the summit of a high mountain; it is extremely strong and possesses 23 bastions and seven gateways. The interior circumference is one *kos* and 15 chains, the length, one-fourth of a *kos* plus two chains, the width, between 15 and 25 chains, its height, 114 cubits. Within the fort are two large tanks."

The following reference to the fort is from the *Shash Fat'h-i-Kāngra* probably written in the reign of Shāh-jahān: "The fort of Kangra is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong: in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rājās, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320), or the commencement of Sulṭān Ghiyas-uddin's power, to the year 963 (1556 A.D.), when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers but no one has been able to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled

all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the Rāja, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khan Turkoman entitled Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished; and hence it was that the Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts could not obtain possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed."—Elliot's History, Vol. VI, p. 526.

The fort continued to be held by a garrison from the most remote times but had been evacuated some time before the great earthquake of the 4th April, 1905, in which extensive damage was sustained, and it is now only a picturesque and interesting ruin. The people of Kāngrā have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of their fort in former times, which they firmly believe to have baffled the power of the greatest kings. This idea found expression in the following popular saying:—"He who holds the Fort holds the Hills."

Mahmūd was probably attracted by the prestige of the fortress, which was famous all over India, and still more by the fabulous wealth which was believed to be stored within its walls. There are two accounts of the capture, one by 'Utbi in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, and the other by Ferishta. 'Utbi must have got his information at first hand from those who were present at the siege, on their return to Ghazni. It is as follows:—"On the last day of Rabi-ul-Ākhir of the same year (A.D. 1009) the Sultān prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind (Ind) he was met by Brahman-pāl, the son of Anand-pāl, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell from bows like rain, and the grindstone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains and hills."

"The Sultān himself (after the battle on the Indus) joined in the pursuit, and went after them (the Hindus) as far as the fort called Bhīm-nagar, which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass

¹ The garrison was finally withdrawn on 1st June, 1897.

² *Tārīkh-Yamīnī*, Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 33, 34, 35; also Appendix pp. 444-5-6-7-8. Ferishta, Briggs translation, Vol. I, pp. 46-7. The invasion probably took place in the winter of A.D. 1008-9, and the capture of Nagarkot in March A.D. 1009.

their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol, that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultān advanced near to this crow's fruit, and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it."

"The Sultān brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and calling out for mercy, they opened the gates and fell on the earth like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultān, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts to his heart's content. The Sultān entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farighūni, the ruler of Juzjān, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntāsh and Asightigīn, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again and there was a canopy made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds."

The fort was then consigned to the care of an officer of rank, with a garrison, and the Sultān took his departure for Ghazni. On his arrival there he caused a carpet to be spread in the courtyard of his palace, on which were displayed all the jewels, pearls and priceless treasures which he had brought from India.

¹ Ferishta's account supplies some additional details; it is as follows:—"The king in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched against the Hindoos of Nagarkot breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that time denominated the fort of Bhīm, was closely invested by the Muhammadans who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bhīm was built by a prince of the same name on the top of a steep mountain where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms, so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls than was ever collected in the royal trea-

¹ Ferishta, Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 48-49 of 1908.

sury of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was away in the field and those within consisted for the most part of priests who having little inclination to the bloody business of War, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed."

"In Bhim were found 700,000 golden *dinārs*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plates, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 *mans* of silver bullion and 20 *mans* of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhim, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghazni."

To account for this vast accumulation of wealth, Cunningham supposed that it was the hoard of the Hindu-Shāhi kings of Kābul and Ohind, who also ruled the Punjab. He says:—"There is no means of estimating the value of the ingots as the gold and silver are lumped together, but the value of the stamped coin alone amounted to upwards of £1,750,000. In connection with this great accumulation of treasure I may quote the statement of Abu Rihān (Alberuni) that the genealogical roll of the Indo-Scythian princes of Kābul for 60 generations was found in the fortress of Nagarkot by Mahmud's soldiers. From this statement I infer that the fort of Kāngrā must have belonged to the Rājas of Kābul for several generations, and that it was their chief stronghold, in which they deposited their treasures, after they had been driven from the banks of the Indus. It is almost impossible that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty rājas of the Kāngrā valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kābul. Ferishta calls the amount 700,000 golden *dinārs*, which would be less than half a million sterling; but the account of the contemporary writer 'Utbi, is given in royal *dirhams*, which were silver coins of fifty grains each. We know also that the circulating medium of the Punjab in the time of Māhmūd consisted of the silver pieces of the Hindu rājas of Kābul weighing about 50 grains each. As many thousands of these coins have been found throughout the Punjab, while not a single gold piece of these kings has yet been discovered, I am satisfied that the treasure obtained by Māhmūd in Nagarkot must have consisted chiefly of the silver pieces or *drammas* of the Hindu rājas of Kābul."

² It seems not improbable that Kāngrā Fort may have been in the possession of the Turki-Shāhi and Hindu-Shāhi kings as suggested by Cunningham just as at a later period it was garrisoned for centuries by imperial troops under the Mughals. This would account for the weakness of the defence when assaulted by Māhmūd, as most of the garrison had probably been sent to the frontier. The Rāja of the

¹ Arch. Survey Report, Vol. V, pp. 155-6.

² Al Biruni stated that the names of the Turki-Shāhi princes were recorded on a piece of silk found in the fort of Nagarkot at its capture. They had reigned for sixty generations. Allowing sixteen years to a generation the Turki-Shāhi kingdom may have been founded about B.C. 125, possibly on the overthrow of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Kanishka was the most famous king of this dynasty, which came to an end about A.D. 850. *Vide* Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. pp. 409-410. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 115 to 129.

time is said to have been Jagdes Chand, who was 436th in descent from Bhum Chand, the mythical founder, and 202nd from Susarma Chand, the traditional founder of the State.

¹ Māhmūd as we have seen left a garrison in the fort on his departure, which probably held possession till A.D. 1043. In that year the Rāja of Delhi, of the Tomara line of Rājputs, in order to arouse the spirit of his countrymen, pretended to have seen a vision. He affirmed that the great idol of Nagarkot, which had been carried off by Māhmūd, had appeared to him and told him that, having revenged himself upon Ghaznī, he (the idol) would meet the Rāja at Nagarkot in his former temple. This story being everywhere accepted, great numbers flocked to his standard and he soon found himself at the head of a large army.

He then marched against Hānsi, Thanesar and other places held by Muhammadan garrisons under Modud, grandson of Māhmūd, and drove them out. Having done so he entered the hills and laid siege to Nagarkot, which after four months was compelled to capitulate, owing to the exhaustion of the food supplies and no relief having come from Lahore.

An idol exactly resembling that which had been carried away was then introduced secretly by night into a garden near the temple, which seems to have been left uninjured or had been rebuilt, and its discovery in the morning caused great rejoicing among the people, who exclaimed that the god had returned from Ghaznī. It was then carried with great pomp into the temple, where it was installed amid the adoration of the people.

This story spread far and near and increased the fame of the shrine to such a degree that devotees came to worship in thousands from all parts of India, and the offerings of gold, silver and jewels presented by them, and the princes of India, are supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth carried off by Māhmūd.

The conquest of the Punjab by Māhmūd was only partial, and we read of no permanent garrisons having been established till A.D. 1023, except that of Nagarkot. Till then the Pāl kings—the last of the Hindu-Shāhi princes of Kabul and Und or Ohind—continued to exercise a nominal rule at Lahore in subjection to Ghaznī, but on the death of Bliim Pāl, the last of his line, the Hindu Kingdom was finally overthrown about A.D. 1026.²

How long the Katoch Rājas continued to hold the province of Jālandhara after the conquest of Lahore by Mahmud it is difficult to say.³ From the *Rājataranginī* we learn that, somewhere about A.D. 1030-40, Ananta Deva, the Rāja of Kashmir, was married to two princesses of the Katoch family, the daughters of "Indu Chandra, lord of Jālandhara," and this is the last reference to the State in the History of Kashmir. The Indu Chandra above mentioned is identified by Cunningham with the Inder Chandra of the genealogical roll, but this is improbable, as Cunningham misread

¹ Ferishta, Briggs trans. 1908, Vol. I, pp. 118-119. Elliot's History, App. pp. 444, 5, 6. Other authorities—*Tabaqat-i-Ahbari* and *Habibu-s-Siyar*.

² Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. p. 427.

³ *Rājatarang.*, Stein. trans., VII, 150, 152; and J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 127-8.

the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies on which his chronological calculation is based. That date he took to be A.D. 804, whereas in reality it is A.D. 1204. It is clear, however, from the *Rājataranginī* that a Rāja named Indu or Inder Chandra was a contemporary of Ananta Deva of Kashmir in the first half of the eleventh century, though his name is not found in the *vansāvalī* of that time.

In the Odes of Sād bin Salmān called *Diwān-i-Salmān* (Elliot's History, Vol. IV, App. pp. 520-3) there is a reference to the conquest of Jālandhar, an event which may have taken place in the reign of Ibrahīm of Ghaznī (A.D. 1058-89), who was a descendant of Subaktagin—the father of Māhmūd. It is as follows:—“The narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyyār. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangān to Jālandhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents upon the hills in a line like the wall of Alexander. Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wert but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault and by that alone brought destruction on the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one Brahman remained unkilld or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. A fleet messenger came from Dhangān, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot soldiers, like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sair Sambra arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bu Nasr Parsi which announced thy victory to all quarters. He fled unto the river Rawa at dread of thy approach; and there he was drowned and descended into the infernal regions, and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Rawa had done thee service and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jālandhar. I am the meanest of slaves and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplishment of this business. The *vais* and soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rajās* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make the slain kiss the earth to the very gate of the fort. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Rawa. . . . Thou hast secured victory to thy country and thy religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection.” There is a wildness and want of connexion in this Ode, which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as

noticing the capture of Dhangān and Jālandhar. The latter place is well known but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been far within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibrahim, and it seems not improbable that the reference given points to the fall of Jālandhar before the Muhammadan arms and the loss by the Rājas of Trigarta of their possessions on the plains, which may have taken place about A.D. 1070.

¹ As has been stated, Mahmūd left a garrison in the fort which was expelled in A.D. 1043. In A.D. 1051-2, Abul Rashīd, a son of Mahmūd, who had come into power, appointed Hashtagin Hajib Governor of the Punjab, and on the latter learning of the capture of the fort by the Hindus, he advanced and laid siege to the place which was taken by escalade on the sixth day. That the stronghold remained long in Muhammadan hands is improbable. Though cowed for a time, the spirit of the Rājput princes soon revived, and they made a determined struggle to regain the territories which had been wrested from them.

That the Kāngra Rājas were successful in recovering the fort is therefore highly probable, and we may conclude that from about A.D. 1060-70 onwards for nearly 300 years it remained in their possession. Till about A.D. 1070 the State continued undivided under one head. The Rāja of the time is said to have been Padam Chand, and his younger brother Parab Chand, then broke away from the parent stem and founded the State of Jaswān—in the Jaswān Dun, now in Hoshyārpur district.

It is probable however that the separation took place at a still earlier period, of which no record has come down to us, and that the State—originally only a fief of Kangra—became independent in the disturbed times following on the Muhammadan invasions of the Punjab. "Many centuries ago," says Mr. Barnes, "so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kāngra and set up an independent state in Jaswān."²

For nearly 200 years after Mahmūd the Muhammadans were unable to advance their frontier much beyond the Satluj. To the south they were opposed by the Rājas of Dehli of the Tomara line of Rājputs—under whose banner all the feudatory and confederate chiefs of northern India marched to battle. In the *Prithi Rāj Charitra* by the Bard Chand, which deals with the last times of the Hindu Kingdom of Delhi, we find "Kāngra and its mountain chiefs" included among those who were summoned by Anang Pāl III—the last of the line—to follow his standard to the field.³ Dying childless he was succeeded by Prithi Rāj Chauhān of Ajmer—his younger daughter's son—about A.D. 1171.

The elder daughter had been married to the Rāja of Kanauj, and her son, Jai Chand Rāthor, who bore the same relationship to Anang Pāl as Prithi Rāj—not only refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Dehli, but put forward his own claim

¹ Ferishta, trans. 1908, Vol. I, p. 132.

² Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.

³ Tod's *Rajasthan* reprint, 1899, Vol. I, p. 268. Many of the Rajput chiefs at that time employed Muhammadan mercenaries against one another.

to the dignity of paramount ruler. Strife ensued between them, embittered by the daring exploit of Prithi Rāj, in carrying off by force his willing bride—the beautiful daughter of his rival—from amidst the assembled princes at Kanauj. Jai Chand in revenge then invited, through his Muhammadan mercenaries, the king of Ghazni to invade Delhi, and thus in the end brought destruction on both Kingdoms. For years the war went on, and though no details have come down to us of the part played by Kāngra in the long and relentless struggle, yet we may well believe that in the final conflicts, in A.D. 1191-3, with Muhammad Ghorī on the banks of the Gaggar, the Katoch chief bore an honourable part.

The next reference to the Rājas of Trigarta occurs on two slabs in the Śiva temple at Baijnāth¹ in the Kāngra valley, and is of great interest. Baijnāth (Vaidy-nāth) was originally the name of the temple only, the village in which it stands being called Kiragrāma, but the latter name has been long disused. In the twelfth century Kiragrāma was the seat of a *rājanakā* or Rāna, whose fort is said to have stood on or near the site of the present Dak Bungalow. The name of the Rāna at the time the slabs were engraved was Lakshmana Chandra, and his ancestors had held Kiragrāma for eight generations, as vassals of the Rājas of Jālandhara and Trigarta, with whose family they had been counted worthy to intermarry. In the inscription the name of the contemporary Rāja is given as Jaya Chandra, and he is called "the supreme king of Jālandhara." The overlords of the Rānas of Kiragrāma, that is, the Rājas of Kāngra, are called "kings of Trigarta," and Kāngra is called *Susarmapura*.

Cunningham identified Jaya Chandra with Jaya Mala Chandra of the *Vansāvalī*, who may have reigned about the beginning of the ninth century, but this identification was based on an erroneous reading of the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies, and therefore cannot be accepted. There was, however, another Jaya Chandra, whose full name was Jaya Sinha Chandra, and who according to the *vansāvalī* immediately preceded Prithi Chand, in the early part of the fourteenth century. If we suppose that Jaya Sinha Chandra's name was displaced in copying the *vansāvalī*—an error of frequent occurrence—his reign may have come at an earlier period, and several reigns may have intervened between him and Prithi Chand. We therefore feel inclined to identify Jaya Sinha Chandra with the Jaya Chandra of the Eulogies and assign his reign to the beginning of the thirteenth century—say c. A.D. 1200-20. We assume, therefore, that four or five reigns came between that of Jai Singh Chand and of Prithi Chand, whose name stands next in the *vansāvalī*, and who may have succeeded to the *gaddi* about A.D. 1330.

Probably long before that time the province of Jālandhara on the plains had been lost, but the old title was still retained.

Prithi Chand c. A.D. 1330—The next reference to Kāngra is found in the works of the early Muhammadan historians, in the year A.D. 1337, and it probably refers to the reign of Rāja Prithi Chand. In that year Kāngra fort was captured by Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325-51). Ferishta does not mention this event but in the Odes of Badr-i-Chāch, a poet at the Muhammadan Court, we find the following:—² "When

¹ Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 178-184.

² Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 570.

the Sun was in Cancer the king of the time (Muhammad Tughlak) took the stone fort of Nagarkot, in the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337). It is placed between rivers like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour and is so impregnable that neither Sikandar nor Dāra was able to take it. Within are the masters of the *mangonels*; within also are beauties resplendent as the sun. Its chiefs are all strong as buffaloes, with necks like a rhinoceros. Its inhabitants are all travelling on the high road to hell and perdition and are *ghuls*, resembling dragons. The exalted king of the kings of the earth arrived at night at this fortress with 100,000 companions. His army contained 1,000 stars and under each star 1,000 banners were displayed."

¹ Cunningham states that on this occasion the temple of Bhawan was again desecrated, and restored just before the capture by Firoz Tughlak, but does not give his authority. We do not know where the capital was transferred to on the fall of the fort; but as we shall see the latter was not allowed to remain long in alien hands. Beginning with Prithī Chand there are many coins extant of the Rājas of Kangra.

Parab Chand, c. A.D. 1345.—Parva or Parab Chand may have succeeded about A.D. 1345, and in A.D. 1351 Muhammad Tughlak died and his army fell into great disorder. The garrison being thus weakened the fort was captured and the Muhammadans were driven out of the country.²

Rup Chand, c. A.D. 1360.—With the accession of Rup Chand the chronology becomes more concise, and we are able to fix approximately the date for each reign down to the extinction of the State. Rup Chand must have succeeded about A.D. 1360, for he was reigning when the fort was captured by Firoz Tughlak about A.D. 1365, and from him to Anirudh Chand (A.D. 1827) there were twenty-seven reigns, giving an average duration of about seventeen years, which is well under the average in most of the other states. Probably several Rājas fell in battle.

Rup Chand's name is found in the *Dharm Chand Nātak* of the bard, Mānik Chand, written about A.D. 1562 in the reign of Rāja Dharm Chand; in which reference is made to the capture of Kāngra Fort by Firoz Shāh Tughlak, c. A.D. 1365.³

⁴ There is also a reference in Ferishta to an incident which casts an interesting sidelight on the condition of affairs on the plains about that time. The Rājput princes seem to have been very restless under the new yoke imposed upon them, and took advantage of every opportunity to harass the Muhammadans by a species of guerilla warfare. This we may safely assume was carried on almost continuously for several centuries after the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In keeping with this policy Rup Chand of Kāngra, in the early part of his reign, set out with his following for a raiding expedition on the plains, and plundered the country almost to the gates of Delhi. On his return journey laden with booty he encountered Shāhāb-ud-din of Kāshmir (A.D. 1363-86), who was out on a similar expedition, and laying his spoils at the feet of the Kashmir Chief, swore fealty to him. The *Rājtarangini* of Jonārāja

¹ Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 165.

² Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 157.

³ Cf. Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 157.

⁴ Ferishta, trans. and reprint, 1908, Vol. IV, pp. 458-9. *Rājatarang.*, Jonaraja, trans., Vol. III, p. 39.

has a different version of this incident. There it is stated that during the Kashmir King's progress "the Rāja of Susarmapura (Kāngra) out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and sought refuge with the goddess." From this we may perhaps infer that there was a conflict between the two forces, as seems most likely, in which Rup Chand was worsted and fled back to Kāngra, and had afterwards to surrender his booty and swear allegiance to Shāhāb-ud-dīn. The "goddess" referred to was probably Mata Devi of Bhawan at Kāngra.

¹ Fīroz Shāh Tughlak (A.D. 1351-88), who was then on the throne of Delhi, about A.D. 1365, undertook an expedition against Trigarta, probably, as Cunningham suggests, in revenge for Rup Chand's incursion, and the siege and capture of Nagarkot is referred to both in Ferishta and in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. The latter account is as follows:—"Afterwards he (Fīroz Shāh) marched with his army from Delhi towards Nagarkot and passing by the valleys of Nākhach nuh garhi he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Rāi shut himself up in his fort and the Sultān's forces plundered all his country." . . .

"The Rāi of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, in ten-fold lines. *Manjaniks* and *arradas* were erected on both sides and so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultān. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rāi standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood in an attitude of humility, and stretching out his hands in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in subjection. When the Sultān observed this he drew a handkerchief from his bosom and waving it kindly towards the Rāi, he signed for him to come down. The *Mehtas* of the Rāi assembled (and counselled surrender) so the Rāi, throwing off his pride, came down from his fort, and making apologies cast himself at the feet of the Sultān; who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rāi and having bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella sent him back to his fort. So the Rāi returned laden with presents which he had received from the royal treasury, and accompanied by several fine horses which had been given to him. Thus by the favour of God the Sultān became master of Nagarkot. When he left the fort to return to the capital, the Rāi sent many offerings and horses of priceless worth."

Fīroz Shāh visited Jwāla-Mukhi on his way to Nagarkot and some of the Hindus affirmed that he held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol, but this is indignantly repudiated by Shams-i-Sirāj, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, as untrue.

² The reference in Ferishta is not so detailed but has some features of special interest. It is as follows: "From thence (Sirhind) the king marched towards the mountains of Nagarkot, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. The Rāja of Nagarkot after sustaining some loss submitted and was restored to his

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 317-8-9.

² Ferishta. Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 453-4. The soldiers had probably never before seen snow falling.

dominions. The name of Nagarkot was on this occasion changed to that of Mahomedabad in honour of the late king. The people of Nagarkot told Fīroz that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagarkot was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was Jwālamukhi. In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1,300 volumes. Fīroz ordered one of those books which treated of philosophy, astrology and divination to be translated into prose in the Persian language by Eiz-ud-din Khalid Khāni and called it *Dalāyil Fīroz Shāhi*. Some historians state that Fīroz on this occasion broke the idols of Nagarkot and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmans, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said also that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 *tankas* to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple." In the *Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāhi* no mention is made of these occurrences and they are probably untrue, for it would appear that Fīroz Shāh respected the places of worship and left the temple of Bhawan uninjured.¹

In his account Ferishta has confounded two different goddesses, the great *Mata Devi* of Nagarkot and the *Jwālamukhi*, or fierymouthed goddess of Jwālamukhi, two places which are upwards of twenty miles apart. Shams-i-Sirāj, who derived his information from his father who accompanied Fīroz, more correctly states that the idol, *Jwālamukhi*, much worshipped by the Hindus, was situated *in the road to Nagarkot*.

² We also have the following interesting note in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, referring to the siege of Kāngra Fort by Fīroz Shāh: "This fort's fame has ascended to the heavens owing to its great strength and impregnability. It lies to the north of Lahore in the midst of hills. The zamindars in the Punjab have the belief that except God the Creator of the world no one else knows the date of this fort's foundation. In this great length of time this fort has never passed from hand to hand to different tribes, nor has any stranger extended over it the hand of authority. One of the kings of Islām, Sultān Fīroz Shāh, with all his greatness and resources, attempted to reduce it and the siege was of long duration. Coming to the conclusion that to capture that fort was an impossibility, he contented himself with an interview with the Rāja and gave up his project."

"They say the Rāja then invited the Sultān and some of his people into the fort. The Sultān said to the Rāja that to invite him within the fort was a piece of imprudence; if the retinue in his train resolved upon an attempt on him (the Rāja) and should seize the fort, what remedy was there. The Rāja made a sign to his men and at once crowd after crowd of armed men came out of their hiding places. The Sultan was in consternation. The Rāja said respectfully that beyond precautions, he had no other ideas in his head. Still to put into practice measures of prudence was a necessity on

¹ Cf. Ferishta, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 453-4; and *Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 318.

² *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, il. 185, 186.

such an occasion. On all subsequent occasions when the Sultans of Delhi sent troops to take Kāngra nothing was ever effected."

As already stated a reference to the siege occurs in the Rhymes of the Hindu bard, Mānik Chānd, written in S. 1619. = A.D. 1562. The fact of the Rāja's submission is admitted and the bard also refers to the meeting of the Rāja and the Sultān and gives the former's name as Rup Chand. He also mentions the incident of the Sultān placing his hand on the Rāja's back. The quotation runs as follows:—

*Rup Chandar barkar charho Dileswar Surtan
Bahut hetkār pag paro pith hath lei Sān.¹*

"Rup Chandar went forth to meet the Sultān, lord of Delhi, and bowing very low down to his feet, the king put his hand on his back."

This timely submission of the Kāngra chief must have been very welcome after a six months' siege, as Fīroz Shāh was then able to return to Delhi. Cunningham assumes that the fort was retained and a Muhammadan garrison left in it. He says:—"Rup Chand saved his dominions at the cost of his ancestral home which was now garrisoned by Muhammadan troops."² This, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; indeed Ferishta distinctly states that Rup Chand was restored to his dominions, while the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, written during the reign of Fīroz Shah Tughlak, and thus contemporaneous, says nothing about a garrison having been left in the fort. The *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* also confirms the conclusion that the fort was not occupied. Rup Chand died about A.D. 1375 and was succeeded by his son Sangāra Chand.

Sangāra Chand, c. A.D. 1375.—Of this Rāja's reign there are unfortunately no records, but toward its close an incident occurred, in connection with which mention is made of Kāngra Fort in the Muhammadan histories. Fīroz Shāh Tughlak in A.D. 1387 had recognized his eldest son, Nazīr-ud-dīn, as his successor, but the prince showed so little ability that in little more than a year he was driven from power by his two cousins, and fled for safety to the mountains of Sirmour, and being pursued he retreated to Nagarkot. Ferishta says: "On the approach of the royal army that prince fled to the mountains and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the royalists battle. He was, however, driven from one position to another till he arrived at Nagarkot and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession and returned to Delhi."³ It does not seem necessary to assume that Kāngra Fort was then in Muhammadan hands. Prince Nazīr-ud-dīn simply fled to the hill chiefs for an asylum, first in Sirmour and then in Kāngra, and he seems to have received a friendly welcome and safe protection in both places. A similar incident occurred in the reign of Jahāngīr when Prince Khurram, afterwards Shāhjahān, was in rebellion and fled to the Rāna of Udaipur for safety. There he remained for a year and was treated in the most hospitable and generous manner.

¹ A.S.R. for 1872-3, Vol. V, p. 158.

² Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 158.

³ Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 406; and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shahi*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20-21.

The turban, which he exchanged for that of the Rāna as a symbol of fraternal adoption, is still shown in Udaipur. Prince Nazīr-ud-dīn remained at Nagarkot till the end of A.D. 1389 when he was recalled to Delhi, and in August A.D. 1390 ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Tughlak.

Sangāra Chand probably died about A.D. 1390 and was followed by his son Megh Chand.

Megh Chand, c. A.D. 1390.—This Rāja was probably on the *gaddi* at the time of Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398-9 and in Timur's Memoirs, called *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri*, there is a reference to Nagarkot.

On his return journey from Delhi in A.D. 1399 Timur reached the foot of the Sawālakhs somewhere near Hardwār and advanced along the outskirts of the hills from there to Jammu. He had heard of Nagarkot and wished to capture it but does not seem to have penetrated so far into the interior of the hills. The Hindus opposed his march and he fought many battles and took eight forts, but does not actually state that Nagarkot was one of them. The rivers were crossed where they leave the hills and numerous incursions were made into the valleys and ravines of the outer hills, in which many of his opponents were killed and much booty of every kind fell into his hands. Pathānkot and Nurpur, then called Dahmeri, lay right in his way and must have suffered, and the passage of the Rāvi was probably made at Shāhpur Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrota and Sāmba to Jammu which was captured and sacked.

The reference in the Memoirs of Timur is too long to be given in full, but the first paragraph referring to Nagarkot is as follows: "When I entered the valley on that side of the Sawaliks information was brought me about the town of Nagarkot which is a large and important town of Hindustan, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rāi* and *rāja* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learnt these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place and upon subduing the territory, so I set spurs to my horse and wended my way thither."¹

Timur then goes on to relate in detail the incidents of the campaign and to tell of the battles he fought and the spoils he secured, but Nagarkot is not again referred to. His camp was probably at Dasuhah near Hoshiyārpur at the time he formed the resolve to subdue Nagarkot, and the difficult character of the country prevented him from fully carrying out his design. The whole passage in the *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri* is interesting as showing by a typical example how his invasion of India was carried out, and what fightful scenes of plunder and rapine these quiet mountain valleys have witnessed in their time. The narrative continues as follows: "The left wing of my army commanded by Amīr Jahān Shāh, had obtained no booty on the previous

¹ *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 465-6-7-8; also cf. *Zafarnama*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 504-15-16-17.

day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sain Timur with a party of soldiers forward as an advance guard and then I followed. At breakfast time Sain Timur, the Commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front drawn up in order of battle. I instantly ordered Amīr Jahān Shāh, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khorāsān, to attack the enemy. The Amīr in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil."

"A horseman belonging to the *Kushun* (regiment) of Amīr Shaikh Nurud-din and Ali Sultān Tawachi, now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gabrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffaloes were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my midday prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amīr Shaikh Nurud-din and I ordered him, with Ali Sultān Tawachi, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharpclawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels, and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches, till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up that lofty mountain and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers engaged in collecting the booty and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded all calculation and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and Amīrs and other officers came up the mountain to meet me and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts."

"The enormous numbers of cows and buffaloes that had been taken were now brought forward and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained till evening on the mountain, and after saying the evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams."

"Since the 14th Jumāda-l-Awwal (A.H. 801=A.D. 1399) when I entered the Siwalik hills, I had fought the enemy several times, I had gained victories and cap-

tured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumāda-l-Ākhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammu. I reckoned that during these thirty-two days, I had twenty conflicts with the enemy and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region."

Hari Chand I, c. A.D. 1405.—A few years after Timur's invasion Hari Chand succeeded to the throne of Kāngra and during his reign an incident occurred which resulted in the founding of a new principality.

The country to the south of Kāngra was then dense jungle with probably few inhabitants, and it seems to have been the hunting ground of the Kāngra Rājas. One day the Rāja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a well or deep pit. On his disappearance being discovered, diligent search was made for several days but in vain. Believing that he had fallen a victim to some wild beast, the officials returned to the capital, where the Rāja's funeral obsequies were duly performed according to custom, even his *rānīs* becoming *sati*.

His younger brother, Karm Chand, was then installed in his room in the absence of a direct heir, and Hari Chand was regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after twenty-two days, it is said, was discovered by a passing merchant and rescued. On hearing what had taken place in Kāngra he decided not to return to the capital, and selecting a site near the junction of the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul rivers, he founded the fort and town of Haripur, and established an independent State. This was probably done with his brother's knowledge and consent. As a reward to the merchant for his timely help, Hari Chand remitted all duties on his goods in perpetuity, an exemption which was respected by all the succeeding Rājas and by the Sikhs, and only became obsolete on the general remission of duties under British rule.¹

The story may be true or not, but it illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu Chiefships, viz. that an heir-apparent once designated, or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his dignity. The nomination or consecration is irrevocable. Thus the elder brother ruled at Haripur and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kāngra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kāngra on all ceremonial occasions and the Rāja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

Karm Chand, c. A.D. 1415.—Of this Raja's reign we know nothing beyond what has been related, but we assume that it was uneventful.

After the death of Firoz Shah Tughlak in A.D. 1388, the affairs of the Delhi Empire fell into great confusion, which lasted off and on for more than a hundred years. Internecine strife on the plains must have largely diverted attention from the hills, and Kāngra, like the other hill states in the interior of the mountains, was

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.

probably independent. There is indeed an inscription in the temple of Mata Devi at Bhawan of a date somewhat later than the reign of Karm Chand, which states that the Katoch chieftain, Sansār Chand I, was a tributary of Muhammad Shāh, most probably of the Saiyid dynasty; but in view of the condition of disorder then prevailing, the tributary relationship cannot have been more than nominal. Indeed, Kāngra finds no further mention in any of the Muhammadan records till the reign of Sher Shāh Sur, A.D. 1540. A careful study of the whole question leads to the conclusion that, except for a short time in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, the fort remained in the possession of its ancestral chiefs from A.D. 1043 till its capture by Khawās Khān, soon after A.D. 1540. It does not even seem to be certain that Muhammad Tughlak actually left a garrison in the fort after its capture.

Sansār Chand I, c. A.D. 1430.—He was a son of Karm Chand and succeeded about A.D. 1430.¹ As already stated, an inscription of his reign exists in the temple of Vijresvari Devī in Bhawan, which records that he was tributary to Muhammad Shāh; and the only prince of that name whose reign corresponds to that of Sansār Chand is Muhammad Shāh Saiyid of Delhi, A.D. 1435-44.

The next Rajas in succession were *Devangga Chand, c. A.D. 1450* and *Narēndar Chand, c. A.D. 1465*, but of their reigns there are no records extant, and from what has already been said about the condition of things on the plains at that period we may conclude that the hills enjoyed comparative peace.

Suvīra Chand, c. A.D. 1480.—Narēndar Chand died childless but one of his rānīs was *enceinte*. Other claimants to the *gaddi* then came forward, and the rānī fearing for the safety of her child, in the event of its being a son, escaped to her parents' home which, according to the vernacular history, was in Poona. On the way her son, Suvīra Chand, was born in a Kumhār's hut, which seems to have been within the State. On growing up, Suvīra Chand returned to Kangra with a force provided by his maternal grandfather, and after capturing the fort by stratagem was acknowledged by the people as the rightful heir and installed as Rāja. A *jāgīr* was then granted to the Kūmhār in whose house he was born, but further than this we are told nothing of his reign.

Prayaḡ Chand, c. A.D. 1490, followed, and after him *Rām Chand* about A.D. 1510, but of the events of these reigns we know nothing. Rām Chand's name is mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of Akbar's reign in connection with the expedition sent against Nagarkot in A.D. 1572, as will be related.

Dharm Chand, c. A.D. 1528.—With Dharm Chand's accession we touch firm ground, for his name and some of the events of his reign are referred to in the histories of his time. He must have been in middle life when he came to the throne, for a copper-plate deed exists, issued by him in S. 1535 = A.D. 1478, on the occasion of his receiving the sacred thread. He was then a child of about eleven years and does not seem to have succeeded to the throne till A.D. 1528 on the death of his father.

¹ It appears from the inscription that the year of his accession was A.D. 1429-30. The record also mentions the names of his father, Karam Chand. (Sanskrit: Karma-chandra) and of his grandfather, Megh Chand (Sanskrit: Megha-Chandra). Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 167-8

As we have seen, the Kāngra Fort had enjoyed immunity from attack for a long period, but on the expulsion of Humayun from India and the accession of Sher Shāh Sur in A.D. 1540, his able general Khawās Khān was sent to Nagarkot to bring the hill country under subjection. The reference in the *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtākī* is as follows: "Khawās Khān, who was the predecessor of Mian Bhua, having been ordered by the Sultān to march towards Nagarkot in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it and having sacked the infidels' temple of Debi Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindi characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the king, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella several pots were made in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the masjids, and the king's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet and face in them, and perform his purification before prayer."

After the conquest the hill tracts seem to have been placed in charge of one Hamid Khān Kakar, who "lived in the fort of Milwat (Malot) and held such firm control of the Nagarkot, Jwāla, Didhwāl and Jammu hills, in fact the whole hill country, that no man dared to breathe in opposition to him, and he collected the revenue by measurements of land from the hill people."²

It may be noted that it is not specifically stated that a garrison was left in the fort after its capture by Khawās Khān, and in any case it cannot have remained long in the hands of the Muhammadans, and was probably recovered on the decline of the Sur dynasty, previous to the return of Humayun in A.D. 1555.

The Punjab was then under the rule of Sikandar Shāh Sur, a nephew of Sher Shāh, who was defeated by the Mughals at Sirhind, and then retreated into the Sawālakhs around Dhameri (Nurpur) and Kāngra. Akbar, then a boy of nearly fourteen years, was sent in pursuit in nominal command of the army. At Kalanour, now in Gurdāspur District, news reached him of his father's death at Delhi, and he was installed as Emperor (Feb. A.D. 1556). He then advanced into the hills, and at Nurpur, Dharm Chand of Kāngra came in and made his submission and was received with favour.³

Akbar is said to have subdued the country of Nagarkot and captured the fort, but this is contradicted by later writers. It seems certain that he did not penetrate so far into the hills, and his camp was probably at Nurpur while his army was engaged in scouring the country in pursuit of Sikandar Shāh, with whom Rāja Bakht Mal of Nurpur was in alliance.⁴ In the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* we find the following: "The imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik Mountains and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor. Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles and the imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Rāja Rām Chand,

¹ *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtākī*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 544.

² *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtākī*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, p. 415.

³ *Perishta*, reprint 1909, Vol. VI, p. 183.

⁴ *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 248.

Rāja of Nagarkot was the most renowned of all the Rājas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains His Majesty left these parts and went to Jālandhar, where he stayed for five months."

It will be noted that the Rāja's name is incorrectly given as Rām Chand, and this mistake is found also in Badauni; but Abul Fazl and Ferishta call him Dharm Chand. Rām Chand was Dharm Chand's father.

In the following year (A.D. 1557) Sikandar Shāh left his retreat in the hills and invaded the Punjab. Akbar then advanced against him and he sought refuge in the strong fortress of Maukot, on the Mau hills, nearly half way between Pathānkot and Nurpur,¹ which was besieged by the Mughals for eight months. When grain had become scarce and the garrison was hard pressed, Sikandar Shāh requested that a noble might be sent to arrange terms. On his entry into the fort Sikandar addressed him in submissive terms, confessing his presumption, and that he knew he had no chance of resistance. He begged to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and promised to remain faithful in his allegiance and leave his son as a hostage. These terms were accepted by Akbar, and on 27th Ramzān, A.H. 964 = July A.D. 1557, the fort was surrendered, and Sikandar Shāh was assigned the districts of Bihār and Kharid in *jāgir* but died two years later.²

We may safely assume that a contingent from Kāngra was present at the siege, though Dharm Chand was too old to take command. He must have been born about A.D. 1467, and was still alive in A.D. 1562, the year in which the *Dharm Chand Nātak* was written, but died in the following year at an advanced age.

With the firm establishment of Mughal authority the course of events in Kāngra becomes much more precise and detailed, and many references of great interest are to be found in the works of contemporary Muhammadan historians. The Kāngra chief was probably the first in the Punjab hills to tender his allegiance, but early in Akbar's reign all of them came more or less under Mughal control. To ensure their fidelity Akbar initiated the practice of sending hostages to the Mughal Court, the hostage usually being a son or other near relative of the ruling chief, and in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there are said to have been twenty-two young princes from the hill states in attendance on the Emperor.

Manikya Chand, A.D. 1563.—Dharm Chand was succeeded by his son Manikya Chand, who was probably in middle life, and had only a short reign, which seems to have been uneventful. He died in A.D. 1570 and was followed by Jai Chand.

Jai Chand, A.D. 1570.—Soon after his accession Jai Chand, for some reason unknown, incurred Akbar's suspicion, and an order was issued for his arrest, and he was put in confinement, probably in Delhi. His son Bidhi Chand, although a minor, regarding his father as dead assumed the rule of the State and broke out into revolt.

¹ This fort was built by Salim Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 108.

² Cf. *Tabahāt-i-Akhbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, pp. 254-5.

It is worth noting that at Maukot during the siege occurred the historical incident which accentuated the estrangement between Akbar and his famous general, Behram Khan. Two elephants while fighting for the Emperor's amusement got entangled among Behram Khan's tents, and threw some of them down, and this was taken as an intentional affront. Vide Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, p. 432.

In A.D. 1572 an army under Khān Jahān Husain Quli Khān, Viceroy of the Punjab, was sent to subdue the country, which had been bestowed by the Emperor in *jāgīr* upon Rāja Birbal; and *farmāns* were sent to him and the *Amīrs* of the Punjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidhi Chand and place it in the possession of Rāja Birbal.

Rāja Birbal seems to have accompanied the Mughal army, and on his arrival at Lahore, Husain Quli Khān and the other nobles set out for Nagarkot by way of Paithān (Pathānkot) and Damhari (Nurpur). On reaching Damhari the holder of the place, named Chotó,¹ who is said to have been a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort, which he had strengthened, declined to come out and sent two *Vakils* with his offerings.

The reference to Damhari or Nurpur is interesting, as showing that a fort had existed there from former times, previous to the one erected by Rāja Bāsu, son of Takht Mal, who transferred the capital of the State from Pathānkot to Nurpur.

Bakht Mal, the Rāja of Nurpur, in A.D. 1556, had allied himself with Sikandar Shāh and after the surrender of Maukot he was taken to Lahore and executed by Behrām Khān, Akbar's general. His brother, Takht Mal was then installed in his place and must have been ruling when the Mughal army passed through Nurpur. He perhaps thought it safer to keep out of the way, remembering his brother's fate.

The Commander of Nurpur Fort excused himself from attending in person on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook to keep the roads open. The Mughal army then passed on, a small force being left at Nurpur, seemingly to keep up communications.

Twelve miles beyond Nurpur is the fort of Kotila on a high hill, then held by a Kāngra force which refused to surrender. It had originally belonged to Rāja Rām Chand of Gwaliār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand of Kāngra had occupied it by force.

On arriving at Kotila the garrison discharged muskets, arrows and stones against the troops and inflicted some loss. Thereupon Husain Quli Khān and other *Amīrs* ascended the hill opposite the fort and commanding it, and some guns were brought up with great labour and fire was opened on the fort. The masonry was shattered and a number of men of the garrison who stood under the walls were killed. This frightened the besieged, and during the night they abandoned the fort and made their escape. In the morning the Mughal commander, with beating of drums, marched into the fortress, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwaliar (Guler), to whose ancestor it had formerly belonged. But he left a garrison of his own in the fort and then advanced to Nagarkot.

The siege of Kāngra Fort was progressing favourably and the garrison were in extremities when it was reported that Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Masud Mirza, relatives of Akbar, had invaded the Punjab. Khān Jahān, therefore, with the approval of the other *Amīrs*, opened negotiations with the commander of the garrison,

¹ This name is probably a clerical error, and may be meant for *Takhtu*, i.e. Takht Mal, who was then Rāja of Nurpur.

and on his agreeing to the payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, the siege was raised and the Mughal army departed to oppose the Mirzas.

The narrative in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* is as follows :—

“When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Rāja Jai Chandar, Rāja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Rāja's son, Bidi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rāi the title of Rāja Birbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.”

“Thereupon *farmāns* were sent to Husain Quli Khān, and the Amīrs of the Punjāb, commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidi Chand, and place it in the possession of Rāja Birbal.”

“When the Rāja arrived at Lahore, Husain Quli Khān, and other nobles of the Punjāb, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damhari (Nurpur), the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakils* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Quli Khān presented the *vakils* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at the village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.”

“On arriving at the fort of Kutila he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Rām Chandar of Gwālīār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force.”

“The officers left in charge of the fort by Rāja Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Quli Khān mounted his horse with the other *Amīrs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night the Rajputs who were in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Quli Khān, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kutila, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwālīār, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged, but he left a garrison of his own there.”

“Continuing his march (beyond Kotila) he (Khān Jahān) came to a thickly wooded country through which it was difficult for an ant or a snake to creep, so a party of men was sent to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab A.H. 980=8th November A.D. 1572, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot.

1 Cf. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 356 *et seq.*; also cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā*. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 647-8.

2 “Birbal,” in Hindi, signifies “courageous” and “great,” so his title means, “Brave and mighty Raja.”

The fortress of Bhūn (Bhawan), which is an idol temple of Mahāmāi, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rajputs who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans who for many years had served the temple never gave one thought to flight and were killed.

During the struggle nearly 200 black cows, belonging to the Hindus, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. ' *Sābāts* (approaches) were formed and a mound commanding the fort was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Rāja. One day the Commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Rāja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building, among them was Bhuj Dev, son of Rāja Takht Mal (of Nurpur)."

"In the beginning of Shawwāl letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had crossed the Satlada (Satluj), and was marching upon Dipālpur. Husain Quli Khān held a secret council with the *Amirs* about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Quli Khān felt constrained to accede. The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute, five *mans* of gold, Akbarshāhi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Rāja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hāfiz Muhammad Bakir read the *Khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl A.H. 980, 19th Feby., A.D. 1573. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *Khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Quli Khān marched away."

The account of the siege in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (Vol. I, pp. 647-8) is similar to that already given, but in the *Akbarnāmah* we find several additional details of considerable interest, and therefore give it in full: "The rebel Mirzas thought that as Khān Jahān and the other nobles in the Punjab were occupied in the siege of Nagarkot, there was a chance of success for them in that province. If they failed they would return through Sindh to Gujrat. Husain Quli Khān, in obedience to the Emperor's instructions, sent a letter of advice into Nagarkot fort. The advice was not taken. The loyal nobles proceeded there and invested it.²

"When Raja Jai Chand left to come to Akbar's Court he prudently left his own

¹ A *sābāt* is a broad (covered) way under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress, secure from the fire of guns and muskets, *sarkob*, meaning "Catapults" in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. 3, p. 6.

son, Bidhi Chand, a minor, in charge of Rāja Gobind Chand, Jaiswāl. At this period the said Rāja came and entered the fort and set to work to prepare it for a siege. The taking of the fort was close at hand when news came of the rising of the Mirza Ibrahim Husain and his occupation of the Punjab.”¹

“On hearing of this trouble the nobles began to consult. Muhib Ali Khān and Mirza Yusuf Khān and Kurram Khān and Fatu and others resolved that the matter (siege) ought to be arranged, and leaving the hill country they should return to the plains of the Punjab, and before the arrival of the rebel get ready an army against him. Khān Jahān and others, as they had undergone great labour and had nearly taken the fort, were desirous of a full success, would not take a wide view and could not bring their minds to making peace. The nobles replied, “It is easy to see the extent of profit or loss from the capture or non-capture of the fort, but the disturbing report of this deceiver is a big business.” Khān Jahān said, “If I make terms the result of the council held must be recorded in writing and each man must append his seal. Thus if raising the siege fails in securing the Emperor's approval, you nobles will be obliged to supply the answer. The nobles then signed and negotiations were decided on.”

“The Rāja (Gobind Chand) looked on the offer of terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted. The conditions of peace were four in number: 1st, That the Rāja shall send a daughter into the harem of the Emperor. 2nd, That he will furnish a satisfactory tribute. 3rd, That he will send with us for our satisfaction a man of trust and character, some relative, so that in case the Emperor disapproves of the terms, the man may remain until the fort is evacuated. 4th, Since this country has been allotted as the *jāgīr* of Rāja Bīrbar, a large sum shall be paid him to induce him to renounce it.”

“The Rāja considered all these four conditions as beneficial to himself.”

“Khān Jahān suggested a fifth condition, viz. that Rāja Gopi Chand (Gobind Chand) should come in and present himself. To reassure him several of the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān would enter and remain in the fort until the Rāja came, or else Mirza Yusuf Khān and Khurram Khān should remain in the fort. In the end the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān were sent, and the Rāja, taking these envoys with him, came into the camp. Having had an interview with Khān Jahān he took his leave. The glorious army then made resolve to expel the (rebel) Mirza (from the Punjab).”

“A short time only had elapsed when the Rāja returned, and by way of submissiveness made the proposal that at a time when they were marching against the enemy, he could not stay idle at home. Thus with excess of zeal he joined himself with the fortunate army. The Mirza, plundering as he went, had reached the border of Diyālpur (Dipālpur), and there he heard of the march of the loyal nobles. He was in consternation and reduced to helplessness. He gave up the idea of reaching Lahore and started in the direction of Multān.”

¹ The Mirzas belonged to a branch of the Mughal royal family descended from Timur, and they aspired to the throne. After many contests they were all defeated and captured or killed. Cf. Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, pp. 438 and 441 2-3.

From the above account it would seem that Rāja Jai Chand had voluntarily obeyed the imperial order to repair to court, where he was placed in confinement. But before leaving Kāngra he placed his son, a minor, in charge of his kinsman—Gobind Chand—the Rāja of Jaswān, who discharged his duty faithfully. In the latter account, it will be noted, there is no mention of the building of a mosque in front of Jai Singh's palace, nor of the reading of the *Khutba*, and Khān Jahān does not seem to have even entered the fort, which was left in possession of the Katoch garrison. The siege had lasted about three months when it was raised.

It was probably after this expedition that Akbar deputed his great finance minister, Todar Mal, to Kāngra, in order to create an imperial demesne by confiscations of territory from the hill states. On presenting himself before his royal master after the completion of his mission, he is reported to have made use of the metaphor, that he 'had taken the meat and left the bones,' meaning thereby that he had annexed all the fertile tracts, leaving nothing but the bare hills to the hill chiefs. The portion of the demesne taken from Kāngra seems to have included sixty-six villages in the valley; and the whole of Rihlu was annexed from Chamba, with similar confiscations according to their means from the territories of other hill states.¹

Cunningham indeed affirms that in Akbar's reign the Kāngra fort was permanently occupied by imperial troops, but this is incorrect. We now know that the fort was not captured and permanently garrisoned by the Mughals till A.D. 1620 in the reign of Jahāngir. It is also distinctly stated by one of the historians that Akbar failed in his attempt to capture the fort, and this seems to have been the only expedition sent against it during his reign.

After the siege there is no further mention of Nagarkot in the Muhammadan histories till A.D. 1582. Akbar was then on his way to the Indus and had reached Dasuhah (near Hoshiyarpur) when on hearing of the cutting out of tongues, practised in the Devi temple at Kāngra, he wished to see the place and verify the story. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his purpose by a dream or spiritual apparition during the night.² The incident is thus related in the Akbarnāmah: "His Majesty heard of the cutting out of tongues and their restoration and desired to verify the story. He was then not far from the spot and the story was again told him. On the 15th Safar, 990 A.H. (21st March, A.D. 1582), he started with a small retinue. At the first stage, Rāja Jai Chand arrived to pay his respects, and as it was one watch after nightfall the town of Daisohah (Dasuhah) was selected for passing the night. Rāja Birbar who held it in *Fazul* (rent-free land) provided all necessaries and presented offerings. The attendants were worn out with the hardships of the road, but from the respect imposed by the Emperor's Majesty they dared not say anything. In the night a spiritual form, with which opposition to an act is associated, appeared as a face in the sleeping apartment, and pleading the imperial dignity turned him (Akbar) from that enterprise. He communicated the fact of this

¹ Kāngra Settlement Report, 1880, p. 8.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. III, p. 204; also cf. *Mā'asir-ul-Umara*, ii. 186.

apparition as soon as morning dawned. He turned back. All were greatly relieved. Between Khondwāl and Gaim Adhan a bridge was thrown over the Biāh, and on the 17th (23rd March, A.D. 1582) they reached Kalanaur."

From the above it is clear that Akbar did not visit Nagarkot on the occasion referred to, and also that he had not done so previous to this.¹ The following extract from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* seems to prove that he did not do so at any subsequent date: "Akbar had strong desires for conquest, reigned for a long period and was not averse from taking it (Kāngra), this region being in the border of the imperial territories. On one occasion the Rāja of that place for some reason or another incurred Akbar's displeasure. He granted the territory to Rāja Birbar and detached a force under the command of Husain Quli Khān, Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. While he was making the investment stricter and stricter the revolt of Ibrahīm Husain Mirza took place. Forced by circumstances he (Khān Jahān) made friends with the Rāja² and started in pursuit (of the Mirzas). Subsequently Rāja Jai Chand, the lord of that country, sent in without a break his tribute, and came to kiss the felicity-conferring threshold of the Emperor." It would thus appear that Rāja Jai Chand was set at liberty soon after the siege and resumed his position as ruler of the State. The cutting out of tongues, referred to by Akbar's historians, seems to have been practised from very ancient times in the temple of Bhawan at Kāngra; and occasionally cases occur even now. The belief among the people is that the tongue, thus cut out as an offering to the goddess, is restored within a few hours or days. We find the following notice of the practice in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.³ "Near the town is the idol temple of Mahāmāi, known as Durga Bhawāni. They believe it to be an incarnation of God, and pilgrims from afar come to visit it and carry away the desire of their hearts. A wonder is that with the hope of fulfilment they cut out their tongues. To some it grows again in an hour or two, with others it takes one or two days. Although the learned in science consider that the tongue is always growing, yet for it to do it so speedily is a marvel, and they account for it as a miracle due to sleeping with Mahādev. The wise men of their sect ascribe it to the potency of his name."

The following on the same subject is from the *Hadiqāt-ul-Aqālīm* of Shekh Mur-tazā Khān, Bilgrāmi, written about A.D. 1781: "In the same Duāba, within the boundary of Lahore, is a hill country of which the name is Nagarkot. It has an exceedingly lofty fortress. At the foot of these hills, below Nagarkot, a domed edifice has been built. The Hindus connect this with Bhawāni. Inside it is a block of stone, quite unadorned, a mere lump of rock. This stone is worshipped by the Hindus with profound reverence. Twice a year crowds, young and old, rich and poor, come bare-footed to adore it. The supplicants cut out their tongues with their own hands, and by aid of their faith they find in a few hours, and some in a few days, that a new and perfect tongue has regrown."

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 186.

² Badauni says, Husain Quli Khan patched up a peace with the Hindus.

³ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 184.

¹ According to local tradition, Akbar was told that Kāngra was famous for four things:—

1. The manufacture of new noses.
2. The treatment of eye diseases.
3. *Bāsmati* rice.
4. The strong fort.

The operation for the restoration of the nose which was for centuries performed at Kāngra is said to have originated in the time of Akbar. The cutting off of the nose was a common form of punishment under the former rulers of India, and on one occasion when the Emperor had ordered a criminal's nose to be cut off, he appeared soon afterwards with a new nose. On asking how it had been acquired, Akbar was told that one Budya, a surgeon of his own, had performed the operation. He was rewarded by receiving a *jāgīr* in Kāngra, under a title-deed which is said to be still in the possession of his descendants. The *jāgīr*, however, was resumed a long time ago under Sikh rule. Mr. Vigne, who gives this information, asked to see the title-deed but it was not shown, though he met two practitioners of the art, who however were unwilling to make any communication on the subject. The operation continued to be practised till long after the beginning of British rule in the Punjab.

² Sir A. Cunningham who visited Kāngra soon after the annexation of the hills has the following note on the subject: "I could learn nothing about the eyes, but the repair of noses still goes on, although greatly fallen off since the close of Sikh rule, when amputation of the nose was a common punishment. But people still come from Kabul and Nepāl to be treated. Noses lost by disease are said to defy restoration, but if so the disease cannot have been cured."

Cunningham also remarks that it is strange that there is no mention of the practice by Abul Fazl, although perhaps it may not have come into use until late in Akbar's reign, after the *Āin-i-Akbari* had been completed.

³ With regard to the method of performing the operation, Vigne says: "I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bhāng or wine to render him senseless, they then tap the skin of the forehead above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin of the proper shape is then cut and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on and supported with pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment in which blue vitriol is an ingredient. The surgeons practise on the credulity of the Hindus by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi or spirit who is featureless, and the operation would succeed nowhere else but at Kot Kāngra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated on and were returning homewards, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature."

Bidhi Chand, A.D. 1585.—Rāja Jai Chand died in A.D. 1585 and was succeeded

¹ A.S.R. Vol. V, pp. 168-9; cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-1. Traditionally Akbar is said to have besieged Kot Kangra for ten years, during which time he made the garden of Ram Bagh and remained to eat the first fruit of the mango trees which he had planted. Forster makes the time only one year; a similar tradition is related in connection with the siege of Tara Garh in the reign of Shāhjahān.

² Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 168-9.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 141.

by Bidhi Chand. The hill chiefs had not yet become reconciled to Mughal supremacy and soon after Bidhi Chand's accession a secret confederation seems to have been formed led by Bidhi Chand, embracing most of the States in the outer hills between Jammu and Kāngra. In the 35th year of Akbar A.D. 1588-9 they all broke out into rebellion and Zain Khān Kōka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent with a large force to bring them into subjection. He marched through the hills from Pathankot to the Satluj, and on their submission, thirteen of the hill chiefs accompanied him to Court, and tendered their allegiance, at the same time presenting valuable presents to the Emperor. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says:—"Most of them, as Rāja Budi (Bidhi) Chand of Nagarkot, Rāi Partāp of Mankot, Rāja Parasrām of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Rāi Balbhadar of Lukhinpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khān Kōka to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers." ¹

The following is a translation of the note in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*:—In the thirty-fifth year of Akbar Zain Khān received an order to punish the northern zamindars (petty chiefs). From near Pathān (Pathānkot) he advanced and did not turn his face till he reached the Satluj. All the dwellers in the territories became submissive, Raja Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot, Raja Parasram of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Raja Anrudh of Jaswan, Raja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilāspur). Raja Jogdes Chand, Dahwāl (Dadwāl), Rai Sansār Chand of Panna, Rai Partāp of Mankot, Rai Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrota, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, Daulat of Kot Bharta, Rai Krishan Ballauria (Basohli), Rai Raodeh Dhamerwāl, although they had 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen submitted and presented themselves at Court with valuable presents." It appears that the whole of the hill states between the Chinab and the Satluj were in revolt and Zain Khān wisely entered the hills at Pathānkot midway between the two extremes, so that as a good strategist he might divide the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. A force was doubtless sent westward towards Jammu while he led the main army towards the Satluj. It is noteworthy that Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Suket are not mentioned, but we may conclude that all the States between the Chinab and the Ravi in alliance with Jammu were invoked. Almost all the names can be easily identified except Panna and Kot Bharta. The last name in the list probably refers to a subordinate chiefship under Dhameri or Nurpur. Bharta may possibly be a clerical error for Bhadu, a small state near Basohli.

On their submission they were all considerably dealt with and had their territories and honours restored, but Bidhi Chand had to leave his son, Triloka Chand, then a boy, as a hostage at the Mughal Court. Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was also then a boy and the people of Kāngra have a story that when he and Triloka Chand were together at Delhi, the latter had a parrot which Jahāngīr wished to possess, but the young Rājput prince would not part with it. On this account Jahāngīr, it is said, cherished a grudge against Triloka Chand and marched against him on becoming Emperor.

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. I, p. 344; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 100.

¹ In the 41st year of Akbar (A.D. 1594-5) there was another rebellion among the hill chiefs, led by the Rāja of Jasrota, but Bidhi Chand does not seem to have been involved in it, though Rāja Bāsu of Nurpur was, and a force under Mirzā Rustam Qandahāri was sent against him which entered the hills at Pathankot. A force under Shekh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or Paymaster, was also sent to suppress the rising and marched through the outer hills from Jammu by Jasrota and Maukot to Guler, and the Rāni of Kāngra sent envoys with presents, her son being then at Court. Possibly Bidhi Chand also was then at the Mughal Court. The following reference is from the *Akbarnāmah*² :—

“Having left Husain Beg there at Jasrota with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *pargana* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkaman and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Rāvi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargana* of Pathān. Next day it marched to Mau, a *pargana* under the authority of Bāsu. At this time Bāsu was at Court, but his son had at the first come forward and accompanied the army. He was now told that he ought to seize the opportunity for sending a suitable offering, in acknowledgment of the country having been graciously confirmed to him. The son of Bāsu sent two vakils to invite the Bakhshi to his house, a fort on the top of a hill, to receive the tribute. So the chief men of the army proceeded with an escort Mu (Mau), which is a very strong fort. Excepting some cultivated land immediately adjoining the fort, the whole hill is covered with impenetrable jungle. The road through is very narrow, and in places strong gates are erected across it. At the foot of the hill there is also cultivated land, and around it there are stone walls and deep ditches. The country around is exceedingly pleasant, the gardens are full of fruit trees, and there are plenty of running streams. Bāsu's residence was a fine extensive building. The place was visited and examined and after Bāsu's Vakils had discharged the duties of hospitality, the tribute was brought forth consisting of valuable horses and fine cloths. The other territories of the neighbourhood which had been held by rebellious Rājas and Zamindārs were granted to *jāgirdārs* as *tankhwāh* (salary).”

“The army then proceeded to Gwaliār (Guler) which is also a strong fort belonging to a different Rāja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty. The Rāni of Nagarkot whose son was at the imperial Court, sent her Vakil to pay his respects. On every side the rebels were compelled to submit and show their obedience. All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels, from Jammu to Nagarkot, was reduced, and the Rājas and Zamindārs made their submission or received merited punishment. In fact the country was subjugated in a manner it had never been before.”

“The affairs of the clan of Jaswāl who are Zamindārs with a (common) army, now had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army

¹ *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 125 to 129; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, pp. 167-170, and I.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 110.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126-9.

and of the reduction of the territories of the Zamindārs all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."

After having carried the campaign to a successful issue Shaikh Farid was recalled to Lahore where Akbar then was and travelled from Jaswān *via* Dasuha and Batāla, reaching his destination in three days, a very expeditious journey in those times. He then paid his respects to the Emperor and received great rewards. Shaikh Farid afterwards received the title of Murtazā Khān for his services at the siege of Kangra Fort in A.D. 1613-14, in collaboration with Suraj Mal of Nurpur, but died soon after.

The rest of Bidhi Chand's reign seems to have passed uneventfully and he died about A.D. 1605.

Triloka Chand, A.D. 1605.—Jahāngir succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1605 but it was not till A.D. 1615¹ that he sent a force against Kāngra, under the command of Shekh Farid Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Panjab, the same who commanded in A.D. 1594-5. The invasion of Kāngra is said to have occurred in consequence of the grudge already referred to, entertained by Jahāngir against Triloka Chand, but Cunningham, with more probability, conjectures that it was the result of the Katoch Chief having revived the local coinage in his own name, a right which had not been exercised either by his father or his grandfather. According to local tradition the fort surrendered after three days' siege and the Rāja was assigned the district of Rājgir, as a *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees.

¹The *Tārīkh-i-Panjab*, by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of Ludhiāna, finished in 1820, has a different version of this story. According to it the Katoch Prince was Hari Chand, son of Triloka Chand, but this is probably an error. The version is as follows:—

"On being asked for the parrot by Jahangir the Rajput prince replied, "We have sent *Bāz* (hawks) and *Jurah* (crystal) in our tribute to the Emperor: this wretched bird I have retained for my own pleasure and to practise with. Whenever given leave from the imperial court, I will return home and send *Bāz* and *Jurah* together with this poor creature as a present. As Akbar favoured Hari Chand, Jahangir dared not use force to seize the bird but retained a grudge against the boy. When Hari Chand reached Kāngra again he sent *Bāz* and *Jurah* to the Prince. Jahāngir would not accept them. At the time Rāja Trilok Chand died, Akbar also quitted this transitory scene and Jahāngir succeeded his father. The hill Rājas attended to make obeisance and present their offerings, Raja Hari Chand among them. He knew that Jahāngir had a concealed grudge against him and before he left home he ordered his mother to put their fort in a state of defence. As his mother was a daughter of the Raja of Chamba, she summoned her brother from Chamba and he remained in the fort at Kāngra."

"Openly Jahāngir loaded Hari Chand and the other Rājas with favours, but

¹ The order seems to have been first issued in H. 1021 = A.D. 1612-13. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umara* ii. 638.

² This History was written at the request of Captain Murray, Political Officer in Ludhiana, who died about 1830.

issued secret orders for his seizure and imprisonment. He heard of the design and fled with two or three personal attendants. When he had covered several stages the news reached Jahāngir and he sent troops in pursuit. He was overtaken when he had reached the village of Kiratpur, five kos from Anandpur, and was forced to defend himself and was slain on the spot."

"The imperial force continued its march to Kāngra, but owing to the orders to strengthen the fort, given by Hari Chand on his departure, none of the places could be taken. They concentrated their efforts on the capital and its fort. It is said that the siege was prolonged for four years. When the supplies inside the fort were exhausted, the son of the Chamba Raja, on promise of favours being granted the kingdom, yielded up the fort to the imperial troops. Hari Chand's mother either killed herself with a sword or plunged into a reservoir."

"As agreed upon, the Emperor conferred a *jāgīr* out of the Kāngra territory on the Chamba prince, which remained with Chamba till A.D. 1824 = S. 1881. In that year Maharaja Ranjit Singh took it, instead of tribute money, and delivered to Wazir Nathu an agreement not to interfere with the rest of the territories. But dues to the amount of Rs. 8,000 were taken as before. The territory of Bhadrawāh was also given to him (Chamba)."

The story in the *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb* is evidently confused and inaccurate, and the version which refers the incident of the parrot to Tiloka Chand is doubtless the correct one. Hari Chand, son of Triloka Chand, was only twelve years old in A.D. 1620 and did not succeed to the *gaddi* till towards the middle of Jahāngir's reign, whereas Triloka Chand was a contemporary of Jahāngir's and about the same age. The reference to Chamba is also incorrect, as Rihlu, the tract said to have been granted in *jāgīr*, had been Chamba territory from early times, and was included by Todar Mal in the confiscations to form the imperial demesne, of which it remained a part till about A.D. 1752, when it was recovered by the Chamba Chief, and finally annexed, as stated, by Ranjit Singh about A.D. 1823.

It is possible, however, that the tradition may be a reminiscence of an early invasion of Kāngra not recorded in the histories, soon after Jahāngir ascended the throne, in which Triloka Chand was killed. He must have been alive till A.D. 1609-10 as his son, Hari Chand, was only twelve years of age at the capture of the fort in A.D. 1620. It is noteworthy that Triloka Chand's name is not mentioned in connection with the invasion and investment of A.D. 1615. We may, therefore, suppose that he died or was killed about A.D. 1610 and that Hari Chand then succeeded as an infant.

Hari Chand II. c. A.D. 1610.—The Mohammedan historians give a wholly different account of the invasion, which is no doubt the true one. Jahāngir himself in his Memoirs tells us that the force for the siege of Kāngra Fort was dismissed on its mission on the 11th Farwardin, A.H. 1024 = 1st or 2nd April A.D. 1615, that is, ten years after his accession. He says:—"Murtazā Khān on this day obtained leave to go for

the capture of the fort of Kāngra, the equal of which for strength they cannot point to in the hill country of the Pūnjab or even all the habitable world. From the time when the sound of Islām reached the country of Hindustan up to this auspicious time, when the throne of rule has been adorned by this suppliant at the throne of Allah, none of the rulers or kings has obtained possession of it. Once in the time of my revered father, the army of the Punjab was sent against this fort and besieged it for a long time. At length they came to the conclusion that the fort was not to be taken, and the army was sent off to some more necessary business. When he was dismissed I gave Murtazā Khān a private elephant with trappings. Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, as his country was near that fort, was also appointed and his previous *mansab* was increased by 500 *personnel* and horse." He also tells us that he "released Rāja Mān, who was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (the State prison) on the security of Murtazā Khān, and confirming his *mansab*, sent him to the said Khān for duty at the fort of Kangra."¹

Jahāngir does not tell us who Rāja Mān was, but we may conclude that he was a Rajput chief of Rajputana, probably Amber or Jaipur. Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, was then Rāja of Nurpur, having succeeded his father in A.D. 1613, and as we have seen, he was sent by the Emperor to assist in the siege of Kāngra fort. He was, however, far from being loyal and when he saw that the fort was on the point of surrendering, he began to stir up trouble so as to hinder the operations and prevent the capitulation. He was therefore recalled to Court and soon afterwards Murtazā Khān died and the siege was held in abeyance, after having lasted nearly a year. The reference in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* is as follows:—

"When by the exertions of the Shekh (Murtazā Khān) the besieged (Kāngra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khān. Murtaza Khān wrote to the imperial court that Suraj Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtazā Khān, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Shāhjahān), sending to him a petition that Murtazā Khān, instigated by designing persons, had conceived a dislike to him, and casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and rebellion, was laying plans for uprooting him. He prayed that he (Shāhjahān) would act as the saviour of his life and the means of his deliverance, fortune having abandoned him, by causing him to be summoned to the imperial court."

"At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahāngir (A.D. 1616) Murtazā Khān folded up the carpet of existence, and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj Mal) in pursuance of a request made by the Prince (Shāhjahān) was recalled to the imperial court and was received with favour.

¹ *Ibid.*, 301.

² *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 176, 177.

Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan (October A.D. 1616)."

In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* the Emperor thus refers to this incident: "On the 20th of the same month (Bahmān), Rāja Suraj Singh (Mal), son of Rāja Baso, who on account of the nearness of his dwelling-place to it had been sent with Murtazā Khān to capture the fort of Kāngra, came on my summons and waited on me. The aforesaid Khān had entertained certain suspicions with regard to him, and on this account, considering him an undesirable companion, had repeatedly sent petitions to the court and wrote things about him until an order was received to summon him."

Soon after Suraj Mal's recall, Murtazā Khān was taken ill and died at Pathānkot. The event is thus referred to by Jahāngir. "On the 3rd of this month (Khurdād), the news of the death of Murtazā Khān came. He was one of the ancients of this State. My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust. In my reign also he obtained the grace of noteworthy service, namely, the overthrow of Khusrau. His *mansab* had been raised to 6000 and 5000 horse. As he was at this time Subadār of the Punjāb he had undertaken the capture of Kāngra, to which in strength no other fort in the hill country of that province, or even in the whole inhabited world, can be compared. He had obtained leave to go on this duty. I was much grieved in mind at this news." *Tūzuk*, trans., p. 324.

² After the death of Murtazā Khān in the early spring of A.D. 1616, Rāja Mān, already mentioned, seems to have been in command and acted loyally and gave encouragement to the force besieging the fort. Evidently the place had all but surrendered, for we are told that Rāja Mān had made an arrangement to bring to court the son of the Rāja of Kāngra, who is said to have been 29 years old.³ On his return to court, Rāja Mān received a higher *mansab* and was appointed leader in the attack on the fort, presumably in succession to Murtazā Khān, and all the men to accompany him were also designated by the Emperor.

* The note is as follows: "News came that after the death of Murtazā Khān loyalty was shown by Rāja Mān, and that after giving encouragement to the men of the fort of Kāngra, an arrangement had been made that he should bring to court the son of the Rāja of that country, who was 29 years old. In consequence of his great zeal in this service I fixed his *mansab*, which was 1000 *personnel* and 800 horse, at 1500 *personnel* and 1000 horse."

"After the death of Murtazā Khān, Rāja Mān and many of the auxiliary Sirdars had come to court on this duty. At the request of I'timād-ud-daulah, I appointed Rāja Mān as the leader in the attack on the fort of Kāngra. I appointed all the men to accompany him, and according to the condition and rank of each made him happy with a present, a horse, an elephant, a robe of honour, or money, and gave them leave." It seems probable that his real appointment was as governor of the Punjab in succession to Murtazā Khān.

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, trans. 1909, Vol. I, p. 311.

² *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. I, pp. 326, 336.

³ This must refer to the son of a previous Rāja as Hari Chand was then only a child.

⁴ *Tūzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 326 and 330.

'He, however, never reached his destination. "When he arrived at Lahore he heard that Sangrām, one of the Zamindars (Chiefs) of the hill country of the Pōnjab, had attacked his place and taken possession of a part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out, he went against him. As Sangrām had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession, and sought refuge in difficult hills and places. Rāja Mān pursued him there and in his great pride, not looking to the means by which he could advance and retreat, came up to him with a small force. When Sangrām saw that he had no way to flee by, in accordance with this couplet :—

Chun waqt-i-zarurat na mānad gurez

Daste ba-gīrad sir-i-shamsher tez.

In time of need when no (way of) flight is left,

"The hand seizes the haft of the sharp sword."

"A fight took place, and according to what was decreed, a bullet struck Rāja Mān and he delivered his soul to the Creator thereof. His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The remainder, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms, and with a hundred alarms escaped half dead." The siege of Kangra fort was then abandoned for a time.²

³Though baffled in his first attempt to capture Kangra Fort, Jahāngīr did not abandon the enterprise, and when a letter was laid before him in the autumn of A.D. 1617 from Suraj Mal of Nurpur, asking permission to reinvest the fort, and capture it, the project was at once revived. Suraj Mal had returned from the Dakhan along with Shāhjahān and seems to have been anxious to find a pretext for getting back to the hills. The letter was addressed to Shāhjahān and in it Suraj Mal gave an undertaking to capture the fortress within a year. Jahāngīr confided the matter to Shāhjahān for inquiry as to the feasibility of the proposal, and on receiving a favourable report the enterprise was sanctioned and all arrangements connected with it were entrusted to the Prince. He selected Suraj Mal and Shāh Quli Khān Mohammad Taqi, his own Bakhshi or paymaster, for the command, and on their waiting on the Emperor and stating their requirements for the siege, the engagement to perform the duty was finally approved. Before leaving, Suraj Mal was honoured with a standard and drums and was also presented with a *khilat* or dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger), and Muhammad Taqi with a *khilat*. They were then ordered to start for Kāngra, and were dismissed by the Emperor on the 17th Mihr, A.H. 1026 (September A.D. 1617).⁴

The following reference occurs in the Memoirs: "On the 12th Shahryār (12th Sept. A.D. 1617) a letter came from my son, Khurram (Shāhjahān), that Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Raja Baso, whose territory is near the fort of Kāngra, had promised that in the course of a year he would bring the fort into the possession of the servants of

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. I, pp. 361-2.

² This was in the end of A.D. 1616 or in January 1617. Raja Sangrām was probably the ruler of Jammu.

³ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. I, p. 388.

⁴ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge. Vol. I, p. 392.

the victorious State. He (K̄hurram) also sent his (Suraj Mal's) letter which covenanted for this. I ordered that after comprehending his desires and wishes and satisfying himself with regard to them, he should send off the Rāja to wait on me, so that he might set about the said duty."¹

Shāhjahān seems to have been quite satisfied as to the feasibility of the undertaking and reported accordingly. Suraj Mal was selected to command the expedition in association with Muhammad Taqi, the prince's Bakhshi or paymaster, and both were presented to the Emperor for final sanction of all requirements for the siege. In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* we find the following note: "On the 13th (Mīhr) Rāja Suraj Mal, together with Taqi, the *bakhshi*, who was in attendance on Bābā K̄hurram, came and waited on me. He (Suraj Mal) represented all his requirements. His engagement to perform the work was approved and at the request of my son he was honoured with a standard and drums. To Taqi who had been appointed with him, a jewelled *Khapwa* (dagger) was given, and it was arranged that he should finish his own affairs and start off quickly..... On the same day (17th Mīhr), after presenting Suraj Mal with a dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *Khapwa*, and Taqi with a dress of honour, I gave them leave to proceed on duty to Kāngra."²

Suraj Mal, however, was insincere throughout; his only object seemingly being to get back to the hills to raise trouble. This danger was foreseen by some but as the arrangements were in Shāhjahān's hands no one could advise, though, as the historian remarks, "it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj Mal to re-enter the hill country."

Soon after reaching Kāngrā he began to quarrel with Muhammad Taqi, with a view to get rid of him, so that he (Suraj Mal) might be left in sole command. He sent complaints to Shāhjahān, that the Bakhshi was incompetent and that the siege was being delayed. Muhammad Taqi was therefore recalled. Having now a free hand, Suraj Mal, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, dispersed many of the imperial contingents to their *jāgīrs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. Having in this way weakened the Mughal army he began to raise a disturbance, and with his own troops ravaged the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of money and movable property. The siege of Kāngrā Fort was thus interfered with and fell into abeyance.

On hearing of the revolt, Jahāngīr, who was then at Ahmadābād, at once despatched one of his commanders, Sundar Das, Rāi Rāiyān, with reinforcements to suppress it. Suraj Mal after sustaining a defeat took refuge in Maukot, and on its capture by a *coup-de-main* he escaped and fled to Nurpur and finally to Chamba where he died in A.D. 1619.

On the occurrence of the outbreak, Jagat Singh, the youngest son of Raja Bāsu of Nurpur, was summoned from Bengal "in the greatest haste" to assist the Mughals,

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 388.

² *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Vol. I, pp. 392-3 of 1900

and on his brother's death and the collapse of all resistance, he was made Raja of Nurpur and ordered to join the Rāi-Rāiyān in the siege of Kāngrā Fort, which was resumed on October 4th, A.D. 1619.

The garrison made a brave resistance and suffered great straits, subsisting on leaves, etc., for some months before the surrender in November A.D. 1620. It was then garrisoned by imperial troops under Nawāb Ali Khān, the first Faujdār or Governor of the hills, and it continued to be so held till A.D. 1789.

There are several references to the final siege of Kāngrā Fort in the time of Jahāngīr, both in his own memoirs and in the contemporary histories. In the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* we find the following: "When Jahāngīr came to the throne he resolved on conquering it (Kāngrā) and first of all ordered Shekh Farid Murtazā Khān on the duty, he being then Governor of the Punjab. Before he could carry the campaign to completion he died. Then the work was entrusted to Rāja Suraj Mal. As every matter requires observation of the age and every business depends on the occasion selected, that man of evil disposition hastened to do the reverse of what was desired. At that period, by the strong resolve of the Prince and Heir-apparent (Shāhjahān), and the handsome exertions of Rāja Bikramajit, this knot so long in being untied, began to get unloosed."

"After the return from that campaign (in the Dākhan) he (Suraj Mal) opened a correspondence and undertook the conquest of Kāngrā. Although to allow him to re-enter that hill country was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution, yet the undertaking having been committed to the charge of the Prince (Shāhjahān) he selected Suraj Mal to command the expedition, jointly with Shāh Quli Khān Muhammad Taqi, the Bakhshi of his own establishment."

"Then having succeeded in his aim, he (Suraj Mal) began to quarrel with Shāh Quli Khān and wrote to the Prince that he found it impossible to get on with the Khān, who was incapable of carrying out the work. If another Commander were appointed it would be quite easy to conquer the fort. In consequence, Shāh Quli Khān was recalled to Court and Rāja Vikramajit, one of the nobles of the Empire, was sent off at the head of reinforcements."

"Considering that his opportunity had arrived, Suraj Mal, before the Rāja Bikramajit reached the spot, began by sending away various bodies of imperialists, on the pretext that, from the length of the campaign, their resources were exhausted. By returning to the *parganas* they held in *jāgīr* they could refurnish themselves, in anticipation of the Rāja's arrival. On their departure, this seeker of an opening for trouble manifested signs of rebellion and disturbance, and stretched forth the hand of oppression and usurpation. He ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jāgīr* of I'timād-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahan Begam) and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of cash and moveables."

"Sayid Safi Bārḥāh, with the remainder of the contingents, who in spite of Suraj Mal's orders giving them leave had not yet departed for their *jāgīrs*, and a

body of his own followers made a firm stand and drank the cup of martyrdom. Some were wounded and some attained a safe refuge by swiftness of foot."

¹ The remainder of the account is much fuller in the *Bādshāhnāmāh*, and is therefore given. It is as follows:—"Now we turn to the story of Suraj Mal of which a mere hint was given in the course of the narrative about Jagat Singh."

"When Raja Bāsu (of Nurpur) died his son Suraj Mal was raised to his dignities. But from ingratitude he rebelled, just as had been the practice of his turbulent ancestors. By his guile and devices he brought over to his side all the zamindars in the hills north of the Punjab. He then began to ravage the *parganas* along the foot of the hills in the Punjab. The Emperor Jahāngīr, then in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, heard of this rising and resolved on the extirpation of the rebel and the capture of the strong fortress, of Kāngrā, situated in the hills to the north of Panjab, and on a high mountain."

"For ages none of the rulers of Hindustan who tried to take it had succeeded, not even Akbar. That sovereign sent against it Husain Qulī Khān, Turkmān, entitled Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. The fortress was invested for a long time but the general had to retreat without effecting his purpose. The matter was left over for Jahāngīr to undertake."

"The Emperor had a high opinion of the qualities as soldier and ruler of the Rāī Rāiyān, who had recently returned after obtaining victories over Fath, Jām, and Bihar, rulers of Kachh, bringing them to Court in his train."

"The Emperor on the 23rd Ramzān of 1027 H. (September 13th, A.D. 1618) sent him at the head of a large army from Ahmadābād. The imperial orders were to dispose first of Suraj Mal and then make an attack on Kāngrā Fort."

"The general on reaching the hill country planned to get rid of Suraj Mal. The latter, on learning this intention, sought shelter in Mau Fort.² It was a place of safety belonging to his father and his predecessors. It is surrounded with jungle and trees with closely intertwined branches. There Suraj Mal prepared to stand a siege. Rāī Rāiyān and his men arrived at the foot of the fort and took it by a *coup-de-main* (literally, without dismounting), and after their entry began to slay and capture prisoners and many were killed. While the contest was going on, Suraj Mal found means of escaping and moved on with his followers to the fort of Nurpur. The place had been erected by his father in a very strong position. In ancient days its name was Dhamehri but he changed it to *Nurpur* in honour of the Emperor.³ He made it his home and dwelling-place."

⁴ "The Mughals rendered it impossible for him (Suraj Mal) to remain. He fled to Asrāl⁵ which is above Nurpur upon a mountain difficult of access, adjoining the Chambiyāl boundary. It is protected by close-growing trees."

¹ *Bādshāhnāmāh*, p. 285 *et seq.*

² He had previously tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rāī Rāiyān, and then attacked the Mughals and was defeated. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, il. 184-185, 238.

³ Jahāngīr's name was Nur-ud-din.

⁴ Probably Periḡarh in Asrāl ka Bāsa, near Kotila, is indicated. Tāragarh had not then been built

⁵ Cf. *Shah Fatah-i-Kangra*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 521 to 526.

“When this matter was reported to him, Rāi Rāiyān and his army went in rapid pursuit and invested the fort. As soon as he reached it, Suraj Mal abandoned it also and by swiftness of foot delivered himself from those tigers of the forest of War. He sought protection from the Zamindār of Chambā.”

“The Mughals marched back to Nurpur and thence went out to reduce the neighbouring strong places, all difficult of approach and surrounded by thorny trees, viz. Hārā and Thāri and Nesa Nagrota, Sur and Jawāli.”

“Their next efforts were directed against fort Kotilah. It lies between Kāngrā and Nurpur and has a stream on three sides of it; the remaining side has a path most difficult to be crossed over. Madhu Singh, brother of Suraj Mal, had taken refuge there. The place was surrounded and in three days it was taken. Mādhu Singh fled and joined his brother. When the whole of Suraj Mal’s territory had been occupied Rāi Rāiyān then started for the Chamba State.”

“On the way he learned that Suraj Mal had died. He was an ungrateful man who owed his title of Raja and his succession to his father to the recommendations of Shāhjahān (then Prince Khurram). Champāl (Chamba) was written to that his own safety and that of his dominions depended on his forwarding at once the cash and property belonging to Suraj Mal. If he did not he would speedily be destroyed. As he was aware of what had happened to Suraj Mal, he sent his (Suraj Mal’s) cash and goods and that fugitive’s brother, Mādhu Singh, in charge of his own son and his brother, to the Rāi Rāiyān’s camp. Rāi Rāiyān sent them all on to Shahjahan’s camp.”¹

“As the rains were coming on and no sufficient supplies could be procured it was decided by a Council of War to retire on Nurpur. On the 24th Shawwāl 1028 H. equal to the 1st of Mihr (Oct. 4, A.D. 1619) Kāngrā was invested. Commanders were told off to the various batteries, the excavation of covered ways began and mines with galleries were put in hand. The besieged relied on the strength of their fortress and strengthened their bastions and curtains. Fighting became frequent. The garrison were reduced to such straits from the absence of grain that they stripped the bark from the trees and, boiling it, used it to keep body and soul together. Brought to the last extremity they asked for terms. It is the characteristic of the Mughal dynasty to be merciful and forgiving. Ala’ Hazrat (Prince Khurram) out of the generosity of his disposition accepted their petition and applied to Jahāngir for the pardon of their offences. A *farmān* came stating that they were forgiven, on condition that the fortress be at once made over to Rāi Rāiyān, and they come themselves to the imperial Court. There they would have their lives spared.”

“After this imperial order was received, on the 25th Zu’l Hijjah 1029 H., equivalent to the 1st of Adar (20th Nov. A.D. 1620), Hari Singh, son of Tilok Chand, Chief of the garrison, being then twelve years of age, made over the fortress to Rāi Rāiyān. He (Hari Singh) with one, Sikandar, his uncle and chief officer, and

¹ Shahjahan was in charge of the campaign, but does not seem to have accompanied the force under Suraj Mal, but he appears to have joined the Army under Rāi Rāiyān, and probably had his camp at Pathankot.

the rest of the garrison, appeared before the Rāī Rāīyān. He left trusted men in charge of the fortress, and placing Hari Singh and the rest under surveillance he began his march to the Court."

"On an early day in Di of the year 1030 H. (1st Di=Dec. 25th A.D. 1620), on the day when Jahāngīr after his march from Kashmir entered Lahore, he (Rāī Rāīyān) was received in audience. As he had been the victor in such a campaign, on the prayer of Prince Khurram he was made a Raja by Jahāngīr."

The siege had lasted one year two months and some days, as we learn from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. It seems clear that Triloka Chand was not then in power. He was probably dead.

¹ Jahāngīr was rejoiced to hear of the capture of Kāngrā Fort, and in his Memoirs we find the following from his own hand: "On Monday 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kāngrā arrived. Kāngrā is an ancient fort, situated in the hills north of Lahore, and has been renowned for its strength and security from the days of its foundation. The Zamindars (Chiefs) of the Punjab believe that this fort has never passed into the possession of another tribe, and that no stranger's hand has ever prevailed against it, but God knows." Since the day that the sword of Islām and the glory of the Muhammadan religion have reigned in Hindustan, not one of the mighty Sultāns had been able to reduce this fort. Sultān Firoz Shāh, a monarch of great power, besieged it for a long time, but he found that the place was so strong and secure that it was impossible to reduce it, so long as the garrison had provisions. When this humble individual ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtazā Khān died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Raja Bāsu, was afterwards sent against it, but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after the traitor was made prisoner and executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwāl, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate. But when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1031 H." There is a discrepancy in the records as to the actual date of surrender—one authority has 1030 H.=A.D. 1620 and the other 1031 H.=A.D. 1621; ² but in any case the news must have travelled

¹ *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīri*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 374-5.

According to the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīri* the fort was invested on the 16th of Shawwāl A.H. 1029 (5th September A.D. 1620) and captured on the 1st of Muharram A.H. 1031 (6th November A.D. 1621). The respective dates given in the *Bādshahnāma* are the 24th of Shawwāl A.H. 1028 (24th September 1619) and the 25th of Zu'l Hij A.H. 1029 (11th November 1620).

² Probably the latter date is the correct one as it is the one given by the Emperor himself. The surrender was probably made on 1st Muharram = 20th November, A.D. 1621, as Jahāngīr states that the siege began in Shawwāl (Sept. or Oct.) 1029 H. = A.D. 1620, and it lasted fourteen months.

fast to reach Jahāngīr in ten days at the most, in Kashmir, where he then seems to have been. From the Emperor's note as well as other indications it would appear that Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) was in command of the expedition, though not actually at Kāngrā. His camp may have been at Nurpur or Pathānkot.

¹ The following extract from the *Shash Fath-i-Kangra*, probably by Jalāla Tibatiba in the reign of Shāhjahān, is given as an example of the flowery and extravagant style of some of the Muhammadan authors. It was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kangra Fort. The early part of the First Conquest is taken up with an account of the rebellion of Suraj Mal of Nurpur, which was suppressed by the Rāī Rāīyan, also called Rāja Vikramajit. It then continues as follows: "Immediately on approaching the fort (Kangra), he (Rāī Rāīyan) surrounded it with his troops; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God; for in this fort there was a temple of Devi; who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindus, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Raja Bikramajit was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestor did not possess the title of 'Raja,' and hereditary honours did not therefore inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramajit, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5,000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. In short, Bikramajit, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rajputs displayed ashtonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls and forced a passage into the fort. A most sanguinary contest ensued. The brave soldiers of the royal army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that they rivalled the celebrated Sām and Narimān in feats of chivalry; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the hives of bees; and the breasts of the fighters, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 524-5-6.

they might have drawn down the milky way in the heavens. The musket-balls, which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of drums drowned that of thunde. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions, and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents, being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standard, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom their mighty hand compelled to surrender the key of the fort. Raja Bikramajit triumphantly entered the fort, appointed trustworthy officers to protect the property, which might be found there, and placed *'amils* at different stations where they were required. After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his deserts. He also increased the *mansabs* of those warriors who distinguished themselves in battle. He took possession of all the treasure which had been amassed by the Rajas of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms to the poor and the needy."

The famous fort thus passed away from the possession of the Katoch princes and for a hundred and sixty years probably not one of them was ever inside its walls. A strong garrison was left in charge which defied all attempts to retake it, and we read of none in any of the records. It also seems certain that the whole State was annexed by the Mughals along with the fort, only the district of Rājgir being assigned as a *jāgīr* for the maintenance of the royal family.

That Hari Chand on growing up to manhood was content to remain quiet under the loss of his ancestral home, as well as his family patrimony, seems highly improbable. Although the records tell us nothing we may safely conclude that in his reign the guerilla warfare began which became so acute in the following reign, and caused the Mughal governors of Kangra so much trouble.

¹ A short time after the capitulation, that is in the spring of A.D. 1622, Jahāngīr visited Kangra in person. He probably came by way of Guler and returned by Nurpur and Pathānkot.

This visit is still recalled in local tradition and it is said that he was so fascinated with the beauty of the valley that he ordered a palace to be built for himself, and the foundations were actually laid and the site still exists in Mauza Gargari. The work, however, proceeded no further, probably Kashmir had greater attractions for him.

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 8, 1889. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 115.

A similar tradition exists in Nurpur, associated with the name of Nur Jahān Begam who accompanied the Emperor on the occasion in question.

¹ The account of this visit to Kangra in the *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī* from the Emperor's own pen is so interesting that we give it in full: "The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution, so on the 12th Aban in the sixteenth year of my reign, I started for the mountain country on the north intending, if the climate proved suitable, to build a town somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, to which I might resort in the hot weather. If I could not find a place that suited me, I intended to proceed further towards Kashmir . . . On the 7th De, I arrived at Hardwār on the Ganges and there halted, but as the climate of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a residence, I resolved to proceed further to the mountains of Jammu and Kāngrā. On the 14th I arrived at Bahlun, a dependency of Siba, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kāngrā, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress. I'timad-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahān Begam) was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sadik Khān *Mīr-bakhshi*. On the following day the intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khān, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Nur Jahān Begam and by the affection I had for him, I returned to the Camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at the time insensible, and Nur Jahān, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours; whenever he came to his senses his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend."

"After this I went on towards Kāngrā and after four days' march encamped on the river Bān-Ganga. . . . On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *Kāzi*, the Chief Justice and others learned in the law of Islam, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos* we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *Khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress."

As we have already seen, one of the gates in the fort is called *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*, having been erected by order of the Emperor. On the gate, it is said, was inscribed the date of the conquest, on a marble slab. When Rāja Sansār Chand took the fort, in A.D. 1786, he removed the stone with Jahāngīr's name on it, and stored it in the room near the gateway without injuring it. Subsequently, in A.D. 1837, when Prince Nau Nihāl Singh was on a visit to the hills on pilgrimage, to visit the holy

¹ *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 381-2.

places, he saw the stone and had it removed to Lahore, where it stood in his mansion.

There is also an interesting reference in the Memoirs to an incident relating to Chambā which occurred on the occasion of Jahāngir's visit to Kāngrā. He was evidently waited upon by the hill chiefs and among them was the Rāja of Chambā. He says: "At this stage the offering of the Rāja of Chambā was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kāngrā. There is no greater Zamindār in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the zamindārs of the country. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects and on his part performed the dues of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent, and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour."

The Rāja of Chamba at the time was Bala Bhadra who had been temporarily removed from power, his place being taken by his son, Janārdan. It was probably the latter who waited on Jahāngir, along with his brother Bishambar. Both of them were killed in the following year in a war with Jagat Singh of Nurpur. The reference is interesting as proving that Chambā had not then come under the control of Nurpur as it did shortly afterwards.

From its capture in November A.D. 1621 Kangra Fort remained in the possession of the Mughals till A.D. 1783, when it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The first Faujdār or Governor was Nawāb Ali Khān who was succeeded by his son whose name is believed to have been Hurmat Khān. During the reign of Shāhjahān the fort was held by Nawāb Asad Ullah Khān and Koch Quli Khān, the latter retaining charge for seventeen years till his death. He is buried on the banks of the Mununi river, a branch of the Bānganga, which flows under Kāngrā Fort. According to tradition the greater part of the State was annexed after the fall of the fort, only the district of Rājgir being left as a *Jāgir* for the support of the royal family.

After the fall of the fort the capital must have been transferred elsewhere but the records are silent on the subject. In the unsettled condition of the country the Rāja possibly had no fixed place of residence. That the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted as a *jāgir* seems fairly certain, but it was probably resumed soon afterwards in consequence of rebellion. Hari Chand is said to have been flayed alive, and this corroborates the assumption that he was engaged in guerilla warfare during the whole of his reign. As he was only twelve years old in A.D. 1621, he may have lived till A.D. 1635, but according to tradition he was killed by Jahāngir, and if so the event must have taken place before A.D. 1627, the year in which that Emperor died.

Chandar Bhān Chand, c. A.D. 1635.—As Hari Chand died childless there was probably a long interregnum, during which one Miān Chandar Bhān Chand continued to prosecute the guerilla warfare against the Mughals. He was descended from Kalyān Chand, younger brother of Rāja Dharm Chand, and was probably the next in succession to the *gaddi* after Hari Chand. His spirited but useless defiance of the Mughals still lives in the grateful memory of the people who love to tell of the long and brave resistance which he offered. He began by plundering the country and forces were

sent in pursuit but failed to capture him. At length an army was sent against him from Delhi, when he retired to the lofty hill, 9,000 ft. high, on the outskirts of the Dhaula Dhār, which has ever since been called by his name, *Chandar Bhān ka tila*.¹ He was eventually captured and taken to Delhi where he was detained a close prisoner. There are no references to Kangra in any of the Muhammadan records of the time, and we are dependent chiefly on local tradition, which has preserved many stories of Chandar Bhān's exploits. A work of comparatively recent date, the *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb*, already referred to, has a different account of those times, evidently drawn from tradition. According to it Chandar Bhān Chand was in the Kangra fort at the time of the siege, and effected his escape. He then entered on a career of plunder and had a reputation like that of one Miān Dido in Jammu territory in the reign of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh. The imperialist nobles in the fort went in pursuit of him but failed to capture him, and this state of guerilla warfare lasted for many years.

At length in despair, those in charge of the country devised a plan for restoring order, *viz.* that the Emperor should grant a *jāgīr* to Chandar Bhān Chand on condition of his submission. This met with the approval of the Emperor, but with the further condition that Chandar Bhān Chand should attend at Court. To this he agreed and was favourably received and the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted in *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees annually. Probably this was simply a restoration of the *jāgīr* granted to Hari Chand which had been confiscated for rebellion. This it is assumed took place in the reign of Shāhjahān.

Soon afterwards, as the account states (A.D. 1640-41), Rāja Jagat Singh of Nurpur rebelled, and an imperial army was sent to coerce him, and all the hill Rājas were summoned, among them being Chandar Bhān Chand. It is said that he was promised the restoration of his state if he secured Jagat Singh's submission. He came with his four sons—Vijai Rām, Udāi Ram, Dalpat, and Narpat—and joined the Mughal army, besieging Maukot. For a time he served in the entrenchments, and was ultimately killed in an assault on the fort.

The period of Kangra history for some time after the capture of the fort in A.D. 1621 is very confused and uncertain, but it seems clear as already noted that on the occupation of the fort the whole territory was annexed, only the *jāgīr* of Rājgir being assigned to the royal family. With this Hari Chand was dissatisfied and broke out into rebellion, and he seems to have given trouble all through his reign till captured and killed probably about A.D. 1635. The guerilla war was then taken up by Chandar Bhān who may have been previously associated with Hari Chand, and was prolonged for many years. The story of his having been killed at Maukot is improbable, as he is said to have been finally captured in the reign of Aurangzeb, possibly about A.D. 1660. In all the documents he is referred to as *Miān Chandar Bhān* and is not given the title of *Rāja*, from which we may perhaps assume that there was no fully invested chief of the Katoch house in power for many

¹ This hill is a spur from the Dhaula Dhār above Dādā, and half-way between Dharmasala and Palampur.

years. It is not even certain that he was next in the succession after Hari Chand, though he probably was, but in any case his brave struggle for the independence of his country secured the devoted attachment of his countrymen, who to the present time hold his name in grateful remembrance. Chandar Bhān is said to have built a fort near Nirwānah, east of Dharmśāla, and the ruins of his fort on the Chandar Bhān hill may still be seen. On his capture or death he was succeeded by his son Vijai Rām Chand.¹

Vijai Rām Chand, c. A.D. 1660.—According to the *Tārīkh-i-Punjab*, Vijai Rām was summoned by the Emperor on his father's death, and failing to appear, the *rajtilak* or mark of investiture was conferred on his brother, Udai Rām, along with the grant of the *jāgīr* of Rājgir and also five other *tālūqas*, viz. Nadaun, Pālam, Mahal-sarae, Jai-sukh, and Malhār. It seems more probable, however, that Vijai Rām succeeded his father. He seems to have founded the town of Vijajipur or Bijapur which was his capital, and it continued to be the place of residence of the Rājas till the reign of Rāja Sansār Chand. The old palace buildings are still in existence though now in a state of decay and untenanted. Vijai Rām Chand died without a direct heir and was succeeded by his brother Udai Ram.

Udai Rām Chand, A.D. 1687.—His reign seems to have been peaceful as the guerilla warfare had ceased and the Rājas, realizing the fruitless character of the struggle against a powerful foe, had quietly settled down as tributaries of the Mughal. Udai Rām Chand's reign seems to have been very short and he died in A.D. 1690 and was followed by his son Bhīm Chand.

Bhīm Chand, c. A.D. 1690.—During Aurangzeb's reign the Kangra Fort was successively under the charge of Sayid Husain Khān, Hasan Abdulla Khān Pathān, and Nawāb Sayid Khalil Ullah Khān. "Their rule," Cunningham remarks, "was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzeb's governors in other places, as in Multān, Mathura, Gwālīor and Benares, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for mosques." Bhīm Chand is mentioned in the records of the time as having leagued with Guru Gobind Singh in order to repel an invasion of his country by the Raja of Jammu and a Mughal Chief named Mian Khān. In this war he was quite successful and drove his adversaries across the Satluj.¹

Bhīm Chand followed a pacific course and sought to gain the favour of the Emperor by attendance at Court, and in consequence he was called "Diwān." He built a temple at Bijapur which still exists. His younger brother Kripāl Chand made the Bhawārnawali *Kuhl* or watercourse, from one of the snow-fed mountain torrents of the Dhaula Dhār, above Bandla, which is the longest watercourse in Kangra District and supplies a large area. It has made Kripāl Chand's name more famous than that of any Rāja.

Bhīm Chand died in A.D. 1697 and was followed by Ālam Chand.

Ālam Chand, c. A.D. 1697.—This chief had only a brief reign and died in A.D.

¹ Cf. Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 103

1700. He founded Ālampur, near Sujānpur, where he chiefly resided. In after years this place was greatly enlarged by Sansār Chand, who also made a large garden, which was famous in its day. Ālam Chand was succeeded by his son Hamīr Chand.

Hamīr Chand, A.D. 1700.—Hamīr Chand had a long reign of forty-seven years, but about the events of his time the records are silent. The bulk of the territory was still under the Mughals, who continued to hold the fort. In such circumstances the Katoch Rajas doubtless considered discretion as the better part of valour, and quietly bided their time. Many indications must have occurred in the course of Hamīr Chand's long reign that the break-up of the Mughal Empire was not far distant. Hamīr Chand built a small fort near the place now called Hamīrpur, from which that place, as well as the Hamīrpur Tahsil, afterwards received their names. He lived long enough to see the appointment of Nawāb Saif Ali Khān, about A.D. 1740, who was fated to be the last Mughal Governor of Kāngra.

Abhaya Chand, A.D. 1747.—Being probably in middle life at the time of his accession this Raja's reign was a short one, and he died childless. He erected the *Thākurdwāra* in Ālampur, and also a fort called Abhayamānpur, near Sujānpur, which was dismantled only in 1849.

Ghamīr Chand, A.D. 1750.—On the death of Abhaya Chand without a male heir the *gaddi* passed to his uncle, Ghamīr Chand, the younger brother of Hamīr Chand. His reign, however, was a very brief one, and he died in A.D. 1751 leaving eleven sons, who seem to have been men of indifferent character and disliked by the officials and the people. They were therefore set aside, and Ghamand Chand, a son of Ghamīr Chand's younger brother, was raised to power. It is also said that the sons of Ghamīr Chand were all put out of the way.

Ghamand Chand, A.D. 1751.—Ghamand Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* at an eventful period in the history of India. The Mughal Empire was then in the throes of dissolution; Ahmad Shāh Durāni from the North and the Marāthas from the South struggled for the mastery and everywhere confusion and disorder prevailed. In A.D. 1752 the Punjab, along with the hill states, was ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durāni by the Delhi Emperor. The hour had come at last and the Katoch Rāja, like many more, was not slow to strike a blow for the freedom of his country. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, he recovered all the territory that had been wrested from his ancestors by the Mughals, with the exception of Kangra Fort, which held out under the last of the Mughal Faujdārs, Saif Ali Khān. Though completely isolated and holding nothing outside the range of his guns, this brave man remained faithful to his trust, and maintained his position against all assailants for forty years. During the whole of that time, it is said, he continued to correspond direct with Delhi. Once only—in 1758—he was compelled to bow to a man stronger than himself,—Adina Beg Khān,—then Governor of the Doāb, and afterwards Viceroy of the Punjāb.¹

¹ A.S.R., Vol. I, pp. 161-2.

¹ In 1758 Ghamand Chand was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb by Ahmad Shāh Durāni, and thus acquired the supremacy over all the Hill States of the Jālandhar Circle, between the Satluj and the Rāvi. He also annexed Chauki, the northern half of Kutlehr State, and seized the *talūqa* of Pālam from Chamba. He is also said to have built or strengthened the fort of Pathiyār, which stood on a lofty ridge not far from Pālampur, but is now in ruins. Kulū also was invaded as mentioned by Moorcroft, and it was probably on that occasion that the figures on the Bajaura Temple were mutilated by his mercenaries. Early in his reign Ghamand Chand recruited a large army of 4,000 Muhammadans, chiefly Rohillas and Afghans, and with it he attacked the Kāngra Fort but was unable to capture it.

Ghamand Chand was a strong ruler under whom the Kāngra State was restored to its ancient limits and to much of its former prestige. Sujānpur on the Bias above Nadaun, usually called Tarā Sujānpur, the residence of his descendants, was founded by him and embellished with many fine buildings. He died in 1774 and was succeeded by his son Tegh Chand.

Tegh Chand, A.D. 1774.—Tegh Chand's reign was brief. He maintained a large army of mercenaries like his father and pursued the same policy, but of the events of his reign we know little. On his demise in 1776 his son Sansār Chand came to the throne.

Sansār Chand II, A.D. 1776.—Sansār Chand was the most notable chief who ever ruled in Kāngra. He was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the *gaddi*, and his accession marked a time when all was confusion and disorder both in the hills and on the plains. The Punjab had been ceded to the Durānis, but their rule was never fully established. As Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it." There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy at Lahore, but the old Mughal Governors were practically independent in outlying portions of the province and Saif Ali Khān the last of the Mughal Faujdārs still held his own in Kangra Fort. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Sikhs had been rising into power and under their various leaders were everywhere engaged in plunder and rapine.

Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia was the first of these chieftains to invade the Kāngra hills, and Kāngra, Chambā, Nurpur and some other States became tributary to him. In 1775 he was defeated on the plains by Jai Singh Kanheya, another Sikh Chieftain, and had to retire from the hills, leaving the supremacy over the Hill States in the hands of his rival.

Sansar Chand's chief ambition was the capture of Kangra Fort, the ancient home of his ancestors, and soon after coming into power an attempt was made but without success. He then called in to his aid Jai Singh Kanheya, the Sikh Chieftain already referred to, and, in 1781-2, the combined forces again laid siege to the stronghold.³ The

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9. ² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 170.

³ According to Muhammad Latif the siege took place in 1774, but this must be incorrect as Sansār Chand became Raja only in 1776. Barnes has 1781-2: cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 309-310, and Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9: also *Tārīkh-i-Punjab*.

old Nawab was then dying and on his demise the fort was surrendered in 1783, but by stratagem it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The story of its capture as found in one of the records is as follows:—“The siege had lasted a year when the Nawāb died and his remains had to be conveyed to the burial-ground outside the fort. The Hazāris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, were in secret league with Sansār Chand and had arranged to give up the fort to him for a suitable reward, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. As the Nawāb's corpse was being conveyed from the fort to the Imambara for burial by his sons, the Hazāris sent word to Sansār Chand to seize the opportunity for an attack. Jai Singh also, however, had information and as his force was nearest the gate, some of his men secured an entrance first. Sansār Chand, though much chagrined, had to acquiesce and bide his time.

This must be the siege referred to by Mr. Forster the traveller who passed through the Kangra hills in March 1783 on his way from Bilāspur to Nurpur and Jammu.¹ He says:—“To deduce this eventful matter *de ovo* (the war) I must call your attention to the days of Acbar, who is said to have been the first Muhamedan prince who reduced the northern mountains of Hindustan to the obedience of the Empire. Towards the northern limit of Kalour (Kahlur) is a stronghold on an eminence, called the Kote Kangrah, the reduction of which detained Acbar, who commanded the expedition in person, a whole year, according to the tradition of this quarter. To reward one of his officers who had signalized himself in this service, he bestowed on him the captured fort, with a considerable space of adjacent territory. The descendants of this chief, who are of the Sheah sect of Mahamedans, continued in the possession until the present period when the Rajah of Kangrah on some pretence laid the districts waste and besieged the fort.” At that time the Rānī of Bilāspur, acting as regent for her infant son, was at war with Sansār Chand and in league with the garrison in the fort. “Unable himself,” says Forster, “to repel the enemy the Mahometan solicited the aid of the Billaspour Ranee who with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she has already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village in Kāngra, the chief of which now vainly asserts that the Ranee, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized under colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power.”

Mr. Forster entered the hills at Nahun and crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur. The common road onward to Jammu, as he states, lay through Nadaun and Haripur, but these places being overrun by the Sikhs he was obliged to deviate from the usual track and proceed to the westward. He passed through the Bilāspur Camp to the Kāngra Camp, and he estimated the Bilāspur army at “about 300 horse and 8000 footmen armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill in a deep state of confusion and filth.”

At the Kāngra Camp, Forster says, only a small body chiefly of horse was stationed, the greater part of the forces, under the command of the Rāja, being engaged

in the siege of Kāngra Fort. The surrender of the fort must have taken place soon afterwards. The camp of the Bilāspur army seems to have been between Kumara Hatti (Kahlur) and Lalalri (Hamirpur Tahsil in Kāngra) just south of the boundary of Hamirpur Tahsil. It is interesting to note that Forster speaks of Kāngra under its ancient name of Katochin. He says:— "The territory of Kangra or Katochin is limited on the north and north-west by Huricpour (Haripur), on the east by Chambay (Chamba), on the south by Kalour (Bilāspur), and on the west by the Punjab. The ordinary revenue, estimated at seven lacks of rupees, has been much diminished by the chief's alliance with the Sicques." Forster's reference to the capture of the Fort by Akbar is incorrect. The siege in A.D. 1572 was conducted by Husain Quli Khān, and Akbar was not present. That the fort was under the command of a hereditary succession of Governors is also improbable.

Vigne also is wrong in stating that Kāngra was originally a *jāgīr* which the Mughal emperors granted to different Nawābs, and that it never had its own Rāja. He may simply have been misinformed, for it seems hardly possible that the ancient history of the State could have been forgotten. His account of the capture of the fort after the death of Saif-Ali Khān, the last Mughal Governor, is also confused and inaccurate. He says:— "The last of these Nawābs (of Kangra) was named Syf Ali, who made himself independent when the dynasty of Delhi was declining. After his death, his Vuzir, Hazara Byrsa, was also master of the neighbouring provinces of Koteli and Rilū, and took the revenues of these places for his own use at the same time that Sinsar Chund of Tira was laying siege to Kangra. The father-in-law of Ranjit was a great friend of the Vuzir and marched to relieve the castle of Kangra but was called away by Ranjit and killed in a fray at Amritsir. Sinsar Chund then took possession of the country for twenty-five years. These are probably the incidents of the war, noticed by Forster in his Travels in the year 1783, Vol. I, p. 240."

¹Muhammad Latif again states that Jai Singh Kanheya, on being called in by Sansār Chand, bribed Jewan Khān, son of Saif Ali Khān, who was then dead, to vacate the fort, and thus got possession of it. The various accounts are thus conflicting, but probably that first given is the correct one. The fort remained in Jai Singh's possession for four years from its capture in 1783, though Sansār Chand seems to have made several attempts to reduce it. In 1783 a combination was formed against Jai Singh by Maha Singh Sukerchakia, assisted by Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia and Sansār Chand. The opposing armies met in battle near Batāla, and Gurbakhsh Singh, the favourite son of Jai Singh, was killed. The loss of his son and of a part of his territory broke the heart of the old chieftain, and from that time his power began to decline. For three years Sansār Chand continued to press his claim to Kāngra fort, and at length in 1786 a compromise was made by Jai Singh surrendering the fort and the supremacy over the hill states, in exchange for the restoration of territory on the plains which had been conquered by Sansār Chand.

²Cunningham's account also differs somewhat from the others. He says:—"In

1783 Kangra was besieged by Jay Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old Governor, Seif Ullah, died during the siege and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son, Zulfikār Khan. Sansar Chand, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege and to have been disappointed when the Sikh Chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jay Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sausar Chand."

¹ With the possession of the fort and supreme power in the hills, Sansār Chand was able to prosecute his ambitious designs. Supported by his large army of mercenaries he completely overawed the hill chiefs, made them tributary and compelled them to attend his Court and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way, says Mr. Barnes, "he gained a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors and ruled despotically for twenty years, none daring to resist his will."

Not content with the recovery of his own patrimony, Sansār Chand also demanded from the hill chiefs the surrender to himself, as lord paramount, of all the fertile tracts that had been included in the imperial demesne, attached to the fort in the time of the Mughals. In pursuance of this policy the Chambā Chief was required to make over Rihlu, and on his refusal, the country was invaded and he was killed in battle at Nerti near Shāhpur in defending his rights. Mandi also was in a similar manner subdued and the capital sacked, the young Rāja being made captive and retained as a prisoner at Nadaun for twelve years. Three districts of the State were also seized, one of which was given to Suket, another to Kulū, and the third Sansār Chand retained for himself. His attempt to capture the fortress of Kamlahgarh was unsuccessful.²

Other States were treated in a similar manner. For example, in Kutlehr State the district of Chauki, forming the northern half of the principality, had been seized by Ghamand Chand, and Sansār Chand now annexed the southern half, so that the Rāja was entirely dispossessed. On the Gurkha invasion the State was restored.

Sansār Chand's fame spread far and wide and his Court became the resort of all classes of people in search of pleasure or personal advantage. An Indian writer thus describes this golden age in Kangra history³:—"For many years he (Sansār Chand) passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushīrvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others resorted to Kāngra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hands, that he was regarded as the Hātim of that age and, in generosity, the Rustam of the time."

¹ There are twenty-two doors leading into the great darbar hall at Tara Sujjanpur, one of which is said to have been assigned to each ruling chief on the occasion of his attendance at Sansar Chand's Court. This was probably meant to indicate his claim to the paramount power over the twenty-two states of the hills—eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Ravi.

² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 66.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Punjab* by Ghulam Muhai-ul-din, Fourth Daftar.

Sansār Chand is said to have been a great builder and many places in the State were beautified and embellished by him. He also planted numerous gardens, especially that of Ālampur already referred to, which is said to have rivalled the Shalimār Gardens in Lahore. His court seems to have been held chiefly at Nadaun in the earlier part of his reign, and it was probably at that time that the following popular saying, recorded by Moorcroft and Vigne, and still widely current in the hills, took its origin':—

Aega Nadaun

Jaega Kaun ?

“Who that comes to Nadaun will go away ?”

In later years he resided chiefly at Tara Sujanpur or Alampur.

In 1786 Raja Sansār Chand made some extensive repairs to the Baijnath temple and at the same time added the present entrance porch and the two large side balconies. These had previously existed but had fallen down and disappeared.¹

For twenty years Sansār Chand ruled as undisputed monarch of the hills, and had he been content with the possessions acquired by himself and his ancestors, he might have passed on his kingdom unimpaired to his posterity. But his overweening ambition carried him too far, and as the Indian writer remarks, “his fortune turned to misfortune and ruin fell upon his life.” His dream was to regain the far-reaching dominions of his ancestors and even to establish a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab. A common saying at his court was “*Lahore parāpat*”—“May you acquire Lahore,” the wish being father to the thought. But it was only a dream and fated never to be realized.

In 1803-4 he twice invaded the plains in the direction of Hoshyārpur and Bajwārah, but was defeated and driven back by Ranjīt Singh who was then rising into power, and would brook no rivals. Disappointed in his designs on the plains he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilāspur) and annexed the portion of the State lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This act was his undoing and led to his downfall and the extinction of his kingdom. How this was brought about must now be briefly told.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas of Nepāl had been seized with an ambition for conquest, similar to that of Sansār Chand, and before the end of the century they had extended their dominion from the Gogra to the Satluj, over the whole of Kumaon, Garhwāl, Sirmaur, and the Simla Hill States. Their design was to establish a great Gurkha kingdom stretching from Nepāl to Kāshmir.² With a view to this they approached Ranjīt Singh with a proposal for joint action against the Durānis of Kābul who then ruled the Kāshmir valley, but the Sikh chief had marked out Kāshmir as his own prize, and gave the Gurkhas no encouragement. Sansār Chand also stood in their way, and Moorcroft states that on their attempting to invade Kangra he drove them back, and a treaty was concluded by which the Satluj was established as a boundary which neither was to pass.³

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 133. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 76.

² A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 178.

³ It is even said that they aimed at the conquest of the Punjab: cf. Vigne, Vol. I, p. 138.

⁴ Moorcroft, *Travels*. Vol. I, p. 127.

Sansār Chand's action against Kahlur aroused keen resentment among the other Hill States, and smarting under the many wrongs they had endured at his hands, as well as fearing for their own possessions, the chiefs formed a coalition against him, and sent a united invitation, through the Rāja of Bilāspur, to the Gurkha Commander to invade Kāngra. They also promised the aid of their own contingents whenever he crossed the Satluj. This invitation was wholly acceptable to the Gurkhas, for it was in keeping with their ulterior design.

A short time previous to this, Sansār Chand's army had been weakened by certain changes he had made, for the sake of economy, on, it is said, the advice of Ghulām Muhammad, the deposed Rāja of Rāmpur, who was living in the State. In the time of his father and grandfather the force was recruited chiefly from Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies, to whom liberal pay was given. Ghulām Muhammad, who had fought with the British, and had gained a high military reputation, persuaded Sansār Chand to break up his force as needlessly expensive, and levy an army of Rohillas on cheaper terms. These Ghulām Muhammad himself undertook to raise. As soon as the Gurkhas heard of this change they in 1806 broke their treaty and invaded the country before the new levies could come up. Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, who is said to have had an army of 40,000 men, crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur and Jiuri in Suket and was joined by the various contingents from the Hill States of the Kāngra group, and Bilaspur and Basohli, their united forces amounting to about 10,000 men. "All of these Rājas," Vigne states, "took an oath of fidelity to the Gurkha Chief, on the understanding that he was to retain Kangra Fort, and they were to be unmolested in their territories."

Along with the other states, Chamba sent a force to assist the Gurkhas, under the command of Wazir Nathu, and a letter exists in the State archives from Amar Singh Thapa to Rāja Jit Singh. He is admonished not to be afraid of Trigadh (Kāngra). The Gurkhas, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilāspur), are all one, and Chamba is the Wazir of the Gurkhas. Jit Singh is asked to send to Dugar (Jammu) for help and gather all the other Rājas; he is to keep a part of his army at Rihlu and send the rest to Sant Pāl. The letter states that the Katoch troops had seized Pālam, but the Gurkhas drove them out and occupied the Pathiyār Fort. There was much need of money, and the Wazir (probably Nathu of Chamba) had written for Rs. 4,000. This sum was to be sent at once and news would be received in two months. The letter is not dated but was probably written in 1806-7.

A second letter also exists, in the same handwriting but without name or date, in which assistance in money is asked, and it is stated that Rs. 4,000 had been promised, of which only Rs. 1,000 had been sent.³

It is interesting to note that Kāngra was still known as Trigadh, that is Trigār or Trigarta, down to that time. The name has now become disused.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 128-9.

² Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

³ Chamba Museum Catalogue, App. VI, p. 73. C. 57, C. 58, with which cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*. Vol. I, p. 140; also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

The first encounter took place in Mahal Morian, and Sansār Chand made a brave stand, but was defeated, and though the new levies under Ghulām Muhammad came to his aid they too were encountered and dispersed.¹ The Gurkhas then advanced into the country and on reaching Nadaun they liberated the Rāja of Mandi who, as already stated, had been detained as a prisoner for twelve years, and sent him back to his State. Sansār Chand first took up a position at Tarā to harass the enemy and later sought refuge in Kāngra Fort along with his family. The supplies of grain for the garrison had been sufficient for twelve years, but want of care and actual waste had exhausted them in a much shorter period, while the sources of supply in Guler had been closed by the defection of the Guleria Rāja, Sansār Chand's own near relative, and the head of the senior branch of the Katoch clan; so heavy had his hand been even upon his own kinsmen that they all deserted him in his hour of need.

²The Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to the fort, but all their efforts to capture it were fruitless. For four years they plundered and laid waste the country, and so dreadful were the ravages they committed that the inhabitants deserted their homes and fled into neighbouring states. The country was thus partly depopulated, the land was uncultivated, wild animals roamed about the towns, and grass grew in the deserted streets. "The memory of those disastrous days," says Mr. Barnes, "stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them, other portions, including the fort of Kāngra and the principal strongholds, remained in the hands of the Katōches. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversaries' resources. The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms, some to Chamba, some to the plains of the Jullundur Doāb. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansār Chand's former oppressions, made inroads with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued. In the fertile valleys of Kāngra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun."

Meantime the siege of the fort went on. For a time supplies were smuggled in from Pālam, but the Gurkhas cut off these by blocking the river gate of entrance into the fort; and the Rāja and the garrison were without food, and subsisted for four months upon little else than the leaves of vegetables.

³After the struggle had continued for four years, Sansār Chand, rendered desperate by the ruin which had come upon his country, and seeing no hope of relief, applied to Mahārāja Ranjit Singh for help, the Kāngra fort being offered as the price of his assistance. Twice, it is said, the Maharaja set out from Lahore for Kāngra, and

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. VII, No. I, p. 19.

² Kangra Settlement Report, p. 10.

³ Barnes has *three* years, but Moorcroft states that the siege lasted more than four years; cf. Moorcroft. *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

turned back; once from Sujānpur near Pathānkot and once from Nurpur. Sansār Chand being in despair then opened negotiations with the Gurkhas to arrange a surrender if permitted to leave the fort with his family. Vigne states that they required Sansār Chand to come out of the fort and take an oath at the shrine of Devi of Malekra in proof of his sincerity. He sent his Wazir Naurang to take the oath, and thus persuaded them to retire from the gate leading to the river, by which his supplies had come in. During the day he amused them by sending out things that were indispensable and at night brought in fresh supplies. He then secretly left the fort in charge of some of his officers and retired along with his family and his wazir, Naurang. Once outside the fort and in safety at Tarā Sujānpur he again sent a request for help to Ranjit Singh, by his brother Fateh Chand and Naurang. In May 1809 Ranjit Singh marched from Lahore, Naurang accompanying the Sikh camp as far as Pathānkot. From there he hastened to rejoin Sansār Chand, and was secretly readmitted into the fort, which was entrusted to him. Negotiations with the Gurkhas were then broken off. ¹ By this time the hill chiefs had all deserted Amar Singh Thapa and were engaged in cutting off his supplies to compel his retirement.

For nearly a month a discussion went on between Ranjit Singh and the Katōch Chief regarding the conditions on which help would be given, Ranjit Singh demanding the surrender of the fort before proceeding to expel the Gurkhas. To this Sansār Chand declined to agree. At length by the mediation of Wazir Nathu (of Chamba) and the Rāja of Guler, an arrangement was come to and the two monarchs met at the temple of Jawāla-Mukhī, when Sansār Chand's terms were accepted, and the Mahārāja with his hand over the sacred flame took an oath to do him no harm.²

It is probable that neither of them was sincere in his engagement to fulfil the terms of the treaty; indeed Prinsep states that Sansār Chand played a double part through the whole of the negotiation. Notwithstanding his engagement with Ranjit Singh he could not reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and entered into a treaty with Amar Singh promising to surrender the fort to him, and thus obtaining leave to bring away his family, he managed at the same time to throw in four months' supplies, hoping to keep the fort against both claimants.³ The Gurkha Commander on hearing of the agreement with Ranjit Singh wrote to warn him against placing any reliance on Sansār Chand, and asking him to conclude an arrangement for the disposal of the fort and territory for a money equivalent, but his proposals were rejected.

On the advice of one of his officers, the Mahārāja then sent for Anirūdh Chand, son of Sansār Chand, from Tara Sujānpur, in order to hold him as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. On his arrival he was received with all honour and placed in charge of Fateh Singh Ahluwāliā. Ranjit Singh then advanced to Kāngra Fort in August 1809, and attacked the Gurkhas, who began a retreat, ending in flight and their retirement across the Satluj. Four years later, in 1813, the first Nepālese War

¹ *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

² *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140. The treaty is said to have been signed in blood.

³ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, pp. 301-2.

ensued, on their invading British territory, and after two years of war the Gurkhas were driven back to their original frontier on the Gogra.

After defeating the Gurkhas the Mahārāja advanced to the town of Kāngra, and with the consent of Sansār Chand sent Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, along with Anirūdh Chand, into the fort, to require its surrender. Naurang Wazīr, however, who was in command, declined to make the surrender to any one but his master, from whom he had received charge. The Mahārāja then said to Sansār Chand, "If you value the safety of Anirūdh Chand you must go in person to the fort and order its surrender, otherwise Anirūdh Chand will pay the penalty." Sansār Chand and the Mahārāja then mounted an elephant and proceeded to the gate of the fort, where they were met by a message from Naurang that Sansār Chand should enter alone.

This he did accompanied by Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, and Naurang then asked a written order from his master, absolving him of all responsibility and requiring him to surrender the fort. Having done this, the Rāja took Naurang by the hand and led him out of the fort, and the Mahārāja with a few of his followers entered and took possession. To Sansār Chand he gave a writing guaranteeing to him the possession of the State except the portion attached to the fort in Mughal times, consisting of 66 villages in the Kāngra valley; and a Sikh garrison was then placed in the fort.

Desa Singh Majithia was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Fort and the administration of the Kangra hills, and he is said to have treated Sansār Chand with all honour and respect.

With the cession of Kāngra Fort to Ranjīt Singh, the Kāngra State as well as all the other States of the Jālandhar group became subject and tributary to the Sikhs. From that time Sansār Chand retired to Tara Sujaipur. Once a year he had to go to Lahore to pay his respects to the Mahārāja, doubtless a galling duty to him, but he was always treated with every honour, though apprehensive that sooner or later he would be detained a prisoner.

It is related of him that on one occasion when on a visit to the Sikh Court and seated at the side of the Mahārāja, he happened to yawn, whereupon Ranjīt Singh said jokingly, "*Lahore parāpat*," evidently referring to the saying which had been customary at Sansār Chand's Court in better days. The Rāja was, however, equal to the occasion and remarked, "*Jo hua so parāpat*," meaning, "whatever happens is a gain."

As years passed Ranjīt Singh seems to have become less considerate of his once powerful rival, and we learn from Mr. Moorcroft that Sansār Chand was subjected to many indignities. We are fortunate in having an interesting narrative of Mr. Moorcroft's visit to Sansār Chand's Court in 1820. He had crossed the Satluj with his caravan at Bilāspur, on his way to Ladākh, and on reaching Mandī was told that he could not proceed further without the special permission of Ranjīt Singh. He, therefore, left everything at Mandī in charge of Mr. Trebeck, his travelling companion, and proceeded to Lahore. Having obtained the necessary authority he returned *via* Nadaun

and Tarā Sujānpur, and after paying a long visit to Sansār Chand's Court, rejoined his camp in Kulū.

Mr. Moorcroft has left a graphic account of his experiences at Sansār Chand's capital, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and generosity. The narrative conveys a very favourable impression of the Katōch Chief. He was then only fifty-four years old, but years and misfortune had mellowed his character and left their mark upon him. From loss of territory and other exactions on the part of the Sikhs, his revenues, originally thirty-five lakhs, had become much impaired, and he complained of being unable to maintain his royal state as was his wont in former days. He had also much to say about his treatment at the hands of Ranjit Singh, which is hardly in keeping with the statements of Indian writers of the time.

During his visit Mr. Moorcroft had an interesting experience, of which he gives an impressive account. Sansār Chand's younger brother, Fateh Chand, was taken seriously ill with apoplexy, and all hope was despaired of. Every one was in distress and preparations had begun for the funeral, even the *rānīs* being ready to become *sati*, when Mr. Moorcroft by his medical skill was able to avert a great calamity and bring back the patient almost from the jaws of death. Great was the gratitude shown, and nothing seemed to be too much to do in token of their joy and satisfaction at the remarkable recovery.

'As the whole narrative is so interesting we give it in full:—"In the evening I waited upon the Rāja at his desire and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden. Rāja Sansār Chand is a tall well-formed man about sixty. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rāi Anirudha Sinh, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansār Chand was formerly the most powerful Rāja from the Satluj to the Indus. All the potentates from the former river to Kāshmir were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit Singh. His misfortunes are mainly owing to himself, and his decline presents a remarkable contrast to the rise of his neighbour and now paramount lord, Ranjit Singh. Ranjit sends for Sansār Chand to his court once a year, and the latter expects on one of these occasions to be detained a prisoner, but the Sikh's purposes do not seem yet to be matured, and satisfied that his prey is within his grasp, he forbears awhile to pounce upon it."

"The loss of territory and falling off of his dependencies have so much reduced the revenues of Katōch, that, as the Rāja assured me, he has but 70,000 rupees a year for the expenses of himself and his family after paying his troops. His resources are, however, still respectable, his country is strong, his peasantry resolute and warmly attached to him, and he has a large property in jewels which might be turned to

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 126 et seq. In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft—done during his visit to Sujānpur—also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand.

better account. His pride, however, prevents him from making the sacrifices necessary to the improvement of his means, and whilst he spends large sums upon a numerous zenana, and a parcel of hungry retainers, he allows the defences of his country to fall into ruin, and keeps his soldiers short of powder and ball. He is very anxious to be taken under the protection of the British Government, and in the event of a rupture with the Sikhs it would find in him a zealous and useful partizan."

"Whilst I awaited at Shujānpur a reply to my letter (from Ranjit Singh) the Rāja and his son and brother treated me with the greatest attention, inviting me to spend part of every day with them, and sending me presents of sweetmeats and fruits, when an occurrence took place which confirmed their regard, and established between us a close and curious connexion." Mr. Moorcroft then enters into a detailed account of the illness of Fateh Chand, the Rāja's brother, and of the means used to promote his restoration to health, which is too long for quotation. The closing paragraph is as follows:—"Nothing could exceed the expression and I believe the sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Rāja and his son. Besides a valuable dress of honour, the former conferred on me a grant of land, desiring me to appoint some one to manage it on my behalf. The whole country seemed to rejoice in Fateh Chand's recovery, for his courage and frankness made him a general favourite. He himself, when sufficiently restored, insisted on exchanging his turban for my hat, and making me his brother by adoption. He placed his turban on my head and my hat on his, each waved his hand, holding a handful of rupees, round the other's head and the rupees were distributed amongst the servants. He also gave me some green *dub* grass, which I was desired to wear, and thus, notwithstanding the difference of caste and complexion, I became an honorary member of the family of Sansār Chand. Whatever might be the value of such an association, it was a most unequivocal testimony of the sincerity of their gratitude."

"Since the loss of Kāngra the Rāja has resided principally at Shujānpur, or rather Ālampur, on the right bank of the Biās, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor, was at Tirā, where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian palaces, but they are now made no use of except for the Rāja's personal armoury, in which are some splendid swords and for a small manufactory of carpets for his own use."

"Sansār Chand quitted this residence, it is said, in consequence of its being distant from water, but another reason is assigned by popular rumour. On one of the Rāja's visits to Lahore, Ranjit Singh remarked that he had heard much of the beauty of the palace at Tirā, and should like to see it. Sansār Chand replied that he should have felt honoured by the visit, but that he had quitted Tirā, and the place had fallen into so much decay, that it was unfit to receive the Sikh Chief, as he might satisfy himself by sending a person to inspect it. Ranjit accordingly despatched an envoy for this purpose, but a messenger, sent off immediately by Sansār Chand, with orders to travel day and night, anticipated the Sikh envoy in sufficient time to give Tirā a

dismantled and desolate appearance. The report made by the Sikh deterred Ranjit from his proposed visit, but the circumstance excluded Sansār Chand from his patrimonial mansion."

"Rāja Sansār Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure he passed this period at a small bangala, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Rāja retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brij-bhākha songs relating to Krishna. Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahabharat: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

In addition to many other tokens of gratitude a grant of land was also conferred on Mr. Moorcroft, but as we know he never returned to benefit by Sansār Chand's kindness.

Mr. Moorcroft gives a very clear idea of the extent of the territory in the reign of Sansār Chand. He says:—"The Raj of Katoch or Kangra, which is subject to Raja Sansar Chand, is about forty short *kos* in length from north to south, and varies in breadth from east to west from fifteen to forty *kos*. The greatest length is from Pathiehar Mahal, on the north-west, near the frontier of Chamba to Bilāspur, on the south-east; the greatest breadth is from Baidyanath Maharaj, or Iswar Linga, a shrine of Shiva, and place of religious resort on the north-east, adjacent to Kulu and Mandi, to Tulhati Mahal, to the south on the borders of Jaswal. It is surrounded by Mandi and Suket on the east; by Kahalur and the vale of Jaswa on the south; by part of Jaswa, Siba and Gula on the west and Kulu and Chamba on the north. It is separated from the Bist (or Byas and Setlej) Doab of Jalandhar by the states of Jaswa, Siba and Gula, and from the great snowy range of the Himalaya by those of Mandi, Sukhet, Chamba and Kulu. It is however close to the mountains and is of considerable elevation. In some parts of it there is ice on the ground in July."

"The Raj is divided into three provinces, or Katoch, Changa and Palam. The latter is the more western and northern, bordering on Chamba. Three considerable rivers flow from the neighbouring mountains, the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite in Haripur and, under the name of Trigadh, fall into the Byas at Siba

fort. The Byas itself waters the eastern portion of the Raj, flowing through Shujanpur Tira and Nadaun."

Moorcroft speaks of an Irishman named O'Brien in Sansār Chand's service, whom he met at Tarā. O'Brien had been in the army of the E.I. Company in the Royal Irish Regiment. Having come on guard without some of his accoutrements he was reprimanded and answered in an insolent manner. On being touched or struck with a cane he knocked the officer down with the butt end of his carbine and galloped off. Not daring to return to his regiment he ultimately found service with Sansār Chand, with whom he seems to have remained till his death. Gul O'Brien as he is called at Sujānpur Tarā is still remembered, and a grave in a little grove of trees just to the west of the town is shown as his. His portrait occurs in two pictures of Sansār Chand's Court. He established a manufactory of small arms and disciplined an infantry corps of 1400 men. He also devised a quaint uniform like that of the E.I. Company's sepoy—for the Rāja's troops—some of whom appear in one picture. In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft (done during his visit to Sujanpur), also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand. Among Sansār Chand's pictures in the possession of Raja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., of Lambagraon, there is a portrait of Ghulām Muhammad of Rampur.

Sansār Chand died in December 1823, after a reign of 47 years. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and has left a record in these hills second to none as a ruling chief. Like Jagat Singh of Nurpur, whom he closely resembled in character, Sansār Chand stands out among the royal personalities of the past, both as a soldier and an administrator, and his name is still a household word far beyond the boundaries of Kāngra. Under him the ancient kingdom of the Katōches reached the zenith of its power and glory, and had he been content with what he had acquired he might have passed on his extensive dominions unimpaired to his posterity. For twenty years he was lord paramount of the hills, and even a formidable rival to Ranjit Singh himself. But his aggressive nature led him on in his bold designs and he fell at last a victim to his own overweening ambition. With him the glory of the Katōches passed away, and what remained to his son was little more than a name.

Anirūdh Chand, A.D. 1823.—On Sansār Chand's death, his son Anirudh Chand was installed as Rāja, and we are told some of the Sikh Sirdārs of high rank came to offer their condolence and congratulations, bearing certain presents from the Sikh Court. These consisted of a horse and bow, shawls and a gold *yarah*, with a pearl necklace (*Kantha*) and a *wajah* or turban. After six months, Anirūdh Chand was summoned to the Sikh Court, then at Adīnanagar, which was a favourite resort of the Mahārāja. He presented a *nazarāna*, or fee of investiture, of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, and received a suitable *khilat* in return. This visit was repeated in the following year, but on the third occasion Anirūdh Chand was met by a very unacceptable demand! Sansār Chand had left two daughters by his rāni and three by a Gaddin concubine (*khawās*), and Rāja Dhiān Singh of Jammu, the Prime

¹ Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pp. 440-1; also Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

Minister, asked through the Maharaja, one of the rāni's daughters in marriage for his son, Hira Singh. For prudential reasons Anirūdh Chand expressed his willingness and gave a written engagement, but in reality he regarded the proposed alliance as an insult to the family honour. By immemorial custom among the Rajput royal families of the hills, a Rāja's daughter may not marry any one of lower rank than her father, that is a Ruling Chief or an heir-apparent. Anirūdh Chand was a Rāja in his own right and the descendant of a long line of kings, while Dhiān Singh was a Rāja only by favour of his master. Dhiān Singh too was of royal descent, and, next to the Mahārāja, the most powerful man in the Sikh Kingdom, but all this counted as nothing in the eyes of the proud Katōch when weighed against the family honour.

Time passed and Dhiān Singh through the Maharaja sent messages to hasten the marriage alliance. Anirūdh Chand used the pretext that his mother had recently died and he would give his sister a year later.

But he secretly sent away his property across the Satluj preparatory to flight. When the year was past, the Maharaja, at the instigation of his Minister, started for Nadaun to hasten on the marriage, if necessary by force. On hearing of this the Rāja sent his family across the Satluj, and when the Mahārāja reached Adīnanagar he himself fled into British territory.

¹ The Mahārāja came to Nadaun and received two of the three illegitimate daughters of Sansār Chand in marriage, from their brother, Jodhbīr Chand, and gave the third to Wasāwa Singh Sindhānwālia. Nadaun and the neighbouring district he granted in *jāgīr* to Jodhbīr Chand, with the title of Raja, and it is still held by his descendants.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, did not leave the country with his nephew, and on waiting on the Mahārāja offered his own grand-daughter in marriage to Raja Hira Singh. In reward he received the district of Rājgir in *jāgīr*, and was made a Rāja. He is also said to have received the rest of the State on lease on favourable terms, but he died on his way home. Ludar Chand his son succeeded to the *jāgīr* and lease; but failed to pay the amount agreed upon and was ejected from the leased lands, which were made over to zemindars, under the control of a Sikh officer. The first of these was Lehna Singh Sindhanwāla, for one year, followed by Kunwar Sher Singh for two years, both of whom resided at Tarā Sujānpur. Sher Singh (afterwards Mahārāja) was very kind to Ludar Chand and conferred on him a village and an orchard in his own *jāgīr* at Batāla. Afterwards Pālam became the *jāgīr* of Prince Nau Nihāl Singh, and the rest of the State was placed under Lehna Singh Majithia, who became Nāzim or Governor of the hills on his father's death.²

Soon after arriving in British territory Anirūdh Chand married his two sisters to the Rāja of Terhi Garhwāl, and died four years later, leaving two sons, Ranbīr Chand and Parmūdh Chand. In 1833, at the request of the British Government conveyed

¹ Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Iatif, pp. 440-1; also Honiberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

² *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

through Col. Wade at Ludhiana, Ranjīt Singh recalled them, and granted a *jāgīr* of Rs. 50,000 value in Mahal Morian, where they took up their residence. Ranbir Chand died in 1847.

¹ In 1835 Mr. Vigne met the two brothers. He says:—At a place called Kruhin, situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the ex-Rajah of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sinsar Chand. After his death his son, Murut Chand, went to Lahore, where Ranjit demanded his sister in marriage for his favourite and Minister, Dihan Singh. Murut Chand requested permission to go back and talk over the matter with his mother, who, it is said, was not averse to the match; but he himself being a Rajput of high caste, refused to give his sister to an upstart of no family, and sent her and his mother and family across the Sutlej for security, under the pretence that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar; and the Fakir Aziz-u-Dyn, who had been sent to Tira by Ranjit, arrived there only to find that the bird had flown. Upon hearing the story, Ranjit came himself to Jewala Muki, afterwards noticed, where Murut Chand, at an interview, was asked three times if he would give his sister to Dihan Singh. He replied that he would, and was allowed to depart. He proceeded to Tira, and immediately despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej; upon which Ranjit sent a force to make him prisoner but he escaped, and by the next day was safe in the Company's territories, where he joined his family at Hurdwar and soon afterwards died there. His sons were invited back to the Punjab and were living upon a jaghir (a grant of land) at Kruhin, where I saw them.

The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees (3000*l.*) a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah. The elder of the two brothers, and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil, and gave a breakfast on the morning of my departure.

The young ex-Rajah showed me a friendly letter which his grandfather had received from Lord Lake by the hands of an envoy, whom he had despatched to wait on his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Punjab; and also a *chit* or writing by Mr. Moorcroft, given to and in favour of Rajah Sansār Chand, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attentions he had received from him.

On the termination of the First Sikh war the hill tracts between the Satluj and Biās were, under the treaty of 9th March, 1846, ceded to the British Government, and Kāngra thus came directly under British control. But the transfer was not carried out without difficulty. Relying on its ancient prestige, the Sikh Commandant of the fort refused to yield up his trust and Kotila Fort also held out for a time. When all means of persuasion had failed, a British force with a battery of artillery was sent up from Ludhiana by way of the Gaj Nala to compel the surrender, and at the end of two months the Commandant of Kāngra agreed to evacuate the fort, on

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp.107-108-109

condition of a free and honourable retirement for himself and the garrison. After the surrender of the fort a native infantry regiment was sent to garrison it, and this arrangement continued till some time before the earthquake of 4th April, 1905, when the stronghold was almost demolished. A detachment of eighty men was also posted at Kotila under a European Officer.

The dispossessed chiefs also did not yield a willing allegiance to their new rulers. The transfer of the hill tracts to Government was a consummation to which they had long been looking forward, in the eager hope and expectation that they would all be restored to their dominions. In this hope they were encouraged by the generous treatment accorded to the chiefs of the Simla hill states on the conclusion of the Nepalese War; when in accordance with the agreement made at the beginning of the war they were all reinstated in their possessions. Great then was their disappointment when the chiefs found that the Government meant to retain the country in their own hands. They all became disaffected in consequence, and when in 1848 they were approached by emissaries from the Sikh Sirdārs in rebellion, some of them lent a willing ear to illusive promises, that in the event of the British being defeated, they would be reinstated. First, the Wazir of Nurpur, and then Parmūdh Chand, son of Anirūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, broke out into revolt. A force was sent against them under Mr. Lawrence the Commissioner, afterwards Lord Lawrence, which swept through the country and soon overcame all opposition. On his surrender, Parmūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, was sent to Almora, and detained as a political prisoner. There he died in exile and childless in 1851, and Sansār Chand's line thus came to an end.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, had died soon after the annexation of the State, and Ludar Chand, his son, succeeded to the *jāgīr* granted by Ranjīt Singh, originally larger but reduced to Rs. 35,000 in 1833, on the return of Anirūdh Chand's sons from British territory. Ludar Chand was followed by Partāp Chand, who succeeded to the family title in 1851 on the demise of Rāja Parmūdh Chand without issue. He died in 1864, and since then his son, Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been the head of the Katōch clan. He resides at Lambagraon, near Sujānpur on the right bank of the Biās. At the time of his succession he was a minor, and the estate was managed by the Deputy Commissioner of Kāngra as the Court of Wards. The estate was then heavily encumbered, but on the Rāja's coming of age in 1883, it was handed over to him free of encumbrance. Rāja Sir Jai Chand was educated partly at the Mayo College, Ajmir, and partly by private tutors. He speaks and writes English. He holds the honorary rank of Lt.-Colonel in the 37th Dogras, and served in the Black Mountain and Chitral Relief expeditions. He is also an Honorary Magistrate invested with criminal and civil powers, and is Sub-Registrar of his *jāgīr*. Rāja Sir Jai Chand is the second Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

During the present year (1918) Lt.-Col. Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knight Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, in recognition of his devoted loyalty and his

distinguished services to Government, especially in connection with the War. He had previously received the distinction of C.S.I.

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History of Kulu State

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

In its most prosperous days Kulū included the whole of the territory now embraced in the Kulū sub-division of Kāngra District. It was bounded on the north by Ladākh, on the east by Tibet proper, on the south by the Satluj and Bashahr, and on the west by Suket, Mandī, Bara Bangāhal and Chambā. At times it even included a tract lying to the south of the Satluj. The total area of the principality was 6,607 square miles, but this was sometimes increased to as much as 10,000 sq. miles by temporary acquisitions from neighbouring States :—

The territory was divided into eight Wazīrīs or provinces.

1. *Wazīrī Parōl, or Kulū Proper*, the main Biās Valley from the Rotang Pass to the Phojal Nālā; the Malāna Valley, and the right side of the Pārbati Nālā, from the west of the Malāna Nālā to its junction with the Biās.
2. *Wazīrī Rupi*, the tract between the Pārbati and Sainj Nālās on the left bank of the Biās, including the whole of the Upper Pārbati Valley tract, known as Kanāwar.
3. *Wazīrī Sarāj*, the southern portion of the State, divided into Outer and Inner Sarāj by the Jalauri Range.
4. *Wazīrī Lag-Mahārāja*, the right bank of the Sarvari Nālā to Sultānpur, and of the Biās from there to Bajaura.
5. *Wazīrī Lag-Sāri*, the tract between the Phojal and Sarvari Nālās on the right bank of the Bias.
6. *Wazīrī Bangāhal*, a portion of Chhota Bangāhal.
7. *Wazīrī Lahul*, the tract now called British Lahul.
8. *Wazīrī Spiti*, the Valleys of the Spiti and Pin rivers.

The materials at our disposal for a history of Kulū are scanty and unreliable. This we may perhaps ascribe to the proverbial ignorance of the people; for Kulū seems never to have known an age of literary activity.¹ Such as they are, however, many historical documents bearing on the history of the country do exist, and for an interesting account of them we are indebted to a paper by Pandit Hirananda Shāstri of the Archaeological Survey of India.²

Chief among these documents is the *Vansāvalī*, or genealogical roll of the Rājās, of which the original is not now forthcoming. ³ That there were family records seems certain, as Mr. Howell states that they were all destroyed in the reign of the

¹ Cf. The popular sayings, *Kullu ke Ullu*, and *Gave Kullu hoe Ullu*.

² Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, 1907-08, pp. 261 to 276.

³ Journal P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 70.

last ruling Rājā, Jit Singh (1816-41). That Rājā had two chamberlains (Kaiths), called Hukmu and Gohru of the Bhunhan family, who were keepers of the State archives. Being under suspicion for some reason, they were summoned to appear before the Rājā. Before leaving they gave orders that if anything happened to them the State documents were to be destroyed. The Rājā in a fit of anger had them executed, and on sending messengers for the papers he found that it was too late, they had all been burnt. Along with them were lost the secret formulæ for extracting silver from ore, and the Rupi silver mines were in consequence closed down.

The late Colonel (then Captain) Harcourt was the first to draw attention to the *Vansāvalī*, in his book, "Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti," published in 1871. Colonel Harcourt was for three years Assistant Commissioner of Kulū, and thus possessed special advantages for inquiry and research, of which he fully availed himself. It was his intention, as he states, to have written a history of Kulū, for which he had collected a large amount of material. This, however, he was unable to do, and some time before his death he placed the whole of his manuscripts at our disposal. To Colonel Harcourt, therefore, we are under very special obligation, which we desire to acknowledge.

As an historical document the *Vansāvalī* seems to be open to suspicion, and some have regarded it as wholly unreliable previous to the accession of the Singh or Badāni dynasty about A.D. 1500.¹ Sir James Lyall, who was Settlement Officer of Kāngra District including Kulū in 1868, considered that the history of the State began with the reign of Rājā Sidh Singh, the founder of the Badāni dynasty. There is undoubtedly much confusion in the document, which weakens its reliability, more especially in the older portion dealing with the Pāl dynasty, and for which we unfortunately possess little corroborative evidence of any kind. So far as the Singh or Badāni dynasty is concerned, however, the *Vansāvalī* is corroborated by copper-plate deeds and inscriptions, as well as references in the Tibetan records, Mughal histories, and the *Vansāvalīs* of neighbouring hill States.

We know from historical documents that next to Kashmir and Kāngrā, Kulū was probably the most ancient State in the Panjab; and in view of this fact the errors and discrepancies of the *Vansāvalī* must be lightly dealt with. Such errors are not peculiar to Kulū, and a careful consideration of the whole question leads to the conclusion that the document is evidently based on an authentic *Vansāvalī*, and may be accepted as fairly reliable.

² The oldest historical record in the country is the legend on a coin of a Rājā of Kulū, named Virayaśa, which reads as follows: *Rājāna Kōlūtasya Virayaśasya*. "(Coin of) Virayaśa, king of Kulūta" or "of the Kulūtas." The name of this Rājā is not found in the *Vansāvalī*, but according to Professor Rapson this coin can be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the first or second century of the Christian era, perhaps rather to the second than the first.

¹ Cf. Kangra Settlement Report, Part II, p. 75.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1907-08, p. 265.

This ancient Kulū coin, which is of interest as the earliest document of Kulu history, was first published by Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67, plate IV, No. 14), but the correct reading of the legend was established by the Swedish scholar, Dr. A. V. Bergny (*Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* for 1900, pp. 415 sq. and 420). Professor Rapson, while admitting the correctness of Dr. Bergny's reading says: "This is a most important correction, for it adds one more to the list of Indian States of Ancient India which are known to us from their coinage." (*Ibidem*, p. 492; cf. also p. 537 sq.)

The coin of King Virayaśa (or Virayaśaś) of Kulū bears the full Sanskrit legend in Brāhmi, and one word (*rānā*) in the Kharoshthi character. Other instances of biliteral coins in these two scripts are those of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas. It is remarkable that the earliest inscriptions found in the Kāngra Valley are two rock inscriptions, each of which has the same legend in Brāhmi and in Kharoshthi. One of these, namely that at Kanhiyāra near Dharmśāla, records the foundation of a monastery (*ārāma*) by an individual of the name of Krishnayaśas. It is curious that in this document, which must be contemporaneous with the coin of the Kulūta King, Virayaśas, we have a name ending in *yaśas*. This, however, is in all probability a mere accident, as Krishnayaśas does not bear any royal title, but is distinguished by the tribal (?) name Madangi. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 116 and 99). Similarly, bilingual inscriptions in Brāhmi and Kharoshthi occur at Khalatse in Ladākḥ (Francké, *W. Tibet*, p. 36).

¹ Next in date is the rock inscription at Salānu, which though now in Mandī must originally have been within the limits of Kulū. The characters in which this record is inscribed are of the fourth or fifth century A.D.; but unfortunately it is of no historical value as the personages referred to are unknown to history. It records that one, Mahārājā Śrī Chandeśvara-hastin, son of Mahārājā Iśvara-hastin, and belonging to the family of *Vatsa*, conquered one Rajjila-bala in battle, and founded a town named Sālipuri, which may possibly be the village of Sālri, near the site of the inscription.

The original name of Kulū was Kulūta, as first pointed out by Sir A. Cunningham. It occurs in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Vishṇu Purāna* and *Rāmāyana*; and is also found on the ancient coin already referred to.²

³ It is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under that name in a list of countries lying to the north of India. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna* and the *Bṛihatsamhitā* also notice it among the tracts situated in the north-east of India. In the *Rājataranginī* it is referred to only once, as having been a separate State in the sixth century A.D., when, we are told, Ratisena, King of the Cholas, sent his daughter, Raṇā-ranbhā, to the residence of his friend, the king of Kulūta, and Raṇāditya (King of

¹ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, p. 14.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142.

Note.—All other derivations of the name, such as that from *Kulāntapīṭha* referred to by Col. Harcourt, as well as those from *Kāula*, *Kōl* and *Kōli* are purely fanciful and must be rejected. The name *Ulūta* in the *Vishṇu Purāna* is manifestly a clerical error. Cf. Rapson, J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 531.

³ Cf. Arch. Survey Rep., 1907-08, p. 261, and *Rāja-tarang*, iii, 435-6; also Journal Royal As. Soc. for 1900, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, and *The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India*, by E. J. Rapson.

Kashmir) went with joy to that not distant land" to receive her. In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, of the middle of the seventh century A.D., we are told that Kulūta was conquered by Tārāpida of Ujjayini, who took captive the princess Patralēkhā, the daughter of the king of that country, and that Queen Vilāsavati sent her to prince Chandrāpida, her son, to be his betel-bearer. Tārāpida of Ujjayini is unknown to history, but *Chandrāpida* and *Tārāpida* are the names of the immediate predecessors of Lalitāditya-Muktāpida of Kashmir. Professor Rapson remarks that probably no historical importance whatever is to be attached to the passage from the *Kādambarī*. It is, however, possible that it contains some reminiscence of a conquest of Kulūta by one of the kings of the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir, who may have been contemporaries of the author of the *Kādambarī*. In any case the reference proves that in the seventh century Kulūta was recognized as a separate kingdom.

¹About the same time India was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629-645). He describes the country of *K'iu-lū-to* as situated at 700 *li*, i.e. 117 miles to the north-east of Jālandhara, which exactly corresponds with the position of Kulūta, with which, as Sir. A. Cunningham says, the Chinese rendering of *K'iu-lu-to* is identical. The circuit of the tract as given by Hiuen Tsiang is 3,000 *li* or 500 miles, which is much in excess of the present limits of Kulū. Sir A. Cunningham, however, was inclined to accept the figures. "As the ancient kingdom," he remarks, "is said by the people themselves to have included Mandī and Suket on the west, and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satluj, it is probable that the frontier measurements of 500 miles may be very near the truth if taken in road distances." This tradition is current in Suket, Mandī and Bashahr as well as Kulū.

Though the limits as defined may have marked the extent of the ancient kingdom, this does not necessarily mean that the Rājās ruled directly over this widespread area. It has to be borne in mind that in ancient times the whole country was parcelled out among numerous petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs, who were the rulers *de facto*, though generally owning allegiance to a paramount power. The traditions relating to these petty rulers are very distinct in the early history of Kulū as well as in that of Suket, which till the twelfth century included almost all the territory now in Mandī. These traditions, along with historical records, prove that down to a late period the Rānās and Thākurs maintained their authority, though nominally under the suzerainty of the larger States. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the assumption that in the seventh century the petty chiefs in the area defined all owned a nominal allegiance to Kulū, and were regarded as under the supremacy of that State. Suket, as we know, was not founded till a later period.

Hiuen Tsiang also makes mention of a *stūpa* erected by Asoka in the middle of the valley to commemorate Buddha's alleged visit, and he further states that in his time there were about twenty *saṅghārāmas* (Buddhist monasteries) and a thousand priests who mostly followed the Great Vehicle. There were also fifteen *deva* temples used by different sects without distinction, besides numerous caves hollowed in the

¹ Cf. *Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 142. Five *li* = one mile. Vide Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Pop. edition, p. 176. Vide *Si-yu-ki*, Beal's translation, Vol. 1, p. 177.

rocks which were the places of abode of Arhats and Rishis. It would thus appear that Buddhism once flourished in Kulū, though it has now practically disappeared from the valley, the only symbol remaining being a stone image of Avalōkitēśvara, in a temple of Kapila-muni, at Kelāt, some miles north of Sultānpur, which is still worshipped. Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the people of Kulū as coarse and common in appearance and of a hard and fierce nature.¹

²Of the copper-plate title-deeds found in Kulū the oldest is that of Nirmand. It, however, was not granted by a Rājā of Kulū, but by one Rājā Samudra Sena, whose identity has not yet been ascertained. Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the grant was made by Samudra Sena of Mandī, c. A.D. 1151-76, but more recently the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. Fleet who holds, on palaeographical grounds, that it belongs to the seventh century. The donor of the grant calls himself a *mahāsāmanta* or feudatory of some paramount power, probably, of the plains, but the name of the State over which he ruled is not stated, and the origin of the inscription is still an unsolved problem.

A pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty with the surname of *Sena* is said to have ruled in Spiti in the early centuries of the Christian era, and Captain Harcourt states that coins with the *Sena* suffix on them have been found in the valley. These statements have not been verified, but if authentic the donor of the Nirmand plate may have been one of the Spiti Rājās. This, however, is only a conjecture.

³Later references to Kulū are found in Chambā copper-plate title-deeds of the eleventh century, granted in the reigns of Soma Varman and Āsata Varman and relating to events which happened in the early part of the tenth century, during the reign of Sahila Varman of Chambā. From these documents it would seem that Chambā then exercised more or less of a suzerainty over Kulū, for they speak of the Chambā Rājā as having been "asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage." Sahila Varman was then engaged in repelling an invasion of his country by a race called "Kira," aided by the lord of Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatika (Balor), and he had as his allies the Rājās of Trigarta (Kāngra) and Kulūta (Kulū). The fact that the Chiefs of Chambā and Kulū were kinsmen, most probably by marriage, proves that both families were Kshatriyas or Rājputs, for the Chambā family is of this caste.

Some doubt has been felt as to the signification of the word *svakulya* meaning "kinsman," "of one's own family," from the fact that Viśākhadatta (c. A.D. 600) mentions Chitravarman, the King of Kulūta, in the play called *Mudrārākshasa*, among the five leading Mlechchha allies of Rākshasa; but neither Chitravarman nor the other confederate Rājās appear to have been historical personages, and the suffix "Varman" was never in use in Kulū. This seems to imply that in Viśākhadatta's estimation the people of Kulū were Mlechchhas or barbarians. Most probably the

¹ Cf. Report Arch. Survey, 1907-08, pp. 261-2.

² A.S.R., Vol. xiv, and Inscript. Ind., Vol. iii, pp. 286-291; also J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

³ Chambā Gaz., pp. 75-77. *Antiquities of Chambā State*, pp. 186-195.

reference is to the inhabitants of Kulū and not to the ruling family. There can be little doubt that the Kanets and other allied tribes, which form the bulk of the population even at the present time, are of semi-aboriginal origin, and would therefore be regarded as Mlechchhas in ancient times. Even now the high caste community is very small.

According to the traditional folklore of the people, the Kulū Valley originally bore the name of *Kulāntapīṭha*, meaning "the end of the habitable world," as being in the estimation of the Hindus, the utmost limit of human abode. The name also occurs in a booklet called *Kulānta-pīṭha Māhātmya*. Captain Harcourt regarded the name as the original of *Kulū*, but the change from one to the other is etymologically impossible.

¹The *Kulāntapīṭha Māhātmya*, which deals with the sacred lore of Kulū, is in the possession of the priests of Manikarn in the Pārhati Valley, and it claims to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāna*. Though unpublished and possessing little historical interest it is important in a way for local topography. Pandit Hirananda Shāstri gives the following quotation from it: "Kulāntapīṭha lies to the north-east of *Jalandhara* and south of *Hēmakūṭa* mountain. It is 10 *yojanas* (about 90 miles) in length and 3 (?) *yojanas* (about 27 miles) in width. The sacred place of Vyāsa lies to its north and the *Bandhana* mountain to its south. The river *Biās* flows to its west and the *Paśupati* (*Śiva*) lies to the east. The deity presiding over the valley is *Śavari*. *Indrakīla* is the principal hill. The *samgama* or confluence of the *Biās* and *Pārhati* rivers is the chief sacred place. It was in this land that *Śiva* in the guise of a *Śavara* fought with *Arjuna*."

The area assigned by the *Māhātmya* to *Kulāntapīṭha* is nearly equal to that of Kulū proper, but it is improbable that the name ever indicated Kulū. The name is still applied to a tract on the left bank of the *Biās*, between the source of that river and its confluence with the *Pārhati*.

The topographical features referred to in the *Māhātmya* are probably the following: The northern limit (*pīṭha*) is termed *Hēmakūṭa*, which according to the *Purānas* is a *Simāparvata* or boundary mountain. As the *Pir-panjāl* of geologists is the northern boundary of Kulū, separating it from Lahul, *Hēmakūṭa* may refer to that range or specially to Snowy Peak M. of the range, in which lies the source of the *Biās*, called *Biās Kundi*, the *Vyāsātīrtha* of the *Māhātmya*. *Indrakīla* is the name of a well-known mountain in the same range to the south-east of the Hamta Pass, over 20,000 ft. in height, and resembling a wedge—hence the name, *kīla* (nail). It is said to be well known in *Purānic* literature. This mountain is now known in Kulū as *Indrasau* and is incorrectly given as *Deotiba* on the Survey map (4 in. to 1').

²Some references to Kulū are also to be found in the Tibetan Chronicle of *Ladākh*, called the *rGyal-rabs* or "Book of the Kings." There it is stated that a king of *Ladākh*, named *Lha-Chen-Utpala*, who reigned about A.D. 1125-1150, united the forces of Upper and Lower *Ladākh* and invaded *Nyungti* or Kulū. In this invasion

he was successful, and the ruler of Kulū bound himself by oath to continue to pay tribute in *dzos*¹ and iron to the king of Ladākḥ, "so long as the glaciers of the *Kailāsa* shall not melt nor Lake Mansarovar dry up." This treaty is said to have remained in force till about A.D. 1600, and according to the late Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, Ladākḥi tax-collectors visited Lahul till A.D. 1870, long after these districts had passed under British rule.² The Rev. A. H. Francké, however, thinks that they were not really tax-collectors as the trade contract required such payments. The invasion in question is probably the one noted in the Chronicle of Kulū as having taken place in the reign of Sikandar Pāl, who is said to have appealed to the Rājā of Delhi for help to drive out the invaders, called Chinese. A second invasion of Kulū by Ladākḥ took place in the reign of Tsewang rNamgyal I., A.D. 1530-60, by whom the country was subdued, and its chiefs "were made to feel the weight of his arm." This, however, was probably an empty boast and there is no mention of it in the *Vansāvalī*. The occurrence if authentic may have taken place in the time of Sidh Singh.

³ Again in the Kashmir Chronicle of Jōnarājā, it is stated that Zain-ul-ābidin, the king of Kashmir (A.D. 1420-70), invaded Gōggadesa, that is the kingdom of Gugé in Upper Kanāwar, and "robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kulūta." This must evidently refer to the town of Nagar, then the capital. Other historical records belong to a later date, such as the inscription of Udhran Pāl on the Sandhya Temple at Jagat-sukh, Sh. 4=A.D. 1428, and that of Rājā Bahādur Singh in the Dhungrī Temple at Manālī, Sh. 29=A.D. 1553. One of the most important of these records is a copper-plate grant by Bahādur Singh in favour of Rāmāpati the Rājāguru or spiritual preceptor of Rājā Ganesh Varman of Chambā. It was given on the occasion of the marriage of three Kulū princesses to the heir-apparent of the latter State, and is dated Sh. 35=A.D. 1559.*

There are also a good many more inscriptions of minor importance of the period of the Singh or Badāni dynasty (A.D.=1500-1840). To this period belong the *farmāns* or official letters, thirteen in number, issued from the Mughal Court, between A.D. 1650 and 1658, to Rājā Jagat Singh. Of these, four are original *sanads*, and nine are copies, the originals having been lost. Twelve of them were issued under the seal of Dārā Shikoh and one by Aurangzeb. Most of these *farmāns* or letters are of no importance historically as they refer only to the tribute in hawks (*bāz o jurrah*), and crystal to be forwarded from Kulū to the imperial court. Complaint is frequently made that the crystal (*balaur*) sent was of inferior quality and useless. In two letters a reference occurs to Rājā Jog Chand of Lag, whose State Jagat Singh had annexed and had imprisoned his grandson. An appeal had been made to the Emperor, and Jagat Singh was ordered to release the captive and restore him to his rights—under pain of severe punishment. In another letter (from Aurangzeb) Jagat Singh is enjoined to be on the watch for Sulaiman Shikoh, who was trying to

¹ The *dzo* is a cross-breed between the yak and the cow. The *dzos* were doubtless sent from Lahul, as there are none in Kulū.

² In 1820 four villages in Lahul paid tribute to Ladākḥ—*Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 198.

³ Jōnarājā, *Rājātavang.*, verse 1108.

* Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 255 fl. *Udhran* is a transposition for *Urdhan*, which is the correct name.

escape through the hill tracts in order to rejoin his father, Dāra Shikoh, then in the Panjab.

¹ In A.D. 1904-5, ten more records on stone were discovered, five of which are dated between A.D. 1673 and 1870, and are partly illegible. They are all in Tānkari letters and in the local dialect. One of these, on the jambs of the doorway of the Śiva temple at Hāt, near Bajaura, is dated in the Shāstra year 49=A.D. 1673, and in the reign of Śyām Sen of Mandī, and records a grant of land to the temple. From this we may conclude that at that time Hāt was in Mandi territory. Another is on a slab in the wall of the Murlidhar temple at Chahni, two miles above Banjār in Inner Sarāj, which was engraved in the reign of Rājā Bidhi Singh, in Sh. 50=A.D. 1674-5. Four copper-plate inscriptions were also found, two of them belonging to the reign of Rājā Jagat Singh, one dated Sh. 27=A.D. 1651, and the other in Sh. 32=A.D. 1656. The third was issued in the reign of Rājā Rāj Singh, but is undated, and the fourth is dated Sh. 56=A.D. 1780, in the reign of Rājā Pritam Singh.

² There are also inscriptions of some historical importance on metal masks, called *deo*, representing Hindu gods and deified personages. Of the Pāl dynasty only two have been found which bear inscriptions, one on the mask of Hirmā Devī has Sh. 94=A.D. 1418, as the date for Udhran Pāl, the grandfather, according to the *Vansāvali*, of Rājā Sidh Singh; the other on the effigy of Vishnu at Sajla in Kothi Barsai, gives Sh. 76, and Saura year 1422 as the date for Sidh Pāl. Saura is evidently meant for Śaka, and the equivalent date of the Christian era is A.D. 1500. As Udhran Pāl is believed to have built the temple of Sandhya Devī at Jagat-sukh, he must have ruled in the early part of the fifteenth century, and the date for the temple is A.D. 1428. There are also masks of the Singh dynasty, each with an inscription recording the year in which the gift was made, and also the day of the month. Among other historical documents must also be mentioned certain letters in the Chāmbā archives relating to Kulū as well as a large number of letters in Kulū, dated in the reigns of the Badāni Rājās.³

Reference may here be made to the Sati monuments of the Kulū Rājās—which stand just below Nagar castle at Nagar—the ancient capital:

The Kulū Rājās were in the habit of erecting upright slabs, like tombstones as memorials to their dead ancestors—a custom which prevailed also in Mandī and Suket. In former times this custom was common in the inner hills, and seems to have been in use in ancient times among the petty chiefs called Rānās and Thākurs. In Kulū, Mandī and Suket it was a royal privilege. In most parts these memorials are only rough slabs, with very primitive figures of the deceased cut upon them. In Mandī they are of an elaborate character and adorned with carvings. They are locally called *barsela*, and usually show a figure of the deceased Rājā and of the women—*rānīs*, concubines and slave girls, who were cremated with him. In Mandī many of them bear inscriptions recording the date of death—which are very valuable for historical purposes.

¹ Arch. Survey Rep., 1907-08, pp. 269-70.

² Vide J.P.H.S., Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 78-80, and Chamba Museum Cat., pp. 69-70, 1. C. 18, 19, 27, 39, 51.

The Sati monuments in Kulū seem to be of a rough character, and none of them bear any inscription. Captain Harcourt thus refers to them: "At Nuggur there is a curious collection of what resemble tombstones, that are to be found just below Nuggur Castle. They are inserted into the ground in four rows, rising one over the other on the hill-side: and in all I have counted 141 of these. Each ornamented with rude carvings of chiefs of Kooloo—their wives and concubines being portrayed, either beside them or in lines below. One Rājāh is mounted on a horse and holds a sword in his hand, the animal he bestrides being covered with housings just as might be a Crusader's charger; a very similar figure to this is carved in wood over the porch of the Doongree temple. The report is that these stones were placed in position at the death of every reigning sovereign of Kooloo, the female figures being the effigies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed *suttee* at their lord's demise. If this be the true state of the case, then the human sacrifices must have been very great in some instances, for it is not uncommon to find forty and ⁸ fifty female figures crowding the crumbling and worn surface of the stone."

¹The Chronology of Kulū history anterior to the accession of the Badāni dynasty in A.D. 1500 is largely a matter of conjecture. Of one thing we are certain, viz. that after Kāshmir and Kāngra, Kulū was one of the oldest principalities in the Panjab hills. We have already seen that a coin of one of the early Rājās exists, belonging to the first or second Christian century, and the State must therefore have been founded at a still earlier period. An examination of the *Vansāvalī* supports this conclusion. In it are found 73 names of the Pāl line of Rājās and 15 of the later line who bore the surname or suffix of Singh, i.e. 88 names in all. The latter line began about A.D. 1500, and came to an end in 1840, with the overthrow of the State by the Sikhs; giving a period of 340 years or an average reign of 20 years to each Rājā. This average is the same as in the Chambā family, and other royal lines in the hills. Now there is no reason for assuming that the Rājās of the Pāl line were not as long-lived as their successors. Allowing therefore an average reign of 20 years to each of the 73 Pāl Rājās, we get a period of 1,460 years, which takes us back to the first century A.D. for the foundation of the State. But Colonel Harcourt has pointed out that there were several breaks in the succession, when the Kulū royal line was removed from power and the State was subject to alien rule. Such a break in the continuity of the line took place in the early centuries, when Kulū is said to have been subject to Chambā for six reigns, of which five names are entirely omitted from the *Vansāvalī*. Indeed, Colonel Harcourt states that twelve names were thus dropped, and that the total number of Pāl Rājās was 85, with 15 of the Singh dynasty, making 100 in all. We may therefore conclude that at the latest the State came into existence in the first or second century of the Christian era.

We must not suppose, however, that the Kulū State then embraced more than a very limited area of territory, probably not more than the country around Jagat Sukh. This view is fully borne out by what we know of the early history of Chambā

¹ *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pp. 357-8

² *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pp. 113, 114.

and other States, where for centuries the Rājās exercised little more than a nominal authority, and were constantly in danger of being overpowered by the local petty chiefs. It was only after centuries of almost continuous warfare that they gained a real supremacy over the Rānās and Thākurs; and in Kulū, Suket and Mandī this struggle seems to have lasted longer than in many of the other States. In Chambā, for example, it came to an end in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; while in the States named it continued till the sixteenth century and even later.

Assuming that the Kulū State was founded not later than the first or second century, the *Vansāvalī* tends to confirm local tradition in the hills to the effect that the rule of the Rānās and Thākurs was of still more ancient origin, for they are said to have been in possession of the country anterior to this, either as independent rulers or in nominal subjection to a paramount power. The Rānās in Kulū were of the warrior caste, and probably came from the plains; the Thākurs were almost certainly Kanets. Sir James Lyall's remarks regarding them are interesting. He says: ¹ "According to common tradition and the legend which gives the story of the foundation of Kulū principality, the time of the Rājās was preceded by a "Thakurain," or period of government by Thākurs, petty chiefs of a few villages. These Thākurs waged war, levied taxes and transit duties like so many German barons. The tradition of such a period is not peculiar to Kulū, but does not seem so remote and ancient here as in Kāngrā Proper. In many places the sites or ruins of the towers and fortified houses of the Thākurs are pointed out; circumstantial stories of their exploits are narrated, and the boundaries of their territories recollected. Many of the existing *Kothīs* or *tappas* are said to have preserved their present limits from the day when they formed the domain of a Thākur. But it is hardly credible that they were ever completely independent as common tradition asserts; without a lord paramount and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side in such lawless days for any length of time. It is pretty sure, therefore, that with intervals of perfect independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some stronger power."

There can be no question that common tradition credits these hill barons with having been completely independent previous to the foundation of the different Rājput principalities. At the same time it is not improbable that the great Hindu kingdoms of the plains did from time to time assert their supremacy over the hill tracts; as in the case of the Rājā of Kanauj in the first century of the Christian era, as mentioned by Ferishta.

²The history of the Pāl line of Rājās, as we have seen, goes back to a very early period, but the records tell of a still earlier dynasty. This if authentic must refer to a very remote time. Captain Harcourt thus relates the tradition: "A chief or, as the people call him, a demon, by name Tandee, fixed his abode on the Kooloo side of the Rohtung Pass, and with him lived his sister Hurimba, whose temple is now at

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, Part ii, p. 74.

² *Kooloo, Lahul and Spiti*, p. 111.

Doongree, near Menalee, in the Upper Bias Valley. Bhaem Sen, the Pandu, next appears on the scene, his mission being to clear Kooloo of all the demons in it, but in this instance he contented himself with running off with Hurimba; and Tandee, aggrieved at this, fought with Bhaem Sen and was in the conflict slain. With Bhaem Sen was a follower, one Bidher, who however was not a Pandu, and this man married a daughter of Tandee's. Two sons were the fruit of this union, one called Bhot and the other Mukhur, both these boys being brought up by the goddess Bias Ricki. Bhot married a woman, named Soodungee, who came from Bhotunt, and this marriage seems to have been attended with unfortunate results, for Soodungee with no fear of the Brahmans before her eyes cooked cow's flesh one day and gave this to Bhot. Mukhur was not present during this act of impiety, and when he came in, Bias Ricki told him what had occurred; upon which Mukhur, who had apparently been indoctrinated with strictly Brahminical principles, fled to a spot somewhere to the south of Sooltanpore, and there founded a village called Mukrāha, and Kooloo after him obtained the name of Mukarsa, by which it was known till a recent period. The old capital of the Rājās at Naggar was termed Mukarsa; and Moorcroft, when in Kooloo in 1819, mentions that he passed below the site of this ancient city."¹

The above is the form in which the legend has come down from early times in Kulū. In reality it is a garbled version of a very ancient legend or myth regarding Bhīma, the second of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, found in the Mahābhārata (first canto, chapters 152-156). There Hiḍimbā is a *rākshasī*, or man-eating demoness, in whom we recognize the goddess Hīrṃā or Hīrimbā of the Kulū Valley. Her brother, called Hiḍimba in the Epic, and Tandī in the Kulū legend, was killed by Bhīmasena. Hiḍimbā is probably a goddess who was worshipped from very remote times, and her worship, which was attended with human sacrifice, was non-Aryan. Hence the Brahmans regarded her not as a deity, but as a man-eating demoness. Hīrimbā seems to have been the patron deity of the Kulū Valley from early times, and her seat is at Dhungrī near Manāli. She is believed to have granted the country to the Kulū Rājās, and even after the introduction of Rāma-worship, as Raghunāthjī, she still maintained her authority. To this day the Rājās are said to call her "Grandmother." The upper end of the valley was granted her in *jāgīr*, and within it her officers seem to have exercised full powers, and the royal writ did not run. The *jāgīr* also enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and when a criminal or any one, fleeing from the Rājā's displeasure, succeeded in reaching the borders of the *jāgīr*, at Okhiragolu about two miles below Manāli, he became Hīrimbā's refugee, and was not given up to his pursuers, who if they followed farther became blind. The place thus bore the meaning of "freedom from hardship." Such privileges seem to have been common in all the hill principalities in former times, and were enjoyed sometimes even by *jāgīrdārs*. Though Hīrimbā, unlike Jamlu of Malāna, has to attend the Dasehra fair in honour of Raghunāthjī, she has the privilege of habitually coming late. Bidhar, as Capt. Harcourt calls him, is also a personage from the Mahābhārat,

¹ Moorcroft was in Kulu in July and August 1819—not in 1819.

and his correct Sanskrit name is Vidura. In the Epic he figures as the son of Vyāsa, the mythical author of the Mahābhārat, by a slave girl. He is consequently a half-brother of Paṇḍu, the father of the five Paṇḍavas, to whom he, therefore, had the relationship of uncle. Though of impure descent on the mother's side, he is renowned for his wisdom and righteousness. As Vidura is a mythical personage, his reputed sons—Makhar and Bhot—must also be regarded in the same light. The names were evidently invented to account for the geographical terms—Makarsa (Kulū) and Bhot (Tibet). The story of Bhot and Makar—a purely local legend—has thus been grafted on to the ancient Epic legend of Bhīmasena and Hidimbā.

Biās Rikhī is not a goddess as supposed by Captain Harcourt, but a sage, Vyāsa *rishī*, and the father of Vidura as related.

The town of Makarāha stood at the junction of the Hurla stream with the Biās, almost opposite to Bajaura. There Makar's descendants are said to have ruled for a time, but the dynasty ultimately died out, or was exterminated by some of the neighbouring petty chiefs, and the town fell into decay. Their rule, if it ever existed, was probably on a par with that of the Rānās and Thākurs, who at that early period were the real rulers of the hills.

¹ The name of the town in common use in Kulū is Makarāhar, owing probably to the fact that in many parts of the hills, down even to the present day, the letter s was pronounced as h or kh and the final r is probably redundant. Harcourt has *Makarāha*. The second member of the compound, viz. *āsa* (*āha*), has the meaning of "country" or "region." It afterwards became contracted to *Makarsa* and down to quite recent times this name was applied to the whole of Kulū.

As in the case of many of the other hill States, the founder of the Pāl line of Rājās in Kulū is believed to have come from the plains. The earlier seat of the family is said to have been at Prayāg or Allāhabād. From there they emigrated into the mountains of Almora, and after some time moved westwards, crossed the Ganges and conquered Māyāpuri or Hardwār, where they settled. They are also said to have extended their rule over the territory now in Suket and Mandī, and at an early period a cadet of the family, named Behangamanī Pāl, is traditionally believed to have founded Kulū State.² The Balor *Vansāvalī* states that, having been expelled from Māyāpuri during a minority, by some of the neighbouring Chiefs, the head of the family, named Thān Pāl, was carried off to Almora, and on growing to manhood he founded Kulū State. His sons were Bhog Pāl and Sukh Pāl, the elder of whom founded Balor. It is certain, however, that Balor was founded at a much later period than Kulū, but the reference in the Balor *Vansāvalī* is interesting as corroborating the tradition that both families sprang from a common parent stem at Māyāpuri. The tradition connecting the original family with Māyāpuri is found in all the different branches, each of which founded a kingdom. These are: Kulū, Balor (Basohli), Bhadu and Bhadrawāh. A fifth branch is said to have founded a small State in the Lower Chināb Valley, called Batal, possibly the Vartula of the Rāja-

¹ Cf. *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pp. 112, 197.

² The clan name of the Kulu Rājās is *Kaulua*, contracted to *Kolua* and *Kola*.

taranginī. This branch embraced Islām, probably in the reign of Shāhjahān. The original surname of all these families was Pāl. The royal families of Kulū and Balor are said to have been separate offshoots from the parent stem, but Balor was probably an offshoot from Kulū as stated in the Bhadu *Vansāvalī*; while Bhadu, Bhadrawāh and Batal were offshoots from Balor.¹

Kulū was founded, as we have seen, not later than the first or second century and possibly earlier, and Balor or Vallāpura in the eighth century. Bhadu was originally a fief of Balor, and did not become independent till the middle of the eleventh century, and Bhadrawāh about the time of Akbar. If Batal was identical with Vartula as has been suggested, it must have been founded at an early period; for it is referred to in the *Rājātaranginī* in the beginning of the twelfth century.

The original capital of Kulū State was at Nast or Jagat-sukh, and there the early Rājās ruled for twelve generations till, in the reign of Visudh Pāl, the seat of government was transferred to Nagar, and about A.D. 1660, in the reign of Jagat Singh, to Sultānpur.

Behangamanī, the founder of the State, is said to have been one of eight brothers, and was accompanied to Kulū by his *rānī*, and his son Pachch Pāl, as also his family priest, Purohit Udai Rām. He first went to Manikarn, and afterwards attacked and overcame some of the petty chiefs in the Pārbati Valley. This, however, seems to have been only a temporary success, and he next appears as a fugitive at Jagat-sukh, living in concealment in the house of one Chapai Rām.

Many legends are associated with his name. One day as he lay asleep on a rock near Jagat-sukh, which is still shown, a Pandit passed by and observed on the sleeper² the signs of greatness, and noble birth. On awaking him and inquiring into his lineage Behangamanī said that he was a *zamīndār*.

The Pandit, however, was not to be deceived and pressed for a true answer, at the same time assuring him that he would become king of the country. Behangamanī then admitted his royal descent and begged the Pandit to keep his secret as otherwise he would be killed by the Rānās and Thākurs. The Pandit promised to do so and assured Behangamanī that no one should have the power to kill him for his star was on the ascendant. Then, with an eye to his own advantage, he exacted a promise that on becoming Rājā, Behangamanī should confer a grant of land upon him, and this promise was confirmed by touching hands. The Pandit demanded a portion of land between each stream falling into the Bās, and also around the rock where he first saw Behangamanī. The stone is still shown on the road between Manālī and Jagat-sukh, and is called *Jagati Pat*. The Pandit then took his departure to Triloknāth in Chambā-Lahul on pilgrimage, saying that his words would be fulfilled before his return.

Meanwhile the *zamīndārs*, who were the subjects of the Rānās and Thākurs, had been goaded into resistance by the exactions of these petty chiefs, and having formed

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. iv, No. 2, pp. 77-8 and 120. Batal is also called Deng-Batal. *Rājatarang.*, Stein. VIII. 287, 537-541.

² Probably the *padami* or *Urdh Rekhi*—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life," on the hand, running along the sole of the foot from the toe to the heel.

a confederacy against them, decided to choose some one else as ruler. A short time afterwards a *jātra* or religious fair, called *Jajoli Jātra*, was held at Basnāra, a village near Jagat-sukh. Behangamani came alone to the fair, and on the road he was accosted by an old woman, who asked him to take her on his back as she was unable to walk. This he did, and also promised to carry her on the return journey in the same way. When they reached the rocks at Jura village, opposite to Basnāra, she jumped down and told Behangamani to mount her back, and by this he perceived that he was in the company of a goddess. Haṛimbā, for it was she, then said: "I have given you my blessing and you will become king of the country." Behangamani urged that he was a stranger, poor and alone, but Haṛimbā repeated her promise and told him to go to the Shabari Temple in Shuru village near Jagat-sukh, and there the goddess would appear to him. Behangamani then went on to the fair, the goddess accompanying him, and the people hailed him with the salutation of "Jaideya,"¹ accorded only to a royal personage. An outbreak then took place against the Rānās and Thākurs, many of whom were killed, and Behangamani was established as Rājā and the petty chiefs paid him tribute.

This is the version in the Chronicle. Divested of all the myth and fable which have gathered around his name, we may simply conclude that Behangamani was a royal adventurer, from the outer hills, accompanied probably by a small band of followers; who was successful in gaining a footing in the upper Biās Valley by overcoming some of the local petty chiefs. This as we know is the way most of the other hill States were founded, and probably Kulū was no exception to the rule. The main features of the story, therefore, may be accepted as authentic.

On his death Behangamani was succeeded by his son Pachch Pāl, who continued the contest with the Rānās and Thākurs in his endeavour to consolidate the kingdom. He overcame the Rānā of Gojra and the Rānā of Bevala, who probably held the country around Manāli; and his younger brother Narindar Pāl is said to have been killed in the fighting. He also strove with one Gumar Surat and killed him. Those who submitted were made to pay tribute, and this tributary relationship between the petty chiefs and the Rājās was probably the common condition of things all over the hills for many centuries. Their subjection was only nominal and the tribute was forthcoming only when there was no other alternative.

Bihang Pāl and Durhin or Hin Pāl followed, and of these chiefs nothing is recorded; but we may assume that their reigns were not peaceful.

Svarg Pāl the next in succession had two sons by different mothers, named Sakti and Janak, who contested the succession as they were born about the same time. The zamindārs who were their subjects advised them to divide the territory, and at last they consulted a parohit as to whose right it was to reign, and he decided in favour of Sakti Pāl as he was the son of the elder Rānī. He was then acknowledged as Rājā. He was in his turn followed by Mahīśvar or Mahindar Pāl, Om Pāl and Rājēndar Pāl. At that time the Rānā of Gajan in Kothi Barsai, between

¹ *Jaideya*, or *Jaideo*, is an abbreviation of two Sanskrit words—*Jayatu devah* meaning, "May the king be victorious"—similar to "Long live the King."

Jagat-sukh and Nagar, named Surat Chand, died without male heirs, leaving only a daughter, named Rup Sundari, who succeeded. On hearing this Rājendar Pāl sent to demand tribute from her, and she being a spirited lady refused to pay. Rājendar Pāl then sent a force against her, and in the fighting eleven of his sons are said to have been killed. Only two remained, and one of them was sent to the Rānī with a letter from the Rājā, to try to arrange terms. On presenting the letter he did not offer any salutation, and the Rānī being annoyed placed a guard over him. Thereupon he produced his brother's likeness, and on seeing it the Rānī yielded and offered to marry him. A message was then sent to the Rājā to tell him of her offer and ask him to desist from fighting. Rājendar Pāl seems to have been only too pleased to do so, and preparations were then made for the wedding, and the pair were duly married. Thus Kothi Barsai, in which Gajan was situated, came into the Rājā's hands, and was so called, it is said, from *baras*, 'a year,' because it was acquired within a year seemingly from the commencement of hostilities.

Viśad Pāl succeeded on his father's decease and still further enlarged the boundaries of the State. At that time Nagar was held by a Rānā, named Karm Chand, with whom the Rājā waged war. The Rānā seems to have been faint-hearted, for he hid himself for four years, and was at last killed in battle. He had a son who succeeded, and from whom the Rājā exacted tribute.

Viśuddh Pāl followed, and it was probably in this or the following reign that Nagar was finally conquered and annexed. In the case of all the preceding Rājās, Nast (Jagat-sukh) is recorded as their place of residence, but Viśuddh Pāl had his capital at Nagar. The Chronicle says: *Nagar Rājāi Śrī kā*, "the town of the illustrious Rājā"; also *Nagar Tripurī Sundrī ābād hūā*, "the town of Tripuri Sundri was inhabited." The temple of Tripuri Sundari is situated above Nagar. These sentences, however, seem suspicious, and internal evidence appears to indicate that they are of much later date. At the same time it seems probable that the transfer of the capital to Nagar actually took place about this time.

The next Rājās were Uttam Pāl, Dvij Pāl, Chakar Pāl, Karn Pāl and Sūraj Pāl, about whom the Chronicle contains no record.

¹ At this early period there is mention of one Piti Thākur, who lived at Rumsu above Nagar, and apparently held possession of a portion of the Upper Biās Valley towards the Hamta Pass, near the head of which are still to be seen the ruins of the fort ascribed to him. There would seem to have been many in succession bearing this name, which was really a title, meaning the "Spiti Lord," and they came from Spiti. One of them is said to have been killed in the fighting about this time. From an early period the Tibetans of Spiti seem to have been in the habit of making incursions into Kulū, and they seized territory to the south of the high passes; but being unable to live at a lower altitude than 7,000 or 8,000 ft. they never advanced into the main valley. Each of the Tibetan leaders was called "Piti Thākur," by the Kulū people. They were still in possession as late as the reign of Sidh Singh A.D. 1500, by whom they were finally driven out.

Sūraj Pāl is said to have had no heir but many illegitimate sons. He was succeeded by Raksh Pāl, but we are not told what relationship the latter bore to his predecessor. He too died without issue and was succeeded by his brother Rudar Pāl. There were other brothers, however, who disputed the succession, and they all began to fight among themselves and some of them were killed. The Rānās, on seeing this conflict going on, agreed to combine and exterminate the family. Realizing their danger in time, the brothers made up their quarrel and all recognized Rudar Pāl as Rājā. The Rānās were then opposed in battle and completely defeated, those who survived being made to pay tribute.

A new danger soon afterwards arose in consequence of an invasion of Kulū by the Rāja of Spiti, named Rājendar Sen. The country was subdued and Rudar Pāl in his turn had to pay tribute to Spiti. This note, if authentic, is exceedingly interesting, as showing that there was a Sena dynasty of Rājās in Spiti in early times, before Buddhism was introduced into the country.

In one of the records a reference to Chambā is found at this early period in the history of Kulū. Much uncertainty exists as to how much of Lahul was then under these States. The Rev. A. H. Francke, our chief authority, thinks that upper Lahul—that is the valleys of the Chandrā and Bhāgā—was under Kulū from early times, while the main valley, from the junction of these rivers, was tributary to Chambā. Ladākḥ also may have exercised some influence in Upper Lahul as the name is identified with the Tibetan words *Lho Yul* meaning "the southern country." The Tibetans, however, call the country *Gārzā*. Chambā is said to have conquered Lahul from Kulū in Rudar Pāl's reign, and seemingly about the same time as Kulū itself was invaded and subdued by the Rājā of Spiti. Possibly Chambā and Spiti combined against Kulū, and the invasions were simultaneous.

The State seems to have remained tributary to Spiti during this reign and that of Hamīr Pāl, the next Rājā, the tribute money amounting to six annas in the rupee of yearly revenue; but on Hamīr Pāl's death his son Parsidh Pāl declined to continue the payment of tribute, and moved out with an army to oppose Chet Sen the Spiti Chief. The battle was fought somewhere near the Rotang Pass, and Parsidh Pāl was victorious, thus freeing his country from the dominion of Spiti. Lahul was also recovered from Chambā about the same time.

Parsidh Pāl was followed by Harichand Pāl, Subhat Pāl, Som Pāl and Sansār Pāl. In Sansār Pāl's reign another interesting note occurs in the Chronicle. It is said that after Chet Sen's defeat by Kulū, Spiti was invaded by Gya mur orr,¹ presumably Ladākḥ or Rupshu, and Chet Sen was defeated and slain. The ruler of Gya mur orr then granted some villages in *jāgīr* to Chet Sen's son, and three villages to Sansār Pāl of Kulū, who had assisted him; retaining the remainder of Spiti in his own hands. Possibly this note records the final overthrow and extinction of the pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty in Spiti, when the country passed under Tibetan rule. This may have happened about A.D. 600–650.

¹ This place has not been identified, but it may have been Gya and Rupshu in Ladākḥ, or some place in Gugé.

Bhog Pāl succeeded and his claim was contested by his brother Vibhay Pāl. A war ensued between them and resulted in Bhog Pāl's death, and he was succeeded by Vibhay Pāl who in turn was followed by Brahm Pāl. The last-named left no legitimate sons, and the Chronicle states that the Rājās of Chambā, Ladākh, Suket, Bashahr, Kāngra and Bangāhal agreed to make Ganesh Pāl, an illegitimate son of the late Rāja, his successor.

This is the first occasion on which a reference occurs to any of the neighbouring hill states, and it is of some interest to inquire how far it can be accepted as authentic. As regards Kāngra and Chambā, we know that they were founded at an early period, but in the case of the latter the reference must be to Brahmāpūra, the original name of the State. Ladākh at that early period was a province of the Tibetan kingdom and was ruled from Lhāssa; Bashahr may also have been in existence as it was of ancient origin, but it seems improbable that Suket and Bangāhal had then been founded. We are, therefore, disposed to think that the statement in the Chronicle is not fully reliable. Possibly it may have been tampered with by some later copyist.

Gambhīr Pāl, the next Rājā, had two sons, named Bhumi Pāl and Sukhu Pāl, who contended for the *gaddi*, a contest in which Bhumi Pāl was successful.

Of Bhumi Pāl's reign we know nothing. He was succeeded by his son Śrī Datēshvar Pāl. In this Rājā's reign another reference to Chambā is found in the Chronicle. At that early period Chambā State was confined to the upper part of the Rāvi Valley, with the capital at Brahmāpūra, now Brahmaur. The State was then expanding east and west under an energetic ruler whom we may perhaps identify with Meru Varman (c. A.D. 700).¹ In the Kulu Chronicle the name is Amar, but no such name occurs in the Chambā *Vansāvalī*. The Chambā forces most probably advanced through Lahul, and over the Rotang Pass, and were met by the Kulū Chief, who was defeated and killed. Gobardhan was then Rājā of Indrapat (Delhi). On his father's death Amar Pāl took command of the Kulū forces and with his two sons opposed the Chambā advance, but in vain. He, too, with one of his sons was slain, and the second son, named Sital Pāl, fled to Bashahr to ask for help. There the family seems to have remained for some time, as Sital Pāl and five of his descendants never reigned, and probably were all the time at the Bashahr Court as political refugees. Meantime Kulū seems to have been under the rule of Chambā.

Śrī Jarēshvar Pāl was the sixth in descent from Sital Pāl, and seems to have been a refugee at Bashahr, waiting for an opportunity to recover his kingdom. Such an opportunity soon afterwards occurred, and with the help of Bashahr he drove out the Chambā garrison and recovered the State. It is possible that this event took place about A.D. 780-800, when Chambā was invaded by the "Kiras" or Yārkandis, and the Rājā killed. The Chambā State continued under alien rule for about 20 years, so that it would be an easy matter for Śrī Jarēshvar Pāl to recover his country. He was followed by Parkāsh Pāl, Achamba Pāl, Tapanēshvar Pāl, Param Pāl and Nagēndar Pāl, of whom nothing special is on record.

¹ Chamba Gazetteer, p. 70.

Nārad Pal's reign was marked by another war with Chambā (Brahmapura). The Chamba forces advanced to Majna Kot, a village near the foot of the Rotang Pass, and built a fort. The war continued for twelve years, a phrase which in the hills seems to bear the meaning, "for a long time," and then a peace was concluded. But the Kulū people were insincere and only sought for an opportunity to destroy the invaders. A social gathering was arranged to which the Chambā people were invited, ostensibly to cement the truce which had been concluded, and the place fixed upon was Kothi village on the other side of the Biās. The river there flows through a deep and narrow gorge, which at that time was spanned by two beams with cross planks, there being no bridge. As the feast was to be at night, two Kulū men secretly went on ahead and removed the planks and placed some long grass across instead. When the Chambā men arrived in the darkness each man in trying to cross fell into the gorge. Many were drowned before the deceit was discovered by the drummers going down, when the sound of the drums falling aroused suspicion. Those who remained on the right bank turned and fled, but practically the whole Chambā force was destroyed.¹

This war is still recalled in local tradition, according to which the Gaddi Army, as the Chambā army was called, besieged the Rānā of Manāli in the lower Manāli fort on the "Gaddi Paddar" or "Gaddi Plain" for a long time.

The Kulū garrison was in great straits, their supplies having become almost exhausted, and in order to deceive the besiegers they milked a bitch, mixed some rice with the milk and made *Kīr*, which they threw out to the Gaddis. Seeing this the latter came to the conclusion that provisions in the fort were abundant and raised the siege. It is interesting to note that the Chambā force is traditionally called "the Gaddi army," showing that it came from Brahmāpūra, the original capital and the home of the Gaddis.

Narottam Pāl, Shish Pāl and Bhupāl or Bhup Pāl followed in succession. Bhup Pāl's name is interesting for it is found in the Suket Chronicle, where he is said to have been a contemporary of Bir Sen, the founder of that State (c. A.D. 765-800). The Kulū Chronicle states that in his reign the country was invaded by the Rājā of Suket, who overran the State and made it tributary. This is confirmed by the Suket Chronicle which states that Bir Sen, the Rājā of that State, led an army into Sarāj and afterwards defeated Bhup Pāl, the Kulū Rājā, and made him prisoner. The State was afterwards released on condition of tribute and feudal service. This event may have taken place about A.D. 900, but it seems doubtful if Bir Sen was the Rājā of the time. The Suket State, according to Sir A. Cunningham, was founded about A.D. 765,² by Rājā Bir Sen, and from what we know of the early history of other States, the extensive conquests attributed in the Suket history to Bir Sen seem very improbable. The fact of the invasion remains, but it was more likely made by a later Rājā. Bhup Pāl's successor, Anirūdh Pāl, also continued to

¹ A similar story is told of a Mandi force which perished in a ravine near Māngarh in Kothi Māngarh in the reign of Mān Singh.

² Cf. Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. xiv, p. 123, and Vol. xv, p. 156.

pay tribute to Suket, but his son, Hast Pāl, was freed from tribute on condition of giving aid to Suket in a civil war. In the Suket Chronicle this occurrence is noted and confirmed. There the Kulū Rājā is called Hait Pāl, and the story is thus told: ' Rājā Bikram Sen, grandson of Rājā Bir Sen, after succeeding to the *guddi*, went on pilgrimage to Hardwār, leaving his younger brother, Tribikram Sen, in charge of the State. Tribikram Sen, however, was unfaithful to his trust, and aimed at claiming the kingdom for himself. To secure the assistance of the Kulū Chief in this design, his State was restored, on condition that Hast Pāl, or Hait Pāl as he is called, rendered support on Bikram Sen's return. The latter came back in two years, and hearing on the way of what had happened, he sought the aid of the Rānā of Keonthāl, his own kinsman, and met his brother's force, supported by that of Kulū, at Jiuri on the Satluj. After a hotly contested fight, Tribikram Sen and Hait Pāl of Kulū were both killed. Bikram Sen of Suket then advanced into Kulū and took possession of the country, allotting only a small *jāgīr* to Hait Pāl's son. An interregnum then occurred, the fact of which is confirmed by both Chronicles, during which Suket held full possession of Kulū; the descendants of Hast Pāl, named Dhani Rām, Gopāl Dās and Lachmi Dās, being only *jāgīrdārs*.

¹In the third generation of Suket Rājās from the time of Bikram Sen, the *guddi* was occupied by a minor, named Laksman Sen, and the Kulū Rājā, named Surat Pāl—called Hashīr Pāl in the Suket Chronicle—assumed independence. Fourteen years later, on coming of age, the Suket Rājā is said to have again subdued Kulū and annexed Wazīri Rupī, Lag, Sarāj and a portion of Wazīri Parōl. This latter invasion, however, is not confirmed by the Kulū Chronicle.

Santokh Pāl, the next Rājā, is said to have conquered Gya mur orr and other portions of territory, probably in Ladākh. His son, Tegh Pāl, conquered Baltistān, killing the chief, named Muhammad Khān, and making his son tributary. These statements seem open to suspicion and require corroboration. The next Rājā was Uchit Pāl, who invaded Tibet, but on his death the Rājās of Lhāssa, Gya mur orr and Baltistān are said to have invaded Kulū, seized the Rājā's son while engaged in performing his father's funeral ceremonies, and put him in confinement in Mohangarh (in Kothi Chaparsa, near the Bubu Pass) and held possession of the country for some time.

²This is probably the invasion referred to in the Ladākh annals, as having taken place in the reign of Lha Chen Utpala, c. A.D. 1125-50. On that occasion, the King of Kulū bound himself by oath to pay tribute in *dzos* and iron to the king of Ladākh "so long as the glaciers of the Kailāsa do not melt away, or the Manasarovar Lake dry up." This treaty remained in force down to the reign of Sengge Namgyal (A.D. 1590-1620),³ and even later. The *dzos* or half-breed yaks must have gone from Lahul as there are none in Kulū, and this circumstance tends to confirm popular tradition that Lahul was in early times subject to Kulū and Chambā. Kulū probably held the Chandrā and Bhāgā Valleys down to their junction at Tandi and Ghus,

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 5, 6.

² Cf. *Western Tibet*, by Francké, p. 64.

³ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 6.

⁴ *Vide Western Tibet*, by Francké, p. 65.

while Chambā held the main valley downwards to Pāngī. The real rulers of the country, however, were the Rānās and Thākurs, who acknowledged the supremacy of the paramount power only by the payment of tribute, and whose descendants are still in possession of a portion of their ancient domains. The invasion of Kulū in question must have been made through Lahul, and both countries became tributary to Ladākh.

The next Rājā, Sikandar Pāl, then went to Delhi to complain that the Chinese had invaded his territory, and the King of Delhi came in person with an army which passed through Kulū and conquered Gyamur Orr, Baltistān and Tibet, as far as Mantilae (Manasarovar) Lake. All these paid tribute to Delhi through the Kulū Rājā, who was restored to his dominions. "This," Captain Harcourt remarks, "is a curious record and still more curious if true; and it has an aspect of veracity about it as the lake now called Manasarowa (Manasarovar) was in old days termed Mantilae, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether Indian armies had ever penetrated so far north as this."

Saras Pāl, Śahdēv Pāl, Śrī Mahādev Pāl and Nirati Pāl followed in succession, of whom we have no details; except the note that in the time of Nirati Pāl the ruler of Kashmir was Ali Sher Khan, whom we may perhaps identify with Ali Sher (A.D. 1351-63), the younger brother of Jamshīd, who, however, can hardly have been a contemporary of Nirati Pāl. The note probably refers to a later reign in Kulū and became displaced in the *L'ansāvali* in copying.¹ (Cf. *Ferishta*, Brigg's trans., 1910, Vol. vi, p. 457). Bain Pāl the next Rājā was followed by Hast Pāl II in whose reign the Rājā of Bashahr invaded Kulū, and after exacting tribute left the country. This tribute continued to be paid during the next reign, that of Sasi Pāl, but his son Gambhīr Pāl succeeded in freeing his country from Bashahr and took possession of the portion of that State on the right bank of the Satluj, which river became the boundary.

Nishudan Pāl, the next Rājā, was followed by Narēndar Pāl in whose time Kulū was conquered by Bangāhal and remained subject to that State for ten years. A second Santōkh Pāl was succeeded by Nand Pāl in whose reign Kulū became tributary to Kāngra, and this subjection continued through the following reign under Dharti Pāl. Indar Pāl, however, threw off allegiance to Kāngra and recovered his independence.

Mahi-chakar Pāl, Jayadhar Pāl and Kēral Pāl followed in succession.

¹ In Keral Pāl's reign Kulū was again invaded by the Rājā of Suket, probably Madan Sen, who reigned about A.D. 1240-80. He conquered the country and fixed the boundary at Siunsa near Manālī in the Biās Valley, and at the Pārhati river in Wazīri Rupī. He is said to have granted the land between the Siunsa Nālā and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Biās, to a local petty chief named Rānā Bhosal, or possibly the Rānā may have inherited it from his ancestors. Rānā Bhosal was married to a Suket princess and resided at the fortified palace of Garh Dhek, im-

¹ Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti, p. 117

² J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 7-8.

mediately below the modern village of Baragrān. His capital was Sangor, opposite Nagar, and his chief defence was the huge dressed-stone fort of Baragarh. His wife was named Rupni, his son Tika Ghungru, and his daughter Dei Ghudari.

The Rānā was notorious for his stupidity, and the following popular saying about him is still current :—

Bārah peṭhe : aṭhāra dāne
Bhosal Rānā sār na jāne.

Free translation :—

Twelve pumpkins and eighteen tax-collectors.
Bhosal Rānā cared about nothing.

The story runs that a villager brought twelve pumpkins to the Hāt bazaar for sale, and eighteen men came demanding the octroi dues. Twelve of them took a pumpkin each, and the rest followed dunning the man for their dues. He appealed to Rānā Bhosal but no notice was taken. Seeing this indifference he went to the burning-ghāt, and as each body was brought he asked Re. 1-4-0 as *lāg* (burning dues). This was paid under the impression that it was a new tax imposed by the State. After some time the fraud was discovered, and the man on being summoned excused himself by telling his story, and adding that where such laxness prevailed he thought himself entitled to follow the general example.

A similar story is told of a man in Delhi in the time of the Mughals, who on being found out and questioned as to his authority for taking the tax at the burial-ground, replied that he was *Rānikhān kā bhāi*, that is a near relative of the queen's.

The Rānā had a Wazīr, named Tītā Mehta, whose descendants are still in Kulū. This man fell in love with the Rānī, but his advances were repelled, and he determined on revenge. A new watercourse had been made to the Rānā's rice fields, and Tītā persuaded him into the belief that the water would not flow unless the Rānī was buried alive in the line of the *kuhl* or watercourse. An order was accordingly given for this to be done. The tomb was not an ordinary grave but a kind of cellar constructed by a workman, named Kālu, who was *dharmbhāi*, or foster-brother, to the Rānī. She pleaded earnestly with him, and he built the tomb so that she could move about in it, and even crouch down. At night Tītā came to see the place, and finding her alive he tried to grasp her by the hair. She crouched down and eluded his grasp, so he cast big stones on her and killed her. Captain Harcourt, however, states that it was an ordinary grave and that the Rānī continued to give suck to her child, Ghungru, while the earth was being filled in.

On returning to the palace the Wazīr was asked by the children, what had become of their mother, and he told them to ask Kālu, the workman. On inquiring from him he said "Go to the stable, mount and carry word to your uncle, of Suket. So they took horse and rode to Suket and the Tika cast his *pagri* before his uncle. Then he came with an army and captured both the Rānā and the Wazīr. The latter he flayed alive, and sprinkled him with pepper and cut him into small pieces which

were besmeared on the leaves of the trees. The Rānā he could not kill, but he dressed him in a kilt woven from hemp and put on him a necklace of dried cowdung and pelted him with cowdung all the way to his boundary. The children were taken to Suket, and Baragaṛh was ruled from there until annexed to Kulū in the time of Sidh Singh.¹

The Kulū Chronicle states that the same Suket Rājā granted the *wazir*s of Lag-Mahārājā and Lag-Sāri to the family of his parohit in expiation of a sin which he had committed. It is more probable, however, that the grant was made at a much later time by Parbat Sen c. A.D. 1500, as related in the Suket annals. From this family sprang the Rājās of Lag, who held rule over a large tract of territory till their kingdom was overturned by Jagat Singh of Kulū.

After Keral Pāl the following Rājās ruled the State: Hans Pāl, Agast Pāl, Madan Pāl, and Urdhan Pāl. The date of the last-named Rājā's reign is fixed by two inscriptions bearing his name. One of these is on a Hiṛmā mask with the date Sh. 94=A.D. 1418, the other on a stone in the wall of the Sandhya Devi temple at Jagat-sukh, which he is believed to have built. It runs as follows: *Sri Maharaja Udhran Pāl Sandya Devi Kālī Muraihai* Sh. 4. ba, ti. 1=A.D. 1428. ² Urdhan Pāl therefore ruled about that time.

Kelās Pāl c. A.D. 1428. He was the last Rājā of Kulū who bore the suffix or surname of Pāl, and he probably ruled till about A.D. 1450. After him there is a long break of about 50 years, during which there seems to have been no Rājā in Kulū. Meanwhile Suket retained its hold over a large part of the country, and to it many of the Rānās and Thākurs were tributary; while others regained their independence.

To this period we should perhaps refer the invasion of Goggadeśa by Zain-ul-abidin (A.D. 1420-70) of Kashmir, who is said to have robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kulūta," doubtless referring to Nagar, then the capital. No mention is made of any Rājā at the time.³

⁴ It was probably towards the end of this interregnum that the kingdom of Lag was founded. As related in the Suket annals, Parbat Sen of Suket (c. A.D. 1500) had cast a false accusation on a Parohit, who committed suicide in consequence after cursing the Rājā. To avert the evil effects of the curse Parbat Sen bestowed the Lag and Sāri Wazir's on the Parohit's family, including the whole country between the Phojal Nālā and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Biās. The family afterwards acquired territory in Sarāj and other parts and became independent. They continued to rule till the reign of Jagat Singh, by whom their territory was subdued and annexed to Kulū. According to tradition they were Diwāns or Wazir's of Suket.

Sidh Singh (A.D. 1500). According to the *Vansāvalī* there must have been an interregnum of half a century or more of which we have no record, between Kelās Pāl and his successor, Sidh Singh. The traditions and legends associated with the name of the latter have led some to believe that he was the founder of a new dynasty,

¹ Cf. Chamba Ga., pp. 78-79, for a similar story; also Francke, *Western Tibet*, p. 190.

² The correct spelling is 'Urdhan,' but in the records it is misspelt as 'Udhran.'

³ *Jonaraja Rājatarang.*, verse 1108.

⁴ Cf. J. P. H. S., Vol. vii, No. 2, p.

and the change of the surname from Pāl to Singh has been urged as a proof of this. So far as the change of surname is concerned, it must be admitted that this is of no significance whatever. A similar change took place about the same period in many of the royal families of the Panjab hills, and also in Rājputāna, and even when the head of the family retained the original surname, the younger branches in many instances adopted that of Singh. It was simply the fashion of the time among the Rājputs.

The traditions and legends referred to are very similar in the case of Behangamani Pāl and Sidh Singh. Both are said to have come from Māyāpuri or Hardwār, the inference being that they were from the same family.

In the *Vansāvalī* there is no suggestion that Sidh Singh came of a different line; on the contrary it seems to be assumed that he was descended from the Pāl family, and he himself originally bore the same surname. We therefore conclude that the weight of evidence is in favour of there having been only one dynasty.

It is permissible to conjecture that towards the end of the reign of Kelās Pāl, a combined revolt on the part of the Rānās and Thākurs against the Rāja resulted in his being driven into exile. He may then have retired to Māyāpuri to await a favourable opportunity to recover the State. Such an occurrence is known to have taken place in other hill States. Sidh Singh may, therefore, have been the grandson or great-grandson of Kelās Pāl. On the whole this seems to be the most natural conclusion to arrive at. So far as we are aware there is not a single instance in the history of the Panjab Hill States of a change of dynasty, and it seems improbable that such a change took place in Kulū.

The story of Sidh Singh's adventures is thus told in the *Vansāvalī*. On arriving in Kulū from Māyāpuri, Sidh Pāl, as he was then called, is said to have taken up his abode in the village of Hāt near Bajaura. Seeing the shrine of Bijli Mahādeo on the opposite hill, he inquired whose it was, and was told that any one taking water from the *sangam* on junction of the Biās and Pārbati rivers, and pouring it over the god, would receive the reward of his pious deed. Sidh Pāl resolved on doing this, and having carried out his intention he slept in the temple for the night. Then the god appeared to him in a dream and told him to go to Jagat-sukh where he would receive the promised reward. On arriving there he stayed in the house of a potter. In the morning as he was sitting with his knees crossed a Brahman entered and saw the *padami*,¹ or sign of royalty, on the sole of his foot. The Brahman then said, "You will obtain rule, and a goddess will meet you." Sidh Pāl replied, "Do not say so to any one or the Rānās will kill me." The Brahman repeated his words and asked a grant of land, which was promised if the prediction came true.

Sidh Pāl then went to the *jātra* or fair at Jagat-sukh, and on the way he fell in with the goddess Haṛimbā in the guise of an old woman carrying a *kilta* (basket) on her back. Being of a kindly disposition he offered to carry the *kilta*, and taking it from her put it on his own back. They then proceeded on their way to the fair. At

¹ The *padami* is also called *Urdh Reh* or "mark of nobility" (literally "high line"), and is believed to be peculiar to Rājputs of royal birth. It is a line, like the "line of life," running along the sole of the foot, from the toes to the heel.

last they reached a big stone, and making him put the *killa* on the ground Haṛimbā took Sidh Pāl on her shoulder and raised herself 32 *kos* high. She then asked him how far he could see, and he replied that in one direction he could see to Dalāsni, in another to Chorot plain, and in a third to Kāle Kanauri. On receiving this answer she said, "You will acquire as much land as you can see," and then disappeared.

Sidh Pāl then went on to the fair and was hailed with "Jaideya" by all present, that is, he was at once recognized as Rājā.

Fearing the anger of the Rānās he concealed himself in the house of a Brahman and thus escaped. At night the Brahman's wife came to milk the cow, and there being no one to hold the calf, Sidh Pāl came out from his place of concealment and did so. While thus engaged, a lion entered the place, which he killed, and from that circumstance his surname was changed from Pāl to Singh. Soon afterwards the people assembled and elected him as Rājā of Wazīri Parōl, and he then entered on the conquest of the country from the Rānās and Thākurs, who refused to acknowledge his rule.

In its main features this story bears a strong resemblance to that which is related of Behangamani Pāl, the founder of the State, and it may have been reintroduced into the *Vansāvalī* simply to glorify the new Rājā. At the same time it seems quite possible that after a long exile Sidh Singh, the then head of the family, actually did return from Māyāpuri and was acknowledged as Rājā, as a means of relief from the oppression of the petty chiefs.

Sidh Singh had to put forth strenuous efforts to subdue the Rānās and Thākurs, who during a long period of complete independence had regained full power all over the country. In the other hill States of which we possess historical records, the policy of the Rājās was to stir up strife among the Rānās and Thākurs, and set them against one another. In this way many of them were got rid of, either by complete subjection or assassination. This policy Sidh Singh adopted in Kulū. At the beginning of his reign both banks of the Biās above Jagat-sukh were held by a powerful Chief named Jinna Rānā, whose name still survives in local tradition, and whose ancestors seem to have been in possession from a remote period. His chief strongholds were at Mandan Kot and Manāli, and being too powerful to be attacked openly, Sidh Singh resorted to treachery after the manner of the times.

¹ Jinna Rānā had a groom of Dāgi caste, bearing the nickname of Muchiāni on account of the length of his beard, who was a noted sportsman with bow and arrow. The Rānā objected to the long beard and the groom refused to shave it, giving rise to unpleasantness between them. At last the Rānā brought the matter to a crisis by calling upon the groom to kill a *mainā* sitting on a cow's back, without wounding the cow, failing which his beard would be shorn. This the groom did and saved his beard, but at the cost of all good feeling between himself and his master. This was Sidh Singh's opportunity, and he sent for the Muchiāni, and bribed him to kill the Rānā. The latter had gone to look at his rice fields at Kumānu and Rāambar

below Basisht, and as he was riding back the Muchiāni shot him in the thigh with an arrow. A pillar (*ora*) still marks the spot where this took place, and the range is fully 300 yards. The Rānā rode off to Mandan Kot, and at the spring of Bairakuta he stopped to drink water and died. The riderless horse galloped off to the stable, and soon afterwards the Muchiāni came along towards the fort, playing a dirge on a sieve to announce the death of his master. On hearing this the Rāni ordered the funeral pyre to be prepared and set fire to the fort, perishing with all her women including the Muchiāni's wife.

Sidh Singh rewarded the Muchiāni with the Kumānu *ropa* or rice fields, which his descendants still hold and bear the same name. The family, however, has a bad reputation in Kulū, and are forbidden to attend the Darbār.

After her *satī* the Rāni is believed to have become a *jogin* (goddess), and her shrine is in the ruins of the Mandan Kot fort. She is regarded as having control over the weather, especially as the giver of rain, and when rain is needed and fails, some Muchiānis are sent to burn a cow's skin near her shrine, which has the desired effect, the smell of burnt cow hide and the proximity of the Muchiānis being beyond endurance. The Muchiāni's wife is also worshipped as a *jogin*.

At the time of Jinna's death one of his wives was pregnant, and the Rāni sent her out of the fort before setting fire to it. In due course a boy was born, and when old enough was sent to herd buffaloes on the Gaddi Plain. One day the Rājā had come to sacrifice a buffalo to Huṛimbā at Dhungrī, and the animal got loose, and ran away. The boy was there with his bow and arrow, and he shot the buffalo, or, as some say, caught it by the horns. The Rājā then called him, and, finding out his parentage, granted him in *jāgīr* the Aleo plain near Manāli. He founded the Nuwāni family which to this day erects memorial stones to its dead, a royal privilege in Kulū, Suket and Mandī. The custom, however, originated with the Rānās and Thākurs in the hills, and was in use before the advent of the Rājās. The Nuwāni family still cherish hatred of the Badāni Rājās of Kulū, and when the head of that house dies they assemble, and make a feast, instead of showing signs of mourning.¹

Traditions about Jinna Rānā still linger in Kulū. It is said that there are secret caves where his treasures were stored, and that a secret passage led to them from Mandan Kot. Some years ago a man found out the secret passage, so it is said, and entered the caves which were full of treasure. He returned without touching any thing in order to call others to help him to remove it, but on going back he failed to find the passage, and soon afterwards became mad—due, as is believed by the people, to the influence of the *jogins* or spirits of the caves.

The fort of Baragaṛh was the next place to be captured. It stood on a spur on the right side of the Biās opposite Nagar from which it could be clearly seen. After Rānā Bhosal's death as related, it seems to have remained in the possession of Suket, and was held by a garrison. In the fort lived a woman whom the Kulū chief had gained over to his side, and who promised to give a signal when a favourable oppor-

tunity offered for an assault. One day the garrison went down to Hurang Kothi for the Pāli *jātra* on 2nd Jeth, and the woman then waved a red petticoat, the signal agreed on, which was seen from Nagar; and the Rājā marched in by the Sujoin Nālā, and captured the fort. The first thing he did on entering was to order the woman to be thrown down the precipice. Nagar castle is said to have been built with the stones from Gaṛh Dhek and Sangor.

¹ But there were other petty chiefs still to be overcome. From ancient time, as Mr. Howell tells us, the Tibetans had been in the habit of crossing the passes, and making inroads into Kulū, and had formed settlements at the head of all the side ravines leading down into the main valleys. Each of these settlements was controlled by a local officer or chief, called 'Piti Thākur' by the people of Kulū. One of these Thākurs, who enjoyed an evil reputation, lived in a fort, the remains of which are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagat-sukh. He is said to have drunk human milk, and also to have performed human sacrifice. As regards the latter no surprise need be felt, for there are indications that it was practised all through the hills down to a recent period. He had lieutenants who bore a reputation like his own, in Barnar, Dirot, Diabungi and Gowāri forts, and also in several forts in the Chakki Nala. In fact these Tibetan officers or Chiefs held the approaches to the Hamta and Chandarkanni Passes, and all the bypaths by which these could be turned. Piti Thākur's place of worship was the Prīni Temple of the Great God Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta Pass, leading over from Jagat-sukh to the Chandrā Valley. In this temple alone, and down to the present day, the Spiti men go to make offerings. All other races must take off their shoes in the temple precincts, but Tibetans go in fully shod, and when he is inspired the local priest at the shrine speaks a language which he claims to be Tibetan. He also maintains that the god came from Bhotant (Tibet), Chin (China) or Pangu Padul Mansarovar; and incidentally this is an interesting commentary on the undoubtedly Tibetan origin of the Malāna people in the Upper Pārbati Valley, who claim to be the disciples and incarnations of Jamlu.

These numerous Tibetan settlements, says Mr. Howell, represent the advanced posts of Tibetan influence flanking the ancient trade route from Ladākh and Tibet Proper to Rāmpur Bashahr. This ancient trade route was discovered by Mr. Howell a few years ago, and his account of it is here given *in extenso*: "The position of Kulū, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chambā, in which an ancient Rājput line has been able to maintain an unbroken rule from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulū and Lahul lie full in a channel through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms. The people have acknowledged many masters, Aryan and Mongolian, but through all the changes, the Indian markets have always demanded salt, wool and borax, not to speak of the more precious

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 75-6. According to one tradition Baragarh was captured by Rājā Bidhi Singh, A.D. 1672-88.

² Journal Panjab Hist. Soc., Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 69, 72.

merchandise of Central Asia ; and while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lahul. The trade therefore went on, and it was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route."

"We must remember that in those days the Biās was nowhere bridged and everywhere an impassable torrent : that there were no mule roads ; that every height was crowned with a fort, garrisoned by marauders ; that the Kulū farmers, then as now, regarded travelling sheep as "fair game" : that there was a Cuštom's barrier below Rahla to the south of the Rohtang Pass, at the cañon still known as the Jagāt-Khāna (Customs House), where no doubt a foreigner's life was made a burden to him, and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to any one who can imagine the Kulū people set free from the restraints that the British Rāj imposes upon them."

"So the trade from Ladākḥ avoided the Hamta and Rohtang Passes and the comparatively broad roads which led to destruction in the valleys, and took a safer if more difficult route. Arrived at the summit of the Bārālācha Pass the Tibetans turned their laden sheep to the left and followed down the left bank of the Chandrā river. Here was pasturage and to spare of the finest fattening grass in the world, wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning and there was not the least fear of molestation in an uninhabited and, to the Indian mind, most undesirable region. Past the beautiful Chandrā Lake the trade sheep marched and grazed to the plain near Phuti Runi (Split Rock), still known as the Kanāwari Plain, corresponding to the modern Patseo in British Lahul. There the middlemen from Kanāwar in Bashahr, and perhaps from Kothi Kanāwar at the head of the Pārbati Valley, met them. The big 50 lb. packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked, the big Tibetan sheep were shorn, for a week or more the trading went on, and finally the little Bashahri sheep marched off, while the Tibetan *biangs* or "trade sheep" returned with their packs to Rudok or Leh. But the Kanāwaris had no thought of moving through Kulū. They went up the valley which is now blocked by the Shigri Glacier ; across the head of the Pārbati Valley and along the old mountain sheep route which is still known though seldom used,—always through uninhabited safety to the Satluj at Rāmpur. There they met and let us hope were a match for the wily traders of the plains."

"In 1836 the Shigri Glacier, bursting some obstruction on the mountain top, overwhelmed the Chandrā Valley, dammed the Chandrā river till it rose within a measurable distance of the Kunzam Pass, leading into Spiti, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spiti people had pickets out at the summit of the Pass to give warning, in case the river rose high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losar, the first village in Spiti."

"There are, however, some landmarks on the old road, which was I suspect abandoned more gradually than tradition says. The Kanāwaris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language, closely allied to the languages of Lahul and Malāna, have left their name on the Kanāwari Plain, near the modern camping ground of Phuti

Runi, and the whole Parbati Valley is known to this day as Kothi Kanawari, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their original language, and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as foreigners, and often show markedly Mongolian features. Probably they are the descendants of Kanawaris who gave up trade for farming generations ago, before the trade road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Pulga to Rampur."

There can be little doubt that the Trade Road was in use in the time of Sidh Singh, and that the Tibetan Officers, called by the Kulū people "Piti Thākur," held control of the country through which it passed. Their hold must have been strengthened by an invasion of Kulū from Ladākḥ about A.D. 1530, during the reign of Tsewang r Namgyal I, by whom Kulū was subdued and its "chiefs were made to feel the weight of his arm." It was probably soon after this invasion that the Tibetan Officers or petty chiefs were finally driven out of Kulū by Sidh Singh, and we hear no more of them.

Mr. Howell relates an interesting incident bearing on the Tibetan occupation. More than 20 years ago, he says, a monk came with credentials from Lahassa addressed to the late Thakur Hari Singh of Lahul, and he also had in his possession an ancient map of Manali and of an old Buddhist monastery which once stood there. He stated that the monks who occupied it had been driven out of the valley in a hurry, and had hidden their library in a cave, which they had closed by concealing the mouth with a pile of logs and sealing it with a curse calculated to deter the boldest Kulū man from interfering with the logs. When the monk reached Manāli he went straight to the pile of logs in front of the Manāli temple, and was at once confronted with the curse, making it impossible for him to touch them. The mystery thus remains unsolved. But the incident shows that monastic chronicles confirm the general tradition of a Tibetan occupation, and Tibetan place-names are found at the head of all the valleys—e.g. Solong in Kulū proper; Pangchi Pass between Rupī and Inner Sarāj; Shungchu and Tung in Inner Sarāj. The Tibetans, however, seem never to have occupied the lower valleys and did not like coming below an altitude of 9,000 or 10,000 ft., and never formed any outposts lower than 7,000 or 8,000 ft., and these seem to have been chiefly for the protection of the trade route. Climatic conditions made it impossible for them to live at a lower altitude.

Sidh Singh died probably in A.D. 1532 and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Singh.

Bahādur Singh (c. A.D. 1552). Bahādur Singh completed the subjection of the Rānas and Thākurs which his father had begun. Wazirī Rupī was still in the possession of Suket and the Thakurs paid tribute. The Rājā of Suket at that time was Arjun Sen who was notorious for his arrogance. When the Thākurs of Wazirī Rupī came to him with their tribute, he kept them waiting some days before receiving them, and when at last he came out of his palace he asked them gruffly whence the "crows of Rupī" had come, and refused to grant their requests. The Rupī men

replied, "Yes, we are crows and we will fly away to our own forests," so on their way back they decided to offer their allegiance to Bahādur Singh, and presented themselves before him at Nagar. On seeing them, Bahādur Singh, more politic than the ruler of Suket, asked, why the "lords of Rupī" had come to him. They replied that formerly they were the subjects of the State, and they desired to become so again. Thus the greater part of Wazīri Rupī was quietly brought under control.¹

Some of the petty chiefs, however, held out and Bahādur Singh, therefore, advanced into Rupī and having captured Harkandhi Kothī imprisoned the Thākur. He then went on to Kanāwar and killed the Thākur, after which he took possession of his estate. The same fate befell Chung Kothī and its Thākur, and Bahādur Singh then attacked Kothī Kot-kandhī, and the Thākur of Chanwar came out to receive the Rājā, and on a *jāgīr* being granted him he made over the rest of his territory and became subject. Another Thākur in Kothī Kot-kandhī was not so submissive. He resided at Basa and on Bahādur Singh's approach refused to go out to meet him and prepared for resistance. He was however defeated, and fled, and Kotkhandi fort was captured and garrisoned with Kulū troops. The Thākur of Basa was afterwards captured and gave in his submission, on which Basa was granted him in *jāgīr*. But when he returned home he changed his mind and sent word that he would neither serve nor obey the Rājā. Having been captured a second time some one suggested that his obstinacy was the effect of standing on his native soil. To test this some earth was brought from Basa and spread on the ground, and after being seated he was again asked if he was now willing to submit. He replied: "I will neither obey your commands nor serve you." Thereupon the Rājā is said to have remarked that it was not the Thākur's fault, but that of the soil, for he was disobedient because he stood on his own ground.² The Thākur was therefore imprisoned and the earth of Basa was dug up and dispersed to other villages, presumably to destroy its malign influence. Other lands were then granted to the Thākur's family. Bahādur Singh then fought with the Thākur of Tandī in Bhulān Kothī, killed him and destroyed his fort at Dharmpur, and placed a guard at Jamser.

Thākur Haul resided in Sainsar Kothī, and some of his brotherhood lived at Nalahar. They offered, if a *jāgīr* was granted them, to seize the Thākur and bring him to the Rājā, and also to persuade the people to settle down peaceably. They said that the lower road was unsuitable for an advance, which ought to be made by the Baijahi Pass. On Sainsar being reached a fight took place in which Thākur Haul was killed and his estate was then brought under the Rājā's control, a *jāgīr* as promised being given to the Thākur's relatives who had betrayed him.

In this way, after subduing the whole of Wazīri Rupī Bahādur Singh settled down at Makarāha or Makarsa in Sainsar Kothī, which he rebuilt. It had probably been in ruins from early times.

³ In the account of his journey through Kulū in August 1820, Mr. William Moor-

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No 2, p. 10.

² A similar story is told of one of the Chamba Rānas. Cf. Chambā Gaz., p. 176.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 184.

croft, the traveller, refers to Makarsa, which he identified with Nagār. He was evidently unaware of the existence of the ancient town of the same name opposite Bajaura. He says: "On the 11th, we passed a house, belonging to the Rājā, on our right, situated on an eminence, at the foot of which stood the ancient capital of Kulū, named Makarsa. A few houses are all that remain of it, as the removal to Sultānpur took place three centuries ago." Col. Harcourt also states that the old capital of the Rājās at Nagār was termed Makarsa, though he was aware of the existence of Makarāha. Tradition however does not support this identification. According to it, Makarsa or Magarsa is not a town, but a tract or district of Kulū, named after the town of *Makarāha* or Makarāsa. The name *Makarsa* was applied to the whole of Kulū State from the time of Rājā Bahādur Singh, and the tradition finds expression in the following popular rhyme:—

Rānā, Thākur mārīc keru bhurasa
Makarāhar basiē, rāj banu Makarsa

"The Rānās and Thākurs were killed and smashed up. Makarāhar was repopulated, and the State became known as Makarsa."¹

That Nagār the capital was also called Makarsa is not improbable. An analogous case is that of Kashmir under Muhammadan rule, when both the country and the capital bore the same name, the old name of the capital—Srinagar—having fallen into disuse. The ancient name was revived only after the valley passed in 1846 into the hands of the Dogra Rajputs of Jammu. (*Vide Moorcroft, Travels*, vol. ii, p. 114).

But though Nagār was the capital, Bahādur Singh resided chiefly at Makarāha, where he built a palace for himself and re-peopled the town, and there he died. His immediate successors followed his example down to Rājā Jagat Singh, who transferred the capital to Sultānpur.

The Tibetan records make no mention of the first two capitals of Kulū. The Tinan Chronicle completed in the time of Bahādur Singh speaks of him as residing at Makarsa, and the same is said of his successors, Pratāp Singh and Parbat Singh. Sultānpur is first mentioned in the reign of Rājā Pritam Singh, under the name of Setānpur. It is certain, however, that Nagār was the seat of government before the transfer to Sultānpur, though the Rājās resided chiefly at Makarāha.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell, late Assistant Commissioner in Kulū, has gone fully into the question of the identification of Makarāha. He says: "There has been much confusion regarding the site of Makarāha which the Rev. A. H. Francké was able to clear up. The Chronicle of Tinan (Gondla) in Lahul speaks of Bahādur Singh as residing at Makarsang, and this in the Bunan language of Lahul means, "the place of Makar."

"All tradition in Kulū supports the statement of the Chronicle of Tinan and of Hardyāl Singh, that Bahādur Singh of Kulū rebuilt the ruined town of Makarāha. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Biās near the debouchment of the Hurla

¹ Arch. Survey Reports, 1907-08, p. 268.

Khad, south of Nagar, and easily accessible from Bajaura. As to Moorcroft's identification of Nagar with Makarsa, he only casually looked at the place from the other side of the river, and might quite easily have failed to catch what was said to him, or he was misinformed."

"Bahādur Singh and his descendants used to like to live there, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built the town. Makarāha was no doubt a convenient place of residence for Bahādur Singh during the time that his generals were campaigning in Sarāj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sainj Nālā was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe and in touch at once with Nagar and with the army in the field."

"Most unfortunately some British Official with unpardonable iconoclasm used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makarāha to build the bridge over the Biās at Dalāsni which was washed away: as well as some other bridges. But enough remains to show that the place was founded by some civilized dynasty, which had attained to a very high order of art: for the stone work is really very beautiful. It seems probable that one highly advanced civilization was responsible for the beautiful carvings of old Makarāha; of Hāt, in its immediate neighbourhood, near Bajaura; and of Nast near Jagat-sukh. At any rate the connection between these carvings is well worthy of the attention of archaeologists, and the sites would probably repay excavation."

Having taken up his residence at Makarāha after the conquest of the Pārbati Valley, Bahādur Singh next took in hand the overthrow of the Rānās and Thākurs who still held Sarāj. He advanced against Kothi Sainsar, where he was opposed by two or three Thākurs, all of whom were killed and their states occupied. Banogi near Lārjī was the next to be attacked, and that also fell into his hands. He granted some lands to the relatives of the Thākur, and destroyed the *thāna* at Banogi, built by the former rulers, which is called "thāna" to this day, and is the house of the present Thākur. Bahādur Singh then went to Nohanda through Sirikot, and took possession of it after killing the Thākur. Kothi Bunga fell into his hands in the same manner. Kothi Sarchi was the next to be attacked, but the Thākur submitted and received a *jāgīr*. He then pushed on to Rāmgarh and attacked and killed the Thākur of that place, after which the surrounding country fell into his hands. Kothi Chāhni followed; all the Thākurs of that place being killed in battle.

In the possession of a Thākur family at Ladhyāra in Kothi Bhalān, is an old document said to have been granted to the ancestor of the family by Rājā Bahādur Singh, which throws an interesting light on the events of the time, and of which the following is a translation:—

"By the favour of Srī Mahā Srī Raghunāth ji—Makarsa is the Kingdom of Srī Raghunāth ji, and he has given it to Srī Mahārāja Bahādur Singh. It is the possession of Mahārāja Bahādur Singh.

"The Ladhyāra Thākur Hāthi.

Then above Churwadhi he (Hāthi) seized the chiefship (*thākuri*) of Manimuas and killed the Thākur. He then captured the Thākur of Kot Kandhi, and bringing

him, presented him to Bahādur Singh and seized Kot-kandhi. He brought Bahādur Singh by the back way to Ladhyāra. Then he killed the Thākur of Bhalan and seized his barony. Bahādur Singh was living at Ladhyāra. He sent Hāthi to seize Sainsar, he (Hāthi) occupied Sainsar and laid it waste. Then he seized the whole of Rupī and presented it to Bahādur Singh. Then Bahādur Singh greatly extended his kingdom. The baronies (*thākuri*) of Sarāj remained to be conquered and he (Bahādur Singh) ordered other officers to go. They replied, "We cannot go." Then Bahādur Singh said to Hāthi, "Without you the *thākuris* of Sarāj will not be conquered." Bahādur Singh remained at Ladhyāra and sent his army with Hāthi, appointing him Commander. Then Hāthi went to Shangar and took it. He also captured Tung, Nahodh, Chahan and Tund and called the last place Bahādurpur and built a fort. Then Hāthi returned and came to Banog and captured Anand the Sarāj Thākur and also Banog, and seized all the Sarāj Thākurs. He seized Sarāj and Rupī, laying them waste, and presented them to Bahādur Singh. Then Bahādur Singh having enlarged his kingdom made great rejoicings and killed goats. Hāthi gave the *drub* grass to the Rājā and the Rājā gave a bracelet to Hāthi, and bound it on his arm. The Rājā also gave Hāthi the whole of Ladhyāra; 72 *khārwārs* of land and 360 *khārwārs* in *sāsan* to be enjoyed in perpetuity. He also had it recorded in the court that Hāthi should enjoy the *khārwārs* and *sāsan*, as a reward for subduing the Thākurs, and that his descendants should also enjoy them. Then the Rājā made Hāthi his Wazīr on account of his brave deeds. Hāthi then said (to the Rājā) that there were many cultivators (*hālis*) living on the land, and he requested that the Rājā should give them to him as slaves, and they also were given in perpetuity. The Rājā also gave orders that the Wazīr of Rupī and the officials of Bhalān were not to give trouble when Hāthi was absent on military expeditions. Given Sambat 90—15th Paisyakh."

The date of the document is probably Sh. 9=A.D. 1533, which would place it near the beginning of Bahādur Singh's reign, and though there is some doubt regarding its genuineness, "there can be no doubt"—says Mr. Howell—"that it correctly describes the conquest of part of Lower Sarāj." It is in the possession of a lineal descendant of the Thākur named Hāthi, referred to, who still resides at Ladhyāra on the family lands, but the family is not respected by the other Thākurs. As the worship of Raghunāth (Rāma) was not introduced into Kulū till the reign of Rājā Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-72) the document cannot be accepted as genuine, but there can be little doubt that it correctly describes the manner in which Bahādur Singh conducted his campaigns.

It is probable that an accession of territory, to which a reference occurs in the Mandi annals, was also made in the later years of Bahādur Singh. After the conquest of Wazīri Parol, Wazīri Rupī and half of Inner Sarāj, there still remained the small kingdom of Lag, on the right bank of the Biās, founded by the descendants of the Parohit of Rājā Parbat Sen of Suket. It included Wazīri Lag-Sāri and Lag-Mahārājā, from the Phojal Nālā to Bajaura, also the tract now called Sarāj-Mandi and half of Inner Sarāj, as well as the north-west portion of Outer Sarāj, and a small

part of Chhota Bangāhal. The Mandī records state that Sāhib Sen of that State (c. A.D. 1554-1575) combined with Jagat Singh of Kulu in an invasion of Lag. Jagat Singh, however, was not a contemporary of Sāhib Sen, whose reign was synchronous with that of Bahādur Singh and Partāp Singh. On that occasion the portions of Inner and Outer Sarāj held by Lag were annexed to Kulū; and Mandī seized the tract now called Sarāj-Mandī. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag, probably in the same reigns, Mandī obtained the districts of Sanor and Badar, while Kulū took Pirkot, Madanpur and twelve neighbouring villages. The Lag State then probably became tributary to Kulū.¹

This is incidentally corroborated by a title-deed issued by Bahādur Singh in A.D. 1559 to Ramāpatī, the Rājāguru of Chambā, granting him a piece of land in *sāsan*, or free hold, in the neighbourhood of Haṭṭa or Hāt, at the confluence of the Rupareri and Biās rivers near Bajaura. Hāt must originally have been in Lag State and presumably had been annexed to Kulū by Bahādur Singh.²

³ It is also possible that Sultānpur was founded by Bahādur Singh, though local tradition assigns its foundation to Sultān Chand, brother of Jog Chand, the last Rājā of Lag, who was subdued by Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-1672). According to one local tradition Sultānpur was founded by one Sultān Singh and Dhālpur, the suburb on the right bank of the Sarvari Nālā, by Dhāl Singh.

Now in the copper plate referred to Bahādur Singh is called "Suratrāna Rājā," that is, "Sultān Rājā," and the fact that this name was actually in use is known traditionally in Kulū. It is therefore possible that Bahādur Singh was also called "Sultān Singh," and as Lag was tributary to him he may have conquered or acquired the site, and founded the town of Sultānpur. But, as we know, he resided at Makarāha, and died there.

⁴ In Sh. 35=A.D. 1559, towards the end of Bahādur Singh's reign, a marriage alliance took place between the royal families of Kulū and Chambā, of which we possess an interesting record in the form of a copper-plate title-deed. This deed was granted by Bahādur Singh to Ramāpatī, the *Rājā-guru* or spiritual-preceptor of the Chambā Chief, presumably in recognition of his services in negotiating the marriage, to which much importance was evidently attached by the Kulū Rājā. The Rājā of Chambā of the time was, probably, Ganesh Varman, and the bridegroom, Partāp Singh, his son and heir—to whom three Kulū Princesses were married at the same time. The fact of such a marriage need cause no surprise, as it was not an uncommon practice among the Hill Rājput̄s for two or more sisters to be married at the same time and to the same person.

The title-deed conferred on Ramāpatī various grants of land, and other boons which were to be enjoyed by him, and his offspring "for as long as the moon, the sun, the polar star and the earth shall endure." The descendants of Ramāpatī still hold the office of *Rājā-guru*, and their family is one of the first in Chambā—but the lands conveyed to their ancestor by the bounty of Bahādur Singh have long since

¹ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 1, p. 8.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 265-6.

³ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 262-3.

⁴ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 261-269.

passed into other hands. The title-deed is dated in the Shāstra year 35=A.D. 1559, which was probably the year of Bahādur Singh's death, though the vernacular history places that event in A.D. 1569.

Bahādur Singh was succeeded by *Partāp Singh* (A.D. 1559-1575), *Parbat Singh* (A.D. 1575-1608), *Prithī Singh* (A.D. 1608-1635), and *Kaliān Singh* (A.D. 1635-1637), the last named being a brother of the previous Rājā. Of the events of these reigns we unfortunately have no records. They synchronized with the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and the early part of Shāhjahān's reign.

Though no mention of the Mughals is found in the Chronicle, it is probable that Kulū, like most of the other hill states, came under Mughal control in Akbar's reign. In this connection reference may be made to the association of Akbar's name with the temple of the god Jamlu in the village of Malāna, on the Malāna Nālā, a branch of the Pārhati river. Briefly told, the story is that a *sādhu*, or religious mendicant, received two pice on his visit to Malāna from the treasury of the local deity. On arriving at Delhi the pice were taken from him in name of a poll-tax and thus found their way into the imperial treasury. Soon afterwards Akbar, it is said, became afflicted with leprosy, and on inquiry at the Brahmans he was told that an insult had been offered to Jamlu, and the two pice must be restored if he wished to recover. On search being made in the treasury the two pice were found stuck together, and Akbar was told to take them in person to Malāna and restore them to the god. A compromise was made, by the Emperor sending them along with various images in gold and silver of himself and his court, which were presented to Jamlu, and thus his wrath was appeased and Akbar recovered. Every year in Phagun at the annual festival these images are brought out, so that Akbar may do homage to Jamlu. It has even been said that Akbar visited Malāna, but this we may safely assume is incorrect.¹

The Rājās who followed Bahādur Singh continued to reside at Makarāha, though Nagar seems to have been regarded as the capital of the State.

Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-1672). Jagat Singh was one of the most notable of the Kulū Chiefs, and during his reign the kingdom was further enlarged and consolidated. For some time after his accession he continued to reside at Makarāha, and from there he directed his conquest of Outer Sarāj and the territory on the right bank of the Biās still under the rule of Lag.

In the beginning of Jagat Singh's reign an incident occurred which had important political consequences. A Brahman residing at Tippari between Chaman and Jhari, was said to have a *patha* (i.e. about three pounds) of pearls. The Rājā sent to demand the pearls and met with a refusal. He was on his way to Manikarn, and at Sarsari he again sent to the Brahman for the pearls. Being angry the latter replied that he would produce them on the Rājā's return from Manikarn, but on the approach of the royal party he set fire to himself, and perished with all his family. The house is still shown. The Rājā then went on to Makarāha, and on food being set before him it all turned to worms. This caused much alarm, and a Brahman of

¹ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. iv. No. 2, pp. 98-111, from which it appears that Akbar is now the object of worship, though he originally appeared (by proxy) as a suppliant before the shrine of Jamlu.

reputed piety was sent for from Suket, who came unwillingly. On the matter being laid before him he told the Rājā that it had been revealed to him in a dream that the sin of Brahman-murder could be expiated only by bringing the image of Raghunāthji from Oudh¹; and making a surrender of the kingdom to that deity. On hearing this Jagat Singh ordered the Brahman, named Damodar, to bring the image. Now Damodar had a *gutka-sidh*, or ball used by devotees, which, on being put in the mouth, made the bearer invisible. He went to Oudh—probably the town of Ajudhya—and lived a long time in the temple waiting for an opportunity to carry off the image. Having at last secured it he put the *gutka-sidh* in his mouth and at once reached Hardwār. On the theft being discovered, one of the temple attendants who also had a *gutka-sidh* started in pursuit, and also arrived at Hardwār where he found Damodar worshipping the image. Being challenged with the theft, he replied, that he had not stolen the god, as it was at the latter's own request that he was being taken to Rājā Jagat Singh of Kulū. "If I do not speak the truth," said Damodar, "take the god back if you can." The Oudh Brahman then tried to lift the image but in vain, while Damodar raised it with one hand. Being satisfied, the Oudh Brahman returned empty-handed, and Damodar brought the image to Makarāha. There Jagat Singh formally conveyed his realm to the god, by placing the image on the *guddi*, and henceforth the Rājās of Kulū regarded themselves as only the vicegerents of Raghunāth (Rāma), and as ruling only in his name. A great feast or *vajya*² was also held on the occasion. A similar transfer of the kingdom to a god took place in Mandi about the same time, in the reign of Sūraj Sen, A.D. 1637-64. In this way the curse was removed, and in gratitude Damodar was granted 84 coolie loads of goods and also a temple at Bhuin village with all its rights. Jagat-sukh Kothi was also made *dharmarth*, that is, every one visiting the place was allowed food free, in the name of the god. Jagat Singh also ordered one rupee and two copper coins to be placed daily before the god and gave orders that this money was to be put aside and sent every year to Ayudhya.

As we have already seen, the first invasion of Lag probably took place in the reign of Partāp Singh. But although much of the territory was then lost the Rājās of Lag continued to hold the rest of the State down to the reign of Jagat Singh. It included the whole of Lag proper; Koth Sawār of Chhota Bangāhal; and all the slopes to the Uhl river from the outer Himālaya, the upper part of which is now known as Chuhār—originally a part of Bangāhal State.

Jagat Sing invaded Lag in conjunction with the Rājā of Mandi, probably Sūraj Sen. After the conquest Mandi took Chuhār, and all the rest seems to have gone to Kulū. The Lag State was then ruled by two brothers, one of whom, Jai Chand or Jog Chaud, resided at Dughi Lag, and the other, Sultān Chand, at Sultānpur, which according to tradition was founded by him and named after him. Jagat Singh invaded Lag, and his advance was made by way of Dhālpur, near Sultānpur, where he attacked Sultān Chand. The latter was a renowned warrior, and a large cave is still

¹ Probably the city of Ayodhya is indicated.

² Skr. *vajna*, "a sacrifice"

shown on a mountain near Sultānpur, as the favourite hiding-place of the two brothers when carrying on a guerilla war against Jagat Singh. At last Sultan Chand is said to have had his head severed from his body in battle, but it remained in place, and he went on fighting till he reached the *Padhka*, —a kind of pillar in Sultanpur,—where the head fell off and he died.¹ Traditionally, however, Jai or Jog Chand is said to have been the hero of this incident. However this may be, the second brother was also soon afterwards killed, and the whole territory of Lag was then annexed to Mandi and Kulū as already related, probably about A.D. 1650–55.

² Jagat Singh's attack upon the Lag State is fully corroborated by one of the *Jarmāns* already referred to, addressed to him by Dārā Shikoh in the year A.H. 1067 = A.D. 1657. In this document it is stated that Jagat Singh had taken possession of the estate of Jog Chand after the latter's demise, and carried captive some of his relatives, knowing them to be under the protection of the Emperor. He is enjoined to surrender the tract seized, and "if from obstinacy and imprudence he deferred releasing Jog Chand's grandson and giving up the district an order would be issued to Rājā Rājrup Jahāngir Quli Beg, and the Faujdār of Jammu, that they should go up to the districts of his *Zamīndārī* and annihilate him." Rājā Rājrup was the Rājā of Nurpur and son of Rājā Jagat Singh of that State, and not an uncle of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur as is stated in the Sirmur State Gazetteer, Jahāngir Quli Beg may have been the Faujdār of Kangra, who resided in the Kangra Fort, and was entrusted with the duty of collecting the annual tribute money, called *nazarāna*, from the Hill Chiefs of the Kangra group of States.

Jagat Singh did not comply with the royal command. He had probably heard rumours of the impending conflict between Dārā Shikoh and his three brothers, and felt himself safe in disregarding the order. Soon afterwards the fratricidal struggle began and Dārā Shikoh was defeated at Samugaṛh near Agra.

Having thus subdued the whole of the Upper Kulū Valley, Jagat Singh transferred the capital from Nagar to Sultānpur, probably about A.D. 1660, and built a palace for himself and a temple for Raghunāthji. Thereafter he resided alternately at Sultānpur, Nagar and Thawa—the last-named place being above Nagar. It is now a heap of ruins and tradition says that Nagar Castle was built with the stones from Thawa.

Makarāha was then abandoned and probably soon fell into decay. It had enjoyed great prosperity during the reign of Jagat Singh, who erected a temple there to Rāmā and deposited in it a Murlī (flute) which he had obtained from Ayōdhyā. The following couplet is also interesting, as showing the prosperous condition of the place.

*Makarāhar Ajodhyāpurī mānōhēm Braj kī rīt
Jagat Singh Mahārāj kī Srī Rāgho-ji sem pīt.*

Makarāhar is another Ayōdhyā and is the counterpart of Braj (tract round Mathura). Mahārāja Jagat Singh is devoted to the illustrious Rāghoji (i.e. Rāma chandra)."³

¹ A similar story is related by the bards of Gugga Chauhan, a deified hero—also called Mundikh—who is worshipped in the hills.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1907-08, p. 268.

³ Arch. Survey Report, 1907-08, p. 270.

'Of the thirteen *farmāns* referred to, twelve are addressed to Jagat Singh between A.D. 1650 and 1658. In them he is called Zamindār of Kulū, and is only once styled Rājā. One of the *farmāns* is from Aurangzeb in which Jagat Singh is spoken of as "well-established in his royal ways." He sent presents of hawks and crystal to Delhi, and deputed his son as a hostage at the Imperial Court. In the *farmān* referred to Jagat Singh was asked to join hands with Dhan Chand Kahluria of Bilāspur, in order to close the roads through the hills against Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh, who sought to rejoin his father.¹ The latter had fled to the Panjab after his defeat by Aurangzeb and Murād Baksh at the battle of Sāmugarh in A.D. 1658. *Vide* Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. I, pp. 84 f.; also Manucci, Vol. I, p. 271.

An amusing tradition has come down about Jagat Singh and a Brahman *sādhu*, who lived in a small forest, called Nagar-Jhir forest, near Nagār and Thawa. The Rājā went to visit the saint, who changed himself into a tiger; but not being in the least afraid Jagat Singh lifted the tiger off the ground. At this the tiger was pleased, and patting the Rājā again changed himself into a *sādhu*. He made Jagat Singh his disciple, and put a *kanthi* or garland round his neck, at the same time giving him the god Narsingh to worship. He then added, "You are of the Kshatri caste so you should have one bird shot every day and cooked and then offered to the god, after which half is to be given to my disciple and the other part you should eat yourself." He also said, "Eight of your descendants will reign at Makarāha and the ninth at Pandori; after that whoever obeys Raghunāth the most will be king."

It appears that most of Outer Sarāj was still in the possession of Suket and Bashahr, so Jagat Singh went there with his army and captured the forts of Naraingarh, Sirigarh and Himri, and annexed them to the State. He died soon afterwards, having reigned about 35 years.

Bidhi Singh (c. A.D. 1672). Jagat Singh had three sons, Hari Singh, Bidhi Singh and Fakir Singh. Hari Singh was killed, probably in battle, and Bidhi Singh succeeded on his father's death. Fakir Singh went to Delhi probably as a hostage for the State, in accordance with the practice initiated by Akbar.

Bidhi Singh is said to have extended the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction at the expense of his neighbours. In his reign the Satluj became the State boundary to the south, and some of the small principalities of the Simla Hills—as now known—are said to have been subdued. Towards the north he, about A.D. 1670-80, advanced into Upper Lahul and freed it from Ladākh, to which it, as well as Kulū, had been tributary from A.D. 1125-50. This was probably rendered easy in consequence of the invasion of Ladākh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646-47,² which greatly weakened the power of the former State. As we have seen, the main Chandrābhāga Valley, especially on the left bank, from the junction of the two rivers, had been under Chambā from early times. Traditions to this effect exist in the valley, and

¹ Arch. Sur. Report, 1907-08, p. 268.

² A similar order was sent to Rājā Subhag Parkāsh of Sirmour, and to Rājā Rajrūp Singh of Nurpur. Cf. *Sirmour Gaz.*, p. 13.

³ Cf. *Western Tibet*, Francke, p. 104 *et seq.* Cf. *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 94.

the people of Ghushāl say that they owned a copper-plate deed granted by a Chambā Rājā, which was lost when the Upper Valley passed under the rule of Kulū, in the time of Bidhī Singh. Lahul is named in the Chronicle among the places conquered by him, and Thiroṭ, which marks the boundary between Kulū and Chambā at the present time, is specified as coming under the control of Kulū. In one account, it is stated that Lahul was transferred to Kulū as dowry with a Chambā princess, but this is improbable, as territory is seldom if ever given on such occasions. The conclusion we arrive at is, that Bidhī Singh invaded Lahul and expelled Ladākh influence from the Upper Valley, and also acquired the main valley down to the present boundary from Chambā, either by conquest or private arrangement.

Bidhī Singh also annexed the Kothis of Dhaul, Kot Kandhi and Baramgarh in Outer Sarāj, after taking them from Bashahr. He died in A.D. 1688.

Mān Singh (A.D. 1688). Under Mān Singh the Kulū State reached the zenith of its power. In the early part of his reign he invaded Mandī and conquered the country as far as Drang salt-mines. The Rānī of Mandī, it is said, then fell at his feet and he relinquished his conquests. The Mandī records, however, state that he was defeated and driven back.¹ This event is said to have taken place in the reign of Gur Sen of Mandī, but it may have been somewhat later. A dagger was presented on this occasion by Mān Singh to the Mandī Rājā, which is still preserved in the State Armoury at Mandī.

Mān Singh completed the *tālūka* of Outer Sarāj, as it now exists, by taking the present Kulū Kothi of Pandrabis from Bashahr, and he built the forts of Pandrabis, Dabkopochka and Tangusta.

² About A.D. 1700, Mān Singh again took the field against Mandī in consequence of the invasion of Bangāhal. This was an ancient principality with the capital at Bīr-Bangāhal, and it embraced most of the country along the southern outskirts of the Dhaula Dhār between Kāngra and Kulū, as far south as the Biās. It also included the district of Bara Bangāhal in the head waters of the Rāvi, to the north of the Dhaula Dhār. Some time previous to this the most southerly *ilāqās*, containing the salt mines of Guma and Drang, had been seized by Mandī, and Sidh Sen of that State now cast covetous eyes on the rest of the State, which he sought to add to his dominions by treachery. Prithī Pāl, the Rājā of Bangāhal was his son-in-law—and the latter's sister was married to Mān Singh of Kulū.

Prithī Pāl was invited to Mandī on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket, and on his arrival was received with every mark of honour, but a month afterwards he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered. Sidh Sen then sent an army against Bangāhal, but Prithī Pāl's mother, who was still alive, appealed to Mān Singh of Kulū for help. He set out with a force by way of the Sāri Pass and captured the fort of Ratnagir. At the end of the campaign Bara Bangāhal, Chhota Bangāhal, and part of Bīr Bangāhal, were also annexed to Kulū. Mān Singh then returned to Sultānpur where he remained for some time, but on trouble arising

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, pp. 14-15.

² *Ibid* J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, p. 15.

with Ladākh he marched through Lahul, and fixed the boundary with that State, probably at the Lingti Plain, where it still is. Being then near the borders of Spiti he subdued the country, and compelled the people to pay tribute, and then returned to Kulū. After that Spiti seems to have formed a part of Kulū State for some time. His next expedition was towards the south. Passing through Sarāj he crossed the Satluj and seized Shāngri, which was then held by a Thākur, to whom he assigned a *jāgīr*, and annexed the country.

He built the fort of Kalgarh, and after making a deduction from the revenue of Shāngri for servants, etc., he fixed a payment of Rs. 100 per annum only. He also built forts at Sirikot, Salāchani, Ratu, Rararna, and Pagi, and took tribute from Kotgarh, Kamhārsen and Balsān.

Soon afterwards Mandī invaded Kulū, and Garhchula, Madaupur, Bisturi and Tārāpur were attacked. On Mān Singh's advance the invaders retreated and were pursued as far as Guma and Drang, both of which places were occupied. Mān Singh then advanced to Dhangri where he remained till the Mandī Rājā came to terms, and presented a large sum of money, probably as tribute, on which the country was restored and the Kulū force retired. The Rājā built a palace at Ratah village.

Mān Singh's reign came to a tragic end. Having fallen in love with the wife of the Rājā of Kamhārsen, her husband enticed him across the Satluj to Sirikot, unguarded, where he was set upon by Bashahris and killed. During his rule Kulū had become a powerful State, embracing an area of at least 10,000 square miles. In addition to Kulū proper it comprised Upper Lahul, Bara and Chhota **Bangāhal** and Spiti, while towards the south it extended nearly to Simla and to the town of Mandi.

Rāj Singh (A.D. 1719). This reign seems to have been uneventful, for there is practically nothing recorded regarding it. It was about this time that Gobind Singh—the tenth Sikh Guru—visited Kulū, it is said, to ask assistance against the Muhammadans. The Rājā seems to have been unfavourably disposed towards the Guru, and treated him inhospitably. On being asked to perform a miracle, the Guru drew out his own beard to a great length, on which the Rājā breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard. The Guru was also imprisoned in an iron cage, but he caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all, to Mandī, where he was courteously entertained by Sidh Sen, the ruler of that State.

Rāj Singh's reign was a short one, and he died about A.D. 1731, and was succeeded by his son Jai Singh.

Jai Singh (A.D. 1731). During the early part of this reign the Wazir of the State was one Kālu of Diyār, whose descendants still live in Kulū. For some reason unknown, the Rājā was displeased with him and expelled him from the country. He retired to Kareti, a village above Kepu on the left bank of the Satluj, and stirred up a revolt. The State officials were seized and thrown from the high rocks of Sewda in Sarāj, at a place called Paldhag. On hearing of the revolt Jai Singh fled to Lahore,

accompanied by 500 men, probably for the purpose of appealing to the Mughal Viceroy. Hearing of this, Shamsheer Sen of Mandi invaded the State and took possession of Chuhār *ilāqa*, which with only one short interval has been Mandi territory ever since. Jai Singh is said to have been a handsome man, and when in Lahore the King's (Nawab's) daughter saw him and wanted to marry him.¹ On her father approaching the Rājā on the subject, he became alarmed and fled by night with 50 of his men, leaving the others to take back his property to Kulū.

Jai Singh did not return to Kulū, and wrote to his brother, Tedhī Singh, that he had gone on pilgrimage to the holy places. He went to Oudh and lived at Rāmdarbar,² devoting himself to the worship of Raghunāth till his death.

Tedhī Singh A.D. 1742. On receiving his brother's letter Tedhī Singh went to Kulū and assumed the government, but many of the people refused to acknowledge him, probably in the expectation that Jai Singh would return.

About that time a band of wandering Berāgis or Hindu ascetics had come to Kulū, and Tedhī Singh gradually enlisted them in his service as a body-guard, to the number it is said of one thousand. Having them entirely under his own control as a band of mercenaries, he decided on a drastic procedure in order to establish his authority. The ring-leaders of the opposition were inveigled into the palace on some pretext, and their liquor being drugged, the mercenaries fell upon them and put three hundred and sixty of them to death.

This crime, however, failed of its object, and only resulted in another outbreak, of a still more serious character, led by a Sanyāsi faqīr, claiming to be Rājā Jai Singh returned from exile. This impostor bore a strong resemblance to the Rājā, and had formed a connection with a Hindu dancing girl, who had been with Jai Singh in Kulū, and had accompanied him in his flight to Lahore. With her assistance, he managed to answer questions in such a way as to deceive the people of Sarāj and Rupī. The revolt seems to have lasted for some time, till Jai Singh died and the men who had been with him to the end and had burnt his body, returned to Kulū. The impostor was then exposed and killed. Tedhī Singh was a contemporary of Rājā Ghamand Chand of Kāngra, grandfather of Rājā Sansār Chand, and it must have been during his reign that the invasion of Kulū, referred to by Moorcroft, took place. On that occasion the images on the Bajaura temple were mutilated, probably by Muhammadan mercenaries in the pay of the Katoch Chief.³

On the decline of Mughal power and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni, the latter, in A.D. 1758, appointed to the office of Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb Rājā Ghamand Chand, who probably also sought to acquire the supremacy over the whole of the Kāngra group of states. In this design, however, he was thwarted by the Sikh inroads into the hills, which began soon after 1760: and in the general confusion most of the hill states recovered their independence.

Tedhī Singh had no legitimate son, but there were three sons by concubines, named Pritam Singh, Charan Singh, and Prem Singh.

¹ A similar story is told of Rājā Dhiraj Pāl of Basohli. Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. iv, No. 2, p. 91.

² Probably a Rāma shrine in Ayodhyā.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 170.

Pritam Singh, A.D. 1767. On his father's death he was recognized as Raja. Soon after his accession he invaded Mandī and recovered the forts of Deogarh, Mastpur, Sari and Amargarh.

There is no mention of the Sikhs in the Kulū records till a later period, but their influence must have been felt from an early date in Pritam Singh's reign.

Jassa Singh Rāmgaria had established a suzerainty over several of the hill states of the Kāngra group before 1770; and in 1776, on his defeat on the plains, the suzerainty passed to Jai Singh Kanheya. In 1776 Sansār Chand succeeded to the kingdom of Kāngra, and began to lay plans for the capture of Kāngra Fort, which was still held by the last of the Mughal governors of the hills, named Saif-ullah Khān. This brave man, though possessing almost nothing outside the walls, had yet continued to maintain his position against all assailants for nearly 40 years. Jai Singh Kanheya was also keen on capturing the fort, and when asked for help by Sansār Chand, he in 1781 sent a force under his son, Gurbakhsh Singh, to the assistance of the Katoch Chief. In 1783 the Mughal Governor died and the garrison was compelled to capitulate, but to Sansār Chand's disappointment the capitulation was made to the Sikhs, and not to himself. In 1786, however, it finally came into his hands; on the defeat of Jai Singh Kanheya on the plains by a combination against him, aided by Sansār Chand.

With the possession of Kāngra Fort Sansār Chand also acquired the supremacy over all the hill states between the Satluj and the Rāvi, and maintained it for twenty years.

Pritam Singh's reign seems to have been on the whole uneventful and prosperous, but plots were, as we know, being hatched against him, of which he was probably ignorant. In the Chambā archives there exists an agreement in Tānkari between Rājā Shamsher Sen of Mandī; his son, Miān Surma Sen; Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngra and Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā, to attack Makarsa (Kulū) and seize Bangāhal, and divide it equally among them, each taking the portion nearest to his own territory. The document is dated 1 Magh Vik. 1834=A.D. 1778.²

From this it would appear that Bangāhal was then in the hands of Kulū, and the three States—Mandī, Kāngra, and Chambā—agreed to seize it. Chambā territory then embraced the southern outskirts of the Dhaulā Dhār, in the Kāngra Valley, as far east as the borders of Bir Bangāhal, and the Pathyār Fort, near Pālampūr, was garrisoned by Chambā troops. It was easy, therefore, for the Chambā Chief to invade Bir Bangāhal, and this he seems to have done. A letter exists from Pritam Singh of Kulū to Rāj Singh of Chambā, complaining that Bangāhal had been occupied, and asking for its restoration. The Wazir of Kulū, named Bhāg Chand, had also been captured, and his release was asked. This request was not complied with, for another letter, dated in 1781, states that two men—Tulsi Rām and Jassi Rām—had become security for the payment of Rs. 15,000 for Bhāg Chand's release. Presumably he was then set at liberty.³

¹ Cf. Forster, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 239.

² Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 60, C. 18.

³ Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 69, C. 19 and C. 27; also p. 71, C. 39.

At a later date another agreement was entered into against Kulū, between Chambā, Mandī and Kāhlūr (Bilāspur), to invade and conquer Makarsa (Kulū), and divide the country equally among them. It is dated in A.D. 1786. Nothing seems to have come of this agreement. It was the year in which Sansār Chand acquired possession of Kāngra Fort and assumed the supremacy over the hill states, and the hill chiefs were probably too much concerned for their own territories to think of making inroads on one another.

¹ With the acquisition of Kāngra Fort, Sansār Chand was left free to prosecute his ambitious designs and henceforth for more than twenty years there was no peace in the hills. His grandfather, Ghamand Chand, had raised a force of 4,000 men—composed chiefly of Rohillas, Afghans and Rājputs—drawn from the Delhi and Afghān armies, to whom he gave liberal allowances, and Tegh Chand, his father, continued the same policy. At his accession, Sansār Chand thus had a force of trained men with which it was hopeless for any of the hill chiefs to cope. They were all, therefore, forced to submit to his control, pay him tribute, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In 1792 he invaded Mandī, and seized three districts, one of which, Chuhār, he gave to Kulū, but it was at a later date restored to Mandī.

Kulū does not seem to have been interfered with by Sansār Chand to the same extent as some of the other states. Its isolated position in the high mountains was probably its protection. Pritam Singh had a long reign and was still in power as late as 1801, when he addressed a letter to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā, promising assistance in a united attack upon Kāngra.² By that time Sansār Chand's high-handed treatment of the hill chiefs had aroused bitter resentment against him, and many of them were ready to assist in his overthrow, but distrust of one another prevented combined action. Pritam Singh died about A.D. 1806 and was succeeded by his son Bikrama Singh.

Bikrama Singh, A.D. 1806. In the early part of this reign Mandī invaded the State and retook the forts of Deogaṛh, Mastpur and Sari.

Previous to this the Gurkhas had conquered the hill country north-west of Nepāl, as far as the Satluj, and Kulū paid tribute to them for Shāngri, and to Sansār Chand for Kulū itself. The Gurkhas entertained the hope of conquering the western hills as far as Kashmir, but were for a time kept in check by the Katoch Chief. In 1806, however, the feeling of resentment against Sansār Chand reached a climax in consequence of his attack upon Kāhlūr (Bilāspur), and a confederacy of all the hill states as far west as the Rāvi was formed against him. Communications were opened with the Gurkha leader, Amar Singh Thapa, and he agreed to cross the Satluj and invade Kāngra.³ Moorcroft states that the Katoch army had been weakened by the dismissal of old mercenaries, and the engagement of less efficient men on smaller pay. However this may be, Sansār Chand was defeated and sought refuge in Kāngra Fort. After holding out for four years, he in despair asked help from Ranjīt Singh, the cost of which was the loss of the fort, and of the independence of his kingdom. In

¹ Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 127.

² Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 71, C. 51.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 129.

this subjection Kulū and all the other hill states were included. Soon afterwards, probably in 1810, a Sikh force advanced into the Kulū Valley to demand tribute, which was paid to the amount of Rs. 40,000. Three years later a second demand was made, and not being complied with, an army under Diwan Mohkam Chand entered the valley by the Dukhī Pass, and the amount of Rs. 50,000 being still refused, the Sikhs plundered the capital and looted the treasury. The Rājā fled up the mountains to Bangla village, but ultimately had to pay a much larger sum to free the country from the invaders. The total amount is said to have been three lakhs of rupees, of which one lakh was given as a bribe to Mohkam Chand.

Bikrama Singh is said to have ruled for eleven years, and may have died about 1816.

Ajit Singh (A.D. 1816). Ajit Singh was the son of a concubine, but in the absence of a direct heir was acknowledged as Rājā, and was installed by the Rājā of Mandī acting by deputy. This right had been claimed and exercised for some time by Sansār Chand as lord paramount, and though his suzerainty had passed away, he was annoyed that the ceremony of investiture should have been performed by another. He therefore stirred up Kishan Singh, the Rājā's uncle, to dispute the succession. His claim was supported by the Rānis, but the people disapproved and Kishan Singh then fled to Kāngra. With the assistance of Sansār Chand he collected a force and advanced into Kulū. Ajit Singh was defeated, and fled to Mandī, but returned with a force, and Kishan Singh was overpowered and made prisoner with all his men by the combined Mandī and Kulū army. The Katoch men were stripped naked and left to find their way home over the mountains in this condition. As a reward for his services the Mandī Rājā claimed the restoration of two forts, and the *ilāqā* of Chuhār which had been in the possession of Kulū for some time.

Kishan Singh soon afterwards died, and a boy was put forward by his supporters as his posthumous son, of whom further mention will be made.

Some time in 1816-17 the ex-Amīr of Kabul, Shāh Shujā, passed down through Kulū into British territory. After his flight from Lahore in 1815, he found an asylum in Kashtwār for two years, and on Ranjit Singh hearing of his whereabouts, and demanding his surrender, he fled over the high ranges into Zanskar, and by the Bārālācha and Rotang Passes into Kulū. On learning that Shāh Shujā had been allowed to escape, Ranjit Singh imposed a fine of Rs. 80,000 on Kulū, which was paid. In his diary Shāh Shujā says that the Kulū people treated him very inhospitably.

Mr. Moorcroft was the first European to visit Kulū, on his way to Ladākh in 1820. On reaching Mandī he was refused permission by the Sikhs to proceed further, and went to Lahore to wait on Ranjit Singh. Armed with the necessary order he returned by Nadaun and Tara-Sujānpur, where he was the guest of Rājā Sansār Chand. On his further journey he passed through Baijnāth and Guma, and over the Bajaura or Dulchī Pass into Kulū. Of the Rājā he thus speaks: "The Rājā of

Kulū, Ajit Singh, is at present a boy of less than ten years of age, and the affairs of the Rāj are administered by the Wazir Sobha Rām, who appears to be a plain, intelligent man. He complains bitterly of the tyranny and exactions of Ranjit, and in common with all the hill chiefs is desirous of being taken under British protection: he has paid rather dearly for his attachment to us."

Moorcroft also states that in the Nepalese war, Kulū was called upon for some co-operation which was afforded, and the Wazir acting as regent received a present of five thousand rupees. Ranjit Singh thereupon fined him fifty thousand for accepting the remuneration and for interfering in the war.

For nearly twenty years after Mr. Moorcroft's visit, things seem to have moved on quietly in Kulū; the yearly tribute was duly paid, and there was no excuse for invading the State. In 1839, a force was sent against Mandi under General Ventura, which met with little opposition, and the Rājā was captured and sent a prisoner to Amritsar. After Mandi had been subdued a portion of the Sikh army under the Sindhanwālā Sirdārs was detached for the invasion of Kulū. No opposition was offered, and the force advanced to Sultānpur. For a time friendly relations were kept up by the Sikh leader, and the Rājā being unsuspecting was invited to the Sikh headquarters, and made prisoner. He was then told that he would be set at liberty if he gave up the country, on a promise that he would receive Waziri Parol in jāgīr, and to this he agreed. Ten days later a portion of the Sikh force was told off to take over Sarāj, and the Rājā was compelled to accompany it, and to order his people to surrender the forts. It is said that the Sikhs treated the Rājā with great indignity and want of courtesy, and the report of this treatment aroused strong feelings of anger among his people. With the connivance of the Rājā, but unknown to the Sikhs, it was determined to attempt a rescue—the lead being taken by Kapuru, the Wazir of Sarāj,—the head of a branch of the family of the Wazirs of Diyār. Kapūru or Kapūr Singh, Wazir of Sarāj, is said to have invited the Sikhs to invade Kulū, out of revenge for an outrage to which he was subjected. Tulsu Negi—the Rājā's guardian and special friend—was an enemy of Kapūru's and a plot was laid to kill him on the occasion of an interview with the Rājā. Kapūru, however, became aware of the plot and on arrival pitched his camp at Dhālpur near Sultānpur. At the appointed time, instead of going himself he attired his servant in his own robes and seated him in the *pālki*. It being customary to fire a salute on such occasions with light guns, one of them was loaded, and the servant being mistaken for his master was shot at and died. Kapūru then fled to Sarāj and raised a tumult, or "Dum," and Tulsu had to flee accompanied by the Rājā. This incident left much bad feeling, but Kapūru seems to have repented of his act in calling in the Sikhs, when he saw how the Rājā was treated by them, and took the lead in the rescue.

The story of the rescue is thus told by Mr. Lyall in the Kāngra Settlement Report: ³ "The Sikh force was probably about one thousand strong: it had done

¹ Cf. Kāngra Settlement Rep., p. 78. This expedition was preliminary to an invasion of Tibet which did not mature.

² Vide Punjab Hist. Society—Journal, Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 76, 77, 78.

³ Kāngra Settlement Rep., p. 78.

its work and had returned from Outer Sarāj, by the Basloh Pass. A little way below the fort of Tung, the road—a mere footpath and here very narrow—runs along the brink of a wooded ravine; in these woods the Sarājīs lay in ambush and awaited the Sikhs, who were marching along in single file and undisturbed by any feeling of insecurity. When that part of the line which held the Rājā came opposite the ambush, a sudden rush was made, a few men were cut down and the Rājā was caught up and carried swiftly up the mountain side. At the same time all along the line rocks were rolled down and shots fired from above at the Sikhs, who were seized with a panic and fell back into the fort of Tung. Here they remained two days till they were forced to move out by the failure of their provisions. They were attacked again as they marched down the valley, and made slow progress. At last they struck up the mountain side in Kothi Nohanda, hoping to get supplies and uncommanded ground in the villages above. But they did not know the country and only got on to a barren, steep, and rugged hill-side, where they could barely keep their footing, and did not even find water to drink. The light and active hillmen kept above them wherever they went, knocking over some with rocks, and driving others to fall over the precipices. After a night spent in this way the miserable remnant were driven down again into the valley, and there induced to give up their arms on the promise that their lives should be spared, but no sooner had they been disarmed when the Sarājīs set upon them and massacred them without pity.”

The means used to secure a surrender were probably regarded as perfectly legitimate in the circumstances. Four or five low-caste men dressed as Brahmans were sent into the Sikh Camp, and with their hands on a cow's tail they gave assurances of safety. Such a promise was not regarded as binding, and on the Sikhs surrendering and being disarmed they were killed almost to a man. This happened in the spring of 1840. Meantime Rājā Ajit Singh was conveyed across the Satluj to his small State of Shangrī which was under British protection, and where he knew he would be safe from the Sikhs. There he died in September 1841.

The main Sikh army had remained at Sultānpur, and against it the Kulū people were powerless. An attempt to release the Rānis from the palace failed, and the Sikhs sent a force into Sarāj to avenge the disaster to their arms. The people fled to the mountains, and some villages were burnt and the country plundered, and thereafter it was farmed out to the Rājā of Mandī for Rs. 32,000. The rest of the State was placed in charge of a Sikh Kārdār, who had the management of the revenue. A Sikh force was also retained in the country.

In the autumn of 1841 Ajit Singh's two Rānis managed to escape from the palace by a subterranean tunnel, dug under the walls, and they fled to the mountains. On their way to Shāngrī they heard of the Rājā's death and returned to Sultānpur.

On Ajit Singh's demise Mr. Erskine, the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, made an inquiry as to the succession to the fief of Shāngrī, and reported in favour of Ranbir Singh, minor son of Miān Jagar Singh, first cousin of Ajit Singh. Mian Jagar Singh was passed over, owing to his being an imbecile. The Sikhs as well as Ajit Singh's Rānis also admitted the claim, as being next in the succession to the Kulū

gaddi, but before any further steps could be taken the child fell sick and died. Thākur Singh, a first cousin once removed of Ajit Singh, was then selected by the Sikhs and made Rājā, with Waziri-Rupī in *jaḡīr*. The fief of Shāngri remained in the hands of Jagar Singh and is still in his family, forming one of the Simla Hill States. Thākur Singh was invited to Lahore in the reign of Mahārājā Sher Singh, who received him kindly and, it is said, installed him as Rājā. It is also said that he was offered the whole country under the burden of a heavy tribute, but being a timid man he declined the responsibility.

By the treaty of 9th March, 1846, after the First Sikh War, the hill country between the Satluj and the Indus was ceded to the British Government, and the portion between the Satluj and the Rāvi including Lahul finally remained British territory, the rest being sold to Rājā Gulab Singh of Jammu. Kulū being within the ceded territory, Thākur Singh was confirmed in his *jaḡīr* of Waziri-Rupī with sovereign powers, the remainder of the State, including Lahul and Spiti, being placed in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, as a portion of the newly formed district of Kangra.

On his death in 1852, Thākur Singh was succeeded by his son Gyān Singh, who was illegitimate, and Government while continuing the *jaḡīr*, changed his title to Rai and withdrew all political powers, also reserving the right to fell and sell timber in the *jaḡīr*.

As already narrated, Ajit Singh's claim to the *guddi* was disputed by his uncle, Kishan Singh, who at his death left a posthumous son. Shortly before the Mutiny in 1857 a man, calling himself Partāb Sing and claiming to be the posthumous son of Kishan Singh, appeared in Kulū. Some of the people believed in his claim. On the outbreak of the Mutiny he wrote letters affirming his claim to the Rāj of Kulū, and tried to stir up trouble. Thereupon he was arrested by Major Hay, the Assistant Commissioner, and after trial was hanged at Dharmśāla. Many of the people, however, believed that he was really Partāb Singh.

Gyān Singh died in 1869, and the *jaḡīr* passed to his son Dalip Singh, on his attaining his majority in 1883. He too enjoyed his possessions only for a few years, and died in 1892. As he left only an illegitimate son, named Megh Singh, Government continued the *jaḡīr* to him, but under special restrictions which need not be specified. He usually resides at Sultanpur, in the palace of his ancestors.

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