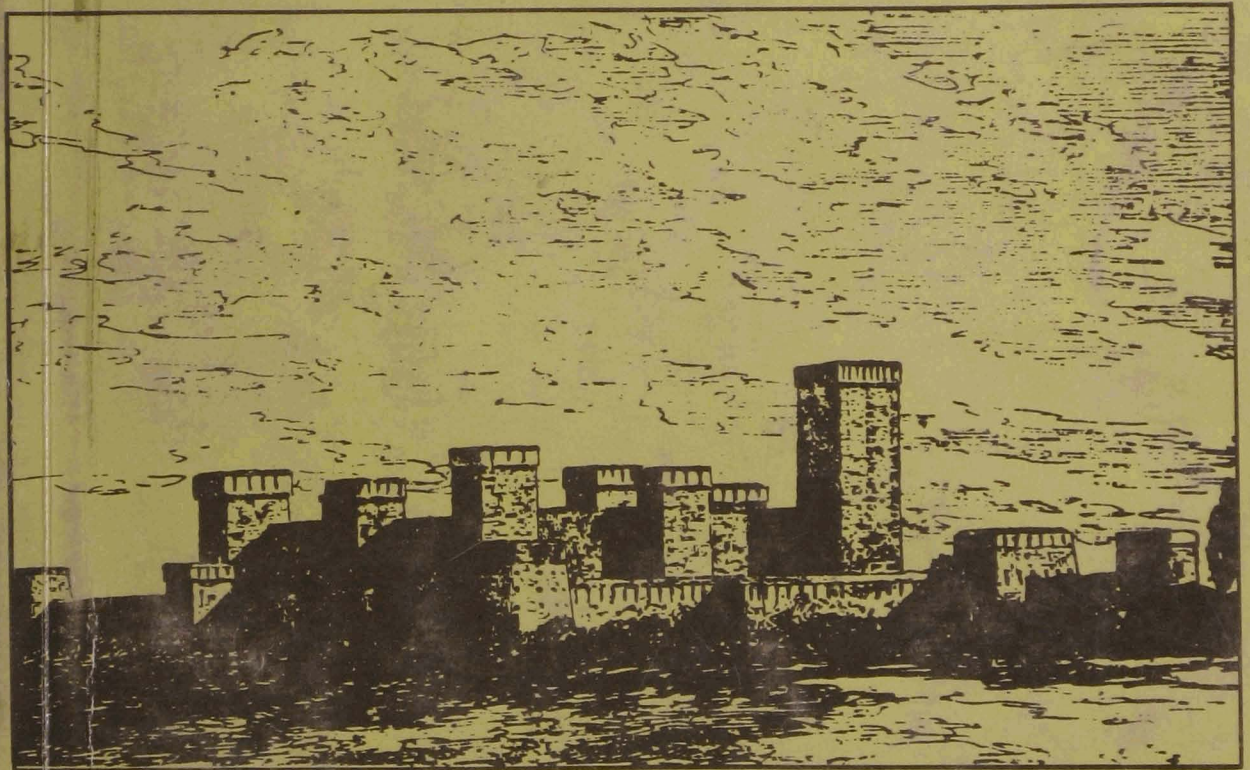


SHAH RAIS KHAN'S
HISTORY OF GILGIT

Edited by
Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani

With the assistance of
Late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar
and
Mr. Akbar Husain Akbar



GILGIT FORT IN 1870

(1885—1974)

Islamabad/Gilgit
1987

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Edited by
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(Hon.) Director
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Price



Published by
Director, Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Printed at:
Khursheed Printers (Pvt) Ltd., Islamabad

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INTRODUCTION

The Author

The author of this book, Raja Shah Rais Khan, was the third son of Raja Ali Dad Khan, legal heir to the title of Raja of Gilgit and its associated landed property. Shah Rais was born in 1885¹ and had his education in the local school at Gilgit. On the recommendation of the Wazir Wizarat of Gilgit he was taken in the office of the Revenue Settlement Officer for three year's training and was later posted in Bagrot. Still later he went to Kashmir and joined as Subedar in the Kashmir State army. After the death of Raja Jafar Khan, he came back to Gilgit to look after the family property and remained here for four years. Once again he went to Kashmir and resumed his post of Subedar. Finally in 1925 he returned to Gilgit after resigning from the State army and joined the Gilgit Scouts. In 1939 he had to leave even this service when he quarrelled with A.P.O. Chilas. In 1944 the Political Agent of Gilgit appointed him as Wali Ahad of the Raja's property because Raja Jafar Khan had no children. Shah Rais Khan took active interest in the socio-political life of Gilgit. When the struggle for freedom movement started in Gilgit in 1947, Shah Rais Khan was one of the leading figures in the political manouvres. It was in the fitness of things that after the Government of Kashmir Maharaja was toppled on 1st November 1947, Shah Rais Khan was elected as the President of Azad Government of Gilgit. It is under his Presidency that a resolution was passed by the members of the Government to voluntarily join with Pakistan. Accordingly a request was made to the Government of Pakistan to send their representative. On 16 November 1947 Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan arrived in Gilgit. Shah Rais Khan handed over the Government to Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan alongwith the treasury and the seal and himself accepted the post of Controller of Supply so as to make arrangement for the procurement of food and sundries required by the new Government. In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him for the attainment of freedom President Ayub Khan decorated him with Sitara-i-Quaid-i-Azam. The present history book was written by him in early seventies. He died on 22nd January, 1974.

General Nature

Shah Rais Khan's *History of Gilgit* is the first complete history of the region, excluding the area of Baltistan, covering a period from eighth century A.D. to 1891. Since Dr. Leitner² gave brief notices of local history in

his works, more informations were added by Dr. Biddulph³ and Lorimer⁴. Lorimer drew material from the unpublished work⁵ of the Hunza ruler, Mir Nazim Khan. This was followed by the work⁶ of Qudratullah Beg in Persian. However, a better account is given by Munshi Hashmatullah in his Urdu book *Tarikh-i-Jammu*.⁷ As he spent his whole life time in this region, he had the best opportunity to gather details about the local history, but as he himself admits, this part of the history he wrote in Lakhnow after his retirement from service out of the notes that he had kept during his service. He had no time to recheck his material while he was actually writing and hence there is some discrepancy in dates and details. On the other hand the primary purpose of his writing the *Tarikh* (history) was to relate the account of the Dogra rulers in Jammu and Kashmir. The history of this region was added as an after-thought to his main work. However, his work still remains the standard publication, with which the details of the present work can be compared and examined. As far as the present work is concerned, no attempt is made here to level any great historical criticism nor have we examined in any detail the authenticity of the events as there is no independent authority available so far to check them.

As Shah Rais Khan was a scion of the Trakhan ruling dynasty of Gilgit, the present history shows an extreme bias in favour of the Gilgit rulers to the total disregard of the character and personality of the rulers of the neighbouring valleys, such as Punyal, Yasin, Chitral and Hunza. Only the rulers of Nager have been spared from the wrath of the author simply because some of the later occupants of the throne of Gilgit were princes from Nager. The author's vituperation against the powerful neighbouring rulers is understandable as he believed in the superior authority of the ruling house of Gilgit as well as in the sanctity of this authority, to which all the neighbouring rulers were supposed to be serviliant. But when these same rulers violated this authority and challenged its sanctity so much so that they assailed at times on Gilgit throne, the author's patience was exhausted and he burst his anger against them in abusive language. Such abusive words have been slightly moderated in the text published here. Urdu language used by the author is deliberately ornate and hyperbolic and in several places there are mistakes in grammar and phraseology. Attempt has been made to correct the obvious mistakes and present the text in a readable form without altering author's diction, style or manner of narration. In fact the entire account is in the language of the author himself. The responsibility for presenting the history in this manner also rests with him. The late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar, retired Assistant Inspector-General of Police, Gilgit, has collated the text upto page 370, ad the remainder pages have been done by Mr. Akbar Husain Akbar, a journalist from Nager. I have divided the text into chapters and sub-chapters for easy

comprehension and supervised the calligraphic recording done by Mr. Izzatullah Shahzad.

The main sources of history are local folklores and folk songs which were sung on festive occasions at the court. They are even now preserved in the Shina language. It is from them that all the authors, mentioned above, have derived their material. For the period nearer to author's time memories of old men, or some traditions preserved among different tribes have been duly taken advantage of but the narration has been so fitted into Gilgit superiority complex that even after Dogra ruler's capture of Gilgit, the author gives an impression that the Gilgit ruler's authority remained inviolate. From geographic point of view history covers an extensive area from Wakhan and Badakhshan borders in the north to Tragbal and Gurez just in the borders of Kashmir in the south, and from the territory of Kanjut, i.e. Hunza very near Tashkurgan in the east to Bashgal (i.e. Nuristan) beyond Chitral in the west, including Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Harban, present-day Kohistan (or *Yagistan* of British time) and even Swat. This whole region is said to be the domain of Gilgit authority and whenever this authority was able to assert its power, its sway spread over the entire people living in this wide geographical area. Beyond this area the local rulers never thought of making any conquest. Historical links with Kashmir are given in connection with trade and import of skilled workers but very rarely political except in the mid-nineteenth century when the Sikhs were invited and they persisted in their forceful presence. The Mughal rulers are known through the Raja of Skardu. On the other hand historical links with Badakhshan have been frequently mentioned. Even the Mogal, or correctly Mongol invasion has been fully described and its influence on local history, religion and culture duly given.

The author is a firm believer in the sanctity of royal blue blood. He has taken pains to show how the ruling dynasty of Gilgit has inherited blood from Azur Jamshed, the fabulous Kiyani ruler of Iran who fled that country after Arab invasion. This male deposed sovereign of Iran is brought to Gilgit and his connection with the Pre-Trakhan ruling family of Gilgit is established through a Gilgit princess. Thus the ruling dynasty of Gilgit is shown to inherit succession to the throne of Gilgit by right of descent from two royal houses, one local and another Iranian, both joining in secret wedlock to produce the new ruling dynasty of Gilgit, which according to him, later came to be known as Trakhan after the name of a later ruler, called Torra Khan. The author does not admit any Turkish blood flowing into the veins of the local dynasty.

The noble blood of this dynasty gave the right of succession to Gilgit throne but there was no formal law of succession for the choice of one or the other prince. The succession depended on two factors: first, the capacity

and power that the prince in his individual self was able to muster, and second the support that he got from the local nobility or from the tribes where he was brought up as a foster child. This last was a peculiar practice kept up by the Gilgit rulers until the end. The princes, when born, were sent to one or the other neighbouring tribe for rearing up under the care of the tribal chief, sometimes in Gor (Gauharabad) or in Darel, or in Golapur or in Bagrot. There the prince grew up with his foster brothers and these brothers continued to wield power when the prince succeeded to the throne. However, it is from the local people that the rank of the nobility was derived and very often they played a leading role at the time of succession. The ultimate sanction to authority certainly depended upon their consent but no noble man could aspire to be a King himself. At best they could be regents as we know in some cases. The claim to be a ruler always remained in a scion of the blue blood. Hence there was always attempt on the part of the neighbouring rulers to give a daughter to the Gilgit prince or take a Gilgit princess in marriage so as to establish royal blood in the new child thus born. This interplay of political marriages led to a game of local politics that involved not only the ruling families of the different valleys but also the entire nobility and the people. The power distribution was a game of chess in which the members of the royal houses were directly involved and even among them it was the Gilgit royalty that was the sinecure of one and all. There was hardly any charisma, implicit or explicit, in the personality of the Gilgit rulers nor did they derive their authority from the people nor from any ameliorative measures that they undertook for the welfare of the people. The ruler's generosity, charity and nobility were merits of individual character that ennobled their nature but did not qualify them for sovereignty.

The author does not know much about the non-Muslim period of the history of the Trakhan dynasty except that of the family of Sri Badad. It is only the Pre-Trakhan rulers who are said to be Buddhists but later Islam is brought to Gilgit right in the beginning of the Trakhan ruling house. This Islam is said to be Sunnite in belief and only occasionally Shia influence is brought here later. As far as the spread of Ismailism is concerned, the author traces it to the influence of the traditional Taj Mogal.

Chapter-I

1. In Chapter-I, entitled "*Family of Sri Badad*," traditional history is traced from the ruler *Kesar* of epic fame. He is said to be Buddhist. He appointed his son *Bagartham* in charge of Gilgit. The latter was succeeded by *Agartham* as Raja. His memory is preserved in the rock called *Agartham-giri*. His reign was marked by great commercial activity with the neighbouring countries. People were happy and prosperous. His son is named *Sri Badad* who is depicted as a cruel but strong ruler. In course of time he became a man-eater (*Adam-khor*). His cruelty and man-killing dismayed and disillusioned his subjects. He had a beautiful daughter, called *Nur Bakht Khatun*, who lived in a specially built palace at Sonikot. The king had a prime minister, named *Jatai Loto*, a resident of *Danyor*, and four other ministers, *Ardmin* of *Shin* tribe, *Sharokun* of *Yashkun* tribe, *Bodao* also of *Shin* tribe, and *Khachat* of the royal tribe but the tribe remains unnamed. The Prime Minister desired to finish off with the cruel king but he was powerless. After some time prince *Azur Jamshed*, a descendant of *Nousherwan* of the *Kiyani* ruling family of *Iran*, came to *Danyor* for shelter because of his defeat from the *Arabs*. The services of this young Iranian prince were taken by the Prime Minister, who, in league with other ministers, managed to get the prince married secretly with the local princess. She was then taken into confidence and a plot was hatched to kill the king. Out of her love for the prince she revealed the secret that the king was very powerful but he could be killed only by fire. This she did just to save her newly-born son, who, however, had to be kept a secret from her cruel father. The newly-born son was wrapped, concealed in a box which was floated into *Gilgit* river for a possible future discovery. The king was duly killed and he was succeeded to the *Gilgit* throne by the young *Kiyani* prince *Azur Jamshed*. In this way a new dynasty came to power in *Gilgit*.

This traditional history sounds more romantic than real and it is hard to reconcile with what is known from the newly-discovered epigraphic material. However, it is possible to make sense out of it in the light of the literary and epigraphic evidence. *Kesar* epic⁸ is well known in this part although it is difficult to identify the epic hero king. The epigraphic evidence speaks of the *Patola Shahi* rulers of *Gilgit*. *Patola* is identified with *Balol* or *Bolor* — the geographic name of this region as known from *Chinese*⁹ and *Muslim* accounts.¹⁰ But the real import of *Bolor* is not known. It may originally imply a tribal name which was later applied to the region. The inscriptions¹¹ name the first ruler *Vajraditya-nandi* and all the succeeding rulers bear the title of *Vikramaditya*. In the name *Bagartham*

one could recognise *Bagr + tham*. *Tham* is certainly *Thuma*, meaning “a ruler” and *Bagr* is most probably identical with *Bagr* or *Vajra*, and thus Bagartham could be easily taken for *Vajra + aditya*, the first ruler. The second ruler *Agartham* could be recognised in the generic title *Vikrama*, i.e. *Vakram* or *Vakr*, or *Akr* or *Agar*. The tradition preserves the name of only one ruler but the inscriptions speak of more than one. The last ruler, according to Hunza Rock Inscription,¹² is *Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya*. This ruler should be identified with the last ruler *Sri Badad*, whose minister Harishena is also named in the inscription. All these rulers are known to be Buddhists. The last known date of the ruler, according to inscriptions, is A.D. 749. Thereafter there is a change of the dynasty.

Chapter-II

2. Chapter-II begins with the history of the rulers of Trakhan dynasty. As mentioned before, tradition connects the new dynasty with the Kiyani prince of Iran by name Azur Jamshed, who had a son named Kark or Garg, begotten on Nur Bakht Khatun, daughter of Sri Badad. The inscriptions from Hunza also speak of the change of dynasty after Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya, whose reign saw stormy days although his own inscriptions speak of his great valour and far-flung conquests from one hill peak to another. The royal names of the new ruling dynasty appear to be of Turkish origin. These Turks were in close alliance with the Chinese T'ang emperors. The appearance of these Turks in this region must be connected with the Chinese advance towards Gilgit against the Tibetan push in collision with the Arab invasion of Central Asia particularly in Eastern Turkistan.¹³ Later these Turks must have managed to overthrow the local dynasty — an event which has been romantically preserved in local tradition. However, the kernel of history is abundantly clear and the events recollected in tradition fits very well with the historical account of mid-eighth century A.D. The present work gives the date of the rule of Azur Jamshed from A.D. 643-659. It is said that Azur left the country in 659, leaving the throne to his wife Nur Bakht Khatun. She is recorded to have reigned from A.D. 659 to 668. The birth of a son, whose name is given as Kark or Garg, has been told above. The story continues that the wooden box, in which the son was concealed, was discovered by a Kashmiri jeweller by name Gudus. In this jeweller's house the son grew up until he was recognised and restored to his queen-mother. When the prince attained the age of twentyfive, the mother abdicated in his favour in A.D. 668. Raja Kark or Garg ruled until A.D. 727.

If the identification of the rulers proposed here with those occurring in the inscriptions is acceptable, the dates, given above, shall have to be corrected at least by a century — a correction which fits in very well with the chronology of the Arab penetration into Central Asia in early eighth century A.D. under the leadership of Qutayba. One of the Hunza inscription speaks of a Shahi ruler *Ramudasa*, who is said to possess the qualities of "*Trakh*" — a name obviously connected with the dynastic designation *Trakhan* as applied to the new rulers of Gilgit.

Chapter-III

3. Chapter-III begins with the reign of the third ruler of Gilgit, Raja Kark or Garg. He is credited to have extended the territory of the maternal kingdom to Bashgal, i.e. present Nuristan beyond Chitral on the west and to Tashkurgan beyond Hunza on the east. The fourth ruler of Gilgit was Raja Sau (or Su) Malik, who sat on the throne at the age of forty and ruled for seventy years from A.D. 723 to 793. It is said that Islam came to Gilgit in his time. In A.D. 725 Sayyid Shah Afzal is reported to have come from Badakhshan and spread Islam here but the Shin people continued to remain non-Muslim and hence they are called "Children of Abu Jahl." It is only the royal family, which was originally Zoroastrian in faith, that accepted Islam. However, there is no historical evidence for the spread of Islam at this time. Tradition maintains that through the blessings of the above-named Sayyid a son was born to the old king, begotten on the beloved queen Shah Begam. The son was named Shah Malik but nicknamed Glit Kalika (or Malik of Gilgit). He was brought up and educated by the Sayyid with his foster-brother Bari Khan. In the Kashmiri Bazar at Gilgit a dilapidated grave within a compound is said to be the *Ziarat* of Shah Afzal. Bari Khan was later placed in charge of the *riyasat* (estate) of Yasin, though the actual ruler of this valley was Shah Farmayish, who was brother-in-law of Shah Malik. Here in Yasin was built a fort, known as Bari Khun, recalling the name of the foster-brother, although the original fort appears to have been built much earlier. Ruins of the fort are still preserved. During the reign of Raja Sau (Su) Malik there was an invasion of the Tartars from the direction of Darkot pass, i.e. Wakhan. The Barikhun fort was besieged. This probably refers to another Arab invasion at the time of the Abbasid Khalifa¹⁴. According to the tradition the Tartars were defeated but they managed to take away Prince Shah Malik to Tashkent, where he spent eight years. This prince had shown great heroism in fighting against the Tartars. It is said that he was adept in horse riding. One day he escaped from Tashkent and because of his swiftness in horse-riding he could not be caught. He rejoined his aged and pious minded father. At the age of one hundred and ten Raja Sau Malik abdicated in his son's favour and himself went to live peacefully in the forest. At the age of one hundred and twenty he died. The territorial extent in his time is recorded as beyond Chitral on the west, and beyond Kanjut (i.e. Hunza) on the east, upto Gurez and Bandipur on the south, including the peak of Tragbal, and beyond Borogil Pass to Badakhshan on the north. His son Raja Shah Malik sat on the throne at the age of thirtyfive and ruled for eightyfive years from A.D. 793 to

878. At the age of seventy a son was born, who was named *Deng Malik*. He occupied the throne at the age of fifty and ruled for fiftyfour years from A.D. 878 to 932. He had a number of daughters but only one son, named Khusro Khan. This prince sat on the throne at the age of thirtyseven and ruled for sixtyfive years from A.D. 932 to 997. He was married to a princess from Badakhshan, to whom a son, named Haidar Khan, was born when the father was seventytwo years old.

Two historical facts mentioned in this chapter deserve some comments. As has been said above, the Tartar invasion may have a reference to Abbasid invasion, which is known from Arabic sources and also alluded to in the inscription on the crown of the Kabul ruler. The same inscription also refers to the conversion to Islam of the rulers of Wakhan and Bolor. It is therefore quite possible that the tradition of the spread of Islâm at this time is correct. However the spread of Islam appears to be superficial. It did not affect the people in general. Secondly, the names of the rulers preserved in this chapter, viz. Garg, Sau Malik, Glit Kalika (or Malik), Deng Malik are all unIslamic. It is only Khusro Khan and Haidar Khan, which, because of marital connection with Badakhshan, betray Iranian influence. However, the title Malik is of Arabic origin.

Chapter-IV

4. Chapter-IV begins with the rule of Haidar Khan who sat on the throne at the age of thirty. He is also called Ali Haidar Khan. He ruled for sixty years from AD 997 to 1057. He is said to have combined the strength of Raja Kark (Garg) and Raja Sri Badad. He had many queens and daughters but only one son, named Prince Nur Khan. In his time Raja Shah Tham (or Hatam) who was placed in charge of Nagar and Hunza by Khusro Khan, declared independence. When Haidar Khan advanced with his force, Shah Tham fled to Baltistan by way of Hispar glacier. Nur Khan succeeded to the throne at the age of thirtyfive and ruled for seventy years from AD 1057 to 1127. Nur Khan was devoted to religion and study right from his childhood. He entrusted his administration to the Amirs and spent his time in religious devotion. The king's disinterestedness led to jealousy among the Amirs. Finally at the age of one hundred and two, the king abdicated his throne in favour of his young son Shah Mirza aged thirty-one. Three years later Nur Khan died. Shah Mirza was the tenth ruler of the dynasty. He sat on the throne in A.D. 1127 and ruled until 1205. He reformed the administration by dismissing the evil-minded ministers and officers. He was succeeded by his son Tartorra Khan at the age of fifty in A.D. 1205. Tartorra Khan, who ruled until 1236, had two queens. The first belonged to the royal family and she gave birth to prince Torra Khan. The second queen came from Darel valley. The latter gave birth Shah Rais. Torra Khan's mother died when he was still a baby. Hence he was given to a chief of Hodur for upbringing. Both the princes were loved equally by the king. But the Dareli queen, who was the mother of Shah Rais, proved herself to be cunning and powerful as she had the support of her seven brothers who ruled over Darel and Tangir. She plotted to kill Torra Khan by sending him away to Darel so that her own son Shah Rais could get the throne. She also managed to administer poison to the ruling king, Tartorra Khan, who ultimately succumbed to his death. Thereafter the queen herself ascended the throne in A.D. 1236 as the twelfth ruler of the dynasty. Within five years she died all of a sudden in A.D. 1241. During her rule the stepson, Torra Khan, fled from the palace and lived in the pasture-land of Khanberi. After his stepmother's death he returned and the Amirs accepted him as the next ruler most probably because in him flowed the blue blood both from father and mother side. It is quite likely that the Dareli queen was murdered.

The chapter shows the rising influence of the local nobility probably in contrast to the influential group that might have followed the marital relation with Badakhshan princess. If the names of the princes, as are today

known, have any indication, this Badakhshan group appears to have full hold over the palace affairs. But the local nobility managed through the Dareli queen to snatch power and place her on the throne. However, this appears to be short-lived. Within five years she was no more and her son, as we will see in the next chapter, had to seek support elsewhere.

Chapter-V

5. Chapter-V begins with the history of the thirteenth ruler Raja Torra Khan-I, who ruled from A.D. 1241 to 1275. It is said that from his time the name “dynasty of *Torra-* (or *Tra-*) *Khan*” was applied, but before his time the dynastic title is given as *Waliyan-i-Khandan-i-Kisra* or *Kiyani*. However, as commented earlier, this appears to be a mistake. The ethnic name *Trakha* was known much earlier, as is proved in the Hunza Rock Inscription. On the other hand it is quite possible that the new marital connection established with Badakhshan could restrengthen the status of the dynastic name. Accordingly the new ethnic title *Trakhan* appears to be more political than hereditary. Strangely enough, such a political development is seen in the career of the step-brother Shah Rais Khan, who left Gilgit alongwith his men and sought shelter in Badakhshan, where, it is said, a king named Taj Mogal was ruling. The refuge of Shah Rais in Badakhshan was hardly possible as long as Torra Khan’s maternal relatives were powerful there. It seems that at this time there was also a change of the ruling dynasty even in Badakhshan. That change must have taken place from the hands of the Tatar Turks into the hands of the Mongols, and hence the name of the new Badakhshan ruler is given as Taj Mogal. Actually there is no such king known to history. But certainly at this time the region came under the control of the Mongols after the conquest of the Mongol chief Chingiz Khan. If this reconstruction is correct, the name is only a title and it should be corrected as *Tajdar-i-Mogal*, meaning “*King of the Mongols.*”

The territorial extent of *Taj Mogal*, as given in the text, is very extensive, spreading upto Herat in the south-west, to Chitral in south and greater part of Turkestan in the north — a territory as extensive as the possession of Chaghatai,¹⁵ one of the four sons of Chingiz Khan. The only mistake made in the text, is that Taj Mogal is said to be an ardent follower of Ismailism when actually the Mongols at this time were Buddhists, though Ismailism had certainly been adopted in Badakhshan as we learn from the Persian poet Nasir-i-Khusrau. This Taj Mogal is said to have welcomed Shah Rais, treated him well and gave him his daughter. Shah Rais accepted the Ismaili faith. Taj Mogal then bent on spreading Ismailism, is said to have invaded Chitral and Gilgit. The text has it that Ismailism was also adopted here at this time. Raja Torra Khan accepted Ismailism and thus avoided conflict with Taj Mogal. Besides accepting Ismaili faith, he ceded Chitral and the neighbouring areas to his step-brother Shah Rais. While in Gilgit, Taj Mogal is credited to have built *minar* at Henzel, another at Thol and a third at Jutial. As these constructions are not *minars*, as known from their

surviving ruins but Buddhist stupas, it is clear that the invader was a Buddhist, and not an Ismaili. However, the author maintains that Ismaili faith spread at this time in Chitral Yasin, Iskhomen, Koh Gizr, Punyal and even in Hunza. On the return of Taj Mogal the Gilgit ruler reverted back to his Shia faith. Shah Rais became very unhappy with this changed attitude of the Gilgit ruler and he reported this change to Taj Mogal, who once again invaded Gilgit all by himself. Raja Torra Khan made all the preparations for defence but while making these arrangements, he died at the young age of fiftythree. He was succeeded by his son Raja Sau (Su) Malik-II at the age of twentyfour. He ruled for seventy long years from A.D. 1275 to 1345. After the death of his father he commanded the forces of Gilgit and advanced to meet the attack of Taj Mogal by deploying his troops from the fort of Gilgit towards Golapur on both banks of the Gilgit river. Shah Rais accompanied the invader with his Chitrali forces but did not actively participate in the battle. For eight days fighting went on and finally Taj Mogal's forces were routed. The Gilgiti forces got the upper hand and they penetrated right into Gizr area, and even to the border of Chitral, and punished the local people for siding with Taj Mogal. This high-handedness of the Gilgiti people created enmity between them and the people of Gizr.

Raja Sau (Su) Malik-II is said to be a contemporary of Sultan Shah and Sultan Jamshid of Kashmir. He helped the latter against the ruler of Afghanistan. After Sau Malik's death his son Raja Chilis Khan became the ruler at the age of fortyfive and ruled from A.D. 1345 to 1359. He continued friendly correspondence with the rulers of Kashmir, and encouraged trade from Kashmir to Chitral and from Turkestan to Peshawar. He held sway over a territory from Bashgal (Nuristan) to Tashkurgan, including the tribal areas of Chilas, Darel, Tangir and Harban, and also Punyal, Yasin, Shandur and even had political influence on Chitral. He married with Malika Hashim Begam, daughter of Shah Rais of Chitral. His brother-in-law, Shah Jan, succeeded his father to the throne of Chitral. Sau Malik had one son, named Raja Firdaus, and two daughters. One of his daughter was married to Shah Khan, the son of Shah Jan the ruler of Chitral.

The sixteenth ruler of Gilgit was Raja Firdaus who ruled from A.D. 1359 to 1397. He is said to be extremely pious and religious and so he is sometimes remembered as second Nur Khan. He was a great patron of art and architecture. In his time several artists and artisans were brought from Kashmir. They built a magnificent fort in Gilgit, hereafter called *Qila-i-Firdausia*. Within it were royal residences and gardens. The inner palatial building was named *Rangin Hisar (Painted citadel)*. He also constructed a seven-storeyed tower, decorated with various designs and enriched with multiple colours. In this tower treasure was safely deposited under the guard of men from Gor (Gauharabad). Beside the palace and garden, he

also built a pillared hall, its roof resting on forty pillars, probably serving as *diwan-i-am*. This hall was also ornamented with several designs and enlivened with colours. Nearby was a throne room, containing a decorated throne of carved wood. This Firdausia palace fortress had seven bastions, each one of them was guarded by the mounted people from Darel and other valleys. As far as administration was concerned, the territory of Gilgit State, leaving out Chitral, was subdivided into seven circles. Each circle was called *Maksu*. Hence the state was called "Seven-Maksu-State." The first *Maksu* included the areas of *Chesar*, i.e. Shin Bala and Shin Payin (from Minapen to Hindi village to Nomal); the second *Maksu* was called *Jigu* and extended from the village of Sharyotto Manawar, including Shivdas; Gilgit is located here; the third *Maksu* included Bagrot and Harmaush; the fourth *Maksu* included the valleys of Sai and Bunji; the fifth *Maksu* included Gor and Chilas; the sixth *Maksu* included Darel and Harban; and the seventh *Maksu* included Tangir. The seven towers of the palace fortress were guarded by armed men from the seven *Maksus*. Every year they were replaced by other men of the *Maksus*. This Firdausia fort, which is no more in existence extended east to west from the Jami Mosque to the ground of Gilgit Scouts and north to south from Gilgit river to the main street of the city. (See figure 1). He was contemporary of Tham Gori Tham, ruler of Skardu. and of his son and successor Sari Gori Tham.

This relationship with Kashmir and Skardu coincides with the time of Sayyid Ali Hamadani who spread Islam in Kashmir and Baltistan but we do not hear anything of his missionary activity in Gilgit State.

Raja Firdaus was succeeded by his son Raja Khusro Khan-II at the age of thirty, who ruled for twenty five years from A.D. 1397 to 1422. It is said that he secretly went round the city streets to learn about the misdeeds of his officers and redress the grievances of the people. It is recorded that the Firdausia Fort's main tower was originally five-storeyed and it was this king who enlarged it into seven storeys. And therefore it became known as "tower of Khusro Khani Shikari." Here he deposited and stored varied and rich war material imported from China, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Kashmir. Long distance trade flourished in his peaceful reign. He had two sons Malik Shah and Dula Shah.

Raja Malik Shah (also known as Raja Shah -II) succeed him at the age of thirtyfive. He ruled from A.D. 1422 to 1449. His younger brother Dula Shah was the Commander-in-Chief and special adviser to the king. The latter had a handsome son, called Lili Gashpur. As he had a red-rosed face, he was known as Marjan or *Luzum* in Shina language. He was married to the king's daughter, *Princess Shumul Gas*, and appointed to the same post as his father after the latter's death. Through her Luzum Gashpur had a twin son

born, with their backs joined together. When their backs were separated, they grew up to be opposed to each other. One was named *Shahzada Jamshid* who was very active and cunning. The other was *Sahib Khan*, very indolent and weak, and hence he was nick named *Girkis*, which means "mouse" in Burushaski language. The first prince was given the nick name of Maglot, which means "male mongoose" in Shina language. Maglot was brought up in the village of Sharyot under the care of his foster-father *Moghal Beg*. *Girkis* was brought up in the village of Golapur. The king Raja Shah Malik decided to give Hunza to one of them and Nager to another. The decision for the award was entrusted to Harcha Mamu Singh, a resident of Oshkundas in Bagrot valley. *Sahib Khan* alias *Girkis* plotted with his men and managed to get Hunza, and Maglot got Nager.

The above story presents the peculiar myth about the creation of the states of Hunza and Nager and also of the eternal rivalry between them.

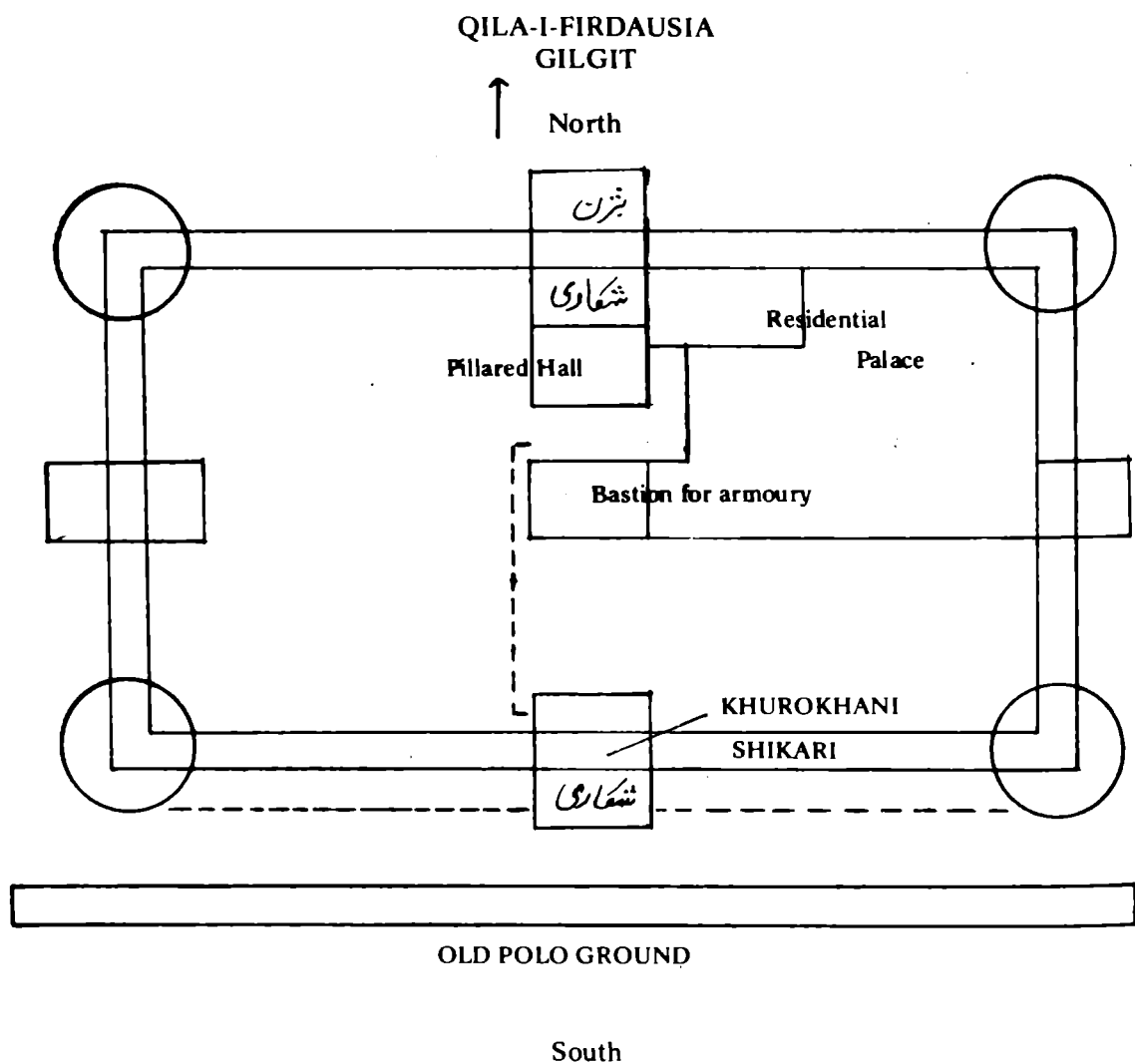


Figure 1

Chapter-VI

6. Sixth chapter begins with the history of Raja Torra Khan-II, who was the nineteenth ruler of the Trakhan dynasty of Gilgit. He was the only son of Raja Shah Malik. He sat on the throne at the age of thirty and ruled from A.D. 1449 to 1479. He was handsome like his cousin Luzum Gashpur. It is reported that he gave military help to Shah Mir of Kashmir (although at this time Shah Mir was dead) and obtained from him many artisans and craftsmen and made them settle in Kishrot mohalla. He is said to have been Shia by faith but he had a tolerant attitude towards the Sunni Kashmiri settlers. It was in his time that the old dynastic name *Khandan-i-Kisra* was changed to *Khandan-i-Torra Khan* but the majority of the historians give this credit for change to Torra Khan-I. He had a number of sons but only one survived him. He became a ruler under the name of Raja Chilis Khan-II at the age of fifty-four and ruled from A.D. 1479 to 1497. He was well known for his love of Justice. During his reign trade flourished with the neighbouring countries. He was succeeded by his son Raja Sau (Su) Malik-III at the age of twentyeight, who ruled from A.D. 1497 to 1522. He used to make frequent tours throughout his kingdom and gave administrative orders and also dispensed justice. His contemporary rulers at Skardu were Bahram Chu, Raja Bukhan and Raja Shah, and in Shigar, Raja Ghazi, Raja Abdullah Khan and Raja Hasan Khan. He was succeeded by this son Raja Shah Rais Azam at the age of forty. He ruled for thirty-nine years from A.D. 1522 to 1561. His annual tour programme is detailed as follows:-

- (i) He spent three months in Gilgit, touring the areas of Gurez, Astor, Gilgit and Punyal. Only twice he went to Nager and Hunza.
- (ii) He spent three months of the winter at Ranoi in Chilas area and toured all the tribal areas.
- (iii) He then passed through Tangir via Bathret rivulet and proceeded to Ushu, Kalam and Bashgal, i.e. Nuristan.
- (iv) Next he spent three months in Chitral, visited Chakman Serai to Borogil. In Chitral the government was run by Shah Nasir Rais, eleventh in descent from Shah Rais, the step-brother of Torra Khan-I. According to the author Chitral was subject to Gilgit.
- (v) Three months in summer he toured in Yasin, Ishkomen, and Koh Gizr before returning to Gilgit.

Shah Nasir's daughter Malika Zohra Khatun was his first queen. She gave birth to Shahzada Sahibqiran and many other children, but the other children died in Yasin and they are all buried there in *Gumbad-i-Shah Raisan*. Sahibqiran and his mother were in charge of Yasin. Shah Rais

Azam had a second wife, named Malika Shams Khatun, sister of Raja Balla Shah, ruler of Nager, and his own cousin. She gave birth to Raja Sultan Mirza.

Raja Balla Shah had two brothers, Saif Khan and Ji Khan. The latter forcefully occupied the throne of Nager. Balla Shah, with his other brother Saif Khan, fled to Kashmir by way of Astor. This event marks the beginning of a long-standing family feud for the throne of Nager. It is wrongly reported that at this time the Mughal prince Shah Jahan was on a visit to Kashmir. In reward for overpowering a strong demon in Kashmir, Balla Shah is said to have received a sword from Shah Jahan. As a reward for this feat, he also got military help from the ruler of Kashmir and won back Nager after three years. In these three years Raja Ji Khan built a polo ground outside Mako Kot of Nager with the help of artisans from Baltistan, obviously implying that Ji Khan had the support of the Balti ruler. The Kashmiri forces, who were brought by Balla Shah, were settled in Nager and Harmaush. It is their children who are known as *Jaral*. Raja Ji Khan, after his defeat, was sent away to Yasin along with his followers. They are said to have continued the Burushaski language in Yasin. Raja Balla Shah died at the age of fiftythree. After his death Vazir Falaku of Gilgit went to Nager and installed Raja Daud Shah as ruler of Nager. He ruled for ten years and died at the ripe old age of 135 years. After him Raja Ali Dad Khan was made the ruler of Nager.

In the meanwhile the Hunza ruler, Raja Malik Shah died. The same Vazir Falaku proceeded to Hunza and placed on the throne the Hunza Raja Hari Tham, the eldest son of Malik Shah.

Raja Haritham invaded Nager with the cooperation of the disgruntled people of Hopar, who were probably for the exiled ruler Raja Ji Khan. But Raja Ali Dad Khan managed to escape to Shigar in Baltistan and returned with the military help received from Shigar ruler and was able to give a crushing defeat to Raja Haritham. In the meanwhile Hunza witnessed another dramatic event. Raja Haritham's younger brother had proclaimed himself king in Hunza. When this younger brother died, his son Shahbaz Khan killed his uncle Haritham and usurped the throne of Hunza for himself. The events in Nager had also advanced. Raja Ali Dad Khan died after some years and he was succeeded by his son Raja Kamal Khan, who thus became related to the Gilgit ruler Shah Rais Azam by his second queen, who was sister of Raja Balla Shah of Nager, great-grand father of Kamal Khan.

At the other end in Chitral a different history of rule began to take shape. A story is told of Shah Burya Wali who came from Isfahan along with his two servants, Abul Hasan and Sang-i-Ali by way of Kashmir, Baltistan and Hispar to Nager. This Shah Burya Wali went to Chitral, and after his death he was buried there. Shah Rais Azam, who was devoted to him, also

died in Chitral and was buried there.

This chapter presents a tangled web of internecine wars among the ruling families of this region. While Gilgit ruler is described as a super power of the region, the military assistance from Kashmir and Baltistan plays a decisive role in strengthening the hands of the Nager ruler, who managed to regain power for himself. At the same time a religious factor is introduced in the advent of Shah Burya Wali right upto Chitral. Probably it is this Shah who appears to have introduced Shiaism in this part.

Chapter-VII

7. Chapter-VII continues the internecine wars among the rulers of the region as we saw in the last chapter and presents a scene of mutual rivalry and jealousy among them, who were otherwise inter-related in blood relationship. The scene opens with Raja Sahibqiran, who, alongwith his Chitrali mother, was placed in charge of Yasin by his father Shah Rais Azam. He also has the second name of Khusro Khan. Hereafter all non-Muslim names are given up, with the exception of Goritham in the eighteenth century. In the previous two chapters Torra Khan, Chilis Khan and Sau Malik have been repeated in each one of them but hereafter they do not occur.

Sahibqiran sat on the throne at the age of fortyseven and ruled from A.D. 1561 to 1567. In his time Musammi Sang-i-Ali continued to be the ruler of Chitral. Raja Shahbaz Khan, the ruler of Hunza, made a bid for independence. When Raja Sahibqiran sent against him his experienced general, Musammi Shoman, the Nager ruler Raja Shah Kamal, intervened and volunteered to fight against Hunza ruler himself as the latter was the common enemy and had designs against Nager. Shah Kamal advanced with his forces but the Hunza ruler, Raja Shah Sultan, took refuge in the Gulmit fort, called *musallam Qila* (Strong fort) at the place of Gujal but Shah Baz Khan could not defend himself even there and he fled. The Hunza treasury was looted and the Nager ruler returned with laurels of victory.

In the second regnal year of Raja Sahibqiran, Sang-i-Ali of Chitral raised his turbulent head and decided to invade Gilgit. The Gilgit Vazir Shoman met his troops in Punyal and gave him a crushing defeat. But he was not completely finished. It is generally believed that Sang-i-Ali was the main cause of the decline of the authority of Gilgit rulers.

Raja Sahibqiran had no male issue but only a daughter, named Malika Nur Jamal. Hence he was succeeded by his step brother, Raja Sultan Mirza, alias Raja Mirza, born out of the Nager mother. He succeeded to the throne at the age of fortyeight and ruled from A.D. 1567 to 1600. He was very friendly with Raja Ghazi, the ruler of Skardu. He was of a very peaceful nature.

The Chitral ruler, Sang-i-Ali, had again an eye on Gilgit and planned to invade Gilgit at a time when Raja Mirza was away on routine tour. When Raja Mirza was away in Bagrot and Harmaush, Sang-i-Ali pounced upon Gilgit. Raja Mirza, alongwith his two sons, Shahzada Ali Sher Khan and Shahzada Ali Haidar Khan, took refuge in Skardu with his old friend Raja Ghazi. There Raja Ghazi was dead and was succeeded by his son Raja Ali

Sher Khan-i-Azam Anchan. The Skardu Raja welcomed the guests and agreed to give full support to them and fight against the high-handedness of Sang-i-Ali, who was signally defeated. Sang-i-Ali was pursued even in his home province of Chitral but he again fled. Raja Mirza reoccupied the throne of Gilgit and died at the ripe old age of seventy-eight. This intervention on the part of the Skardu ruler placed Ali Sher Achan in a unique exalted position.

After Raja Mirza's death, Gilgit throne was occupied by his son Raja Ali Sher Khan, who sat on the throne at the age of thirtynine and ruled from 1600 to 1632. He was married to his uncle Raja Sahibqiran's daughter by name Malika Nur Jamal. All the children, born to them, died in childhood. He adopted a handsome baby from the village of Barmas. But the following year the queen gave birth to a son, who was named Khaqan Mirza, also known as Mirza-III. The son was brought up in Darel valley. The birth of a son led to jealousy. The queen stuck to her son but the king loved the adopted child. Ultimately the adopted child was murdered. The child was buried at Amchari in Gilgit. This murder estranged the king from the group of nobility who had caused the murder. The nobility rose in revolt against the king but they were divided among themselves. The neighbouring rulers of Nager and Hunza intervened to take opposite stands but first the ruler of Sopur and Bandipur advanced on Gilgit. The Nager ruler Shah Kamal was on the side of the King. But the Hunza ruler Sultan Shah, son of Ayash Khan-II, sided with the rebels. Shah Kamal succeeded in defeating the rulers of Sopur and Bandipur and due to his fear, the Hunza ruler quietly refrained from further action. However, Raja Burush, the ruler of Punyal, made preparations to invade Gilgit.

Raja Burush was the grandson of Khushvaqt, the ruler of Yasin, who had placed his grandson on the throne of Punyal. Again the Nager ruler, Shah Kamal, came to the help of the Gilgit ruler. Shah Kamal advanced against Raja Burush with two Gilgit commanders, Maisun and Tulu, succeeded in killing him and sent his head to Gilgit. This led to Raja Jahangir Badakhshi to march through Ishkomen and advance towards Gilgit. Shah Kamal intercepted him and besieged him in the fort of Chaturkand, where Jahangir Badakhshi had taken refuge. Jahangir was captured and killed. But the chain of events brought in the might of the Yasin ruler Khushvaqt, who sent a big force under the command of his second great grandson, Malik Aman, son of Badshah. Shah Kamal made a bid for Yasin to check the advance of Malik Aman towards Gilgit. In Yasin Kamal succeeded in crushing the Yasin forces. But this was not the end of the trouble. In Chitral Mohammad Mohtarim Shah Kator-I, the grandson of Sang-i-Ali, was making preparations to invade Gilgit. Shah Kamal rushed to Chitral and defeated the Chitrali forces. With this last conquest

Shah Kamal breathed a sigh of relief and he returned to Gilgit by way of Swat and Indus river. In return for all these brave victories Raja Ali Sher Khan, ruler of Gilgit, ceded to him the area of Chesar, also called Shinaki, that begins from Minapen and Gor towards Hindi and Mayun and includes the desert of Haraspu. Other commanders also received land grants in Nilt, Jutial and Budas.

Raja Ali Sher Khan's son, Khaqan Mirza, married with Shahzadi Mihr Parwar, daughter of his younger brother Ali Haidar Khan. A daughter was born to them. She was given the name of Jawar (or Jawahar) Khatun. She was married to Shahzada Ahmad Khan, third son of the Skardu Raja Ali Sher Khan Anchan. Ali Sher Khan of Gilgit died in A.D. 1632 and Ali Sher Khan Anchan of Skardu died in 1633. The Gilgit ruler was succeeded by his own younger brother Raja Ali Haidar Khan at the age of sixty-nine. He had a short reign from 1632 to 1633. He was a contemporary of Raja Khushvaqt of Yasin, a younger brother of Mohammad Mohtarim Shah Kator-I of Chitral and grandson of Sang-i-Ali.

Raja Ali Haidar Khan was looking for a girl for his widower nephew Raja Khaqan Mirza. Raja Khushvaqt proposed a daughter from Yasin and invited Raja Ali Haidar Khan to Yasin. He agreed to go to Yasin and see the girl, but Khaqan Mirza did not accompany him. When Raja Ali Haidar reached Yasin, Khushvaqt came to welcome him right upto Gupis but later imprisoned Raja Ali Haidar and his men in the fort of Yasin. This was the great strategem played by Khushvaqt to finish off with Raja Ali Haidar. The latter also played another trick. He managed Musammi Rasho Jaral, younger brother of Vazir Abdullah, to feign a change of side. He went over to Khushvaqt, befriended him and convinced him to allow him to go to Gilgit and win over the people of Gilgit in his favour after killing Khaqan Mirza. When this plot was known, Khushvaqt put to death Raja Ali Haidar along with his men. When Rasho Jaral reached Gilgit and gave the bad news of the Raja's murder to the people of Gilgit and also informed Khaqan Mirza, who was then in Darel. Rasho became a favourite and was appointed Chief Minister. A second minister was Musammi Beku from the village of Sharot. Rasho ruled as regent of Khaqan Mirza for six months in A.D. 1633 and was able to lure Khushvaqt to Gilgit. Khushvaqt was thus tricked, came to Gilgit with his forces but met a signal defeat at the hands of Rasho. He fled and went to Sang-i-Ali-II, the mihtar of Chitral, Rasho returned to Gilgit as a victorious hero, went to Darel, brought Khaqan Mirza and installed him on the throne. Raja Khaqan Mirza sat on the throne at the age of thirty-one and ruled from 1632 to 1635. Khaqan Mirza now had to face the combined strength of Sang-i-Ali-II and Khushvaqt but he proved to be stronger than the two. In this struggle Khaqan Mirza had the support of Raja Shah Kamal of Nager. But unfortunately trouble lay in the people who had

divided loyalty. Some of them joined hands with Khushvaqt and others managed to sow the seeds of jealousy between Khaqan Mirza and Shah Kamal particularly on the pretext of the ceded district of Chesar.

In this struggle Khaqan Mirza lost his head at the hands of Shah Kamal, which led to chaos in Gilgit and created resentment among the people of Darel where Khaqan Mirza had been brought up. The Vazir Rasha had great difficulty in controlling the situation but he continued to rule again in the name of the victor Shah Kamal as Naib-i-Saltanat from A.D. 1635 to 1642. Khushvaqt, the ruler of Yasin, invaded Gilgit to oust Vazir Rasha but the latter proved more powerful. Now Khushvaqt took the side of Shah Kamal to throw away Vazir Rasha but the latter again proved to be cunning. This time he managed to rush to Skardu and bring back Jawar (or Jawahar) Khatun, the daughter of Raja Khaqan Mirza, who had been earlier married to Ahmad Khan, the third son of Raja Ali Sher Khan Anchan of Skardu. The latter had been succeeded in Skardu by his elder son Raja Adam Khan who was then not present there as he had gone to the court of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. Vazir Rasha succeeded in bringing back Jawar (Jawahar) Khatun to Gilgit and was thus able to instal a ruler of his own choice on the throne of Gilgit. Jawar Khatun was installed on the throne and he himself remained as the chief adviser and regent.

Chapter-VIII

Eighth chapter presents a new development in the local history of Gilgit, in which a woman ruler rose to prominence and manouvered a political game to save the interest of the Trakhan family in opposition to the rivalry of the local nobility. The two interests are seen in clear perspective: the one of the royal families, who, through jealousy among themselves, worked for preserving the royal interests as a whole and the second of the local people who supported one or the other group of nobility in their status as Vazir or regent.

The central figure was Malika Jawar Khatun, who, as we have earlier seen, was brought from Skardu by Vazir Rasha and placed on Gilgit throne. She was a young and vigorous lady but widowed very early in life. She thus suffered from two weaknesses — the first as a female to rule in a male dominated Muslim society, and the second as a widow without any support of a male husband and hence an object of attraction to any aspiring candidate for marriage or for political power or for both. Vazir Rasha was first such candidate, who desired to marry her and usurp the throne of Gilgit for himself. When Jawar Khatun sat on the throne in A.D. 1642, for the first three years Rasha had completely captured the administration in his own hands. But Jawar Khatun gradually gained in experience and political acumen and she managed to get Vazir Rasha killed within three years inside the fort of Sinkar in Bagrot. Thereafter Jawar Khatun ruled peacefully until 1667. However, the question of her succession still loomed large. The neighbouring royal families had greedy eyes on her. As she was still young, she could be married. The neighbouring ruler Shah Kamal of Nager, who was close in relationship, managed to get his elder son Raja Shah Firdaus marry with Jawar Khatun. Firdaus left Nager leaving it to the care of his younger brother Shah Rahim Khan, himself came to Gilgit and shouldered the responsibility of *Naib-i-Saltanat* and Chief Adviser. As a result of this marriage, a son was born, who was named Ji Khan or Habib Khan. But Firdaus could not win over the local people of Gilgit. When he completely lost their support, he left for Nager only to lead a retired life, abandoning his wife and son in Gilgit. Jawar Khan continued to manage the administration until her son Ji Khan attained the age of 17-18 years. She then abdicated in favour of her son, who ruled from 1670 to 1689.

This young prince Ji Khan became an object of attraction. As he was now to be married so that a new successor was born, the neighbouring rulers did not hesitate to play their interested role. The first success fell to the lot of Raja Khushvaqt, ruler of Yasin, who managed to get a princess

from Yasin married to Ji Khan. She was the daughter of Raja Burush of Punyal. A son was born to them, who was named Shah Najam or Ajam. This birth of a son strengthened the claim of the Yasin house of royalty. But the mother Jawar Khatun was very unhappy with this development. She managed to get another girl, the daughter of the ruler of Skardu, Raja Shah Morad, and got her married to Ji Khan. This second marriage also produced a son who was named Shah Mayur. But the Nager royal house could not remain inactive. After all Ji Khan was their own kith. Hence his own uncle Shah Rahim Khan of Nager gave his daughter Gohar Khatun in marriage to him. This third marriage also produced a son who was named Goritham. Thus there were three possible claimants to the throne of Ji Khan with Jawar Khatun working for her choice prince born out of the Skardu queen but Yasin and Nager houses plotting to see their own kith occupy the Gilgit throne.

Raja Ji Khan ruled peacefully for eighteen years (1670-1689) but in the closing years of his reign the trouble for succession to his throne became very serious. Raja Khushvaqt of Yasin manouvred to see his grandson, Shah Najam, on the throne. He plotted to kill Raja Ji Khan and his other sons. As Khushvaqt managed to capture Ji Khan alongwith his sons, Jawar Khatun sought the help from her first husband's relative in Skardu in order to save her grandson through Skardu queen. The Skardu ruler Shah Morad sent his nephew Raja Imam Quli Khan, the ruler of Shigar, with all his four brothers to Gilgit to deal with Raja Khushvaqt. They succeeded in releaving Raja Ji Khan after defeating the forces of Khushvaqt, which was under the command of Buta Khan, well protected in Nomal fort. Buta Khan was killed and Shah Najam captured and sent to Skardu for final disposal. But Buta Khan's son, Api Khan, foster-brother of Shah Najam, turned out to be more shrewd. He poisoned to death Raja Ji Khan and got killed Shah Mayur, born out of the Skardu queen. This event enraged Skardu ruler Shah Morad, who was actually the stepson of Jawar Khatun. Shah Morad rushed to Gilgit with a big force, defeated Api Khan and killed him along with hismen. There was no choice now left for Jawar Khatun who ascended the throne second time at the age of sixtynine and ruled from A.D. 1689 to 1705, with the only grandson Raja Shah Goritham left to her care.

As Raja Khushvaqt continued to have an eye on Gilgit, the local people of Gilgit were divided in their loyalty, some desiring to finish off with Yasin ruler and others in league with him. In the eleventh year of Jawar Khatun's second term (i.e. in A.D. 1700) Khushvaqt died. He was succeeded by his eldest son Raja Shah Alam. Malika Jawar Khatun also died at the age of eightyfive. She was succeeded by her grandson Raja Shah Goritham(son of Raja Ji Khan), the prince born out of the Nager queen. He sat on the throne at the age of twenty-eight and ruled for ninetyfive years from A.D. 1705 to

1800. He received his religious education from Sayyid Shah Sultan Arif, who is now buried in the *Dargah* at Danyor. Shah Goritham was very kind and generous.

In the second year of his reign the Hunza ruler Shah Khushro Khan died. He was succeeded by Raja Sulam (or Salim-III). Vazir Somuyu of Gilgit went to participate in the crowning ceremony. Raja Sulam also died soon and he was succeeded by Raj Ghazanfar. Vazir Jigu Maqsu of Gilgit was sent to participate in the crowning ceremony. In the tenth year of the reign of Goritham, his grandfather (on mother's side) Raja Shah Rahim Khan, the Nager ruler, also died. He was succeeded by his eldest son Raja Shah Karim Khan. Vazir Beku of Gilgit participated in the ceremony. In Nager the third son, named Raja Babar Khan, put to death his three younger brothers. Raja Karim Khan fled from Nager and went to Baltistan via Hispar. At the age of fortyfive Raja Goritham married with Malika Husn Ara, the daughter of the Nager ruler, Raja Babar Khan, and thus the Nager royal house was doubly related to that of Gilgit.

When Raja Goritham was eightyfive years in age, Shah Alam, the ruler of Yasin, strengthened his position by assuming the rulership of Mastuj as well after the death of his cousin Raja Khairullah. In Gilgit Raja Goritham, who was a devout Shia, instituted many charitable institutions. At the age of seventyfive he was blessed with a daughter, named Nasib Begam, and at the age of ninetyfive with a son, named Mohammad Khan, also known as Raja Khan. A second son was also born, who was named Shah Abbas. They were given religious education by Sayyid Amir Shah.

As Raja Goritham was growing old, he entrusted the whole administration of Gilgit to Vazir Mulla Beg, who gradually became powerful and designed to remove Shahzada Mohammad Khan and usurp the throne for himself. He managed to send away Mohammad Khan to his maternal grandfather's place at Nager where Azur Khan was then ruling. Mulla Beg intrigued further and persuaded the Nager ruler to hate Mohammad Khan, who had to run away to Baltistan. There at Skardu Mohammad Khan was welcomed by the ruler who desired to give a daughter in marriage to him. Mulla Beg tried to plot further to win the Skardu ruler but he did not succeed. The Skardu ruler sent a strong letter to the old ruler Shah Goritham of Gilgit but he was too old to take action.

By this time Sulaiman Shah had succeeded to the throne of Mastuj and his brother Aman was ruling in Yasin. Sulaiman Shah desired to fish in the troubled water of Gilgit created by Mulla Beg. He came to Gilgit and swore allegiance to Raja Goritham and won his favour. He succeeded in getting his own sister, Musallama Khatun, married with Shahzada Abbas, the younger son of Raja Goritham. Sulaiman Shah's game was fully in his control. He got the old ruler of Gilgit, Raja Goritham, murdered only to

realise his own end. Shahzada Mohammad Khan, who was then in Skardu for nearly five years, and with whom Skardu ruler's daughter was betrothed, decided to come back to Gilgit.

Chapter-IX

9. Ninth chapter brings to climax the internecine war that had begun in the last chapter in the time of the old and weak ruler Raja Goritham. The claimant to power was Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Yasin, who tried to manouvre through Raja Abbas who was married in Yasin family. But Goritham's another son Mohammad Khan-I did not like to lose his chance and hence he came from Skardu. But the deciding factors were the local people of Gilgit and also the people of Gor (Gauharabad) where Mohammad Khan-I had spent his childhood and had a number of supporters from his early days. The Nager and Hunza rulers were slow to move in.

First of all Vazir Mulla Beg became powerful in Gilgit after the murder of Raja Goritham. For practically six months in A.D. 1800 he exercised ruling authority all by himself. Sulaiman Shah went back to Yasin to restrengthen his hands. He returned with a big force, captured Mulla Beg and later got him killed. Shahzada Mohammad Khan was hurrying back to Gilgit via Gurez but at Astor learnt about his father's murder. On the advice of his two faithful friends of childhood, Musammi Utman of Gor and Musammi Somiya Golam, Mohammad Khan did not go to Gilgit as the local people were under Sulaiman Shah for the last six months. Mohammad Khan went to Gor, the place of his childhood, to gather support from the people of the tribal areas of Chilas, Tangir and Darel. The people of Gor were already for him. Sulaiman Shah realised the danger. He strengthened himself by getting more people from Yasin and also from Shah Nawaz, the mihtar of Chitral. The actual battle took place between Gilgit and Jutial. Sulaiman Shah's forces were defeated and he fled towards Punyal. His horse fell down and died. With difficulty he was able to reach Yasin. Thus ended the first short-lived occupation of Gilgit by Sulaiman Shah from A.D. 1800 to 1802.

Raja Mohammad Khan-I occupied the fort of Firdausia in Gilgit and appointed guards to look after it from the tribal people of Gor and Tangir. He was crowned as a ruler of Gilgit in 1802 and ruled until 1822. First of all he made new administrative arrangements. He reallocated tax-free lands in the area between Naupura and Kargah to his supporters from Gilgit. Somiya Golam was made the Chief Minister and Musammi Utman became a second *Vazir*. In the third year of his reign he sent his vazir Utman to the ruler of Skardu in order to bring his betrothed princess. The marriage took place with great pomp in Gilgit. In the fourth year of this reign a son was born, who was named Shahzada Khusro. The prince Khusro Khan was

given religious instruction by Sayyid Amir Shah and Sayyid Safdar Shah of Nager. Sayyid Amir Shah gave him a second name Asghar Ali when he recovered from illness at the age of twelve. In Gilgit Raja Mohammad Khan celebrated *Nauroz* festival every year. On this occasion folk songs in praise of the family of Torra Khan were sung at the court. On the last day of *Nauroz* a *darbar* was held in the open *maidan* of *Rangin Hisar* (The painted Fortress). Here all the neighbouring rulers paid their tributes to the ruler of Gilgit.

In the 6th year of the reign of Raja Mohammad Khan-I, the area of Chesar, also known as Shinaki, which was under the possession of Raja Azur Khan of Nager, was occupied by Shahzada Abbas, the younger brother of Raja Mohammad Khan. Hence there developed unfriendly relations between the Gilgit ruler on the one hand and the rulers of Nager and Hunza on the other.

Raja Sulaiman Shah of Yasin also began to increase his strength. With a strong force from Yasin, Mastuj and the neighbouring areas, he first invaded Chitral, where his brother-in-law Shah Nawaz was the *mihtar*. Then he advanced towards Punyal and occupied the strong fort of Sher Qila. The Punyal ruler Raja (Azad Khan) Izzat Khan and other members of the Burush dynasty accepted his overlordship. Now with this increased strength, Sulaiman Shah deployed his forces on either side of Gilgit river from Golapur and Sher Qila to Gakuch and Garsjar. Having built up a strong defence line, he prepared himself to invade Gilgit second time.

Raja Mohammad Khan gathered his forces in Gilgit and advanced towards Sher Qila. The siege prolonged but there was no final result in favour of either side. Raja Mohammad Khan sought help from the neighbouring rulers. Raja Ghazanfar Ali, the ruler of Hunza, was a son-in-law of Sulaiman Shah and hence he refused help to Mohammad Khan. The Nager ruler, Azur Khan, had his own grievance and hence he sided with the ruler of Hunza. Sulaiman Shah was thus reassured about his strength. He directed his attack from the direction of Singol but half his forces were destroyed in this movement. Now Mohammad Khan took the initiative and despatched his forces on the other side of the river to proceed towards Sher Qila. This task was entrusted to Glito and Hashim, residents of Nomal. They succeeded in reaching the fort and forced themselves inside. Sulaiman Shah was taken by surprise. He was defeated and fled in confusion to Yasin via Ishkomen. After this Victory Glito and Hashim were rewarded in an open *darbar* held at Nomal.

Now preparation was made to invade Yasin and finish off with Sulaiman Shah but the invasion had to be postponed for the following year. Sulaiman Shah also made preparations and made a bid for a wider game by joining hands with the rulers of Hunza and Nager. Raja Azur Khan of Nager

was bent upon retaking the area of Chesar but his own son Sultan Alaf Khan was not in favour of action against Raja Mohammad Khan-I. But he was over-ruled. A concerted action was undertaken by Sulaiman Shah from Yasin and the rulers of Hunza and Nager against Gilgit. Raja Abbas, the younger brother of Mohammad Khan-I, was also won over on the promise that he would be crowned king after the overthrow of Raja Mohammad Khan-I. The Hunza ruler occupied Nomal in the darkness of the night and the Nager ruler made a bid for Gilgit in the company of Raja Abbas. They were able to enter the Fridausia fort and also reach *Rangin Mahal* by routing Gilgit forces. Raja Mohammad Khan was taken captive and he was forced to abdicate in favour of Raja Abbas. Mohammad Khan-I was sent to Yasin and there he was placed under guards. Raja Abbas was crowned as king in 1822 but he played in the hands of his wife, Rani Musallama Khatun, who was sister of Sulaiman Shah. Sulaiman became the Naib-i-Saltanat and he continued to stay in Gilgit. Thus Sulaiman Shah was able to bring under his authority entire region from Gilgit to Chitral.

Raja Abbas had full faith in Sulaiman Shah. He entrusted all powers in Sulaiman Shah's hands and did not listen to his Vazir Utman at all. The Vazir plotted to send away Sulaiman Shah to Yasin on tour and get him killed there and reinstall Raja Mohammad Khan. But Sulaiman proved more than a match for him. He succeeded in getting an order issued from Raja Abbas and removed him from the post of Chief Minister. Later he took Raja Abbas with him to Yasin under the pretext of his meeting with the brother Mohammad Khan. In Yasin both the brothers Mohammad Khan and Abbas were put to death. They were buried in Gumbat-i-Raisan in Chitral by Raja Ji Khan, the son-in-law of Sulaiman Shah.

All this time Shahzada Khusro, the son of Raja Mohammad Khan-I, was putting up in the house of the ousted Vazir Utman alongwith his sister Shahzadi Sahebnuma. When they heard of the death of their father, they became extremely helpless.

In 1825 Sulaiman Shah became the ruler of Gilgit and had his second term until 1826. Vazir Utman fled away with the prince and princess to Nager. Sulaiman Shah was able to capture prince Khusro and while he was being brought from Nager, he was killed near Minapen. His severed head was carried to Gilgit alongwith Vazir Utman. The princess Sahebnuma became almost mad and she was called *Diwani* (mad) Malika Sahebnuma. She remained the only surviving member of the ruling dynasty of Gilgit.

In order to cow down Raja Azur Khan, the Nager ruler, who had given shelter to the Gilgit prince and princess, Sulaiman Shah invaded Nager alongwith his son-in-law Raja Ji Khan, the Hunza ruler's brother. Raja Azur Khan was arrested alongwith his son Shahzada Alaf Khan and the latter's wife, Shahzadi Salma Khatun, a daughter of Ji Khan and grand-daughter of

Sulaiman Shah. The throne of Nager was given to Raja Ji Khan who replaced Vazir Hallo by Vazir Doltu as the minister of Nager. Shahzadi Salma Khatun interceded in Gilgit with her grandfather Sulaiman Shah and she was able to save the life of her husband and father-in-law. However, they were sent to the ruler of Hunza. When Salma Khatun went to her father, Raja Ji Khan in Nager, she was not well received. On his own wish Raja Azur Khan went to the village of Shayar in Nager, but when they were being taken away, both father and son were killed on way.

In this way Raja Ji Khan cleared the way for his own son Ali Dad Khan to succeed in Nager. He was also obliged to his father-in-law Sulaiman Shah for getting the throne of Nager for himself. Now the Hunza ruler Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan wished to finish off Raja Ji Khan and his son. Sulaiman Shah also did not have any more need of Ji Khan. Sulaiman prepared a big force and invaded Nager. For six months war prolonged in Nager. Famine broke in the army of Sulaiman Shah and also in the forces of his helper Ghazanfar. Both could manage to save themselves and flee from the battlefield. This set-back broke the power of Sulaiman Shah.

Chapter-X

10. Tenth chapter presents a confused scene of the warring families of this entire region, in which the local Vazirs took an active part. It was the house of Nager and the house of Yasin that played a leading role, in which the sole surviving female child of Gilgit in the personality of Sahibnuma became a recurrent victim. Gohar Aman of Yasin, nephew of Sulaiman Shah, rose to be towering personality to defend the local independence and prestige but the house of Nager ultimately succeeded in keeping for themselves the right of inheritance in Gilgit only after inviting the Sikhs from Kashmir and losing to them their sovereignty.

The scene opens with the installation to throne of Malika Sahibnuma, the surviving child of Raja Mohammad Khan-I, in A.D. 1825. Raja Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan), the ruler of Punyal, became her regent. This arrangement lasted until 1828. At this time Shah Nawaz was the ruler of Chitral and in Yasin and Mastuj; Gohar Aman, the nephew of Sulaiman Shah, held sway. In order to make themselves completely strong, two lines of actions were simultaneously taken. These actions were possible by the removal of Sulaiman Shah, who was captured, kept captive in Gakuch for sometime but later killed in Sher Qila. He was first buried in Gakuch but Gohar Aman took his dead body to Yasin and buried in the family graveyard. Raja Azad Khan manouvred to win complete control over Gilgit and make himself the sole ruler. In order to strengthen his position he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the ruler of Badakhshan.

The people of Gilgit were dis-satisfied with this political behaviour of Raja Azad and they turned towards Nager ruler to save the right of the queen. Raja Tahir Shah the then ruler of Nager, had his own interest in getting his son married to Sahibnuma. Raja Tahir had two sons – the elder being Shah Sikandar Khan and the younger Shah Karim Khan. The younger son came with a large force to dislodge Raja Azad. Raja Tahir Shah himself dashed towards Gilgit and in front of Qila Firdausia personal duel took place between Raja Tahir and Raja Azad in which the latter was killed. Raja Tahir Shah now became the regent or Naib-i-Saltanat and ruled over Gilgit in the name of Sahibnuma from A.D. 1828 to 1836.

Sahibnuma was now twentyseven years of age. She was married to Shah Karim Khan, the younger son of Tahir Shah. Both the husband and wife were sent to Gor (Gauharabad) to live a life of peace. In Punyal Raja Azad Khan was succeeded by Raja Najam (Najum) Khan, son of Raja Khan. In Yasin Gohar Aman, son of Malik Aman continued to rule. Raja Tahir Shah desired to have a good relation with him although Raja Najam

doubted the intentions of Gohar Aman.

In 1828 a son was born to Sahibnuma, who was named Mohammad Khan-II. It is said that in 1835 an English traveller (whose name is not given but he must be G.T. Vigne)¹⁶ came from Kashmir via Astor to Bunji and sought permission from Raja Tahir Shah to go to Gilgit. The permission was not granted. In the third year of the supremacy of Raja Tahir Shah, Shah Nawaz, the mihtar of Chitral, died and he was succeeded by his son Mohtarim Shah Kator-II.

For smooth administration the following appointments were made. Vazir Hallo was posted in Nager; Vazir Gujra Shakur Ali in Gilgit; Vazir Beku in Punyal; Shagopa in Gor and Chilas; and Raja Jabbar Khan in Astor.

Once Raja Tahir Shah fell seriously ill. Taking advantage of this occasion, Gohar Aman invaded Gilgit, but he was defeated by Raja Najam Khan of Punyal. Then Raja Ghazanfar Ali of Hunza took advantage of the occasion and won over Vazir Hallo to his side. He was able to throw away Raja Sikandar Khan and place on Nager throne Raja Rahim Khan, son of Raja Sultan Alaf Khan, who was the son-in-law of Raja Ghazanfar Ali. Thus the two states of Hunza and Nager became a united power. Raja Tahir Shah decided to take action by punishing Vazir Hallo and removing Raja Rahim Khan, and later move against Gohar Aman. Both Gohar Aman and the Hunza ruler began to have a joint plan of attack on Gilgit. But Gohar Aman was again defeated by Shah Najam Khan of Punyal. When Nager people heard of this defeat, they became afraid of Raja Tahir Shah. In order to please him they killed Raja Rahim, who was actually brother's son of Tahir Shah.

Raja Tahir Shah sent back his elder son Shah Sikandar to take charge of Nager but when he was on his way to Nager and had reached Nomal, he heard of the death of his father Raja Tahir Shah. Raja Sikandar Shah immediately returned to Gilgit and took control of the administration in A.D. 1836 as head representative of Sahibnuma and continued to exercise his authority until 1840.

This continued control over Gilgit by Nager ruler disturbed Gohar Aman who plotted to oust Raja Shah Sikandar from power. Hence Gohar Aman corresponded with Raja Malik, ruler of Sopur and Bandipur in Kashmir (actually a ruler of Gurez) and persuaded him to invade Gilgit. Raja Malik advanced towards Gilgit but he was defeated and later killed along with his son. Now Gohar Aman began to organise a big force from all over Yasin, Koh Ghizr and Chitral. By strategem he got Raja Najam Khan of Punyal killed. Punyal was then given to Raja Isa Bahadur. Raja Sikandar decided to curb the growing power of Gohar Aman and threw him away from Punyal but he was himself caught in the trap of Vazir Hallo and went to Bagrot. Gohar Aman, who was in the look-out for an opportunity,

pounced upon Gilgit and took possession of it. Raja Sikandar was defeated in Bagrot and later killed alongwith his son.

On hearing of the death of the elder brother, Raja Shah Sikandar, the younger brother Raja Karim Khan, who was in Gor alongwith his wife Sahibnuma, became extremely distressed. On the advice of Raja Isa Bahadur of Punyal, Karim Khan went to Kashmir and sought help from the Sikhs. The Sikh forces came under the command of Col. Nathu Shah. Raja Karim Khan's own supporters from Gor also came forward to strengthen his hands. Gohar Aman was defeated and he fled to Yasin after having been in control over Gilgit for two years in 1840. For next two years 1842-1844 Raja Karim Khan ruled in Gilgit. His wife Sahibnuma also came from Gor but very soon at the age of thirtyeight years she died.

Now Raja Karim Khan played into the hands of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, who had their own interests in consolidating their authority in this region. Raja Karim Khan decided to attack Hunza in alliance with Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nager. He went ahead with the Dogra forces. But Vazir Hallo had already informed Raja Ghazanfar Ali of Hunza about the plan of attack. The Dogra forces under the command of Nathu Shah reached the village of Mayun. There Raja Karim Khan got one of his legs fractured. When he was on the point of being captured, he mustered courage to shoot some enemy's men but at the end he was shot dead. His forces retired to Gilgit. In Gilgit he was succeeded by his seventeen year old son Raja Mohammad Khan-II in 1844, who exercised authority until 1846.

Gohar Aman invaded Gilgit in his time and it is said that he was defeated. But an agreement is said to have been made, by which Shah Begam, daughter of Gohar Aman, was married to Mohammad Khan-II in the plain of Byarchi. She was escorted by Vazir Rahmat from Yasin. A second marriage was forced upon Mohammad Khan-II. This time the girl was Shahzadi Zarin, the daughter of Raja Gazan Khan, ruler of Hunza. The sole idea behind these marriages was to keep the Nager ruler away from any claim over Gilgit. But Vazir Sultano and Mohammad Shah were against this second marriage and they intrigued with Nager ruler. The latter sent his forces to Nomal. A battle took place between the forces of Hunza and Nager. Shahzadi Zarrin of Hunza was arrested alongwith her man and she was sent back to Hunza. Now the Nager ruler proposed to give a Nager princess in second marriage to Raja Mohammad Khan-II. On hearing of this second marriage Gohar Aman made a second attack on Gilgit, and with the diplomatic move of his minister Vazir Rahmat, he was able to capture Gilgit in 1846 and remain in power until 1847. Gohar Aman was able to throw away the Dogras alongwith Raja Mohammad Khan-II.

On the advice of Isa Bahadur of Punyal, Raja Mohammad Khan-II escaped via Harmaush to Skardu and then to Kashmir to find protection

under the Dogras. While preparation was afoot to send forces under the command of Sayyid Aman Ali Shah, the exiled ruler of Gilgit, Mohammad Khan-II, died of small pox at Srinagar in June 1847. He made a will that after his death Ali Dad Khan, son of Zafar Khan, the Nager ruler, should inherit in Gilgit. Zafar Khan had Malika Habba Khatun, sister of Mohammad Khan-II as his wife.

All this time Gilgit remained under the authority of Gohar Aman in 1846 and 1847. On Hunza ruler's instigation Gohar Aman decided to attack Nager. He sent a big force under the command of his son Malik Aman and Vazir Rahmat. The force occupied Gilmit. Zafar Khan brought his forces to Nilt and decided to entrench his men at Pasin. Ultimately Malik Aman met with reverses and he had to withdraw to Yasin. Hearing of this defeat, Gohar Aman was displeased with his son. He confined him to Gakuch fort. Vazir Rahmat was replaced by Vazir Wahab. Gohar Aman himself made a dash on Danyor and passed by the side of the tomb of Sayyid Sultan Alaf Shah. It is said that due to his discourtesy of the saint he fell a prey to fatal disease and died in 1847¹⁷. He was buried in the family graveyard of Khushvaqt in Yasin on the other side of Najbar rivult. His son Malik Aman was brought from Gakuch and installed on the throne of Gilgit in 1847. He ruled for ten months until 1848.

Chapter-XI

11. Eleventh chapter details the consolidation of Dogra sovereignty in Gilgit by right of their conquest, their administrative system and their weak hold on the local Rajas and the tribal people who nominally paid tributes to the Maharaja of Kashmir but practically independent in their local affairs. Their strength and turbulent behaviour were so annoying to the British that they were forced to establish their political agency here but continued to uphold the fiction of the Maharaja's sovereignty probably to keep themselves away from the complications of international diplomatic pressure in view of Russian advance into the Pamir region.

The first task was to snatch Gilgit from the hands of Malik Aman and establish local authority amenable to their sovereignty. The Dogra forces reached Gilgit in June 1848 under the command of Col. Aman Ali Shah and Raja Isa Bahadur of Panyal. The enemy forces were under the command of Vazir Wahab but they were defeated easily and Wahab was killed. Malik Aman was arrested. Gilgit was occupied. Col. Aman Ali Shah went to Nager and informed Raja Mohammad Zafar of the will of the Late Raja Mohammad Khan-II. Raja Ali Dad Khan, still a baby, was brought to Gilgit and placed on the throne in August 1848, with Raja Zafar Khan of Nager at the back, but for all practical purposes under the control of the Maharaja's Commander Col. Aman Ali Shah. Vazir Sultano became the Chief Minister of Ali Dad Khan.

In Gilgit was then present the twenty-year old son of Raja Sikandar Shah by name Shahzada Firdaus. His supporters, under the leadership of Vazir Ghulam, foster-father of Raja Mohammad Khan-II, was not satisfied with the turn of events. Firdaus was asked to go away to Gilgit but he left for Chitral to seek help from mihtar Amanul Mulk, his mother's brother. The mihtar favoured his accession in Gilgit. He tried to recruit men from the tribal areas in support of Firdaus and also sought help from Ghazan Khan of Hunza and Raja Malik Aman of Yasin. When Vazir Sultano heard of this plot, he invited the Nager ruler Mohammad Zafar Khan to come to Gilgit with his men and protect the child ruler Raja Ali Dad Khan. From 1845 to 1850 Raja Mohammad Zafar Khan strengthened the hands of Aman Ali Shah by reinforcing his own forces from Nager. In Nager Shahzada Mohammad was left behind.

In 1850 Col. Mohammad Aman Ali Shah was replaced by Col. Bhup Singh by the Maharaja of Kashmir. He made Bunji his headquarter and sent Commandant Sant Singh to Gilgit. In 1852 the Nager ruler, Raja Zafar Khan, was sent back to Nager, leaving his nine-year old son, Raja Ali Dad

Khan in Gilgit under the protection of the Dogra forces with Vazir Sultano as the head representative.

The people of Chilas were creating great trouble by raiding the approach road in Astor. In 1852 the Dogra forces under the command of Dewan Hari Chand, Vazir Zorawar, Colonel Vijay Singh, Colonel Jawahir Singh and Dewan Thakur Das invaded Chilas. The Chilas fort was raised to the ground. The Dogra action led to a great tumult. In 1853 the mihtar of Chitral, in concert with the Hunza ruler and Malik Aman of Yasin, invaded Gilgit. First the fort of Naupura was occupied and the Gurkha forces in this fort were totally destroyed. Then the Gilgit fort was besieged. The beleaguered Sant Singh asked help from Colonel Bhup Singh. He started from Bunji but on way his forces were routed at a place which later came to be known as Bhup Singh Pari. The Nager ruler Mohammad Zafar Khan came from Nager and a severe battle took place in Gilgit. However, he was obliged to leave the child ruler Raja Ali Dad Khan under the care of Vazir Sultano as the head representative who exercised authority until 1860.

In 1860 the Maharaja's forces once again reasserted themselves. Vazir Sultano was removed and in his place Jawahir Singh was appointed as Vazir-i-Vizarat in Gilgit. But Vazir Sultano continued as mere adviser to the local Raja only in name. In 1857 Maharaja Ghulab Singh died and he was succeeded by Maharaja Ranbir Singh. He decided to do away with Raja Ali Dad altogether and appointed, in 1860, Colonel Devi Singh as his representative in Gilgit with the instruction to invade Yasin. Isa Bahadur was appointed governor of Punyal. A full scale invasion of Yasin was led by Zorawar and Colonel Vijay Singh with assistance from Isa Bahadur of Punyal and Rozi Khan of Astor. Malik Aman was overpowered in Yasin and his fort was occupied. Malik Aman fled from Yasin. Azmat Shah, son of Darab Shah and grandson of Sulaiman Shah was appointed *Wali* (ruler) of Yasin. Being afraid of his brother Malik Aman, he befriended with Isa Bahadur of Punyal and surrendered to him Ishkoman. But soon after the return of Colonel Devi Singh, Malik Aman came back to Yasin, took away the territory from Azmat Shah who was obliged to flee to Gilgit. There he got a plot of land for his maintenance. It is recorded in the text that Malik Aman sent tributes to Gilgit and once also to Maharaja Ranbir Singh in Kashmir through Vazir Rahmat.

In the meanwhile Raja Gazan Khan, Mir of Hunza, started correspondence with Yasin and Chitral rulers to attack Gilgit and finish off with Dogra authority. In the summer of 1866 the Dogra forces made a vain attempt to run over Hunza on the advice of Vazir Zorawar under the command of Colonel Shiv Singh and in league with Nager ruler but this venture did not meet with any success.

In Gilgit Bakhshi Radha Krishan became Vazir-i-Vizarat and remained

in this post from 1867 to 1873. In his time Raja Ali Dad Khan's position was seriously affected. Later the Hunza ruler, Raja Gazan Khan, made a raid on Nager. Malik Aman of Yasin also advanced on Sher Qila and Gakuch in order to take possession of Punyal area, but in the face of Dogra forces under Bakhshi Radha Krishan he had to retreat and flee away to Darel. In 1867 the Dora forces attacked Darel and made the people of Darel to pay tribute. Malik Aman also presented himself before the Maharaja of Kashmir who sent him back to Gilgit. Malik Aman again revolted and fled to Darel tribal area.

In 1869 Raja Gazan Khan attacked Nomal and the neighbourhood of Chaprot and devastated the countryside right upto Danyor. The Dogra forces were powerless to counterattack. In 1870 the Nager ruler Mohammad Zafar Khan retook possession of Shin Barbala and Chaprot from the Hunza ruler and was bent on invading Gilgit to finish off with Dogra supremacy. In this initiative he sought the help of the Hunza ruler but the two would not join hands for joint action against the Dogras.

In 1869 the Yasin ruler, Mir Wali, welcomed Lt. Haywood in Yasin for bettering his position but his hopes were not realised. He is made responsible for the murder of the British explorer Lt. Haywood. Vazir Rahmat is said to be against this murder. He plotted and invited Raja Pahalwan Bahadur, ruler of Mastuj, who in alliance with the Mihtar of Chitral, drove away Mir Wali to Badakhshan and occupied Yasin.

In 1873 Lala Ganga Singh was appointed as Vazir Vizarat in Gilgit. He remained here until 1876. He was followed by Lala Ram Krishan who continued as Vazir-i-Vizarat from 1876 to 1880. In his time Colonel Hoshyara Singh was the Commandant of Dogra forces in Gilgit. In 1877 Raja Kamal Khan, son of Raja Mohammad Zafar Khan of Nager, married with a Hunza princess who created trouble in Nager. In 1878 Major Biddulph was appointed here as an officer on special duty to look after Nager and Hunza. When he was on a visit to Hunza, the ruler of Hunza stole away all his goods and had evil intentions to kill him but Major Biddulph managed to escape to Nager and then came back to Gilgit. In 1879 he was promoted as Colonel and for the first time appointed as British Agent over the officers of the Maharaja.

This appointment created tension in Gilgit. The local people were on the side of the rebellious tribals and gave support to Raja Pahalwan Bahadur of Yasin, who attacked Sher Qila in 1880. Colonel Hoshyara Singh was bent on advancing to Sher Qila to quell the rebels but the British Agent wanted to meet with the rebellious elements in Gilgit. In the meanwhile the Mihtar of Chitral rushed to Yasin and occupied it. As a result the Yasin forces withdrew to Yasin and the tribes retired to their own valleys. The Dogra forces, which were locked up in Sher Qila, were relieved

by Vazir Ghulam Haidar who was sent there with a Gilgit contingent by Lala Ram Krishan. Raja Pahalwan Bahadur repaired to Yasin and surrendered to Mihtar of Chitral, who got him murdered.

Lala Ram Krishan was replaced by Lala Beli Ram as Vazir-i-Vizarat, who remained in Gilgit from 1880 to 1882. In his time the Nager ruler Mohammad Zafar appointed his son Mohammad Khan, who was the sister's son of Raja Gazan Khan of Hunza, as his successor in Nager. His two other sons, Shahzada Azur Khan and Raja Alaf Khan, who were daughter's sons of Gohar Aman of Yasin, were given charge of Shin Barbala and Pisau and Minapen respectively. In 1881 Colonel Biddulph went back. In the meanwhile Bakhshi Mul Raj, who was the Commandant of the Dogra forces in Gilgit, succeeded in getting Lala Beli Ram removed and himself got appointed as Vazir-i-Vizarat. Lala Beli Ram was murdered at Jutial while he was on his way to Kashmir.

Bakhshi Mul Raj remained here from 1882 to 1887. In the meanwhile trouble started among the three brothers. Azur Khan attacked Nager and became the Wali Ahad and Raja Mohammad Khan was removed. He went to Kashmir and there he died. There was a redistribution of territory among the children of Nager. Raja Azur Khan became the Wali Ahad in Nager. Raja Alaf Khan was given the charge of Shin Barbala. Raja Kamal Khan became the Jagirdar of Shayar. Raja Babar Khan, Raja Goritham Khan, Raja Shah Sikandar and Deng Malik, who were born of one mother, were given the *Jagir* of Gilmit and neighbouring areas. When Raja Alaf Khan died after sometime, the area of Shin Barbala was given to Raja Babar Khan and Raja Shah Sikandar but the last remained solely in charge of Shin Barbala after the death of Babar.

In 1886 Raja Kamal Khan of Shayar invaded Nager on the instigation of Hunza ruler in order to snatch Nager throne for himself but he failed and he was later removed to Gilgit under the protection of Raja Ali Dad Khan. In the meanwhile Raja Gazan Khan of Hunza was shot dead in 1886 by his son Raja Safdar Ali Khan who occupied Hunza. He was the daughter's son of Raja of Nager. Now in 1887 it was possible for Hunza and Nager together to make joint attack on the Dogra forces. The actual fight took place in Nomal. On behalf of the Dogras Colonel Makhan Singh took the command of the forces under the instruction of Bakhshi Mul Raj. The joint forces of Hunza and Nager were under the command of Raja Shah Sikandar. The Dogras met a serious defeat in Nomal and had to retreat. But this victory of Hunza and Nager forces could not be followed further to oust the Dogras from Gilgit as Raja Kamal Khan had played a trick to foment some friction in Hunza and Nager forces. Bakhshi Mul Raj now mustered courage to hold Gilgit and inform Pratap Singh.

In 1887 Bakhshi Mul Raj was replaced by Lala Din Pat as Vazir-i-

Vazarat and in place of the late Col. Makhan Singh came Col. Panjab Singh with a bigger Dogra force. Lala Din Pat remained here till 1889. But seeing the Dogra position weaker in Gilgit, Maharaja Pratap Singh of Kashmir appealed to the British Government for help. Keeping in view of the Russian manouvre in the Pamir region in 1888, the British Viceroy Lord Dufferin agreed to re-establish the British Political Agency in Gilgit so that under the protection of British arms the Maharaja's control over this entire region could be stabilized.

In consequence of these events Sir Mortimer Durand, who was then foreign secretary under Lord Dufferin, sent his brother Cap. (Later Col.) Durand alongwith Dr Robertson to Gilgit. Captain Durand went from Gilgit to Chitral in order to secure this northern frontier against the intentions of the Russians. The Mihtar of Chitral welcomed captain Durand and entered into agreements with him for the maintenance of British interest in this region. Lala Din Pat was replaced by Munshi Abdul Hakim Khan as Vazir-i-Vazarat and Col. Punjab Singh was replaced by Major Kali Khan. Col. Durand was appointed Political Agent and Dr. Robertson as Agency Surgeon. Col. Durand First paid a visit to Nager and Hunza to assess the things in that part because a Russian officer had paid a visit to Hunza a little while ago. In the meanwhile Raja Azur Khan of Nager desired to kill his other brothers, Raja Goritham and Raja Deng Malik and also Shah Sikandar. The first two were killed and only last, i.e. Shah Sikandar fled to Gilgit and took shelter with Col. Durand in 1891. Preparations were made to bring under subjection Nager and Hunza and cut Hunza away from Russian influence. Col. Durand advanced with his forces and assailed the fort of Nilt and reoccupied Chhalt and Nomal. The Hunza and Nager forces were uprooted. Nager and Hunza occupied. Azur Khan was replaced by Raja Sikandar. Safdar Ali fled to Badakhshan. He was replaced by Gazan Khan in Hunza.

Professor AHMAD HASAN DANI

FOOTNOTES

1. According to Gilgit and Baltistan special number of Urdu *Bebak*, Vol-II, Nos. 3,4,5,6 dated 20 January – 10 February, 1973, Shah Rais Khan was born in 1895.
2. G.W. Leitner: *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*, New Delhi Reprint, 1, 78.
3. John Bidulph: *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Karachi Reprint, 1977.
4. I. Muller-Stellrecht: *Materialien Zur Ethnographie Von Dardistan (Pakistan): Aus den nach gelassenen Aufzeichnungen Von D.L.R Lorimer*: Teil I, Hunza; Teil II, Gilgit; Teil III, Chitral and Yasin; Graz, 1980.
5. This work is in Urdu, now preserved in Gilgit Public Library.
6. Qudratullah Beg: *Tarikh-i-Ahd-i-Atiq Riyasat-i-Hunza*, Vol-I, Rawalpindi, 1980.
7. Hashmatullah Khan: *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, second ed: Lahore, 1968.
8. Klaus Sagaster: 'The kings of Baltistan and other kings: Some remarks on Balti literature; in *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol-VII, No-II December 1984, pp. 49-56.
9. S. Beal: *Buddhist Records of The Western World*, London, 1884, p. 135.
10. V. Minorsky: *Hudud Al-Alam*, Karachi, Reprint 1980, p. 121.
11. O.V. Hinuber: 'Royal Inscriptions from North Pakistan, in *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol-VIII, No. 1, July 1985.
12. A.H. Dani, "Sacred Rock of Hunza", in *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol-VIII, No. 2 Dec. 1985.
13. Sir Aurel Stein: *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol-I, pp. 7-17.
14. Dr. M.A. Ghafoor: "Two lost inscriptions relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and North-West region of West Pakistan". in *Ancient*

Pakistan, Peshawar, Vol-II, 1965-66. p. 6.

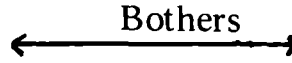
15. Compare the extent as given by E. Denison Ross, *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London, 1972, Introduction, p. 30.
16. G.T. Vigne: *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*, London, 1842, Vol-II, pp. 304-306.
17. This date is wrong. Gohar Aman continued to rule until 1860. It is only after his death that the Dogras reoccupied Gilgit. The history narrated by Shah Rais Khan is at variance with the events known from other sources; eg. See Dr. Leitner's account.



17. RAJA KHUSRO KHAN-II
1397-1422



18. RAJA MALIK SHAH
(RAJA SHAH)
1422-1449



RAJA DULLASHAH = LAZUM GASPUR
or DAULAT SHAH

19. RAJA TORRA KHAN-II
1449-1479



20. RAJA CHILIS KHAN-II
1479-1497



21. RAJA SAU MALIK-III
1497-1522



22. SHAH RAIS AZAM = MALIKA SHAMSA
1522-1561 KHATUN



23. RAJA SAHIB QIRAN
1561-1567



1. MAGHLOT
(RAJA JAMSHED
ABOUT A.D. 1440.

2. RAJA SHAH MALIK
(POPULARLY SHAH)

3. RAJA BALLA SHAH

4. RAJA DAUD SHAH
(RAJA DUT)

5. RAJA ALI DAD SHAH

1. GIRKIS
(SAHEB KHAN)

2. NUR BEGAM (Daughter)

3. AYASHO KHAN-I

4. SALIM KHAN

5. SHAH MALIK

6. AYASHO KHAN II

7. HARITHAM

24. RAJA SULTAN MIRZA }
URF MIRZA-II } Brother
1567-1600

25. RAJA ALI SHER KHAN = MALIKA NUR JAMAL
1600-1643

26. RAJA ALI HAIDER KHAN
1632-1633

27. RAJA KHAQAN MIRZA S/o No. 25
(URF RAJA MIRZA-II)
1632-1635

28. RAJA SHAH KAMAL OF NAGER
VAZIR RASHO (As Naib-i-Sultanat)
1635-1643

29. MALIKA JAWAR KHATUN = RAJA FIRDAUS KHAN-II
1642-1667 AND AGAIN
1689-1705

30. RAJA JI KHAN
S/o No. 29
1670-1689

8. SHAHSULTAN

9. SHAHBAZ

10. SHAH BEG

11. KHISRU KHAN

12. SALIM KHAN-II

6. RAJA SHAH KAMAL 13. GHAZANFAR KHAN

14. SHAH GHAZAN KHAN

15. SHAH NAZIM KHAN

7. RAJA SHAH RAHIM KHAN

8. RAJA SHAH BABAR KHAN

31. RAJA SHAH GORITHAM
1705-1800
Interrugnum of Yasin ruler
Sulaiman Shah 1800-1802

32. MOHAMMAD KHAN-I
1802-1822

33. SHAHZADA KHUSRO KHAN
(RAJA ASGHAR ALI)
1822-1825

Interrugnum of Sulaiman Shah (1825-1826)

34. MALIKA SAHIBNUMA = Raja Karim Khan (No.37)

S/O 35

35. RAJA TAHIR SHAH
AS NAIB-I-SULTANAT
1828-1836

36. RAJA SHAH SIKANDAR
AS NAIB-I-SALTANAT
1836-1840

Interrugnum of GOHAR AMAN,
YASIN RULER (1840-1842)

9. SHAH AZUR KHAN

10. SHAH SULTAN
ALAF KHAN

11. SHAH RAHIM KHAN

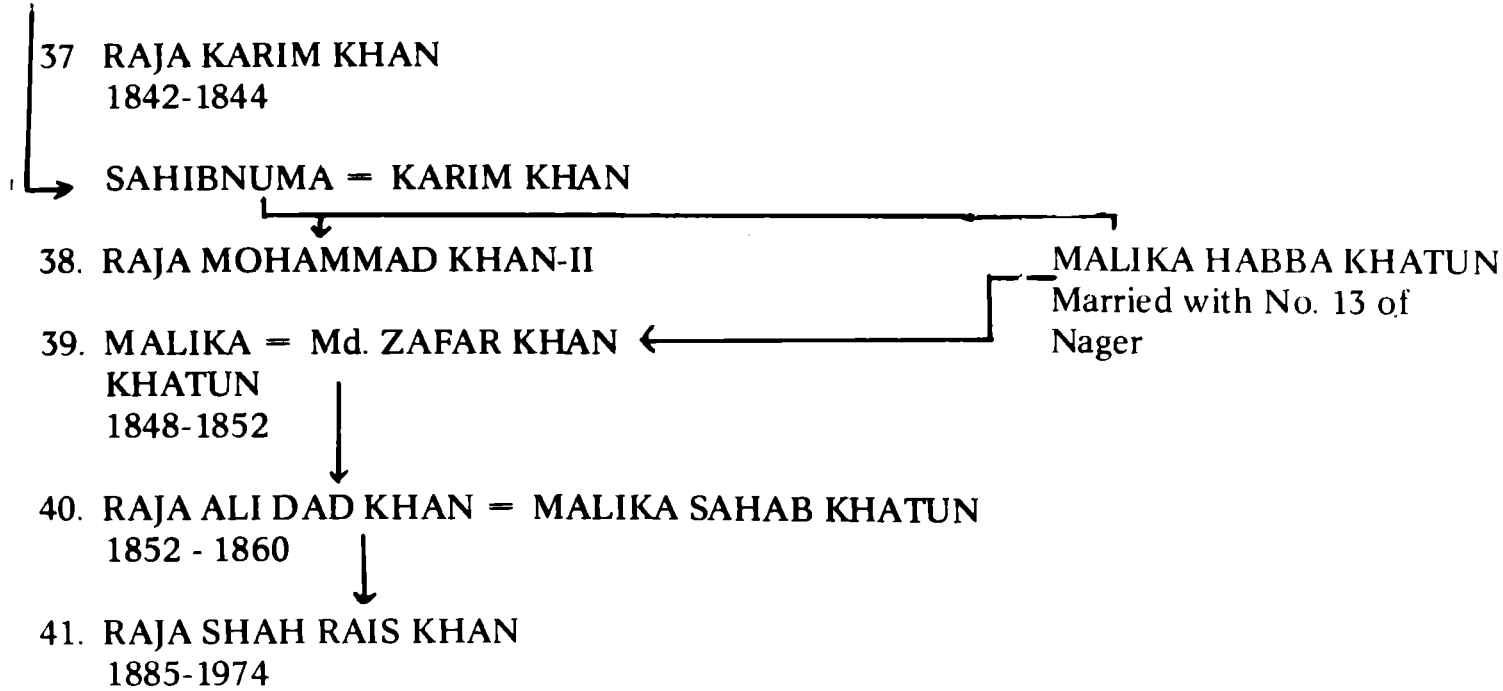
12. RAJA TAHIR SHAH

13. MOHAMMAD ZAFAR KHAN S/O No.10

14. MOHAMMAD ALI KHAN (Brothers)

15. RAJA AZUR KHAN

16. SHAUKAT ALI KHAN



صفر علی خان کے فرار کے بعد وہاں کے لوگوں نے انگریزوں کو خوش آمدید کہا۔ ہونترہ پہنچتے ہی انگریزوں نے صفر علی خان کے محل کی تلاش لی اور تمام زر و جواہرات ہسونا اور دیگر قیمتی اشیاء پر قبضہ کر لیا۔ آذر خان کو جلا وطن کر کے کشمیر بھیج دیا اور اسکندر خان کو نگر کا راجہ اور نظم خان کو ہونترہ کا راجہ مقرر کیا۔ اس جنگ میں راجہ سکندر کے علاوہ پونیال کا راجہ اکبر خان اور ہونترہ کے مفروض وزیر ہالیون نے بھی انگریزوں کو فتح سے ہکنا کرنے میں اہم کردار ادا کیا ہے

اکبر حسین اکبر

تبت بالخیر